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Obituaries

Dr. P.L Gupta: a personal Tribute

Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, who passed away in July, was an outstanding Indian numismatic scholar who, despite humble origins, gradually rose to international prominence in his field.

I had the honour of knowing and working with him for 35 years. I still have the first letter he sent me from Patna Museum, in reply to some questions I had asked about the need for a guidebook on Ancient Indian coins, in December 1966. Then as always his reply was courteous and detailed. From that time on we corresponded regularly, and when he visited the UK in 1972, he and his wife (who spoke no English) stayed with us in Oxford. It was then that we agreed a plan to produce jointly a Catalogue of Magadha-Mauryan punchmarked coins, based on pooling his own extensive research with my records of the large numbers of new types which were then coming on to the international market, of which he was largely unaware. In 1963 PLG had pioneered the first attempt at placing the punchmarked coins of the Imperial series in chronological order, using the Amaravati hoard of over 8000 coins, a milestone in Indian numismatics and arguably his greatest work. Our task was to build on this and produce a work that would have wider appeal to collectors as well as students and archaeologists.

Working with PLG on this project over the next 12 years gave me an insight into the mind of this enigmatic man, whose self-effacing modesty concealed a monumental knowledge coupled with an incisive intellect and infinite attention to detail, which placed him head and shoulders above most of his colleagues. Concentrating as we did on the punchmarked series, I was barely aware of the many other fields of history and numismatics in which he excelled.

Despite his shunning of publicity, he had one experience of which he was very proud and would relate it whenever an opportunity arose. In 1956, when he had paid his first visit to the

UK, he had somehow got on to the popular TV programme of the time, "What's my Line", when he defeated the team, who failed to guess his occupation "Numismatist". To hear him relate this event, even in old age nearly 40 years later, was to recognise that one of his hidden talents embodied the art of the storyteller - like the Ancient Mariner, he never failed to captivate the listener.

PLG's lack of a quest for personal fame or status freed him to concentrate on the search for truth in his studies, which ironically helped to precipitate the international acclaim which came to him later in life. Not for him the grand gesture or media revelation of some new theory or discovery. Superlatives were never on his agenda. I recall once sending photographs of some early Magadha coins which were not only unpublished but, I believed, unknown till my find. I thought perhaps I might elicit some excitement. All I got was "such coins are not many".

For all his modesty I feel sure he must have reflected with some pride on the presentation to him of the P.L.Gupta felicitation volume on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Despite an open-mindedness in his subject, PLG could be rigid and unbending. In recent years I had written an article about some punchmarked coins from Bharat Kala Bhavan, which, to me, were obviously modern forgeries. I received an irate response giving me numerous reasons why they should be considered genuine. I joined battle, arguing in the step-by-step logical way which he himself would use, but to no avail - he had seen these coins way back when they came to the museum and somehow had it fixed in his mind from that time that they were genuine.

We continued to correspond until two or three years ago, when he would request details of some coin or other that I had drawn attention to years before - he never destroyed any of his correspondence - and until recently he had remained optimistic that his volume on Janapada coins would be completed. Indeed, it was completed, but one suspects that he was always looking for further improvements, until old age finally took its toll.

PLG was blessed with an exceptionally long life which was lived to the full. I treasure the many memories of our long association and count myself fortunate to have gained the friendship of such an eminent scholar, who set an example to all who came to know him.

Terry Hardaker

Samir Shamma

The well-known Middle Eastern numismatist, Samir Shamma passed away on Thursday 16 August 2001.

Samir Shamma began collecting coins in the early 1960's in Jeddah. He collected a wide variety of Islamic coins, but specialised in the coins of the Abbasid Caliphate and all periods of coinage in Arabia. His collection, numbering about 9000 pieces, from the inception of Islamic coinage, c.650 AD, to the middle of the eleventh century and particularly strong on coinage of the Abbasid Caliphate (749-946), was put on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for a ten year period, beginning in 1994. The Heberden Coin Room also owes a recent post, a part-time assistant keepership of the Islamic coin collection coupled with a university lectureship in Islamic numismatics in the Oriental Faculty, to the generosity of Mr Samir Shamma.

Thanks to his generosity, in 1992 the Royal Numismatic Society established a prize to be awarded every two years for the book or article(s) published, normally and preferably in English, during the previous three years which, in the view of the Council, is most useful to students of Islamic numismatics.

He also funded the research of Dr Vlastimil Novák who is working on a catalogue of Islamic coins. Dr. Novák is the curator of Oriental Coins in Prague and has spent several summers in Cambridge chiefly through the generosity of Mr Samir Shamma.

His support of the study of Islamic numismatics at Yarmouk University was important and he founded and helped to support the journal, *Yarmouk Numismatics*.

Samir is probably most well-known to collectors for his book, *A Catalogue of Abbasid Copper Coins*, London, 1998, text in English and Arabic.

Fawzan Barrage

Beatrice Granberg (1916–2000)

The Finnish Orientalist Beatrice Granberg died in Helsinki on 10 September 2000. Her name was never well known to those outside the field of Islamic numismatics, and few outside Finland knew her personally. An assessment of her work must be left for experts, but a few words about her life may be of interest for general readers too, for she was certainly a remarkable personality.

Granberg graduated from the University of Helsinki in 1945 with degrees in archaeology, oriental languages and art history. Between 1948 and 1951 she continued her linguistic studies in Uppsala, Jerusalem and London, but by then she had already started working with the Islamic coins in the Viking-Age finds of Finland. Most of these finds are kept in the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum in Helsinki, and this was to be her place of work until the mid-1970s. However, she never held a permanent position at the museum.

In 1966 she published (in her native Swedish) a catalogue of the Islamic coins found in Finland, *Förteckning över kufiska myntfynd i Finland*. The material consisted of 1,649 coins, of which 1,351 came from Åland and the rest from the Finnish mainland, the latter group also including some twenty coins from the former Finnish Karelia. With the exception of a few Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms the coins are dirhams of the usual non-pictorial type. Because of one large ninth-century hoard from Åland (Bertby), the material is dominated by Abbasid and not Samanid coins, as elsewhere in the Northern Lands.

The catalogue gives no information about the finds beyond listing their Islamic coins. The author's purpose was to follow it up with a commentary, and by 1970 the new manuscript was more or less complete. It was, however, never published, and it could not even be found after her death, until it transpired that it had been deposited (or rather hidden) in the archives of the Finnish Antiquarian Society. It consists of about 200 pages and is still incomplete. It would hardly be meaningful to publish it as it is, but it will be made available to researchers visiting the Coin Cabinet.

Why did Granberg not finish a work which might have been her *magnum opus*? Apparently it was the result of gradual developments. It seems that when her old friend, Jouko Voionmaa, the then keeper of coins, retired in 1976, Granberg also felt that her time in the Coin Cabinet was coming to an end. Soon

thereafter the museum building was renovated and she lost her old workroom. After that she no longer came to the museum. Several colleagues, including the late Nicholas Lowick, regretted that she abandoned her work. With hindsight it seems clear that her friends should have been firm in this situation and persuaded her to continue. Unfortunately she was both unsure of herself (being self-taught in numismatics) and obstinate.

These features apart, she was sociable and, living alone, liked to chat and exchange news with colleagues. She had a good sense of humour, and this was useful, for she was often the butt of jokes herself, because she was very petite and seemed to subsist on coffee and cigarettes. She usually kept it to herself that she was very well-read and widely travelled.

Her grandfather E. J. Granberg was a well-known industrialist, and she was able to live on her inheritance. The same grandfather was also a nephew of the Rev. Christfrid Ganander, the learned author of *Mythologia Fennica* (1789), and cultural ambitions were cherished in the family. Her uncle collected coins and he also had a famous collection of early postage stamps (now owned by the Post Museum in Helsinki). A whole chapter could be written on her father, who collected paintings. Because of his interest in ornithology he acquired a large number of bird pictures by Magnus, Ferdinand and Wilhelm von Wright, whose works are highly esteemed in Finland nowadays. Unfortunately her privileged background made Beatrice impractical, and this apparently was another reason why the second part of her publication remained unfinished.

She unexpectedly became a national celebrity after her death when it transpired that she had died intestate and without close relatives, consciously leaving her possessions to the state. The main centre of attention was not the property she owned in the centre of Helsinki but the remarkable collection of nineteenth-century art which she had inherited from her father. The collection is now housed in the National Gallery of Finland.

Tuukka Talvio

Anton Fox

Scott Semans writes:

I'm not sure if Anton was an ONS member, but he will be remembered by anyone who was active in South East Asian numismatics in the 60s-80s. Anton "Tony" Fox passed away on 26 August 2001 of congestive heart failure at the age of 57. Although he had been fighting this illness for six years, he was considered stable and his passing came as a surprise to those who knew him. During his Army days in Vietnam he was an ardent researcher of French Indochina coinage. He also formed in recent years what may be the best private collection of Cambodian coins and exonomia. Tentative plans are to produce an auction catalogue or fixed price sale of Anton's major collections, which will serve as a reference in these fields.

Jena

ONS regional meeting 5-6th May 2001

Collectors and scholars of Oriental coinages met this year for the second time in the city of Jena/Thuringia in the heartland of Germany on the first weekend in May. The pride of the University is one of the largest collection of Oriental coins in Germany. Norbert Nebes, director of the Oriental Coin Cabinet and Professor of Semitic Philology and Islamic Studies, welcomed the ca. 45 participants, including Jan Lingen as official representative of the ONS. The participants arrived from many states of the EU and Switzerland. The meeting was organised by S. Heidemann and Tobias Mayer.

Martin Huth, Berlin: Imitations of Athenian Coins from the Kingdom of Qataban



fig. 1: Hemidrachm, Qataban, ca. 150 B.C.

An overview of the first period of coinage from the South Arabian kingdom of Qataban and the neighbouring regions was given. The series started in the 4th century BC. In 1994 a hoard was discovered in al-Surayra. It contained imitations of the so-called "old style" silver issues of Athens. They are struck on a slightly reduced Attic standard. These coins should be understood in the context of local imitations of Athenian coins along the ancient incense road. But in contrast to the mostly anonymous local imitations, the present coins, with their inscriptions and monograms, indicate the existence of the first coinage consciously designed by the state authorities in South Arabia, which, despite their imitative character, do not deny their "national" origin. While the first issues comprise only larger denominations, tetra- and didrachms, as well as drachms, the coinage underwent a gradual development leading to the creation of local types which tended to be issued exclusively in small silver denominations, the hemidrachms. These last coins in the name of the Qatabanian ruler Yada' 'ab Dhubyān Yuhargib (fig. 1) can be dated to ca. 150 BC and thus provide a terminus post quem for the al-Surayra hoard (see Huth in *Revue Numismatique Suisse* 1999). Indicating the need for a common approach by both numismatists and epigraphists to address the problems of South Arabian numismatics, Huth finally outlined a concept for a new typological classification of South Arabian coins based on epigraphic types.

**Wolfgang Wiesner, Bonn: When did King Anandasandra rule?
On the Chronology of medieval Arakan/Burma**

Two hitherto unpublished dated silver coins were the starting point for a revision of the traditional chronology of the medieval Chandra kings in Arakan, the north-western Province of Myanmar/Burma.



a) silver, diam. 26 mm, ca. 10 g (fig. 2); obverse in Arakanese and reverse in Brahmi script: "425 Min Razasandra", (BE 425 = AD 1063).



b) silver, same diameter and weight (fig. 3); obverse in Arakanese script: "612 Min Warayazat" (BE 612 = AD 1250) and the reverse in a script which resembles very much that of the western face of the so called "Anandachandra Stone" situated at the northern entrance to the Shittaung Pagoda at Mrauk-Oo (Mrohaung), the former capital of Arakan.

In 1891 Emil Forchhammer, Superintendent of the Archeological Department of Birma, was the first to describe this stone (E. Forchhammer, *Arakan...*, Yangon [Rangoon] 1891). Half

a century later E.H. Johnston, Professor at London University translated the text of the stone inscription, listing the kings of pre-Mrauk Oo dynasties of Arakan (E. H. Johnston. In: *BSOAS* 11 [1944] 365). On the basis of palaeographical considerations he proposed as the accession date of king Anandachandra, author of the stone inscription, the beginning of the 8th century AD. Ever since, this chronology has been followed by other scholars, like D. C. Sircar (*EI* 32 [1957-8] 108) and P. Gutman (*Ancient Arakan*, Australian National University [1976] 35ff., here p. 42).

On the basis of the accession dates on the two coins mentioned above and adding the 108 years of kings' reigns between Anandachandra, the latter acceded to the throne only in BE 620 (AD 1358). Accordingly the reign of Dvenchandra, founder of the Chandra dynasty, started in AD 1008. Mr Wiesner would appreciate information of any further specimens, illuminating the chronology of the Chandra dynasty.

[Editor's note: Dr Michael Robinson and others have expressed strong doubts about the authenticity of these two coins; further information about their provenance is needed]

Dietrich Schnüdelbach, Bonn: A group of countermarked imitative drahms of Hormizd IV



fig. 4: imitation of a Hormizd IV drahm (Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena).

During recent years a group of coins that are imitations of the Sasanian drahms of Hormizd IV (579 - 590), and obviously belonging to a single hoard, have been circulating in trade. All the drahms show the regnal year 11 and the mint of Balkh. However they must have been struck later and outside the Sasanian empire. Deviations from the Sasanian standard type characterise these coins as imitations. Obverse: the beard which extends to the rim of the crown, the hair-knot which resembles a "solar disc" above a crescent, and a slightly changed ear-ornament as well as a partly changed design of the crown (the pinnacle of the crown in a hollow field). On the reverse there are some typical changes too: at the rim at 18 h a dot (frequent) or three dots (rare), and the attendants with their arms crossed the "wrong" way (left over right) compared to the Sasanian standard type, as well as a growing barbarization of the mint and date inscriptions. It is a fixed type which started probably with the conquest of Balkh by the Western Turks in the year 589 or 590 AD and continued in the region of Balkh until the second half of the 7th century. This is obvious from the date mentioned on the coins and from the changes in the ear-ornament, which follows the model of the Arab-Sasanian drahm of the second half of the 7th century.



Fig. 5: Countermark 1.

With a few exceptions all coins of this group bear two countermarks. The first, almost square countermark shows a beardless head to left in profile with a huge ear-ornament. Above the head is a hook, pointing to the right. This hook resembles an ankus, a hook of an elephant rider, which appears as well in the iconography of other countermarks (Göbl). The right and lower line of the frame can be interpreted as back and basis of a top of an elephant on which the person shown might be sitting. The countermark depicts probably a commander of war elephants. It belongs to a group of countermarks with crowned heads (Göbl 15, 55, 58, 61) which were in use until ca. 682 and it fits in well between two known countermarks relating to war elephants, the elephant (Göbl 21, after 677) and the ankus (Göbl 21, after 689).



Fig. 6: Countermark 2.

The countermark on the reverse shows the inscription *PhORO* in Baktrian Greek. Humbach identifies a very similar countermark (Göbl 59, *PhOR*, after 686), as one belonging to the ruler *Phromo Kesaro* who is known from coins as well. On the basis of the the considerations presented, his coins can be determined as having been struck between AD 680 to 700 in contrast to Göbl who dates this ruler later, in the period after AD 745.

The imitative type and the countermarks both support the new dating of the ruler. According to this, it is a coin type which was struck after the conquest of Balkh by the Western Turks until the beginning of the wars between Arabs and Huns. Probably they were countermarked as booty. It cannot be decided if both countermarks were struck at the same time or as two different actions. They both belong probably to the Alchon; the one of the reverse probably from *Phromo Kesaro*, who was a vassal of *Shahi Tigin*, ruler of the Alchon, according to the tamgha on some of *Phromo Kesaros's* coins

Stefan Heidemann, Jena: Graffiti on Sasanian Coins



Fig. 7: *Drahm, Khusrau II, Istakhr, regnal year 25, Pahlavi graffiti with clearly readable characters at the end: (...) KLTW.*

Graffiti were found frequently on Sasanian and on early Islamic coins between the 6th and 8th century. It is the very time of an unusually strong monetisation of the Iranian and Iraqian world.

The identified scripts of the graffiti are Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Syriac and Aramaic Square script, perhaps Armenian too. No Arabic or Graeco-Baktrian graffiti have been found yet, although Sasanian coins circulated in Central Asia and they were used long after the Arab conquest.

What is written in the graffiti? P. Gignoux was able to read personal names on some ink graffiti from the Susa hoard. A. D. Nikitin suggested personal names as well as numbers and terms which would underline the value of the coins. None of his readings of the scratched sequences of characters convince fully. The interpretation of the graffiti is still at its beginning. It is necessary to collect further material.

Michael Fedorov, Ilmenau: On the numismatic history of Saghaniyan in the first half of the 11th century AD.

The eventful history of the Qarakhanid principality Saghaniyan (or Chaghaniyan) from the end of the 4th/10th century to the middle of the 5th/11th century was outlined on the basis of the numismatic evidence. Saghaniyan is situated in the valley of the Surkhan Darya about 100 km north of Tirmidh. Early dirhams of Saghaniyan (395-398) mention the Qarakhanids, Nasir al-Haqq Khan - this title refers to the supreme suzerain Ahmad ibn 'Ali - , Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ilek Nasr (ibn 'Ali; he was conqueror of Bukhara in 389 and suzerain) and Muzaffar Kia (vassal). Copper fulus of the year 398 name Nasr ibn 'Ali (as suzerain), amir Ahmad ibn Muhammad (vassal) and Muzaffar (subvassal, because he was cited on the obverse). In 400-402 coins from Saghaniyan name the same series of individuals. But on the fulus the supreme suzerain, Ahmad ibn 'Ali, is not mentioned.

In the year 403 Nasr ibn 'Ali died. His dominion came under the sway of his brother, Tongha Khan Ahmad. Subsequently in this year the coins of Saghaniyan mention Nasir al-Haqq Khan (Ahmad ibn 'Ali); as vassal, Fakhr (or Rukn) al-Daula Ahmad ibn Muhammad and, as subvassal, Muzaffar. Some fulus of Saghaniyan in 405 cite Ahmad Khan, Fakhr al-Daula and Muzaffar. Other fulus of this year name only Ahmad ibn Muhammad (Fakhr al-Daula) and Muzaffar, but no Qarakhanid suzerain. Political factors were perhaps the reason. In 405 Ahmad Khan had lost a war against his brother, Shams al-Daula Arslan Khan Mansur. Subsequently the ruler of Saghaniyan had thrown off the Qarakhanid overlordship. In the year 406, however, Fakhr al-Daula Ahmad recognised the victorious Shams al-Daula Khan as supreme overlord and Ilek (Arslan Khan's brother, Muhammad ibn 'Ali) as immediate suzerain on his fulus minted in Saghaniyan.

E. V. Rtveladze identified the name and the honorific title of the ruler *Fakhr al-Daula Ahmad ibn Muhammad* on copper coins from Saghaniyan with *Fakhr al-Daula Abu-l Muzaffar Ahmad b. Muhammad*, ruler of Saghaniyan and patron of the famous Persian poet Farrukhi. Since his *kunya* was Abu-l Muzaffar ("Father of Muzaffar"), the vassal Muzaffar, cited on his coins, may well have been his son. It is strange to note that Muzaffar appeared on Saghaniyan coins as vassal of the Qarakhanids in 395-398, before Fakhr al-Daula Ahmad ibn Muhammad was mentioned on coins, and when Muzaffar appeared in 398 on coins of Saghaniyan he had only the position of a subvassal on the coins.

In the year 410 Saghaniyan minted coins citing neither suzerain nor vassal. Could there have been a diplomatic reason for this? By minting anonymous coins, the ruler of Saghaniyan avoided the need to cite either a Qarakhanid or Ghaznavid suzerain. In 414 to 418 the coins of Saghaniyan name, as suzerain, the Qarakhanid, Nasir al-Haqq Khan. B. D. Kochnev suggested that the honorific title, Nasir al-Haqq, belongs to Nasir al-Haqq Ilek al-'Adil 'Ali ibn Hasan mentioned on the coins of al-Shash in the year 415. But this it is out of the question here, because 'Ali here had the title Ilek, which is inferior to the title Khan, cited on the coins of Saghaniyan. Nasir al-Haqq Khan on the coins of Saghaniyan must in fact be the brother and suzerain, head of the Western Qarakhanids (from 415), Tongha Khan Muhammad. Clearly the coin of 414 was struck using mismatched dies, with the obverse struck from an obsolete die.

During the years 418 to 424 Saghaniyan minted anonymous coins again. Then during 424 to 426, 428 coins of Saghaniyan cite Malik al-'Adil Abu-l Qasim. The historian, Baihaqi, mentioned Abu-l Qasim in 426 as ruler of Saghaniyan and the son-in-law of the Ghaznavid sultan, Mas'ud, as well as in Safar (second month) 430. In Sha'ban (eighth month) of the same year he was already dead, because in this month the Qarakhanid ruler Buri Tegin captured Saghaniyan. Buri Tegin had used the circumstance that the ruler of Saghaniyan "died young without having left an heir", as the sources say.

Having captured Saghaniyan, Buri Tegin Ibrahim, son of Ilek Nasr (the conqueror of Bukhara in 389), started to reconquer Bukhara and Samarqand. At this time both cities were usurped by other branches of the Qarakhanids. During the years 430-434 the mint of Saghaniyan was very prolific because Buri Tegin Ibrahim needed money in order to support his army. In 430-431 the coins

name him as Buri Tegin (i.e. "prince") but, from 431, he was already mentioned as Tafghach Boghra Khan (i.e. "king"). Some dirhams of 430, 431 of Saghaniyan cite a certain 'Ali as his vassal.

Dirhams of the year 434 are the latest 5th/11th century Qarakhanid coins of Saghaniyan. They acknowledge the Ghaznavid sultan Maudud ibn Mas'ud as ruler. After a disastrous defeat in the battle of Dandanqan (8 Ramadan 431 / 23 May 1040) Sultan Mas'ud was killed in Sha'ban 432 / January 1041 by mutinous warriors. His son Maudud avenged his father and put a stop to Saljuq expansion. Maudud retained Balkh and Tirmidh and the "king of the Turks in Mawarannahr" (Tafghach Khan Ibrahim) obeyed him. Coins confirm this: Tafghach Khan Ibrahim ceded Saghaniyan to Maudud in 434/1042-3. A year later Saghaniyan was captured by the Saljuqs: there are Saghaniyan dirhams of this year mentioning the Saljuq ruler Chaghri Bek Da'ud ibn Mika'il or [Chaghri Bek Da'ud] and Shams al-D[aula].

Tobias Mayer, Jena: The value of copper coins on the Crimea c. 1280-1330



Fig. 8: The copper Pul from Qrim (Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena)

The characteristic feature of the copper coinage of the mint of Qrim (on the Crimea) in the last quarter of the 13th century AD is the wide variety of its types. The coins, almost all of which are anonymous, very rarely bear dates, and their absolute and relative chronology can only be determined in a few cases.

The Mongolian coinage on the Crimea starts with a type bearing the title "Nusrat al-Dunya wa'l Din". This title has still not been attributed to a specific Golden Horde Khan, but the type belongs stylistically to the 3rd quarter of the 13th century, the time of the Khans, Berke and Möngke Timur. The following type can be determined by an overstrike, and bears an inscription in Turkish written in Arabic script: "Qirq / sekiz (...) / (...)", "48 [are] (...)". The "48" obviously represents the value of the coin and defines its rate of exchange with a particular precious metal coinage. The two or three words behind the "48" have still not been satisfactorily interpreted. M. Severova (Soob.Gosud.Erm. 54, p. 43-46) read "Qirq / sekiz / bir yar / mak (...)"; and translated "48 are one Yarmak (a silver denomination)". Epigraphic uncertainties remain though. One might suggest "Qirq / sekiz / Perper" as a possible reading, leaving the last line (m-'-w/v-q/k-) unread for the present.

After 1310, the year of the mint reform of Toqtu Khan, the exchange rate between the Pul (AE) and the Dengi (AR) of the Golden Horde was fixed at 16:1. Numerous copper coins of this period from various mints bear this value. Furthermore, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1330s) quotes this figure in his section on the Genoese colony of Tana (Azov): 16 folles = 1 aspre. If this rate was also valid before 1310, we have to relate the 48:1 coin to a silver coin with a weight triple that of the Dengi of the Golden Horde. One possibility that suggests itself would be the strongly debased Byzantine Hyperperon (ital. Perper), which, around 1300, probably contained less than 20% gold and a high percentage of copper. The second possibility is that the rate between the Pul and the Dengi was raised from 1/48 to 1/16 with the reform of Toqtu Khan. In that case, the silver coin to which the copper relates could be the Dengi of the Golden Horde. The inscription behind "Qirq sekiz", however, has still to be read.

Sule Pfeiffer-Taş, Vienna: New research in Ayasuluk - The coin hoard of Aydinoglu Isa Bey

In the course of its research program in Ephesus, the Austrian Institute of Archaeology resumed the archaeological, topographical, and historical inquiry into Ayasuluk. The Isa Bey

Hamam, its archaeological exploration and its architectural consolidation, constitute the main focus of the project's wide-ranging objectives.

When the Austrian team was building the foundation for a supporting wall in September 1999 they unearthed a hoard of 936 silver coins. In the year 2000 they attempted to clarify the stratigraphy of the hoard and the architectural history of the Hamam. The coin hoard was stored in an oval, ceramic vessel, which was found closed. The coins can be divided into three groups, none of which have dates. The first group is by far the largest and includes a total of 928 silver coins of Isa Bey who was the Emir of the Aydinogullari with his residence in Ayasuluk between ca. 1360-1390. The mint name is not given on the coins. They were struck using about 150 different dies, which show several variations. The second group consists of only two coins, each from different dies, but belonging to Isa Bey. They are from the mint of *Ladik*, from where only a few coins are known so far. They are the only historical proof that this city must have been part of the territory belonging to the Aydinogullari. According to the dates we have, this could have been from 1368 at the earliest to 1389 at the latest. The third group consists of six coins which bear the name of Menteshoglu Ahmet Gazi, who died in 1391. The mint *Balad* can only be identified on one of them.

There are two striking facts about this discovery: the homogenous composition of the coin hoard as well as the absence of European coins. The first could be expected due to the range of money in circulation and the latter due to the intense trade relations between Europe and the Beyliks at this time. Therefore, the hoard has to be acknowledged as different from the coins in contemporary circulation. Pfeiffer-Taş assumes that the coins were collected at the end of the reign of Isa Bey, immediately after Bayezid I conquered the area of the Aydinogullari in 1390.

The excavation of the year 2000 made it clear that the findspot is not identical with the coins' original place of storage. The relevant layer of destruction can be dated precisely by a silver coin of Bayezid I in definitely original position. The layer's *terminus ante quem non* is the beginning of Bayezid I's reign. This confirms the suggestion that the coins were collected only after the end of Isa Bey's rule. After thorough examination of the historical sources, the period of time between collection, storage and loss of the treasure can be limited to the years between 1390 and 1404.

This coin hoard is the largest for this region and is therefore of considerable numismatic significance. Initial investigations are being undertaken with regard to the variety of dies, as well as the determination of die-linkages based on the systematically used symbols. According to preliminary results, these analyses could, for the first time, shed light on a system of issues of the coinage of the Beyliks.

Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen: Problems of South Arabian copper coinages in the early modern times

The paper dealt with two problems relating to the copper coinage of 16th century South Arabia. First of all the disparity in the present state of knowledge on the numismatic material was discussed. Whereas the coin series of the northern Ottoman Yemen are relatively well known, the one of the South (Hadramaut and Zufar) is in contrast barely known.

A hoard of copper coins was found during excavations in Salala (Zufar, Sultanate of Oman) undertaken by the Technical University Aix en Chapelle and preserved for exhibition purposes by the Conservation Laboratories of the Rhenish Museum in Bonn. Only a minor part of the coin lump was isolated for individual cleaning and attribution. It contained two datable coins of the 16th century and a majority of previously unknown rectangular or square coppers, which must have been a local production. A large number of these could be matched with a coin type recently published in Stephen Album's *sylloge of Arabian and East African coins in the Ashmolean Museum* (Album 727f.). It bears the name of a sultan Muhammad 'Abd al-Wudud. While Album had listed him among unattributed East African rulers the new find rather indicates an origin from Zufar.

A problematic Ottoman issue from South Arabia is dated 974 (1566, 1st year of the reign of Selim II) and corresponds in type to the heavy coppers from the garrison town of Malhaz. The place of

the mint name however is taken by a word *dawariya* or *dawaziya*. These coins are much smaller and of lesser weight, probably as a fraction of the heavy coppers. As no placename is recorded for the Yemen that would match the grapheme visible on the coins, the paper discussed an alternative interpretation of it as a term for a denomination. From 13th century Mecca and 17th century Yemen the monetary term *dars*, pl. *durras* and *dawaris*, is reported for copper coins of the lowest value. As the meaning of the word points to worn pieces it was supposed that the word *dars* is an equivalent of the Syrian and Egyptian term *'atiq*, used for recalled copper coins that were still allowed in circulation at copper value. However it seems unlikely that such a term could be used on a freshly minted coin. Nevertheless the alternative of a denomination term is not to be excluded, because *dawari* is also known as an Iranian coin name, which might have been introduced in the Yemen via India. The verdict remains open on this.

Johann-Christoph Hinrichs, Bremen: Marks on Ottoman weights

A couple of years ago it was still possible to find quite a few Ottoman weights, especially the ringweights in Turkish Bazaars. The weight standard was mostly based on the Ottoman Dirham of 3.207363 g. In 1869, the metric system was introduced in the Ottoman empire, but took a long time before it became the dominant system. Weights were still produced according to the dirham-standard in the time of the Republic, that means after 1922. The marks which were struck into the weights can be divided into the following groups: 1) the Tughra and representations of Ottoman power. The earliest Tughra encountered on weights is that of Mahmud I with the year 1143 (1730 AD). 2) Names of places where the weights were made (in the known cases only Tophane in Istanbul is mentioned) or the place where the weights were issued or checked. 3) Islamic dates, with and without months and also Christian "international" dates; 4) information on the weight standard used, such as dirham, gram, kilo, qiyye and ounces; 5) marks of guarantee; 6) names of artisans or 7) officials; 8) arabesques, palmettos and similar ornaments; 9) abbreviations; 10) non-Arabic script punches, such as Ottoman ones with Latin or Greek characters, or non-Ottoman ones; 11) adjustment marks; 12) doubtful marks; 13) graffiti and 14) forgeries

Hans Wilski, Sulzbach: Countermarks of Lemnos on Ottoman Copper Coins

It is well known that since 1880 Greek communities and churches struck countermarks on obsolete Ottoman copper coins. But so far only little is known about the countermarks used on the island of Lemnos (see H. Wilski: Countermarks on Ottoman Coins, Gütersloh, Strothotte, 1995). The following speculations may perhaps help to fill the gap: In a hoard of about 800 countermarked coins only the marks Π+Κ and ΑΓ:Κ were found, both similar in style. Since the first mark can be read with good reason as Π(αγαρία) Κ(αμίνιον), it is obvious to read the other mark ΑΓ(100) Κ(ωστάντινους) and to attribute it to Romanou, a village in the neighbourhood of Kaminiá. The well known mark Α is cut in a similar manner, therefore it is assumed that it comes from Α(τσική), Atsiki, also situated in the vicinity of Kaminiá. For the countermark ΘΑ, Tzamalís proposed the reading ΘΑ(νός), Thanos, since there is no other place in Greece starting with these two letters. The mark ΠΑ+ΤΣ can be read only as ΠΑ(ναγία) ΤΣ(ιμάνδριας), Holy Virgin of Tsimandria. The mark ΕΚΣΦ may be read in a similar way as ΕΚ(κλησία) Σ(ο)Φ(φίας). The name of the "minting place" is Agia Sofia. The letters indicate that the countermark originates from the church of the village and is not issued by the municipality. Finally Wilski would like to remind readers that all these "decodings" are preliminary speculations. Comments are always welcome.

Celil Ender, Istanbul: Three German medals minted in Istanbul

The middle of the 19th century was a period of major reforms in the Ottoman Empire. This brought many people from Germany, France, Great Britain and other nations to Istanbul. Many of them

settled in Pera, the upper district of Galata in Istanbul. They formed clubs in order to maintain their social life to which they were accustomed. One of these was the German "Teutonia Club". It organised many activities: celebrations, concerts, sport events, a library and even the German School. The Teutonia Club found its home at 95 Galib Dede Street. At the end of World War I the Galata area was occupied by the British and the archives of the Teutonia Club destroyed. In 1944 the political relations between Germany and Turkey ceased. The Club was sequestered and only handed back and reopened in 1954 when normal relations resumed. Although the Ottoman government forbade the production of medals by any foundation or individual from outside the government, the Teutonia Club struck its own medals.

The first medal (Aluminium; 3.9 g; 30 mm) was made for the German Sports Club. The Galata Tower is depicted on the obverse with the date 1892 and a surrounding Inscription: ERINNERUNG AN CONSTANTINOPEL. The reverse shows an oak-leaf wreath with four letters "F", which stand for "frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei (fresh, pious, happy, free)", and with a surrounding inscription: DEUTSCHER TURNVEREIN * CONSTANTINOPEL *.

The second and third medal are from the German Artisans Society: No. 2 (nickel; 10.70 g; 28 mm) was minted on the occasion of the club's 25th anniversary. A symbolic handshake dominates the centre of the obverse within an oak-leaf wreath and an inscription DEUTSCHER HANDW. VEREIN, GEGR. 16. FEBR. 1861, *CONSTANTINOPEL*. And on the reverse: ZUR ERINNERUNG AN SEIN 25. JÄHRIGES STIFTUNGSFEST * 16. FEBR. 1886 *. The third medal (bronze; 14 g, 32 mm) is made for the 50th anniversary of the same society. The obverse is much the same, but with an olive wreath. On the reverse: ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DIE 50 JÄHRIGE JUBELFEIER 1911.

The next annual regional meeting will be organised by Lutz Ilisch, Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik in Tübingen (lutz.ilisch@uni-tuebingen.de), for the first weekend in May 2002.

Leiden

The annual ONS meeting at Leiden, Netherlands, took place on Saturday 20 October 2001. Thirty-one people were present to enjoy a day of interesting reports and talks thanks to the hospitality of the Royal Coin Cabinet and the Museum of Antiquities.

The proceedings began with a presentation by Paul Murphy of his recently published book on Kosala punch-marked coins (see below). This was followed by some comments by Anne van't Haaff on the late PL Gupta's thesis on punch-marked coins, and a presentation by your editor on his and JP Goenka's book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*. Rob de Raaij then reported on the International Numismatic Congress on Mongol Numismatics held earlier in the year at Saratov, Russia. The morning ended with a talk by Wolfgang Wiesner relating to some Arakanese coins.

After a convivial lunch, Jan Lingen gave a talk on the numismatic history of Uzbekistan. There then ensued an auction of numismatic items which resulted in useful funds for the ONS. Our thanks are due to those members who kindly donated coins for this event. The day ended with pre-dinner drink at a nearby pub and a very pleasant dinner at a Chinese-Asiatic restaurant.

Jan Lingen is to be congratulated on organising such a successful day and thanked for all the hard work he put into it. The next Leiden meeting will be held on Saturday 19 October 2002. Please make a note in your diaries.

Cologne

The next meeting of the India coin collecting group is due to take place on Saturday, 10 November 2001 at the Römisch-Germanische Museum, Roncalliplatz 4, 50667 Cologne, Germany. A report of the meeting will be published in a future newsletter.

London

A symposium took place at the British Museum on 5 October 2001 to mark the end of the recent exhibition of Mughal coins there and to launch the recently published *Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by your editor and JP Goenka. Papers given were:

- Joe Cribb - on a large group of Ummayyad Dirhams from Sind, cut to size to fit in with the Drama system.
- Dr. Elizabeth Lambourn - on the cultural contacts between India and other parts of the Islamic world as seen through tombstones and their design
- Sutapa Sinha - on the reconstitution of the Cooch-Bihar hoard of Bengal Sultanate coins
- Nick Rhodes - on the unique Rupee of Jehangir of Kishtwar mint
- Shailendra Bhandare and Stan Goron - on 'Al-Zarb Bang', a new mint for Akbar's coinage

Please visit the foundation's web site for a pdf order form, or further contact details:

http://www.archaeology.usyd.edu.au/neaf/Adapa/Pella_in_Jordan_The_Coins.html

or email: neaf@antiquity.usyd.edu.au or fax ++61 2 9351 6660.

NUMISMATIC STUDIES - VOL. 6 / Kumar, Monmohan (Ed.), 2001. \$23.33 ISBN : 8186622454

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Kosala State Region (C. 600-470 BC) Silver Punchmarked Coinage by Paul Murphy. A4 format on art paper, 96 pages

In this work the author has classified for the first time the symbols found on the punchmarked coins of the Kosala series. The book covers the history, economics, and of course symbols. There are many illustrations, hundreds of hand drawn symbols and photos. For a limited period, the author will provide signed copies and dedications, if so wished, at no extra cost. Anyone can donate an additional amount which will go to the IIRNS charity foundation in India. For further details please contact the author (details below). The payment details are:

New and Recent Publications

PELLA IN JORDAN (1979-1990): THE COINS

Kenneth Sheedy, Robert Carson & Alan Walmsley with a contribution by J. Basil Hennessy; editor: Kate da Costa 2001 published by The Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation, University of Sydney.

This volume contains the catalogue and associated commentaries for the 1106 coins from the University of Sydney's excavations at Pella in Jordan from 1979 to 1990. The material includes Ptolemaic, Seleucid, Hellenistic city, Jewish, Roman Imperial, Greek Imperial, Byzantine, Umayyad, Abbasid and Mamluk issues. The volume also includes a short introduction to the site and concordances of mints, hoards, findspots and registration numbers to locate the coin corpus within the overall publication plan of the excavation project.

ISBN: 0 9578890 03 ISSN: 1445-467X

210 x 265mm, softcover, 186 text pages, 15 black and white plates.

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P.L. Murphy, SNS Bank, Haven Park 16,
Zierikzee, The Netherlands.

Delivery is up to six weeks.

The author is donating his royalties from this work to the IIRNS charity foundation within India with the intention of documenting the collections held by Indian museums and eventually issuing cheaply to the Indian school community on CD-ROM.

Elisabeth Puin: "Beobachtungen an den Silbermünzen des Mamlukensultans Aynal (857/1453-865/1461), mit Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Balog" in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 47 (1997), p. 117-166.

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 number 171 (August 2001), 172 (September 2001) and 173 (October 2001).
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 54, October 2001, of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.

Reviews

Sasanian Coins: *Opera Nova*

By Susan Tyler-Smith *Numismata Orientalia Regni Bohemiae: Corpus Sasanicus*, by Vlastimil Novak and Jiri Militky with an *Avant-propos* by Rika Gyselen. National Museum, Prague, 2000. CD ROM requiring Netscape 4.x or Microsoft Internet Explorer 5.x software to run it.

The Sasanian coins in the Czech Republic were chosen to start the series *Numismata Orientalia Regni Bohemiae* as there was a sufficiently large body of material available and the series was compact enough to make the project possible. The *Corpus* contains coins from the National Museum, Prague (over 300), the Moravian Land Museum, Brno (over 100), ten other institutional collections as well as nine private collections, bringing the total to 806 Sasanian coins plus 17 modern forgeries. With the exception of five specimens (nos 802-6 in the 'Base' catalogue) which come from hoards, all the coins are without provenance. The data-base now formed is intended to be used as a source for future printed publication of the collections.

The *Corpus* contains the following coins:

Ardashir I	10
Shapur I	23
Varhran I	4
Varhran II	9
Narseh	2
Hormizd II	4
Shapur II	43
Ardashir II	1
Shapur III	8
Varhran IV	15
Yazdgerd I	13
Varhran V	18
Yazdgerd II	9
Peroz	92
Valash	6

Jamasp	4
Kavad I	67
Khusrau I	80
Hormizd IV	82
Khusrau II	287
Ardashir III	19
Hormizd V	1
Yazdgerd III	9
Modern forgeries	17
Total	823

All collectors and scholars working on the series will be grateful for this addition to the published material available for study. As the first work of its kind on Sasanian coins there are inevitably places where the format could be improved. The remarks which follow are intended to suggest ways this could be done. Until a disc such as this is used and tested by a variety of people for their different purposes the creators of such catalogues will not know the ideal format for such a project.

The disc is easy to use. One can move between the various 'chapters', the main catalogue and the indices quickly. Within the catalogue one can move forwards or backwards one coin at a time or ten, or jump to the beginning or end. The text is in English apart from the *Avant-propos*. The photographs have been scanned at 300 dpi.

Each catalogue entry appears on the screen with the written information on the left and a photograph of obverse and reverse on the right. The catalogue uses Göbl's type numbers¹ and the following details are also given (when possible) for each coin: ruler, mint-abbreviation and its suggested location, regnal year, metal and denomination, weight, diameter, die axis, metal composition, remarks (obverse), remarks (reverse), general notes, references to published coins of the same style or mint/date combination (but see comments below), source collection with individual number. It is possible to enlarge the photographs and then zoom in on them even more if desired. This is usually necessary as the small photographs are not of good enough quality.

As well as the *Catalogue* and *Avant-propos* the disc contains a *Forward*; a *Typology* reproducing the minting tables from Göbl's *Sasanian Numismatics*, plus additional drawings of breast and dress ornaments; *Mint marks, years and map* listing mint abbreviations in Pahlavi with their transliterations and (possible) identifications; a *Bibliography*; a list of *Collections* and *Metal composition analysis*. This latter is probably one of the most useful aspects of the CD. Energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence analyses were carried out on 545 coins to determine the silver, gold, copper and lead (and occasionally other metal) content. As well as being included in each catalogue entry this information has also been summarised by date and mint.

The catalogue has four indices as well as the 'Base' catalogue: ruler, type, mint name and year. Within each index a running number, ruler, type, mint name (abbreviation and identification), year and source collection with its identification number are listed where relevant. There appears to be no unique running number by which one can refer to a coin. Its number in the 'Base' catalogue is not transferred to other indices so one has to use the cumbersome collection + number to identify a specific coin.

The order of the coins listed within each index is not ideal. A few examples will illustrate the problems. In the 'Year' index all coins of year 2 from the National Museum, Prague are listed (Jamasp, Hormizd IV, Khusrau II, Ardashir III), then all of year 2 from the Moravian Land Museum (Khusrau II, Ardashir III) and this is continued through all 36 coins from the various collections. The listing of these collections themselves is not in any order. This results in several sequences to search through if one is trying to find coins of, say, year 2 of Khusrau II. A similar ordering is used within the 'Mint name' index. In the 'Ruler' index the coins of Shapur I are listed in apparently random order - they are not in order of weight, source collection or even type. Type II/1 appears

in the middle of a listing of type I/I where it could easily be missed. Even in the 'Type' index this particular point has not been rectified as type II/I is placed *before* I/I.

One cannot obtain any immediate idea of what is contained in the *Corpus* in the way one can with a printed book by flicking through the pages. It is necessary to look at each coin individually, before clicking onto the next, so these indices become a vital tool in one's searching and any defects are particularly noticeable. It would have been a great advantage to the user to be able to scroll through the entries as if they were on a page, allowing one to see perhaps half a dozen at a time on the screen, and then look at individual coins in detail. Thus, because the denomination is not mentioned in any of the indices (the Göbl type numbers often cover several denominations) there is no quick way of locating gold, fractional silver or copper coins, which in any case are poorly represented. Nor can one find out from the indices whether the Khusrau II drachms are the type with *apd* (*afid*) in the margin.

Leaving aside the problem of reading the mint abbreviations there are a few coins which have been wrongly or not fully identified. For instance on what appears to be a mintless drachm of Yazdgerd II with the legend 'adorer' on the reverse the letters have been mis-read as the mint NAT 'uncertain mint' (NM5H 24,796). A coin of Yazdgerd III with the bearded bust (introduced in year 10 at the earliest) is said to be dated year 6 (NP 13,469). In fact it is year 20.

Although there is space for comments on both obverse and reverse this is not always utilised. Two coins of Shapur II have symbols in front of the bust Σ on a drachm (ME 1) which is not unusual and a pattern of dots on a fractional coin (NP 11,198) which is less common – but neither of these are mentioned in the catalogue description. This leads on to another worrying feature. The coins are given references which would seem to imply that they are to coins of these specific varieties which is not the case. Indeed one is puzzled as to what criteria have been used when selecting references. In another instance two coins of Hormizd IV (LK 12 and MO 51), have the extra obverse inscription behind the king's head *armn* which has been interpreted as 'Armenia'². Again there is no mention of this legend in the catalogue entries and the references given are confusing: each coin has one reference to a coin with this extra legend and one to a coin without it.

On the whole the mint identifications follow recent research though there are some rather curious anomalies. Both BN and NAL are listed as 'uncertain' although Mochiri³ has suggested (and Malek⁴ has accepted as plausible) that these are both to be located in the province of Kirmān. On the other hand the abbreviation usually transliterated as NB, and whose identification is very problematic, is listed as 'Nēmāvand or uncertain'. These anomalies are perhaps not too important as it is to be hoped that anyone seriously interested in mint identifications will check the specialist literature.

A number of incorrect and inconsistent transliterations of mint abbreviations are more serious. GW is read as GD on a coin of Peroz (NP 524). AW is read as AY (Peroz, NP 11,200; NP 13,121; NP 13,756; DR 28; NP 13,122) but AY is correctly read on another coin (Peroz, NP 531). These mis-readings and others continue for later rulers but it would take too long to correct them all. A few examples are HL read as H (Khusrau II, NP 11, 233), GLM read as LAM (Yazdgerd III, NP 612) and GLM read as YZ (Yazdgerd III, DR 99) and LD (or perhaps GD) read as YZ (Valkash, NP 536). This last coin illustrates two other problems: one with information on the CD and one with the CD format. The illustration is not good enough to be certain of the correct mint reading. This occurs with a number of coins and is especially frustrating when some of the readings are demonstrably incorrect. When trying to check the mint reading on a number of coins the problem with the CD format rapidly becomes apparent. One has to turn the majority of Sasanian coins on their side to read the mint name easily. Since the coins are reproduced the correct way up this means one has to be continually turning ones head to one side, resulting in a stiff neck. This may seem a trivial complaint but it is

worth considering whether some solution cannot be found before any more works on Sasanian coins are published on CD ROM. Mochiri has overcome this problem by placing the reverses on their sides so the mint can be easily read⁵. I do not find this a satisfactory solution. Would it be possible on future CD ROMs to reproduce the reverse twice, once in the usual position and once with the coin on its side?

The Czech scholars are to be congratulated on their speedy publication of numerous public and private collections in the Republic. Such a project has, perhaps, only been made possible, and has certainly been made much easier, from the logistical point of view if nothing else, by the use of digital cameras and powerful computers. The CD format has inherent problems but if the quality of the illustrations, in particular, can be improved sufficiently its potential would be much greater. I cannot imagine catalogues on CD ever replacing printed catalogues, if only because the technology may sooner or later become outdated and unusable. In addition it would take over half an hour just to see every coin in this *Corpus* even looking at each only long enough to register what it was – far longer than the same exercise would take with a book. It is also very difficult to make die comparisons between an image on the screen and one on a printed page. It is impossible to make comparisons between two different coins on the same CD without printing the images. These drawbacks are doubtless a small price to pay for the benefit of having the material made available. One hopes other museums with larger collections might consider publishing their holdings on CD, not as a substitute for a printed catalogue but, as in the case of the Czech collections, as a preparation for conventional publication.

1. R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics. Manual of Middle Asian Numismatics. Volume I* (Braunschweig, 1971).
2. A. Nikitin, 'Post-sasanian coins in the Transcaucasian Region', paper presented at the symposium *Coinage and monetary circulation during the pre-Islamic/Islamic transition period* held at the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik in Tübingen, September, 1993.
3. M.I. Mochiri, 'Garmkirman: a Sasanian and early Islamic mint in Kirmān Province', *Numismatic Chronicle* 145 (1985), pp. 109-22.
4. H.M. Malek, 'A survey of research on Sasanian numismatics', *Numismatic Chronicle* 153 (1993), pp. 241-2.
5. See illustrations in M.I. Mochiri, *Etude de numismatique iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides. Tome II* (Teheran 1977, revised Leiden, 1983).

Alram, M., Gyselen, R., Linke, R., Schreiner, M., 'Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidorum. Die Münzen der Sasaniden aus der Bibliothèque Nationale de France, dem Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin und dem Münzkabinett am Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien', *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 134 (1997-9), pp. 15-41.

The *Corpus Sasanicus* refers in its catalogue to coins of Ardashir I as coming from mints 'B' and 'C'. As the above article, which explains the reasoning behind these mint attributions, is published in a non-numismatic journal it seemed worthwhile to include a brief note on it. A good deal consists of background information for non-specialists but it also trials some of the new ideas which will be adopted in the *Sylloge*.

The project was started in 1996 to publish a sylloge of the coins in the Bibliothèque National, Paris, the Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin and the Münzkabinett am Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna. The *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidorum* (SNS) is planned to run to five volumes:

- vol. 1: Ardashir I to Ohrmazd II
- vol. 2: Shāpūr II to Kavād I
- vol. 3: Khusro I to Vistahm
- vol. 4 (parts 1 and 2) Khusrau II
- vol. 5: Kavād II to Yazdgerd III.

The first volume, the most advanced, is the work of M. Alram and R. Gyselen and the article, as well as giving the background to the project, explains the arrangement of the coins of Ardashir I which will be used in the SNS. The coins have been divided into four phases and three mints, the latter with tentative attributions. The criteria by which the coins have been classified can be summarised as follows. Mint A was the mint in Persis (presumed to be at Istakhr) used by Ardashir I before he conquered the Parthian empire (Phase 1) and continued in use after his coronation (when Phase 2 started) but with a low output which soon ceased altogether. Phase 1 coins are entirely in the tradition of the earlier Persis coins. Phase 2 coins show the king in a Parthian style tiara (Göbl obverse type II) and have been separated principally into two mints, B and C, differentiated by whether the ribbons are plain or ribbed and whether or not there is a star on the king's breast. Phase 3 coins show the king in a simple crown with a large ball of hair above his head (Göbl obverse type III). Again they are assigned to mints B and C, B having a crown with no side-pieces and a plain, round-columned, fire altar and C having a crown with side-pieces and a square-columned fire altar with a line down the centre. Mint B has been tentatively identified with Ekbatana (Hamadan) and mint C with Ktesiphon as these mints were both in use at the end of the Parthian period. So-called special issues were struck at both mints during Phase 3. Phase 4 coins are variations of Phase 3, mint B, types with slightly differently depicted flames on the altar and 'mushroom' supports. The investiture issues showing Shāpūr I with Ardashir I (Göbl obverse type VII) are dated to before the end of Ardashir's reign.

Unfortunately it has not been possible to sort the coins of Shāpūr I in a similar way because of lack of suitable material. Certainly his coinage is much more standardised suggesting perhaps that the centralised control of minting that one sees during the later period had started already, perhaps even before the beginning of Shāpūr's reign.

There is also a table (illustrated by drawings) of mints found, and where on the coin they appear, for all subsequent kings up to Vahrām V. Table 6 rather confusingly illustrates coins of Shāpūr II on a table of Yazdgerd I's mints.

Thirty two coins of Ardashir I of different metals have so far been analysed for the project by x-ray fluorescence and scanning electron microscope. One interesting point which has emerged is that the base metal coins with the dual portraits (Göbl type VII) were struck from almost pure copper with no trace of tin and very little lead, unlike the others which are definitely bronze. Roman coins from eastern mints, contemporary with Shāpūr I, will also be analysed to try and answer the question of whether Shāpūr's base-looking drachms were really struck from tribute paid in Roman coin as has been generally assumed.

When the *Sylloge* is completed it will transform the study of Sasanian coins. The authors hope to have the five volumes finished by 2006 – an ambitious target.

Corrigenda

This relates to Gilbert Tan's article "Forgeries of Chinese coins in the Schjōth Collection" in ONS Newsletter 168, page 22. Some errors crept into the table and its key. Please make the following amendments to your copies.

The key to the table should be as follows:

- A: altered from a common coin
- C: cast from a real coin
- F: fantasy, as no such coin was even made for circulation
- D: replica cast imitating a real coin

In the table itself: 170A should be 170F; 1976R should be 1076R; and 1386A should be added.

Articles

Qarākhānid coins as a source for the history of Īlāq

By Michael Fedorov

In 1979 B. D. Kochnev published (having written it at least two years earlier) an article about the history of Shāsh (Chāch) and Īlāq based on data from Qarākhānid coins (Kochnev 1979, 110-166). More than 20 years have elapsed since then, many new coins have been found, some moot questions have been settled and his article has become obsolete. Since, however, there are some errors in Kochnev's article and some of his conclusions, and arguments are questionable or less than convincing, I have decided to update and elaborate the history of Īlāq based on the latest information from Qarākhānid coins.

Īlāq was a medieval province in the valley of the River Angren (Ahangaran) flowing westward from the Chatkal mountains and falling into the Syr Darya. Now it is a part of Tashkent oblast' in Uzbekistan. According to Muslim geographers of the 9th-10th centuries AD, Īlāq was famous for its silver mines. Archaeologists established that many towns of Īlāq were connected with mining and metallurgy. The capital of Īlāq was Tūnket but in the 11th century AD it started to decline and the town of Nūket (or Nauket) became more important. There were also the towns of Khumrak and Dakhket, where a Qarākhānid mint worked in short spans during the 11th century. Five km north of the confluence of the Syr Darya and the Angren on the bank of the Syr Darya was Benāket. The mint worked there sporadically in the 11th century. From the 12th to the beginning of the 13th century AD Benāket was the only town where a Qarākhānid mint existed in this area (Bartold 1963, 226; Belenitsky, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973, 200-201; Buriakov, Kasymov, Rostovtsev 1973, 76-108). M. E. Masson published a monograph on the history and archaeology of the Angren valley where he made the first attempt to use Qarākhānid coins as a source for the history of Īlāq (1953, 81-82). I also used coins as a source for the history of Īlāq and especially on the history of the local dynasty of the Dihqāns, who were vassals of the Qarākhānids, and minted in Īlāq and Nauket at the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century. (Fedorov 1965, 51-53; 1971, 85-89; 1972, 150; 1975, 109-117; 1975a, 102-109; 2000, 11-13). In 1978 E. A. Davidovich (80-100) also used coins of Īlāq as a source for the history of the Dihqāns of Īlāq and, having accepted some of my inferences, criticised my articles of 1971 and 1975 for mistakes she noticed.

Īlāq

The name of a province was often used on coins instead of the name of its capital. The main mint of Shāsh province was almost always called Shāsh. The name of its capital, Binket, is quite rare on Qarākhānid coins. The name Farghāna was often put on coins minted in Uzgend, the capital of Farghāna. In Īlāq, coins were minted with the mint-names Īlāq and Tūnket. Coins of Benāket, Nauket, Khumrak and Dakhket are also known. In the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries all the mints of Īlāq except Benāket stopped operating.

The earliest Qarākhānid coins of Īlāq were minted in AD 382 (Kochnev 1995, 203/4, 5) by Manšūr b. Aḥmad, a representative of the vassal dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq. Dihqāns were the hereditary, landowning aristocracy, which formed the ruling class before the Arab invasion of Central Asia. The Arab invasion dealt them a hard blow. Some perished, others had part of their estates confiscated by the Arabs. The Dihqāns were also ousted from the government of the country. The loss of their land inevitably weakened them, but even on the eve of the fall of the Sāmānids many Dihqān families were still very powerful. Some of them even ruled semi-independent principalities on the frontiers of the Sāmānid state. The family of the Dihqāns of Īlāq, however, was not among those semi-

independent rulers but the Arab geographer Muqaddasī (c. 985) wrote about the “mighty Dihqān of Īlāq” and the anonymous author of *Hudud al-‘Ālam* (c. 982-983) added that, in older days, the ancestors of the Dihqān of Īlāq were ruling this country. That is why the Dihqān of Īlāq considered the Qarākhānids, who started the conquest of the Sāmānid state, as liberators. When Hārūn Boghrā Khān had conquered Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids in 382/992, the Dihqān of Īlāq, Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad started to mint fulūs in Īlāq citing Boghrā Khān as suzerain. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad became the first ruler and founder of the semi-independent dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq, who issued coins in Īlāq as vassals of the Qarākhānids. Boghrā Khān’s worsening health forced him to leave Bukhārā. He died on the way to his capital, Balāsāghūn. The Sāmānid amīr, Nūh II, returned to Bukhārā. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad stopped minting in Īlāq (Fedorov 1971, 85-89; 1975, 109-111).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, the drive of the Qarākhānids westwards was led by Naṣr b. ‘Alī, the representative of another branch of the Qarākhānid dynasty. In 383 he minted in Khojende, which means that Farghāna, situated east of Khojende, was already under his sway (Kochnev 1995, 203/6). In 385 Īlāq came under the sway of Naṣr b. ‘Alī. In 385-387 fulūs were minted in Īlāq citing Amīr al-Jalīl Abī al-Ḥasan Naṣr b. ‘Alī Toḡhān Tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 204/13). No vassal or suzerain of Naṣr is cited. If the dates 385-387 were read by Kochnev correctly (and provided mismatched dies were not used, one of them with an obsolete date or titlage) the political situation in Īlāq changed regularly twice a year in 385-387/995-997.

So in 386 fulūs struck in Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 205/29) cite the suzerain, Qarākhān al-Muzaffar, the vassal Amīr al-Jalīl al-Muzaffar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and the subvassal, Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad. Fulūs of AH 385, Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 204/17), cite Khāqān al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. ‘Alī as suzerain of Mu’ayīd al-‘Adl Naṣr b. ‘Alī. So Qarākhān al-Muzaffar on the fulūs of type 205/29 was Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, the brother of Naṣr. The vassal, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, was the junior brother of Aḥmad and Naṣr. The subvassal, Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad was the Dihqān of Īlāq. It appears that, in 385, Naṣr annexed Īlāq and for some time minted there in his name only. Then Īlāq was ceded to his brother, Muḥammad, who minted there as a vassal of Naṣr’s elder brother, Aḥmad, and the suzerain of the Dihqān of Īlāq. But then in 386 (if Kochnev was not mistaken or mismatched dies were not used) Naṣr regained Īlāq and minted there in his name only (type 204/13).

In 387, fulūs in Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 205/42-43) cite, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (marginal legend) Qarākhāqān (field), a certain, mysterious Abā Šāliḥ (reverse field) and the vassal (or subvassal) Dihqān al-Jalīl i.e. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad. Some Īlāq fulūs of AH 387 (Kochnev 1995, 206/44) do not cite Dihqān al-Jalīl. But then (if Kochnev was not mistaken or mismatched dies were not used), in 387, Naṣr regained Īlāq and minted there in his name only (type 204/13).

As for the identity of the mysterious Abā Šāliḥ, opinions have differed. In 1971, I read “Aqā Šāliḥ” and thought that he was the successor of Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad and the second member of the Dihqāns of Īlāq dynasty. Then a fals of AH 391 Īlāq was found. In the reverse field of this coin is written in three lines: Muḥammad / b. Maṣṣūr / and the word, which I now read correctly as Abā Šāliḥ. In 1975 I thought that Abā Šāliḥ was the *kunia* of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, and that Abā Šāliḥ and Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr was one and the same person (Fedorov 1971, 87-88; 1975, 115).

Davidovich (1978, 91-92) accepted my inference that there was a dynasty of Dihqāns of Īlāq, comprising three members (grandfather, father, son), and my reading “Abā Šāliḥ”. But she objected to my identification of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr with Abā Šāliḥ. Her arguments were as follows.

1 – on the coin of AH 387 the *kunia* Abā Šāliḥ was preceded by the formula على يدى (under guidance), which usually preceded the name of a mint official. So she deemed that Abā Šāliḥ was an

official and not the Dihqān of Īlāq. She did, however, admit that the formula على يدى was (before this particular case) found only in marginal legends and not in the field. I should add that this formula and *kunia*, Abā Šāliḥ, were placed after the title (Qarākhāqān) of the suzerain, i.e. they occupied the place where a vassal is usually cited. Moreover, Kochnev (1979, 121) wrote that, in the obverse marginal legend of an AH 413 Akhsiket fals, the formula على يدى preceded the name of the Qarākhānid, Muḥammad b. Naṣr (son of Īlek Naṣr) and that it was hardly possible to regard Muḥammad b. Naṣr as an official of the mint. So Davidovich’s first argument is by no means conclusive.

2 – The title, Dihqān al-Jalīl, on this coin is not immediately connected with the *kunia* Abā Šāliḥ. But there are only two cases (Īlāq 395 and 401) where the title, Dihqān al-Jalīl, is immediately connected with the name of a dynast (both on the same side, on the reverse). In all the other cases, the title, Dihqān al-Jalīl, is on the other side, on the obverse. But this did not prevent Davidovich from attributing the title, Dihqān al-Jalīl (obverse), to Sālār b. Muḥammad (reverse) on an Īlāq fals of AH 399. So Davidovich’s second point is hardly valid.

3 – The *kunia* should precede the name, otherwise it breaks the rules of syntax. But Davidovich herself wrote that there were cases when this rule was broken in the written sources.

The attribution of the *kunia*, Abā Šāliḥ to “some official” who did Aḥmad b. ‘Alī “a favour” and was “elevated” (to a high position – M. F.) as proposed by Davidovich (1978, 93) is more than dubious. Kochnev (1979, 119-120) thought that the name of Abā Šāliḥ was Sa’id, that Abā Šāliḥ was a junior member of the Qarākhānid dynasty, that he had the titles of Amīr, Tegīn, and, “it seems”, Īlek. He wrote that on a fals of AH 389, Īlāq, Īlek al-‘Adil is cited in the reverse field and Sa’id in the obverse marginal legend after the Kalima. Exactly the same occurs on a fals of AH 382, where Būghrā Khān is cited in the obverse marginal legend after the Kalima, while his *laqab* and *kunia* are placed in the reverse field. That made Kochnev infer that the title, Īlek al-‘Adil, belonged to Sa’id.

In AH 389 there was only one Īlek in the Qarākhānid khaqanate: the victorious conqueror of Bukhārā, Īlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī. And by no means could the title Īlek belong to some obscure Sa’id.

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title “Tighā (as I read it) Tegīn” belonged to Naṣr b. ‘Alī before he was given the higher title of Īlek (second only to the title Khān). There was no unanimity in reading the word in question: some read it “Tighā”, others “Toḡhā”. A fals of AH 385 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 204/16) settled the question. On this coin the title is written in Uigur: *Tonga Tegin*. Qarākhānid rulers changed their titles as they rose in the hierarchy. And that was the case with Naṣr. I believe he started as Ārslān Tegīn, then (c. AH 384) he received the title Toḡhā Tegīn and finally on a coin of AH 389 Bukhārā he is cited as Īlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī (Kochnev 1995, 203/7, 10, 208/72).

There are some interesting fulūs struck in Īlāq in AH 389 (Kochnev 1995, 208/73-74). Type 208/73 cites, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (marginal legend) and the vassal, Tegīn Abā Šāliḥ (field). On the obverse, the subvassal Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad (Dihqān of Īlāq) and a certain, insignificant Sa’id are cited. Type 208/74 cites the same persons in the same places but, instead of Tegīn Abā Šāliḥ, Īlek al-‘Adil is cited in the reverse field. Could it be that Tegīn Abā Šāliḥ and Īlek al-‘Adil was the same person? Could it be that Naṣr b. ‘Alī was at first cited on the fulūs of AH 389, Īlāq, as Tegīn Abā Šāliḥ and then, when he was given the higher title, as Īlek al-‘Adil?

It is established that Naṣr b. ‘Alī had the *laqab* Mu’ayīd al-‘Adl. A fals of AH 388, Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 206/56), cites: vassal, Amīr al-Jalīl Mu’ayīd al-‘Adl Bā Šāliḥ (reverse marginal legend); suzerain, Khān al-‘Adil, and, under him, the vassal, Amīr Bā Šāliḥ, for the second time (reverse field). On the obverse, the

Dihqān al-Jalīl is cited as subvassal. This coin, taken separately, would show that Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (i.e. Naṣr b. 'Alī) had the *kunia* Bā Ṣāliḥ (Bā is a contracted form of Abā). But Qarākhānid coins are tricky and treacherous things.

Thus fulūs of AH 388 Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 207/61-62) cites, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Jalīl Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and Amīr Abā Ṣāliḥ (field). On the obverse, Dihqān al-Jalīl is cited. But the *kunia* Abā Ṣāliḥ could not belong to Aḥmad b. 'Alī because some fulūs of AH 388-399 (Kochnev 1995, 207/59-61) cite Tegīn Abā Ṣāliḥ. Aḥmad b. 'Alī, being the Khān, could not be cited with the title Tegīn. Could it be that Aḥmad b. 'Alī and Naṣr had the same *laqab*, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl, simultaneously? Was it an engraver's mistake? And to crown it all there is a tricky fals of AH 404, Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 229/366), citing Aḥmad b. 'Alī (reverse) Qutb al-Daula Abā Ṣāliḥ (obverse). Naṣr died in AH 403. So, if this fals was not minted from an obsolete obverse die, it would show that the *kunia* Abā Ṣāliḥ belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Or was Abā Ṣāliḥ neither Naṣr nor Aḥmad?

Naṣr b. 'Alī is usually cited on coins with the *kunia* Abū (or Abī) al-Ḥasan. But according to Bīrūnī (1957, 145,146) some people had two *kunias*. For instance, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān had the *kunias* Abū Bakr. and Abū'l Walīd. So in principle, Naṣr could have had two *kunias*: Abū'l Ḥasan and Abā Ṣāliḥ.

And then again, the fact that, in the field of an AH 391 fals, the *kunia* Abā Ṣāliḥ is placed in the the third line under the name Muḥammad / b. Maṣṣūr, should mean, on a normal coin, that Abā Ṣāliḥ was inferior to Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr. But that would be the case on normal coins, engraved by normal (not Qarākhānid) engravers. Davidovich (1978, 91) also noticed this state of affairs. She wrote that Abā Ṣāliḥ was subordinate to Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr.

In 388, Īlāq minted seven types of fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 206-207/56-62), a record for this mint. All types but 207/60 cite Dihqān al-Jalīl on obverse. Type 206/56 cites, on the reverse, Khān al-'Ādil, Amīr Bā Ṣāliḥ (field) and Amīr al-Jalīl Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Bā Ṣāliḥ (marginal legend). Types 207/57-60 cite Amīr Aḥmad b. 'Alī, while types 207/61-62 cite Amīr Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Aḥmad b. 'Alī in the reverse marginal legend. Type 207/57 cites Khān al-'Ādil and Abā Ṣāliḥ, while type 207/58 cites Qarākhāqān and Abā Ṣāliḥ in the reverse field. Types 207/59-60 cite Tegīn Abā Ṣāliḥ in the reverse field. Type 207/60 cites Khān in the obverse field, but Dihqān al-Jalīl is not cited on this type. Type 207/61-62 cites Amīr Abā Ṣāliḥ in the reverse field. It looks as though engravers took special pains to ensure that there were no two dies the same, each one differing from another at least in some small, insignificant detail. Maybe this was to distinguish dies made by different engravers.

In 389, three types of fulūs were minted in Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 207-208/59, 73, 74). Type 207/59 is the exact replica of AH 388 type, 207/59. Types 208/73, 74 cite Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī in the reverse marginal legend. Type 208/73 cites Tegīn Abā Ṣāliḥ in the reverse field while type 208/74 cites the vassal Īlek al-'Ādil in the reverse field. On the obverse, types 208/73, 74 cite Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad, i.e. the Dihqān of Īlāq (field), and a certain Sa'id, who was probably a subsubvassal or mint official (marginal legend).

In 391-393, fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 210/108) cite, on the reverse, Khāqān al-Muzaffar (field) Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend). On the obverse, Abā Ṣāliḥ and Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr are cited. Thus in AH 391 the second member of the minor, local dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, makes his appearance on the coins. For part of AH 393, fulūs of Īlāq also cite (Kochnev 1995, 211/118), on the reverse, Khāqān al-'Ādil Qutb al-Daula (field) Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal

legend). On the obverse, however, only Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr is cited. There is no mention of Abā Ṣāliḥ.

Then in 393-394/1002-3, fulūs of Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 211/119) cite, on the reverse, Khāqān al-'Ādil Qutb al-Daula (field) Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend). But on the obverse appears a new vassal: Abī Sa'id Bakr b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusain?). I must stress that this ruler was a different person from the Sa'id of the AH 389 fulūs, because Abī Sa'id ("Father of Sa'id") is a *kunia* while Sa'id is an *'alam* (proper name).

In AH 395, the situation in Īlāq changed again. Fulūs cite, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and the vassal, Dihqān al-Jalīl Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (field).

Coins of AH 396-397 are not known. In 398/1007-08, fulūs of Īlāq cite, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Sayyid Malik al-Muzaffar Qutb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and the vassal, Bakr b. al-Ḥasan (field). On the obverse, the subvassal Dihqān al-Jalīl is cited.

In 399, the third member of the dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq appears on fulūs of Īlāq. These coins cite, on the reverse, the suzerain, Amīr al-Sayyid Malik al-Muzaffar Qutb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and the vassal, Abū Shujā' Salār b. Muḥammad (field). On the obverse was placed the title of this vassal: "Dihqān al-Jalīl" (Kochnev 1995, 218/207).

Then changes took place. Fulūs of AH 400, Īlāq (Kochnev 1995, 219/225), cite the suzerain, Khān al-Ajall Aḥmad b. 'Alī and the vassal, Bakr b. Muḥammad, who was most probably the brother of Abū Shujā' Salār b. Muḥammad. Oddly enough, the title "Khān" is placed under the name of the vassal, Bakr b. Muḥammad, in the same way as the *kunia* "Bā Ṣāliḥ" is under the name of the subvassal, Dihqān Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr on the fals of AH 391.

In 401, changes again took place. Fulūs of AH 401, Īlāq (Fedorov 2000, 12), cite, on the reverse, the suzerain Amīr al-Sayyid al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and the vassal Dihqān Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr. Since, on the fals of AH 399, Īlāq, Dihqān al-Jalīl Salār b. Muḥammad (the son of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr) is cited, it could mean three things: 1 - Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr died; 2 - Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr was dismissed by his Qarākhānid suzerain, who passed Īlāq to Salār b. Muḥammad; 3 - Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr went to serve his Qarākhānid suzerain in some other place and passed Īlāq to his son. The fact that Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr reappeared in AH 401 on the fulūs of Īlāq speaks in favour of the last. But Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr's rule in Īlāq this time was short.

In 400-402, internecine war broke out between Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Īlek Naṣr. In AH 401 in Tūnket (the capital of Īlāq), dirhams were minted (Kochnev 1995, 222/278) citing Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī). These dirhams show that the third of the brothers, Muḥammad, took sides with Īlek Naṣr and that the allies conquered Īlāq, which had been under the sway of Aḥmad b. 'Alī at least since 387/997. Coins of AH 402 Īlāq are not known.

In 402, peace was made, but Īlāq was not returned to the Dihqāns of Īlāq. In 403, Īlāq dirhams (the first since AH 382) cite the suzerain, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad), his vassal, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (Naṣr) and subvassal, Sakhā al-Daula, while fulūs cite Amīr al-Ajall Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī and his vassal, Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkīn al-Manṣūr Sanā al-Daula (Kochnev 1995, 225/309,310). The supreme suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, is not cited on the fulūs, as was often the case with the copper coinage. The *laqab* Sakhā al-Daula most probably belonged to Muḥammad b. 'Alī. In 403, dirhams cite the supreme suzerain, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, the suzerain Mu'ayyid al-'Adl and his vassal Sakhā al-Daula, while fulūs cite the suzerain Mu'ayyid al-'Adl and the vassal Sanā al-Daula. I believe both coins reflect the same situation: in 403 in

İlâq the vassal of Naşr was Muḥammad, cited as Sakhā al-Daula or as Sanā al-Daula. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī died in that same year (Bartold 1963, 336).

The dirhams of year 404 in İlâq (Kochnev 1995, 227/337) cite Quṭb al-Daula Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and Sanā al-Daula İnal-teġin (so Muḥammad b. 'Alī was given the higher title, İnal-teġin). The fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 227/338-340) cite Quṭb al-Daula Khān, İnal-teġin Muḥammad b. 'Alī (and?) Sakhā al-Daula, or Quṭb al-Daula Khān, Sanā al-Daula İnal-teġin (reverse) (and?) Sakhā al-Daula (obverse, probably from a mismatched die), or Quṭb al-Daula Naşr al-Milla Khān (and?) Sakhā al-Daula. Then the situation changed. For part of 404 and in 405 (Kochnev 1995, 227/341) fulūs cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula İlek (which shows that Muḥammad was given the higher title, İlek) and his vassal, İrtāsh. The Supreme suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, is not cited on those coins.

In 404, internecine war broke out between Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Manşūr, who accepted the title, Arslān Khān. Judging by his coins minted in other towns, Muḥammad b. 'Alī was initially loyal to Aḥmad but then took sides with Manşūr, though it is not quite clear when that happened: in 405 or 406? Dirhams of AH 406, İlâq (Kochnev 1995, 229/370), cite Sanā al-Daula İlek and his suzerain, Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī). But other coins (Kochnev 1995, 233/418,419) minted in 406 in İlâq by Muḥammad cite the anonymous Abū-l Muzaffar Khān. Dirhams of 408/1017-18, İlâq (Kochnev 1995, 238, 478), citing Abū-l Muzaffar Arslān Khān, show that the anonymous Abū-l Muzaffar Khān of the İlâq dirhams struck in AH 406 was Arslān Khān.

In 407/1016-17 peace was made between the warring brothers. In 408/1017-18 (most probably at the beginning of the year) Toġhān (Toġhā) Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī died (Bartold 1963, 336, 591).

Then the situation in İlâq changed: it became an appanage of the Qarākhānid prince, Būrī Tegīn. In 408-411 (Kochnev 1995, 238/478; 239/497,498), dirhams of İlâq cite Abū-l Muzaffar Arslān Khān and his vassal, Būrī Tegīn. Būrī Tegīn İbrahim was the son of İlek Naşr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) and the nephew of Arslān Khān Manşūr (Bartold 1963, 363). For part of AH 408, fulūs of İlâq cite the suzerain, Arslān Khān, vassal Būrī Tegīn and subvassal, Amīr al-Jalīl Ḥusain (or Ḥasan? – M. F.) b. Shihāb al-Daula (Kochnev 1995, 238, 479).

Coins of AH 382 İlâq cite Hārūn Boghrā Khān (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 382) as Shihāb al-Daula (Kochnev 1995, 203/4). So it seems that Ḥusain (or Ḥasan? – M. F.) was the son of Hārūn Boghrā Khān.

In 1979, Kochnev (1979, 155) published a dirham of İlâq on which he read the date as 429? or 423?. It cites Malik Arslān Khān (reverse) and Abū Shujā' (obverse). In Kochnev's opinion this was the ruler of Kāshghar, Abū Shujā' Sulaimān Arslān Khān (AH 423-447), the son of Qadīr Khān Yūsuf. There was an inscription in Uigur under the title of Arslān Khān, which Kochnev did not read. Strange too that Kochnev did not pay attention to the fact that the name of the caliph on this coin was al-Qadīr billāh (AH 381-422). So the date by no means could be 429? or 423?. It must be 419? or 413?. Later, someone read for Kochnev the Uigur inscription on this coin, which he could not read himself in 1979. It proved to be the title, *Buri Tegin*. So in 1995 he read the date as 414? and attributed the coin to Arslān Khān Manşūr b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 246/607). It appears that Būrī Tegīn İbrahim b. Naşr possessed İlâq in 408-414, and most probably until the death of Arslān Khān in 415. The *laqab*, Abū Shujā' on this coin Kochnev now attributed to the third member of the dynasty of the Dīhqāns of İlâq, Abū Shujā' Salār b. Muḥammad. I can only agree with this. Thus it appears that Salār was living in İlâq as a private person but in AH 41(?) was made subvassal in İlâq again.

In 415 Arslān Khān and İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized

by another branch of the Qarākhānids. Toġhā (Toġhān) Khān Muḥammad b. Hasan became the supreme ruler with his capital in Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 38, 39 footnotes 1-4).

In 415, coins of İlâq (Kochnev 1995, 247/620) cite Malik Toġhā Khān and his vassal, Saif al-Daula Malikān. Nastich and Kochnev (1988, 74) proved that Saif al-Daula Malikān and 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naşr were the same person. 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad was the brother of Būrī Tegīn İbrahim and they were both sons of İlek Naşr b. 'Alī (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999). So it seems that Muḥammad succeeded his brother, Būrī Tegīn İbrahim, as appanage-holder in İlâq.

The dirhams of AH 415, İlâq, are the latest Qarākhānid coins minted by the mint with this mint-name.

Tünket

The earliest Qarākhānid coin with the mint-name Tünket was minted in 401/1010-11 (Kochnev 1995, 222/278). It cites Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain, Mu'ayid al-'Adl (İlek Naşr b. 'Alī). This dirham allows us to establish that the third of the brothers, Muḥammad, took sides with İlek Naşr (in Naşr's war of 400-402 against Toġhā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and that the allies captured İlâq, which Aḥmad b. 'Alī had possessed at least since 387/997. In 402 peace was made on the terms of the status quo ante bellum and, in 403, İlek Naşr b. 'Alī died (Bartold 1963, 335-336).

In 404-405, dirhams of Tünket (Kochnev 1995, 229-231/368, 394, 395) cite Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī, and his vassal, Jaghrī Tegīn. But later in the year 405, the situation in Tünket changed. Some dirhams of AH 405 Tünket (Kochnev 1995, 231/396) cite Malik Arslān Khān, i.e. Manşūr b. 'Alī, and his vassal, 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī (Tegīn) *Hus(ain)*, the name Ḥusain being written in Uigur. This coin shows that Jaghrī Tegīn Ḥusain changed allegiance and took sides with Arslān Khān in the latter's war (of AH 404-407) against Toġhā Khān Aḥmad.

A fals of AH 406, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 233/415), cites Arslān Khān, Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn (reverse field) and Amīr al-Sayyid Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Manşūr (reverse marginal legend). So Jaghrī Tegīn was the son of Arslān Khān Manşūr. Strange though it may be, in 404 and part of 405 Jaghrī Tegīn remained a loyal vassal of Toġhā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī, despite the fact that his father, Arslān Khān Manşūr, waged a war against Aḥmad b. 'Alī. But such were then the tempora and mores.

In 407/1016-17, peace was made between the warring brothers and in 408/1017-18 (most probably at the beginning of the year) Toġhān (Toġhā) Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī died (Bartold 1963, 336, 591).

Some dirhams of AH 407, Tünket (Kochnev 1995, 236/457-459), cite Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and his vassal, 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī *Tegin*, while others cite either Shams or Nūr al-Daula Khān (i.e. Arslān Khān Manşūr) and 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin. Which means that, during the war, Jaghrī Tegin was a vassal of Arslān Khān, but that, after peace was made, Tünket was restored to Aḥmad b. 'Alī on condition that Jaghrī Tegīn would stay there as his vassal. Of course it did not mean that Aḥmad b. 'Alī would reside there personally. It meant that he would be cited on coins of Tünket as suzerain and would get a share of the taxes collected from Tünket. Fulūs minted in 407 in Tünket cite only Jaghrī Tegin, no suzerain being mentioned (Kochnev 1995, 236-237/460-462).

In 408-413 and 415 (Kochnev 1995, 236-247/458,509-512,536,537,559,577,578,594,627,628), dirhams of Tünket cite Khān, or Nūr al-Daula Khān, or Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān, or Arslān Khān and his vassal, 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin (sometimes with his name, Ḥusain, added).

Fulūs of AH 409, Tünket (Kochnev 1995, 240/513), cite 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin and a certain Bekṭughmish, which

could be either the Turkic name of Jaghrī Tegin or the name of his vassal. Arslān Khān is not cited on these fulūs.

In 412, the fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 244/579) cite Arslān Khān, Jaghrī Tegin (field) and Amīr al-Jalīl ‘Aḍud al-Daula Abā ‘Alī al-Husain b. al-Ḥasan(!?) Jaghrī Tegin (marginal legend). A fals of AH 406, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 233/415), cites, in the reverse field, Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin and, in the marginal legend, Amīr al-Sayyid Abī ‘Alī al-Husain b. Manṣūr. It is very strange that on the fals of AH 412, Tūnket, Jaghrī Tegin Abī ‘Alī al-Husain is named as the son of a certain al-Ḥasan. At first I thought that it was either a misreading by Kochnev or an error by the engraver. Later I saw another such fals in the collection of V. Koshevar (Bishkek). I could not read the word in question, but it is not “al-Ḥasan”. The first three letters look to me more like *alif* followed by the ligature *lām-alif*.

In 415, Arslān Khān died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate passed to another branch of the Qarākhānids called the Ḥasanids. Arslān Khān Manṣūr b. ‘Alī, his three brothers, his sons and nephews were called ‘Alīds. Toḡhā (Toḡhān) Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan became supreme ruler with his capital in Balāsāghūn. A reshuffling of appanages and appanage-holders then took place. Some of the ‘Alīds lost their appanages, other ‘Alīds retained their appanages and even acquired new ones. It is not clear what happened with Tūnket. A dirham of AH 415, Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 247/629), cites Toḡhā Khān and his vassal, ‘Aḍud al-Daula Ināl Tegin. This vassal had the same *laqab* as Ḥusain Jaghrī Tegin. So it could be the same Jaghrī Tegin, who was given a higher title. But it could also be some other Qarākhānid.

Then more changes took place. In the same year, 415, dirhams of Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 247/630) cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq İlek al-‘Adīl ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan. On coins of AH 415, Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248 Nr. 640, 642), İlek al-‘Adīl ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan or İlek al-‘Adīl Bahā al-Daula is cited. So Alī b. al-Ḥasan, the brother of Toḡhā Khān Muḥammad, had the *laqab*, Bahā al-Daula. The *laqab*, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq, on these coins of Tūnket belonged to the suzerain i.e. Toḡhā Khān Muḥammad. The coins issued simultaneously in Şaghāniyān in AH 415 (Kochnev 1995, 246/609), citing “Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān” (and not “Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq İlek”) prove this conclusively.

In 416, the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān of Kāshghar, invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Simultaneously Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand, ‘Alī Tegin fled with his troops into the desert. But Maḥmūd soon realised that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and returned to Ghazna. Mahmud’s intervention, however, allowed Qadir Khān Yūsuf to conquer vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In 416-417, he captured Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket until 418 but then lost Akhsiket and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

In 418 coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 251/692) cite the suzerain, Khān Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. Qadir Khān Yūsuf) and his vassal, our old acquaintance, ‘Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin.

Then yet more changes took place and Tūnket became the appanage of Muḥammad, the son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf. In 421, 422, 424 coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 253/727) cite the suzerain, Khān Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. Qadir Khān Yūsuf and his vassal, Qavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān.

Kochnev (1995, 257/793) mentioned a dirham of AH 425 [Tūn]ket? citing ...Khān and Jaghrī Tegin. But I believe that he misread the date 415 for 425, as he misread the date on the dirham of İläq (cf. Kochnev 1979, 155 and 1995, 246/607).

There is then a gap in the mintage of Tūnket. A coin of 43(3 or 6?) cites Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin (reverse field central legend) and Şultān/al-Daula (above and under central legend). On

a normal coin it would mean that Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin was the suzerain and Şultān al-Daula was his vassal. But a coin of AH 441, Ṭarāz, cites, in the reverse central legend, Şultān al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1997, 277/1191; 278/1201). It shows that the *laqab* Şultān al-Daula belonged to Boghrā Qarākhāqān. So the coin of AH 43(3 or 6?) Tūnket was minted in the name of the vassal, Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin and his suzerain, Muḥammad Boghrā Qarākhāqān, the son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf. In 444 six types of coins were struck in Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 279/1213-1218). They cite Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Khān, Qarākhān) and his vassal, Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin, or Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Kochnev (1988, 201) wrote that Arslān Tegin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf. I believe that the date on the coin of Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin, which Kochnev (1997, 277/1191) read as 43(3 or 6?) should be 44(3 or 6). But if he did read the date correctly, coins of this Arslān Tegin show that he possessed Tūnket as a vassal of his father in 43(3 or 6?) and 444, or rather in 43(3 or 6?) – 444.

In AH 44x coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 284/1283-1285) cite the suzerain, Mushayyad al-Daula Şafī al-Amīr(!) al-Mū‘mn(!), i.e. Boghrā Khān, and Sanā al-Daula, or Boghrā Qarākhāqān Şafī Amīr al-Mū‘minīn Zain al-Dīn and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, or Malik al-Muzaffar Boghrā Khāqān Şafī Amīr al-Mū‘minīn and Arslān Tegin. A dirham of AH 44x (Kochnev 1997, 284/1279) citing in the reverse field “Mushayyad al-Daula Mu‘ayīd al-Milla Boghrā Khāqān Şafī Amīr al-Mū‘minīn”, shows that the *laqabs* Mushayyad al-Daula and Şafī Amīr al-Mū‘minīn belonged to Boghrā Khan Muḥammad.

In AH 447 in Tūnket(?) (Kochnev (1997, 281/1246) was not quite sure of the mint-name) dirhams cite “... Boghrā Khan ... Şafī Amīr ...”. This coin is in poor condition so it is not clear whether Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin was present in 447 in Tūnket(?) or not.

In 449, Boghrā-khan was poisoned by one of his wives. She put her juvenile son, İbrahīm, on the throne. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. İbrahīm was defeated and killed by the ruler of Barskhān, Ināl Tegin. The head of the Western Qarākhānids, Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm, took advantage of this internecine war to attack the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān Yūsuf in 416-418 (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

In 45(0?) coins were struck in Tūnket by Toḡhān Tegin Yemīn al-Daula Shu‘aith-i İbrahīm, i.e. the son of Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm. In 45(2?) dirhams of Tūnket cite Amīr al-Jalīl Shu‘aith-i İbrahīm Yamīn al-Daula. In 454, coins of Tūnket cite Amīr al-Jalīl Yamīn al-Daula Toḡhān Tegin Abū’l Muzaffar Shu‘aith-i İbrahīm (Kochnev 1997, 250/891, 893, 899). It is strange that Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm is not cited as suzerain on those coins. In 458, dirhams of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 251/899) cite Mu‘ayīd al-‘Adl Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm Malik al-Mashriq. It seems that Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm deprived Shu‘aith of Tūnket.

Before his death, the invalid Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naşr. His other son, Shu‘aith rebelled. Internecine war broke out between the brothers in 460/1068. Shams al-Mulk defeated Shu‘aith, but the Eastern Qarākhānids used this war to attack the Western Qarākhānids and succeeded in reconquering almost all the lands they had lost to Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm. Only Khojende, which became a frontier town, was left to Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov, 1983, 122).

Coins reflect those events. In 46(1?) dirhams of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 287/1335) cite the Eastern Qarākhānids Sharaf al-Daula (suzerain?), Zain al-Dīn Toḡhrul Tegin (vassal) and Muḥammad Tūzun Tegin (subvassal). A dirham of AH 46(1?), Tūnket, is the last known Qarākhānid coin minted at this mint.

Nauket

The earliest coin of Nauket is a dirham of 395/1004-05 (Kochnev 1995, 214/152) citing the suzerain Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī); his vassal, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (Dihqān of Īlāq) and subvassal *Nasr* (written in Uigur). This coin is the only dirham minted by representatives of the minor, local dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq, as vassals of the Qarākhānids.

In 406/1015-16, coins of Nauket (Kochnev 1995, 229/370) cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and his vassal, Sanā al-Daula Īlek Muḥammad (b. 'Alī). In 404-407 Ṭoṅhā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī waged a war. Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī was at first loyal to Aḥmad but then took sides with Maṣṣūr. On this coin Muḥammad is still cited as a vassal of Aḥmad.

Another type of coin struck in Nauket in AH 406 (Kochnev 1995, 233/425) cites Khān al-Ajall and his vassal, Sanā al-Daula Muḥammad. In 1985, Kochnev (1985, 59) was sure that the anonymous Khān al-Ajall was Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī and that coins with the title Khān al-Ajall illustrated the transition of Nauket from Aḥmad to Maṣṣūr. And he was quite right: why should Muḥammad suddenly change the habitual, easily recognisable titulage, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, to the anonymous Khan al-Ajall, if Aḥmad continued to remain suzerain in Nauket? But in 1993, not mentioning and not renouncing his previous opinion, Kochnev wrote something quite different: "the same is the situation with AH 406 dirhams of Nauket, they cite as suzerain the anonymous "Khān al-Ajall" i.e. most probably Aḥmad" (Kochnev 1993, 329). It seems that Kochnev had forgotten (or did not want to remember) what he had written earlier.

Markov (1896, 232/263) published a coin of AH 410 on which he read the mint-name Tūnket, but it is Nauket. This coin cites Khān, i.e. Arslān Khān, and his vassal, 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegin.

A coin of AH 424, Nauket (Markov, 1896, 251/383, read "Tunket"), cites Qavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān and his suzerain, Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. Qadir Khān Yūsuf. According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1963a, 43), Qadir Khān Yūsuf died in Muḥarram (the first month) of AH 424.

The latest known coin of Nauket was minted by the son of Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (AH 460-Muḥarram AH 473). Kochnev (1997, 255/957) dated this coin "before 463"/1070-71.

Khumrak

The only known coin (fals) of this town (Kochnev 1995, 247/634) was minted in AH 415? It cites 'Alī b. Naṣr and his suzerain, Īlek. In 415 Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died and 'Alī b. Ḥasan accepted the title Īlek. But I believe that, in this case, Īlek was Muḥammad b. 'Alī, and 'Alī b. Naṣr was, most probably, his nephew, the son of Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999), who died in 403/1012-13.

Dakhket

The earliest coin (fals) of this town (Kochnev 1995, 225/307) was minted in 403/1012-13. It cites Sanā al-Daula Īnāl Tegīn, i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who, in the following year received the higher title of Īlek. No suzerain is mentioned. Kochnev (1995, 225/306) also attributed to Dakhket another coin of AH 403, but he mistook Benāket for Dakhket. I shall return to this coin later.

In 416 and 423 in Dakhket dirhams were minted (Tübingen University Collection 95489, Kochnev 1995, 225/307) citing Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq. These dirhams reflect the events of the first war between the Eastern and Western Qarākhānids and show that Qadir Khān captured Dakhket (and at least part of Īlāq) in 416, and that, in 416 and 423, Dakhket was Qadir Khān's own domain, because no vassal is cited on these coins.

In AH 432 dirhams of Dakhket(?) cite the Eastern Qarākhānid, Malik al-Muzaffar Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā Khān, i.e. Muḥammad, the son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf (Kochnev 1997, 277/1185). Coins of AH 44x [Da]khket (Kochnev 1997, 283/1278) cite Nāṣir al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhān. Then Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān I Yūsuf. In 461/1068-69 dirhams of Dakhket cite Malik al-'Ādil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (wa) al-Dīn Naṣr Malik al-Mashriq (wa) al-Ṣīn, i.e. Shams al-Mulk Naṣr, the son of Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān. The Dirhams of AH 461 Dakhket are the latest known Qarākhānid coins of that mint

Benāket

Benāket was the only town of the province which minted (sporadically) in the 12th to the beginning of the 13th century AD. The earliest Qarākhānid coin (fals) of Benāket (Kochnev 1995, 224/303) was minted in AH 403. It cites, on the reverse, Sanā al-Daula Khān (field) al-Amīr al-Ajall Muḥammad b. 'Alī (marginal legend). Someone is cited in the obverse marginal legend, but this legend is badly effaced. The answer to who was cited in the obverse marginal legend is given by another coin, which Kochnev (1995, 225/306) wrongly attributed to Dakhket. It cites, on the reverse, Sanā al-Daula Khān (field) al-Amīr al-Ajall Muḥammad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and Khān al-'Ādil Nāṣir... (i.e. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī) in the obverse marginal legend.

Kochnev (1993, 197-198) wrote: "the AH 403 fulūs of Benāket and Dakhket cite, in the reverse field, Sanā al-Daula Khān. The arrangement of title, Khān, and *laqab*, Sanā al-Daula, which certainly belonged to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, leads one to attribute the title, Khān, to Muḥammad. One must not exclude the possibility that because of the serious changes in the dynastic situation after the death of Naṣr b. 'Alī ... Muḥammad laid claim to the title, Khān, but very soon renounced his claim. The utter scarcity of coins with the inscription, Sanā ad-Daula Khān, (only 3 pieces) ... leads one to consider another possibility, namely that this inscription is a result of a mistake. Though the same mistake on coins of two different towns seems impossible (yes, indeed!- M. F.) one should bear in mind that these 3 fulūs are quite identical and differ only in their mint-names (underlined by me- M. F.) i.e. they derived from one and the same prototype, where the mistake in question had been made".

But the identity of the said coins is evidence that they were minted at one and the same mint of Benāket and that the reading "Dakhket" on this fals by Kochnev was mistaken. Just to support that mistaken reading of his, Kochnev had to invent some "common prototype with a mistake", from which supposedly derived both the coins of Benāket and the so-called "Dakhket".

The AH 407 coins of Benāket (Kochnev 1995, 235/443) cite Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), vassal Īlek Muḥammad (b. 'Alī) and Bārs Ūkā, which could be the Turkic sobriquet of Muḥammad or of his vassal. Fulūs of AH 430 struck at Benāket (Kochnev 1995, 260/845) cite Amīr al-Muwaffaq Boghrā Qarākhāqān Malik al-Mashriq and his vassal, Amīr al-Jalīl Malik al-Muzaffar Shāhmalik b. Maṣṣūr.

In 46(1 or 2) dirhams of Benāket (Kochnev 1997, 255/957) cite Malik al-'Ādil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (wa) al-Dīn Naṣr Sulṭān al-Sharq (wa) al-Ṣīn, i.e. Shams al-Mulk Naṣr, the son of Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān.

Then comes a gap of about 100 years in the coinage of Benāket.

In 558-559/1162-64, and most certainly until Mas'ūd's death in 568/1172-73, Benāket was an integral part of the state of Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan (AH 556-568), supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. The capital of Mas'ūd was Samarqand. Bukhārā, Tirmidh and Balkh were also under his sway. Subaerati dirhams of AH 558-559 Benāket (Kochnev 1997,

263/1050) cite Khāqān al-ʿĀdil Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilych Taḡhāch Khān.

In the second half of the 12th century AD there began the dismemberment of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several mutually independent Qarākhānid principalities. The ruler of Samarqand, who was considered the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, is never mentioned as suzerain on the coins minted in those principalities. The Khytais, whose vassals the Qarākhānids were after the battle of Qaṭwān in 1141, encouraged this process. It was safer for them to have several weak vassals, ruling small principalities, than one strong vassal ruling the centralised Western Qarākhānid khaqanate.

The principality of Farghāna with its capital in Uzgend was among the first to become independent from Samarqand. But it then itself disintegrated into three smaller principalities with capitals in Marghīnān, Kāsān and Uzgend. Another such principality was formed in the territory of Shāsh-Īlāq but its capital became Benāket, situated on the bank of the Syr Darya. The local Qarākhānid dynasty, comprising at least three rulers, ruled over this principality.

The first ruler of this dynasty is cited on the fiduciary, copper silverwashed dirhams minted in Benāket in 573-574/1177-79 (Kochnev 1997, 272/1139,1140): Khāqān al-ʿĀlim al-ʿĀdil Muʿizz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilych Khān. In 578/1182-83 coins of Benāket (Kochnev 1997, 272/1141) cite Khāqān al-ʿĀlim al-ʿĀdil al-Aʿzam Muʿizz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Shāh Qilych Khān. It is interesting to note that the more insignificant the ruler was, the more majestic was his titulage.

The second ruler of this dynasty is cited on coins of AH 592-593, Benāket (Kochnev 1997, 272/1142), as Khāqān al-ʿĀlim Jalāl al-Dunyā...Taḡhāch Khāqān. 593/1196-97 was the last year of his reign. The year 594 in Benāket saw the third ruler of this dynasty. Coins of 594, 597, 598 cite Khāqān al-ʿĀdil ʿImād al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Jaghrī Khāqān. In 599-602 coins of Benāket (Kochnev 1997, 272/1143,1144) cite Khāqān al-ʿĀdil ʿImād al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Akdash? Jaghrī Khān. The coins of 602/1205-06 are the latest Qarākhānid coins so far known of Benāket.

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1. Fals of 391/1000-1 Īlāq: *khāqān al-muzaffar* (obverse field) *amīr al-jalīl aḥmad b. ʿalī* (obverse marginal legend). *muhammad / b. maṣṣūr / bā ṣāliḥ* (reverse), within cartouche).
2. Fals of 399/1008-9 Īlāq: *qutb al-daula naṣr al-milla* (i.e. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, obverse marginal legend), *abū shuja' salār b. muḥammad* (obverse field).
3. Dirhem of 414/1023-4 Tūnket: *al-malik arslān khān* (reverse field), *jaghrā tegīn* (reverse field) *ʿaḍud al-daula* (obverse, above and below Kalima).

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
382	F	E. Shihāb al-Daula Bughrā Khān (Hārūn)	Manşūr b. Aḥmad (Dihqān of Īlāq)	
382	F	E. Shihāb al-Daula Zahīr al-Da'wa (Hārūn)	The same	
385-387	F	W. Toghāntegīn Abī'l-Ḥasan Naşr b. 'Alī		
386	F	W. Qarākhāqān al-Muzaffār (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Amīr Muḥammad b. 'Alī	Manşūr b. Aḥmad
387	F	W. Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Abā Ṣāliḥ	Dihqān al-Jalīl
387	F	W. Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Abā Ṣāliḥ and Muḥammad b. 'Alī	The same
387	F	The same	The same	
388	F	W. Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Abā Ṣāliḥ	Dihqān al-Jalīl
388	F	W. Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Abā Ṣāliḥ	The same
388	F	W. Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	The same	The same
388	F	W. Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Tegīn Abā Ṣāliḥ	The same
388	F	W. Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	The same	
388	F	W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Amīr Abā Ṣāliḥ	Dihqān al-Jalīl
388	F	The same	The same	Dihqān
389	F	W. Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Tegīn Abā Ṣāliḥ	Dihqān al-Jalīl
389	F	The same	The same	Manşūr b. Aḥmad and Sa'id
389	F	The same	W. Īlek al-'Ādil (Naşr b. 'Alī)	The same
391-393	F	W. Khāqān al-Muzaffār Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Bā Ṣāliḥ	Muḥammad b. Manşūr
393	F	W. Khān Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī		The same
393-394	F	The same	Abī Sa'id Bakr b. al-Ḥasan	
395	F	W. Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Dihqān al-Jalīl Muḥammad b. Manşūr	
398	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naşr al-Milla	Bakr b. al-Ḥasan	Dihqān al-Jalīl
399	F	The same (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Dihqān al-Jalīl Abū Shujā' Salār b. Muḥammad	
400	F	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān Qarākhāqān Abū Naşr Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Bakr b. Muḥammad (brother of Salār?)	
401	F	W. Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Dihqān Muḥammad b. Manşūr	
403	F	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naşr b. 'Alī	W. Sanā al-Daula (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
403	D	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl (Naşr b. 'Alī)	Sakhā al-Daula
404	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltegīn	
404	E	The same	The same	Sakhā al-Daula
404	E	The same	W. Ināltegīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī	The same
404	E	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khān Naşr al-Milla		The same
404-405	E	W. Īlek Sanā al-Daula Muḥammad b. 'Alī	Irtāsh	
406	D	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Īlek	
406	D	W. Khān al-Ajall	The same	Irtāsh
406	D	W. Abu'l Muzaffār Khān	The same	
408-411	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Abu'l Muzaffār Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Būrītegīn (Ibrahīm b. Īlek Naşr)	
408	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	The same	Ḥusain b. Shihāb al-Daula
409-411	D	The same	The same	
414?	D	The same	The same	Bū Shujā' (Salār b. Muḥammad)
415	D	W. Ṭonghā Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Saif al-Daula Malikān (Muḥammad b. Īlek Naşr)	

Table 1. Īlāq 382-215/992-1025. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid.

Year	Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
395	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Muḥammad b. Manşūr (Dihqān of Īlāq)	<i>Nasr</i>
406	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Īlek	
406	W. Khān al-Ajall	W. Sanā al-Daula	
410	W. Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegīn	
424	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	E. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān	
46x	W. Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Naşr (Shams al-Mulk b. Ibrahīm)		

Table 2. Nauket. All coins dirhems. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
401	D	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Pādshāh (Naṣr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	Aḥmad
404-405	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
405	D	The same	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Husain Jaghrytegin	
407	D	The same	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
407-408	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	
407	D	W. Shams al-Daula Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	
407	F		The same	
407	F		W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Hasan(!) Jaghrytegin	
409	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
409	F		The same	Bektughmish
410	D	W. Arslān Khān or simply Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Husain Jaghrytegin	
411-412	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Jaghrytegin	
412	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
412	F	The same	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin Abā 'Alī Husain b. Hasan(?)	
413	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Jaghrytegin	
415	D	The same	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
415	D	W. Tonghā Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Ināltegin	
415	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. İlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan	
416?	D	W. Tonghā Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula ...	
418	D	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	W. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrytegin	
421,2,4	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	E. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān (Yūsuf)	
43(3?6?)	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula (Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	E. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad)	
444	D	E. Boghrā Khān/ Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	E. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	
450?	D	W. Toghāntegīn Yamīn al-Daula Shu'aith (b.) Ibrahīm		
452?	D	W. Yamīn al-Daula Shu'aith (b.) Ibrahīm		
454		W. Toghāntegīn Yamīn al-Daula Abu'l Muzaffar Shu'aith (b.) Ibrahīm		
458	D	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. İlek Naṣr)		
461?	D	E. Sharaf al-Daula ?	E. Zain al-Dīn Ṭoghrultegin	Tüzuntegin Muḥammad

Table 3. Tūnket. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
403	F		W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltegin (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)
417	D	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Yūsuf b. Hārūn)	
423	D	The same	
432?	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā Khān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	
44x	D	E. Nāṣir al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	
461	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naṣr (Shams al-Mulk b. Ibrahīm)	

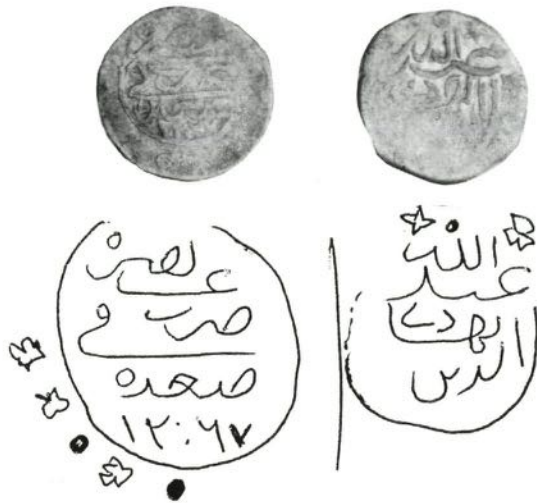
Table 4. Dakhket. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
403	F	W. Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	Bārs Ūkā ?
430	F	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	Shāhmalik b. Manṣūr?	
461	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naṣr (Shams al-Mulk b. Ibrahīm)		
558,9	D	W. Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān (Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥasan)		
573,4	D	W. Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilych Khān		
578	D	W. Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Shāh Qilych Khān		
592,3	D	W. Jalāl al-Dunyā ... Ṭafghāch Khāqān		
594,7,8	D	W. 'Imād al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Jaghry Khāqān		
599-602	D	W. 'Imād al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Akdash? Jaghry Khān		

Table 5. Benāket. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

A new 19th century coin from the Yemen

By Dr Wolfgang Schuster



Among a group of several coins of Imām Maṣūṛ (1890-1904 AD) a new type was discovered. This has been identified and read with the help of Dr Puin as follows:

Kabir (?) of Imām al-Hādī Ghalib (first reign AH 1267-8/1851-2 AD). Silver, 0.87 g, 16 mm.

Obv: 'azza naṣruhu ḍariba fī ṣa'da 1267

Rev: 'abd allāh al-hādī li-dīn (allāh)

The expression 'abd allāh' on the reverse occurs on several other Yemeni coin types. It is not part of the imam's name but has the meaning of "servant of Allah".

Some interesting coins from the Pandayale hoard

By Osmund Bopearachchi (C.N.R.S. Paris)

A hoard containing 22 Indo-Greek bronze coins was found in 2000 at Pandayale, a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area. The hoard was discovered accidentally by peasants of the village while harvesting a wheat field. It seems to have contained the coins of Apollodotos I, Menander I, Antialcidas, Lysias, Nicias, Hermaios and Helocles II. Carefully selected nine coins from the hoard entered the private collection of Mr. Muhammad Riaz Babar. I am very grateful to him for allowing me to publish them.

1. Coin of Heliclos II overstruck on a coin of Hermaios

The most interesting coin among them is a bronze issue of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7) overstruck on a lifetime coin of Hermaios (*BN*, series 9). As we know, a large number of bronze coins of Heliclos II are overstruck on coins of his predecessors or contemporaries. These overstrikes are listed in an article published in 1989 (see O. Bopearachchi, 1989, pp. 55-63): five over the bronzes of Agathocleia (*BN*, series 3), one over Strato I (*BN*, series 29) and one over Antialcidas (*BN*, series 17).

Since then four more overstrikes which have a direct relationship with Heliclos II came to light. The first was a bronze coin of Strato I (*BN*, series 29) overstruck by Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7; see O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman, 1995, no. 470). The second is a bronze coin of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7) overstruck by Amyntas (*BN*, series 14; see R.C. Senior and S. Mirza, 1996). The third was published by the Classical Numismatic Group (Auction 38, 6-7 June, 1996, London, no. 528) as a coin of Polyxenus overstruck by Heliclos II. D. MacDonald (1996) contested the identification, and showed that it was a coin of Agathocleia and Strato I (*BN*, series 3), not Polyxenus, overstruck by Heliclos II. The fourth was a bronze coin of Hermaios (*BN*, series 9) overstruck by the dies of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7; see R.C. Senior & D. MacDonald, 1998, 9-11).

The overstrike published here is also similar to the last one, but the legends of the under-type, which are absolutely clear, leave no room for doubt. Here is the description of the over-types and the under-types (see drawing):

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Medium weight 8.50 g

Obv. Over-type: Didymed and draped bust of Zeus to r.
Legend in Greek: [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / [ΔΙΚ]ΑΙΟΥ / ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Under-type (when the coin is rotated 90°): ΗΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ to the left of [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Rev. Over-type: Elephant walking to l. *dhramikasa* / *Heliyakreyasa*:

Under-type (when the coin is rotated 90°): [He]ramayasa.

7.80 g, 21.5 x 19 mm.

The discovery of a second coin of Hermaios overstruck by Heliclos II cannot be regarded as a mint accident. The chronological frame of c. 90-70 BC attributed to Hermaios and of c. 95-90 BC to Amyntas remain to date, as far as I am concerned, undisturbed. No new numismatic evidence has produced any elements that drastically alter his chronology. However the chronological frame of 100-100 BC (cf. *BN*, p. 453) attributed to Heliclos II has to be reconsidered in the light of these overstrikes. The discovery of a bronze coin of Heliclos II overstruck by Amyntas and two issues of the former over Hermaios oblige us to place the reign of Heliclos II c. 95-85 BC, thereby considering him as a contemporary of both Amyntas and Hermaios. I prefer to leave the question open for the moment until I complete the corpus of the British Museum collection where all chronological problems will be re-examined in the light of new numismatic evidence.

However the existence of two overstrikes of Heliclos II on a bronze coin of Hermaios enable us to solve, once and for all, the question of two kings with the name of Heliclos. Heliclos who overstruck the coins of Strato I, Antialcidas and Hermaios cannot be the same last Greek king to rule in Bactria, whose reign ended c. 130-129 BC. It was Heliclos I's portrait that the Yuezhi invaders copied once they occupied his territories. This Heliclos of Bactria, who is represented on the last series of his coins as an old man (cf. *BN*, series 1), cannot be the same person who crossed the Hindu Kush mountains forty years later to overstrike the coin of Hermaios in the Indian territories. The fact that the Greek domination over Bactria came to an end with the reign of Heliclos I is extremely important in understanding the monetary sequence of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India.

The excellent condition of the present coin enables us to identify for certain the obverse type. Almost all the bronze coins of Heliclos II which have come to light so far have either been overstruck or in a bad state of preservation, so that the minute details of the type could not be detected easily. For these reasons, the bearded head was not at all clear on the known specimens. The diadem worn by the figure on the obverse was understood, as it should be, as the symbol of royalty. In consequence, many numismatists thus described, not without reason, the obverse type as a depiction of the king 'Heliclos II himself' (e.g. A. Cunningham, 1884, p. 171; P. Gardner, 1886, p. 23; R.B. Whitehead, 1914, p. 29; M. Mitchiner, 1975-76, p. 165 and O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, series 7, p. 284). A.N. Lahiri (1965, p. 138) has also described the obverse type as 'The diademed bust of the bearded king (?) to r.' but the question mark can be regarded as a sign of his hesitation. D. MacDonald and R.C. Senior correctly identified the obverse type as the depiction of Zeus. The present coin, which is in excellent condition, proves beyond doubt that it is Zeus, not Heliclos II, who is represented on the series. The god is represented clad in a himation, and it cannot be misunderstood

as the royal cloak pinned over the left shoulder of the Indo-Greek coin portraits.

2. Menander I.

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Medium weight 8.25 g

Obv. Diademed and bearded head of Heracles to r.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Lion's skin. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menandrasa.*
19 x 18 mm, 6.05 g. Below: Π (BN, series 35).

This coin is the second known specimen of this series, and it is unique because of the kharoshthi *akshara sa* which replaces the usual monogram. The already known example in the British Museum bears the monogram: Μ (see BN, series 35, pl. 33, D). It belonged formerly to A. Cunningham (inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 312). Undoubtedly it represents Heracles. Although the diademed and bearded head can be attributed to Zeus, as on the previous coin, the lion's skin of the reverse type obviously evokes Heracles. As can be seen on this example, only the head of the divinity, not the usual bust, is depicted on this series.

The next coin in the hoard is of Lysias. Although the type and the monogram are known, it is interesting because of the engraving error on the obverse.

3. LYSIAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Circular flan. Medium weight 8.50 g

Obv. Bust of Heracles to r., club and palm over l. shoulder.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ instead of usual
ΛΥΣΙΟΥ, ΥΠΙ ΖΥΛΑ.

Rev. Elephant walking to r. *Maharajasa apadihatasa / Lisiasa.*

21mm, 4.8 g. To l., ΠΙ (BN, series 9. B).

When this coin is placed in front of a mirror the usual legend ΛΥΣΙΟΥ appears as it should be on the coin. It is also noteworthy that on coins of Lysias with the monograms ΑΣ, ΚΑ & ΠΑ, the Kharoshthi legend is written *Lisikasa*, while with ΠΙ & ΠΚ it is *Lisiasa*, but on this coin, the name of the king is written as ΠΥΠ ΠΙ : *Lisiusa*. It may be an engraving error, because on the same coin, the Kharoshthi 'a' of *apadihatasa* is written as 'u' : 𑀅.

Another coin in the British Museum (inv. no. 1956.7.10.35 ex-H.L. Haughton collection) is struck with the same obverse and reverse dies (see M. Mitchiner, 1975, series 267, 2nd illustration from the left). Mitchiner does not pay attention to these details. The present coin is no doubt the most well preserved specimen of the series (cf. BN, pl. 39. A; M. Mitchiner, 1975, series 267).

The coins from the Pandayale hoard in private collection include three more coins of Menander I, one of Apollodotos I, one of Antialcidas and one of Nicias. Although their types and monograms are already known through many other specimens, I have recorded them here to give some idea of the composition of the hoard.

MENANDER I. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Medium weight 8.25 g

Obv. Elephant head to r., bell around the neck.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Club. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menandrasa.*

4. — 17 x 16 mm, 2.60 g. To l., Α, to r., Φ (BN, series 28. B).

5. — 15 x 15 mm, 3.10 g. On obv., in the exergue, Α; on rev. to l., Π (BN, series 28. J).

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD QUADRUPLES. Medium weight 9.80 g

Obv. Bust of Athena to r., wearing helmet.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Round shield with Gorgon head in the centre.
Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menandrasa.

6. — 19 x 19 mm, 5.30 g. To r., Μ (BN, series 19. A).

APOLLODOTOS I. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD QUADRUPLES. Medium weight 9.80 g

Obv. Apollo standing facing, with radiate head; holds in r. hand arrow, in l. bow resting on ground.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev. Tripod. *Maharajasa / Apaladatas / tradarasa.*

7. — 19 x 18 mm, 5.30 g. Without monogram (BN, series 6. A).

ANTIALCIDAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Circular flan. Medium weight 4.25 g

Obv. Bust of Zeus to r., hurling thunderbolt with upraised r. hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Palms and *pilai* of the Dioscuri. *Maharajasa jayadharasa / Antialikidasa.*

8. — 21 mm, 3.80 g. In the exergue, to l., ΠΙ (BN, series 15. A).

NICIAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. Medium weight 8.50 g

Obv. Diademed bust of king to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΝΙΚΙΟΥ. With square *omicrons*, cursive *omegas* and *lunate sigmas*.

Rev. Diademed king on prancing horse to r. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Nikiasa.*

9. — 19 x 19 mm, 5.30 g. Without monogram (BN, series 6. A).

BN, O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991

O. Bopearachchi (1989), 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN*, XXXI, 1989, pp. 49-79.

O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi.

A. Cunningham (1884), *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London, 1884, reprint Delhi-Varnasi, 1970, reprint Chicago, 1969, series of articles appeared in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.

P. Gardner (1886), *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London.

A.N. Lahiri (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.

M. Mitchiner (1975-76), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols, London.

R.C. Senior & S. Mirza, (1996) "An Indo-Greek overstrike", *News Letter ONS* 149, p. 5.

R.C. Senior & D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks. A Re-appraisal of the Chronology from the Time of Menander to that of Azes*, Athens, *Monograph of the Hellenic Numismatic Society*, 2, 1998.

R.B. Whitehead (1914), *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*. vol. 1, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford.





Sabedana or Sarpadana
By Osmund Bopearachchi

R.C. Senior, in his recent *Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins* (p. 175, type 252. 2D & 252.3.3D), published three drachms which he attributes to a certain "Sarpedones", who seemed to have ruled in the Sind area of Pakistan. The Kharoshthi legend on the reverse of his coins is either off flan or completely worn. Senior has proposed the following reading for the name of the king in Prakrit: 'Sabedanasa'. A fourth specimen of the same series in better condition, at least as far as the Kharoshthi legend of the king's name is concerned, surfaced recently. This coin entered the private collection of Mr. M. Riaz Babar and I am most grateful to him for authorising me to publish it. According to him, the coin was found in the Zhob valley, not far from Murgha, in Baluchistan. A hoard of more than three hundred coins that R.C. Senior attributes to Parata Rajas also surfaced at the same time. This hoard is now being studied and I hope to publish it next year.



The obverse and reverse types are similar to the ones that Senior has published in his catalogue.

- Obv.** Bust to l. wearing a tiara. The beard tied at the chin. The cloak around the neck, pinned over the l. shoulder. To l. in the field the Gondopharid symbol: \times . Legend in Greek seems to be : BIC H ΔWN ... BACIA...
- Rev.** Nike without wings, standing to l., holding a wreath in her r. hand and palm with her l. arm. To r. 𑀧 . Legend in Kharoshthi: 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 / 𑀧𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 [E] ... [𑀧𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓] : maharaja[sa] [dhra]miasa / sarpadanasa.

With regard the obverse Greek legend, I am certain of 'BACIA...' which stands for Βασιλευς, starting at 12 o' clock. I have more doubts than certainty concerning the rest of the visible legend on the coin. The first three letters starting at 7 o' clock

could be 'BIC'. The fourth letter looks like 'H', and it could be a 'N', like on the Naštēn coin (see O. Bopearachchi & Fr. Grenet, 1993 and O. Bopearachchi, 1997), or 'K'. The fifth is a 'Δ', the sixth perhaps a cursive *omega*, and the last letter a 'N'. Our coin is very similar in style to that of R.C. Senior's 252.3D. Senior proposes IKΔWN for this part of the legend.

I personally do not see in Senior's illustrations the legend in Greek which seems to read the name of the king: 'CAPINAΔ'. However the Kharoshthi legend on our coin reads clearly 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀲𑀺𑀓 , *sa-rpa-da-na-sa*. The letter that Senior reads as *be*: 𑀧 is no doubt *rpa*: 𑀧𑀲 . I am most grateful to Prof. Harry Falk for helping me to decipher this letter correctly. As he well observed, this reading tallies better to Sarpedones as Senior reconstructs the name of the king in Greek. More examples may help us, one day, to propose a better reading of the Greek legend on the obverse.

O. Bopearachchi & Fr. Grenet, "Naštēn, un souverain iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans", *Studia Iranica*, 22, 1993, pp. 299-307.
O. Bopearachchi, "Naštēn, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India, *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Silk Road. Art and Archaeology*, Special Volume 1997, Kamakura, 1997, pp. 67-74.
R.C. Senior, *Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins*, Butleigh, 2000.

Two more unique coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit
By Osmund Bopearachchi

I have published from time to time some unique or rare coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit as they surfaced in the Pakistani bazaars or when they were purchased by private collectors. Although I was personally able to examine some several hundred coins from the same deposit, this figure seems derisory when one takes into account the total number of nearly 550,000 specimens that it originally contained before its disposal in European, American and Japanese markets. Even given this desperate situation, I have not given up hope, and as time and energy allows, I continue recording them to the best of my ability, and hope to publish them one day as a separate book. Until then, I shall continue to publish short notices on the rare specimens.

The two unique coins published here are from the private collection of Mr. M. Riaz Babar, and I appreciate his willingness to make them known to the public.

The first is a legendless gold coin weighing 1.60 g, with a diameter of 10 mm. If it is struck according to the Attic weight like all the Graeco-Bactrian coins, it could be a triobol, which theoretically weighs 1.90 g to 2.10 g depending on the region where it was minted. It is well known that almost all Graeco-Bactrian coins do not reach the theoretical weight of the Attic standard. On the other hand, the lower weight can also be explained by the fact the coin was lying in the well of Mir Zakah for two thousand years (for a recent update on the second Mir Zakah deposit, see O. Bopearachchi, 1999).



The obverse die is not centred and the relief is not very pronounced. Only three-quarters of the astragalus border can be

seen. The drawing shown here is a reconstruction of the complete border. The identity of the obverse type raises many questions. Some numismatists and art historians who have seen the coin are of the opinion that it could represent a shield. Even if the circular element is a shield, it is difficult to explain the function of the extensions jutting out from two sides. The exact identification of the obverse type thus remains uncertain and I prefer to leave the question open until further discoveries.

In contrast, the reverse type does not raise any problems. It is certainly a *caduceus*. The die is better centred than that of the obverse, and the astragalus border runs in a circle. One of the two signs to the right of the *caduceus* could be a lunate *sigma* and the other an *iota*. Two signs or letters are not joined. It is difficult to say for certain whether these two signs represent a monogram.

Since the coin is legendless, its attribution to a ruler would only be a guess. The legendless gold staters depicting the bust of Athena to right, wearing a helmet on the obverse, and on the reverse an owl standing to right, head facing (see *BN*, 1), were attributed to the Indo-Greek Menander I, for the simple reason that similar types are represented in one of his bilingual series, with his name in Greek and Prakrit (see *BN*, 2). Demetrios I is the only Greek king in Central Asia and India who used the *caduceus* on his coinage (see *BN*, 5). The *caduceus* on his bronze coins is similar to the one on the present gold coin. If the obverse type is a shield, it is on Demetrios I's coins that one has to look for a similar type (see *BN*, 6). Apart from a few exceptions, almost all the early Graeco-Bactrian coins until Apollodotos I are characterised by a pellet border (see *BN*, 1). After Demetrios II (see *BN*, 1), the astragalus border becomes a common feature of the Graeco-Bactrian coinage. However a few tetradrachms issued by Demetrios I bear, not only on the obverse but also on the reverse, the astragalus border (see e.g. *Qunduz*, no. 28 and O. Bopearachchi, 2000, nos 71-2 from the Kuliab hoard). In the absence of any other evidence, Demetrios I is the only plausible candidate to whom the credit of issuing this unique series can be attributed. Further evidence alone may confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

The second coin is of lead. On one side there is a *Buddhist triratna* or *Śaiva triśūla* in the middle; to the left is an elaborate *nandipada* symbol and to the right a *swastika* with semi-circular ends revolving to the right. On the other side, in the middle, there is probably a river symbol or a snake and to the right a seven-branched tree in an enclosure divided into six compartments by one horizontal and two vertical lines.



The legend in Brāhmi to the left presents some difficulties in deciphering and interpretation. I sought the help of Prof. Harry Falk who proposes the following reading and interpretation. The first letter is no doubt *pa* '𑀧'; the second letter could be *ta* '𑀭' or *ti* '𑀮'; the third letter could be *ma* '𑀮'; the fourth is certainly *na* '𑀧'. Falk proposes *pat(i)ma(-)n(-)* or *pat(a)ma(-)n(-)*. With caution, one may read *patimāna*, skt. *pratimāna*, a term used for a weight, which might also represent a certain value. On palaeographical grounds, the legend could be dated from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD. Apart from that, I have no further evidence to date the coin or to attribute it to a specific locality. Although all the symbols appearing on the coin are known

in an Indian context, their composition and the legend make it, so far, a unique piece.

BN, O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.

O. Bopearachchi, "Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt", *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, November 1999, pp. 36-43.

O. Bopearachchi, "La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)", *Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensis, Collana di Lettere*, Turin, 2000 (in press).

Qunduz, R. Curiel & G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA XX)*, Paris, 1965.

'Thundering Zeus revisited'

By Osmund Bopearachchi & Klaus Grigo

Arousing the excitement of numismatists of Central Asia and India, the news of the discovery of a hoard containing hundreds of gold staters of Graeco-Bactrian Diodotos I and II and Euthydemus I, broke last spring. According to the first rumours, the hoard contained more than one thousand coins and was found in Mathura. Three months later, in July, the alleged number was reduced to five hundred, and the findspot moved to Vaisali in Bihar. Further investigations confirmed that the hoard was certainly found in Vaisali, by villagers who were collecting clay from the dried river bed. The earthen pot may have originally contained more than one hundred gold staters. Now the number has been reduced to some seventy coins. This sudden drastic reduction can be explained by two factors. Firstly, some coins were melted down by the goldsmith of the village to make gold jewellery. Secondly, a good number of the coins were hidden by dealers to prevent the coin market from being inundated with an unprecedented number of gold coins. Although one has to be cautious about these rumours, the appearance of more than thirty coins in the European coin markets from June to July 2001, resulted in the assumption that the reputed discovery of the hoard was not a fairy tale.

Ten staters of Diodotos I and II and Euthydemus I were shown to a German Collector. He purchased four of them. Sources for this article are mainly these four staters from the so-called Vaisali hoard, two from his old collection and one from the private collection of Mr. M. Riaz Babar. We are very grateful to both collectors for allowing us to publish them. We have to confess that this article has to be considered as a prelude to a number of notices that we might like to publish whenever we gain access to new coins from the hoard. We also hope, in the near future, to be able to reconstitute the hoard to the best of our ability and to carry out a die-study.

We do not intend here to advance any hypotheses on the dynastic transitions in the coinage of Bactria from Diodotos to Euthydemus. Our ambition is simply to record the new coin evidence. Until an exhaustive die-study has been done on these coins, very little can be said about this enigmatic period in Hellenistic Bactria. The minute die-study done here will clearly show how little we know about the functioning of Graeco-Bactrian coinages.

The discovery of a coin hoard containing hundreds of gold staters of the first three Graeco-Bactrian kings in the distant city of Vaisali can only be explained by the fact that they were brought so far away from Bactria and Sogdiana, only for their bullion value. Vaisali is located in the Ganges valley in the Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. It is one of the oldest cities of India, with a wealth of tradition and historical legend. The ancient site, excavated extensively in the 1940s, revealed the existence of mud-ramparts dated from c. 300 to 150 BC.¹ As we know, this period corresponds partly to the reigns of Diodotos I and II (250 - 230 BC) and Euthydemus (230-200 BC).² The inland trade between Bactria and the Ganges valley was beginning to develop during

this period. Vaisali was not far from the ancient trade route from Bactra, the capital of Bactria which passed through Alexandria, Pushkalavati, Taxila, Mathura, Kausambi and Pataliputra to Tamralipiti in the Ganges delta.³ The discovery of a gold stater of Diodotos in the excavations of Bhir Mound at Taxila is another indicator of this active trade.⁴

The majority of coins from the Vaisali hoard bear a chisel cut on the head of the royal portrait. Two out of four Vaisali coins (nos. 1 & 4) published here are slashed. We believe that the coins were chiselled to test the purity of the gold. The cut mark is placed on the head of the portrait at the highest point of relief. The discovery of plated coins in the second Mir Zakah deposit shows that, in ancient times, the plating of coins was not an uncommon practice.⁵ The slashed marks on some of the Roman aurei found in India are interpreted as an attempt to deface the emperor's portrait.⁶ We do not think that this logic can be applied to the gold staters from the Vaisali hoard. First of all, not all the coins are chiselled (see nos. 2 & 5). Secondly, the chisel mark is always placed on the head above the diadem, and we do not see how it could be interpreted as an attempt to deface the king's portrait. If this were the case, all the coins should have been systematically chiselled and, above all, the face not the head should have been defaced. Curiously enough, some coins of Diodotos found in Taxila⁷ and in Bactria were also chiselled in this way.⁸ It goes without saying that there is no valid reason to deface the king's portrait within his own realm. So, for these reasons, we are inclined to think that the coins were chiselled to verify the purity of the gold, since they were brought only for their bullion value to the heart of India where the Greeks never exercised any political power.

Let us come back to the coins. All the photographs of the coins are enlarged, but their correct dimensions are given in the catalogue.

Diodotos, in the name of Antiochos

AV. ATTIC-STANDARD STATERS

Obv. Diademed head of a young king to r.

Rev. Zeus striding to l., naked, hurling thunderbolt; aegis on l. arm and eagle with outstretched wings at his feet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXOY.

To l., N (O. Bopearachchi, 1991, Diodotes, 1).


1. ↓ 8.32 g 18.7 mm. Vaisali hoard. 30 - 04 - 2001.
2. ↓ 8.30 g 18.5 mm. Vaisali hoard. 18 - 07 - 2001.

To l.,  (O. Bopearachchi, 1991, Diodotes, 1. A).

3. ↓ 8.33 g 18.7 mm. Old collection. 1996.

Obv. Diademed head of a middle-aged king to r.

Rev. As on the previous coins.

To l.,  (O. Bopearachchi, 1991, Diodotes, 1. A).


4. ↓ 8.41 g 18.4 mm. Vaisali hoard. 18 - 07 - 2001.
5. ↓ 8.40 g 18 mm. Vaisali hoard. 30 - 04 - 2001.

Euthydemos I

AV. ATTIC-STANDARD STATERS

Obv. Diademed head of a young king to r.

Rev. Heracles, seated on a rock, holds in r. hand club which rests aslant on a pile of rocks in front of him. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟY.

To l.,  (O. Bopearachchi, 1991, Euthydème I, 1. C).

6. ↓ 8.33 g 18 mm. Private collection of K. Grigo. 1997. Probably from Ai Khanum.
7. ↓ 8.34 g 17.8 mm. Private collection of M. Riaz Babar. Ai Khanum.

The monogram 'N' on coins nos 1 & 2 is not attested so far on the gold coins struck by Diodotos in the name of Antiochos. However it appears on his silver tetradrachms.⁹

The most important observation is that four out of the seven coins discussed here (nos 1, 2, 6 & 7) are from the same obverse die. Nos 1 & 2 are from the same reverse die. Nos 6 and 7 are also from the same reverse die. The die-crack, in the right field at the level of 'Ω' of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, is clearly visible on both coins. One cannot miss the fact that four coins (nos 1, 2, 6 & 7) bear the same young portrait of Diodotos on the obverse. As one would expect, the first two coins bear the full-length figure of a thundering Zeus with an eagle at his feet, the standard reverse image for the coins of Diodotos.

According to Justin's abbreviated version of Pompeius Trogus' kind of universal history *Historiae Philippicae* (XLI, 4), at the time when Parthia was first attempting to throw off the yoke of the Seleucids (towards the middle of the third century BC), a certain Diodotos (who was then the Seleucid satrap of Bactria) rebelled against his suzerain and established an independent kingdom in Bactria. We are also told that Diodotos was succeeded by a son bearing the same name. Because of the ambiguity of the ancient texts, historians have long disputed the name of the Seleucid king in whose reign this event took place; for some, it was Antiochos II, c. 250, for others Seleucos II, c. 239/8 BC. Numismatic data shows that this revolt must have taken place as early as c. 250. On close examination, the gold and silver coins in question can be divided into two distinct groups: one with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY (nos 1-5), and the other ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟY.¹⁰ The first group with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY, minted by Diodotos, bears two distinctive characteristics, compared to the true coins of Antiochos II: keeping his sovereign's name, Diodotos introduces his own portrait instead of the portrait of Antiochos II, and replaces the most common Seleucid reverse type, Apollo seated on the *omphalos* with the thundering Zeus with an eagle at his feet. In the second group, not only the portrait and the reverse type, but also the name, are those of Diodotos. With the coins of the first group, the satrap still shows a formal attachment to Seleucid sovereignty by minting in the name of Antiochos II. This twofold character, pertinent to the first group, signifies that Diodotos, in issuing them, took a revolutionary step towards independence, without yet taking the royal title. As for the second group, it is evident that Diodotos, in minting it with his own portrait and name, took the final step in openly declaring his independence. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Diodotos was succeeded by a son of the same name in c. 239/8 BC who was in turn overthrown by Euthydemos I.

Regarding the circumstances in which Euthydemos acceded to the throne, we know only what can be reconstructed from the words Polybius attributes to him (XI, 39). Besieged in Bactra by Antiochos III, Euthydemos denies, before Teleas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion had been instigated by others and, though he had assumed power in Bactria, it had been by annihilating the descendants of these rebels. Taking this text literally, it would be at the time of Diodotos II's death (he and Diodotos I being the "real rebels" alluded to in the text) that Euthydemos seized the Bactrian throne by doing away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family.

Until these recent discoveries, the coins of Euthydemos I were characterised by a different reverse type, a seated Heracles holding a club, and a portrait on the obverse which could be distinguished from that of his predecessors. The discovery of two coins struck with the same obverse die of Diodotos, bearing Euthydemos I's name and type on the reverse (nos 6 & 7) raises many questions. If all four coins came from the same hoard, one could imagine that they were minted in a hurry by the mint masters of Euthydemos, using the old dies, to supply a large quantity of gold coins for external transactions. However, the reality is quite different. Coin no. 7 is definitely from Ai Khanum, and was purchased in the Peshawar bazaar in 2000, one year before the discovery of the Vaisali hoard. Coin no. 6 also seems to have come

from the same site and was purchased in 1997. What is also surprising, in this context, is that the obverse die bears a portrait of the young Diodotos, while the reverse of the first series of coins is still struck in the name of his Seleucid suzerain Antiochos II. Leaving aside the question of the father and the son bearing the same name, if the obverse had the old portrait, one would have to accept, albeit reluctantly, that mint-masters used the most recent die of Diodotos by accident, when they were asked to produce the first coins of their new king. It is noteworthy that the Vaisali hoard also contained coins with the portrait of a middle-aged king (see no. 5). We were told by those who have seen the coins from the Vaisali hoard as they surfaced in European coin markets, that only a very small number of coins from the hoard are struck in the name of Diodotos.

We personally do not have any ready-made answers to explain these anomalies. For this reason, we wish to have access to more specimens, and to extend the die-study, for the purpose of finding, if possible, convincing answers to the many enigmatic questions concerning the birth of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the transitional period between the Diodotids and Euthydemids.

1. See K. Deva & V. Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations: 1950*, Vaisali, 1961, p. 3.
2. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, pp. 41-9.
3. See A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, (MDAFAI, I), Paris, 1942.
4. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, p. 763.
5. See O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995, pp. 65-71.
6. For a good summary of the different hypotheses, see P. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, London, 1989, pp. 29-34.
7. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, pl. 236, no. 39.
8. O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 1, nos A & 11.
9. O. Bopearachchi, 1991, Diodote I & II, 2. H.
10. O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pls 1 & 2.



Coins of the Indian Sultanates

As mentioned in the previous newsletter, the book of this title by your editor and JP Goenka was recently published in India. It was inevitable that, once work stopped on the listings prior to publication, new types would emerge as well as additional specimens of listed coins that would enable more accurate readings of the legends to be made. This has indeed been the case. New types and amendments to the listings will be published in this and future newsletters.

Sultans of Bengal

Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwāḍ

Type B25. The date of this type should be amended to 17 Dhu'l Qa'da 616.

Types B26 and B28. The month on these types is also Dhu'l Qa'da. The day is probably 17.

Shams al-Dīn 'Iltutmish

Type B19.



The coin illustrated here, courtesy of Heinz Bons, shows a date that clearly begins with *thalath* – three, suggesting that it was struck in the year 613. This would make sense as the horseman tankas in the name of İltutmish dated 614 and 616 do not have the mint-name below the horse. The reverse legend ends with *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn*.

Type B37. Several more examples of this type have recently turned up. From these it is clear that the additional word on the third line of the obverse cannot be read as *'iwad*. It looks more like *'abd* (slave, servant). The full date on this type is 24 Sha'ban 622. The obverse of one coin is illustrated here.



Type B38. This type is also dated 24 Sha'ban 622. A specimen with full margin is illustrated here.



New type: B38A. Similar to type B38 but the word *mu'minīn* on the reverse is written in two lines. The style of engraving is also a little different. There is no clear date on the coin. Illustrated courtesy of Heinz Bons.



New type: B44A. Similar to type B44 but obverse legend is enclosed within a double square with eyes at the centre of each side. The date cannot be read. Illustrated courtesy of Baldwins Auctions.



More additions will be published in the next newsletter.

A nisar of Shāh Jahān I of half rupee weight

Sanjay Sahadev has sent details of a fine nisar of half rupee weight struck at Akbarābād during the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān I (AH 1037-68/ 1628-58 AD).



Obv: *shāhib qirān sānī nisār sanah 10 jalūs*
 Rev: *zarb dār al-khilāfa akbarābād sanah 1046 hijrī*

Date: AH 1046, regnal year 10; weight 5.48 g; diameter 25 mm

Nisars of half rupee weight are known for Shāh Jahān I from Akbarābād, Daulatābād, Lāhore and Shāhjahānābād. They all include the expression *shāhib qirān sānī*. There are four varieties. The other date combination known for the present type is 1046/9. The other varieties are dated 1047, 1054/18 and 1069/33. Shah Jahān was deposed by his son, Aurangzeb, in AH 1068. So this last issue, without ruler's name, may have been struck either by Aurangzeb who had yet to consolidate his position or by adherents of one of the other contenders for the throne at that time, Dārā Shikoh and Shujā'.

The British Trade Dollar

By Kevin Clancy, Assistant Curator, Royal Mint, UK



Introduction

The British Trade Dollar was produced from 1895 until 1935. It was made at the Bombay Mint, the mint at Calcutta and for a few years at the Royal Mint in London. It circulated in the East, primarily in Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements, but also in China, both North and South, and in neighbouring territories. Although produced somewhat intermittently, it was nevertheless struck in fairly large numbers – over 270 million pieces were made – and at first glance it seems to have been a popular coin. This is also suggested by the willingness of banks and other commercial bodies to pay for its production by sending their own silver to Bombay, Calcutta or London. But its forty-year history was not without its dramas. Why, for example, was it demonetised in the Straits Settlements less than a decade after it was introduced there? Why was production so uneven? And why were some in Hong Kong from time to time urging its withdrawal?

The West had become familiar with the idea of a trade coinage through the Maria Therasa thaler which, because of its trusted silver content and weight, had been used by merchants to settle accounts across national borders. In China, plagued as it was by a chaotic monetary system, a currency accepted internationally was an attractive proposition. This was improvisation though, and

the real solution could only come with reform. In March 1867 Thomas Kinder, Master of the Hong Kong Mint, wrote: 'one of the greatest obstacles to the rapid development of trade in China is the want of an improved monetary system. To sweep away the present, and establish a currency in accordance with the vast resources and requirements of commerce is a work worthy of a Great Power', the great power to his mind being Britain.

The need for monetary reform in China was a theme that ran through the active life of the British dollar, with Western governments urging upon China the need to establish a framework of greater monetary stability. The problem was the absence of an official Chinese silver currency, an issue that was not addressed until 1889 when the Chinese government opened a mint in Canton to strike a range of silver coins, including dollars and half dollars. Other provincial centres followed suit in establishing mints, but with each province issuing coins according to their own weights and finenesses, the chaos simply took on a different appearance. It is perhaps hardly surprising, then, that rather than submit themselves to this confusion, banks in the East chose to have an internationally acceptable coinage, and up to the 1890s the Spanish or the Mexican dollar had more often than not fulfilled this role. From the mid 1890s, though, another choice presented itself in the form of the British dollar coin.

Designing the British dollar

Before looking into why a dollar-standard coin sponsored by Britain was introduced when it was, it might be useful to look at the coin itself, its design and the terms on which it was issued. On 21 July 1894 a letter was received at the Treasury from the Colonial Office requesting that the Deputy Master of the Mint, Sir Charles Fremantle, advise as to a suitable design for a British dollar. The chief problem that confronted those involved in this process was how to give the coin a distinctively British character while not offending the traditions of the East. The man who was chosen to devise designs that would balance these conflicting interests was Mint engraver George De Saulles, the delicate nature of the issue generating a number of false starts for the artist.

One of the initial ideas was to use St George and the Dragon. Having been absent from the British coinage for many years this design was restored to the sovereign in 1871 and its rehabilitation in official circles was reaffirmed with speculation about its use on the dollar. But employing such a design was fraught. William Gowland of the Japanese Mint offered the well-informed advice that, 'it must be remembered that the dragon is the Imperial emblem of China and is particularly symbolic of all that pertains to the Son of Heaven, whose throne is the Dragon Seat, whose face is the Dragon Countenance and whose children are Dragon's Seed'. The idea, therefore, of a divinely constituted beast being opposed by a martial man, and a foreigner at that, was clearly a out of the question. The likelihood of the Chinese rejecting the coin would have been fairly high and the dragon idea was accordingly dropped.

The British authorities were, indeed, prepared to go to some lengths to ensure that the coin would be received sympathetically and this extended to using Chinese characters as part of the design. A senior manager at the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank suggested to Fremantle that it might be advisable to include an inscription in Chinese, specifying the denomination, as a means of encouraging circulation of the coin. Other interested parties added that a legend in Malay should be considered, since the coin was also intended to circulate on the Malay Peninsula. The advice was followed and having been involved in generating design ideas in the first place the banks continued to be consulted. When designs were eventually submitted to the Treasury towards the end of September 1894 they were accompanied by a note indicating that the Eastern banks were happy with the proposals, a somewhat unusual comment, but very practical in the circumstances.

A further issue in the design process was whether or not the coin should bear a portrait of Queen Victoria. In the initial stages De Saulles prepared profile drawings of the Queen accompanied by fairly traditional inscriptions. But the feeling was that using the portrait of a reigning monarch, who was after all over seventy, would imply a future change to the design, something which to the Chinese would have undermined confidence in the coin. The Royal Arms were also considered a sensible option by some of the Eastern banks and a design along these lines was actually sent to the Treasury for approval. There were precedents for this approach in the form of the pattern Shanghai Tael which was prepared in 1867 by the Hong Kong Mint under the authority of the colonial government. The coin was submitted to the Chinese with the intention of its playing a role in reforming the currency of China, but in Peking it received a lukewarm reception. Heraldic imagery in the form of the Royal Arms was also to be found on the notes of private banks in the East, but in the end both monarch and heraldry gave way to Britannia, who it was thought represented a symbol of the British Empire that would be acceptable to all concerned.

The standing female figure was a favourite theme for De Saulles. We see it on the obverse of the Trade Dollar, on the reverse of the florin of Edward VII and on the South Africa Medal, 1899-1902. It is a rather youthful, windswept Britannia who looks out across the sea and in stature she appears more purposeful than some of the resigned postures of her seated sisters on the coinage. Although possibly more understated in political terms than an effigy of Victoria, there is nevertheless a challenging aspect to the design.

At the same time as the design was being resolved, discussions were also taking place between the Colonial Office, the Treasury, the Mint and the Eastern banks regarding the weight and fineness of the coin. The difference between the various parties amounted to a grain in weight, and after a somewhat protracted discussion the issue was resolved in favour of a weight of 416 grains and a fineness of 900 – the same specifications as the Japanese yen and the Hong Kong dollar. The concern of some bankers in the East was that a higher weight British dollar would have been driven out of circulation by lower weight dollars already current. The abstruse discussion over this vital grain, however, reveals the care with which Eastern commercial interests viewed the introduction of the coin. With the failure of the Hong Kong dollar some years earlier they very much wanted this new initiative to be a success.

The Orders in Council giving currency to the new coin were issued during February 1895: it was to be struck at the Royal Mint or at one of the mints in British India for use in Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, North Borneo and elsewhere; the Mexican dollar was to be the standard coin of these territories; the British and the Hong Kong dollars would be treated as equal to the standard coin and be legal tender for any amount. The dollar's sterling value was not fixed but rather fluctuated according to the gold price of silver at any given date. To complete the legislative framework for the coin, in August 1895 an Ordinance was issued in Hong Kong prohibiting the stamping of the new dollars and that chopped dollars of any type would no longer be legal tender in the colony.

Lobbying for a British dollar

With an acceptable design having been obtained, a specification agreed upon and the legislation in place, production began in 1895 at the Bombay Mint. But the question remains, why 1895? And indeed why was the coin introduced at all? Banks in the East had petitioned the government in London, as well as other colonial authorities, to issue a British dollar for some years before the idea was finally accepted. Suggestions were made by merchants soon after the founding of Singapore in 1819 that a special trade dollar be issued, and when the colony of Hong Kong was established

twenty years later the question of introducing a currency that would be acceptable throughout South China was one of the first to exercise the attention of its government.

Part of the reluctance of Britain to act on these requests was the post 1820s policy of encouraging the use of sterling in the colonies. From the *laissez-faire* attitude towards currency management of the eighteenth century, ministers had become much more interested in a tighter regime of control. The ideal was an imperial currency. When Hong Kong was founded in 1841 British policy was to set it up as an oasis of gold in a sea of Chinese silver standard tradition. Government accounts in Hong Kong were kept in pounds sterling and the colony was therefore officially led by the gold standard. But local practice was to use the dollar and the letter of British law was not strong enough to withstand the prevailing custom. In 1863 the silver standard was officially adopted in Hong Kong, with the Mexican dollar, or other silver dollars of equivalent value, declared the sole legal tender.

A couple of years later Eastern bankers finally got what they had been asking for in the shape of a dollar coin struck with official backing in Hong Kong by a mint established on the island for that specific purpose. In practice, however, this attempt at providing a currency that would be capable of superseding the Mexican coin was not a success. Minting expenses were high, the Chinese did not take to the coin and the financial incentive for merchants to take silver to the mint was simply not there. The mint lost money, and with debts amounting to £340,000, and only three years after opening, it faced closure.

The United States struck its own trade dollar coin during the 1870s, the Japanese too joined in with the yen, which survived in production into the 1890s and for over a decade, beginning in the mid 1880s, the French issued the piastre de commerce. Certainly the United States dollar and the Japanese yen circulated in the Straits Settlements with official backing but in Hong Kong, while they were used they were not given legal tender status. They added to the pool of international currency available, which also included coins from Bolivia and Peru, but ultimately and obviously they were flawed in the same way as the Mexican dollar – British merchants did not have sufficient control over supply.

Further requests came from Hong Kong in 1874 and 1877. But the Treasury concluded on both occasions that the proposal would be too costly. The use of a double-florin as a possible solution was also aired in the 1870s, but by the time it was introduced in Britain in 1887 the price of silver was falling rapidly and very few double-florins made their way out to British colonies. In that same year, 1887, the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements made another attempt to make the government in London see the light. Officials concluded, however, that the position had not changed markedly since the issue had been raised ten years earlier and consequently there was no change in government policy.

There had been years of lobbying, there had been the failed Hong Kong Mint but the petitions kept coming. Then in 1894 the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, strongly backed by the major banks in both Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements, came together with various associations in London, all offering in effect a united front in favour of the coin. This latest application was prompted by a deteriorating currency position, in turn caused by a dramatic fall in the price of silver. Through the greater part of the nineteenth century silver had remained fairly static, but from 1873 it had started its descent, bringing down with it the value of the Mexican dollar. Discoveries of silver in Nevada in particular, and the consequent flooding of the market, led naturally to a fall in the price of the metal. Between 1872 and 1882 the price of silver fell by 14 per cent; over the next ten years the rate of decline increased to almost 23 per cent and over the next decade the fall was almost 40 per cent. The disruption to the traditional balance of the silver currency system was compounded by major gold finds in California in 1848, in Australia a few years later and in South Africa in the 1880s, all of which encouraged many countries to follow Britain onto the gold standard. Germany was amongst this

group and as a consequence it began from 1873 to pump a stream of demonetised silver into countries where silver was still readily convertible into legal tender coin, the enormous quantities involved exerting yet more downward pressure on the price. The supply of dollars could not help but be effected by these dramatic changes to the gold/silver balance on international markets, and, as instanced by the concerted lobbying just mentioned, requests were again brought forward from commercial interests for a British dollar.

On this occasion certain of the banks expressed themselves happy to pay the 1 per cent that would be charged by the Indian Government for coining and a guaranteed minimum annual coinage of five million dollars was also promised by some of the banks. The body that considered this latest petition was the Colonial Currency Committee, which, led by Lord Ripon, had been set up to look into the currency of the Eastern colonies. Its deliberations resulted in a unanimous recommendation that in view of the shortage of Mexican dollars being felt by commercial ports in the East a British dollar should be coined. But rather than solely a concern with a currency famine, there is another possible angle to the London government's change of mind. In 1893, in response to the falling silver price and as a preliminary move towards establishing a gold standard, the right in India to the free coinage of silver was withdrawn; as elsewhere, the new balance between gold and silver had made sustaining this system difficult. That the Bombay Mint was set to work striking dollars might be seen as a means of making use of the spare capacity available and also as a way of soaking up something of the over abundance of silver on the world market.

What seems undeniable, however, is that this was a coin born out of the gold/silver realignment taking place during the second half of the nineteenth century; while in circulation its fate would always be connected to the movements in the relative values of these two metals. There is, moreover, another aspect to this question, which should not be neglected – the development of Hong Kong itself. Within fifty years of its foundation in the 1840s Hong Kong had become the third most important port in the British Empire. By the beginning of the 1890s it would not perhaps be all that surprising if lobbying by mercantile interests carried a good deal more weight than it had some years earlier.

Threats to the British dollar

Production had been taking place for a few years but already at an early stage there were threats to the coin's survival. Having lobbied so long for its introduction, once a part of the currency the Straits Settlements did not entertain it long. The effects of the fall in the gold price of silver was similar here to other silver standard countries, like India; which had extensive trade relations with countries whose currencies were on gold. For the Straits the decision to adopt the British dollar was never quite as straightforward as it was for Hong Kong. A committee on Straits' currency matters, for example, in 1893 could not reach a decision over whether or not to introduce the gold standard. Half favoured gold while the other half, including the local members of the committee, favoured a continuation of silver. In the following four years there was considerable agitation and newspaper discussion concerning the advisability of adopting gold. In the midst, therefore, of accepting the Trade Dollar, the Straits Settlements was all the time wrestling with whether or not to keep it.

Further committees looked into the question of changing to gold before the end of the nineteenth century, but nothing emerged until 1902. Impelled by the decline in the dollar's value and the instability this generated, the Singapore Chamber of Commerce requested that an investigation be undertaken into the currency with a view to secure a 'fixity of exchange'. Views were again split but on one point there could be no disagreement – trade with gold standard countries had in recent years become much more important and the weight of this reality could not be ignored. The

introduction of the gold standard into the Straits was accomplished by withdrawing the British and Mexican dollars and replacing them with a new silver Straits dollar. By the end of the summer of 1904 the bulk of the old currency had been taken out of circulation and on 31 August the Governor issued a Proclamation removing legal tender status from Mexican and British dollar coins.

If the Straits withdrawal of the coin were not enough Hong Kong too during the first decade of the nineteenth century considered doing away with the British dollar. In *Silver and the Dollar* James Dalzid remarks that it was China's 'dreary conservatism' that caused her to stick with silver for so long when the rest of the world was on gold. And, he goes on to say, 'with little Hong Kong – weeping indeed, but still clinging tight to her pantaloons!' There were some in Hong Kong, however, who were very interested in breaking away from the currency link with China, withdrawing the British dollar and moving gradually to the gold standard. Proposals to this effect put forward in 1903 had a good deal of support in some quarters, but influential commercial interests opposed the idea of moving to gold, arguing that the special link between the money of China and that of Hong Kong quite simply had to be maintained. One Hong Kong businessman put it in the following terms: 'we cannot possibly go gold here until China goes gold, and that alone is the question we have to consider'.

The Straits, however, had made the break and its removal from the story of the British dollar inevitably effected the pattern of production. With little further need for the coin after 1903 on much of the Malay Peninsula the surplus was sent to China, an influx that led to the suspension of dollar production over the next few years. The vast majority of newly minted British dollar coins thereafter was shipped to Hong Kong, with smaller numbers going to other major ports in the region. In 1911, for example, almost 5.4 million dollars were issued to the Exchange Banks, of which 4.1 million, or 75 per cent, were shipped to Hong Kong. With the development of trade between Hong Kong and the north of China after 1911 demand increased. Indeed, so many British dollars found their way there that the coin dislodged the Mexican dollar from its pre-eminent position – something which would have pleased no end nineteenth-century Treasury officials who had longed for a universal British currency. This development was helped by Mexico having stopped producing its traditional dollar in 1909, thereby enabling demand in China to shift gradually towards the British coin.

In January 1906 there was some speculation in Whitehall as to the possibility of the British dollar being struck in London should India be unable to produce it. The Deputy Master of the Mint, by now Ellison McCartney, had his misgivings, suspecting that there was probably insufficient spare capacity. Twenty years later no such doubts were entertained. The Mint then was in fact glad of the work. When production of dollars in London began in 1925 orders were received by the Mint directly from banks and bullion dealers. In that year 2 million were executed on behalf of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. Two years later a smaller number of British dollars was produced on behalf of a private firm, and with the total amounting to less than 200,000, dies bearing the date 1925 were used. Indeed with some degree of importance being attached to the unchanging nature of the design there was no insistence that the date on the coins had to be the date of manufacture. Towards the end of 1929 much larger orders were received, this time exceeding 15 million pieces.

Troubles in China

The beginning of the 1930s was a turbulent time for the world economy. In September 1931 Britain went off gold and was followed shortly afterwards by several other countries. The price of silver had fluctuated wildly. From a low point at the end of 1930 of 12d, it rose in the following years, reaching 29d in 1935, and it was this turbulence that brought about the end of the British

dollar. As with many other countries Hong Kong was finding financial conditions difficult. A Currency Committee, established in the colony in 1930, examined the likely impact of maintaining the link with silver. One recommendation was to increase the number of banknotes, and to have these issues backed by bar silver rather than coins – an idea for managing a silver-based currency very similar to one put forward by David Ricardo over a century earlier in relation to gold.

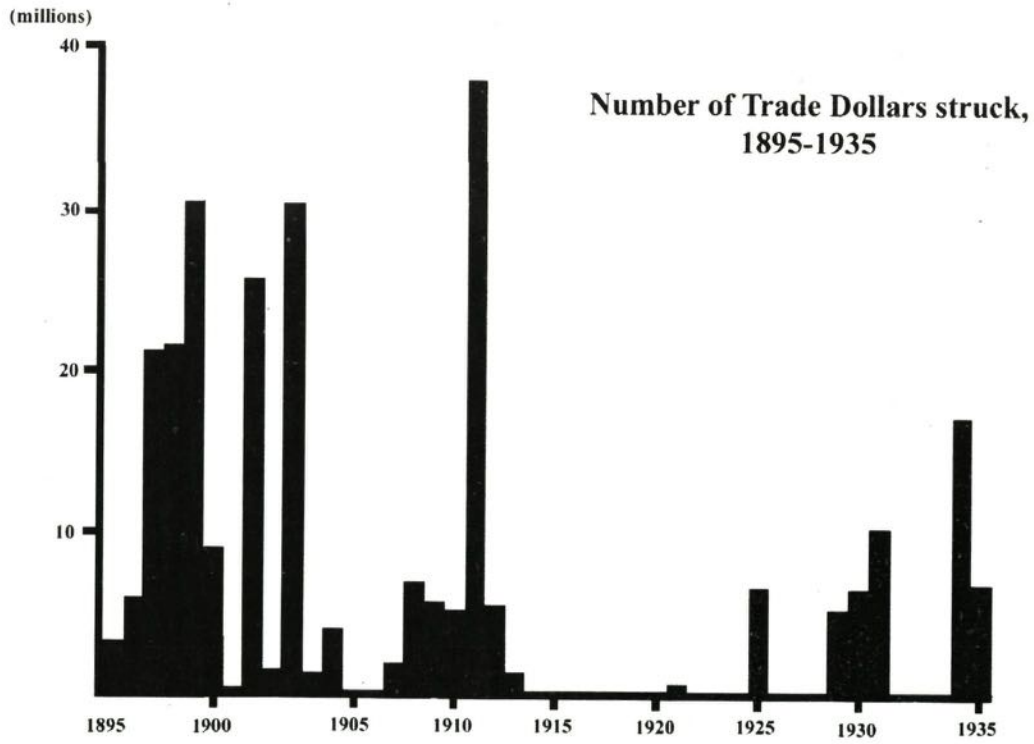
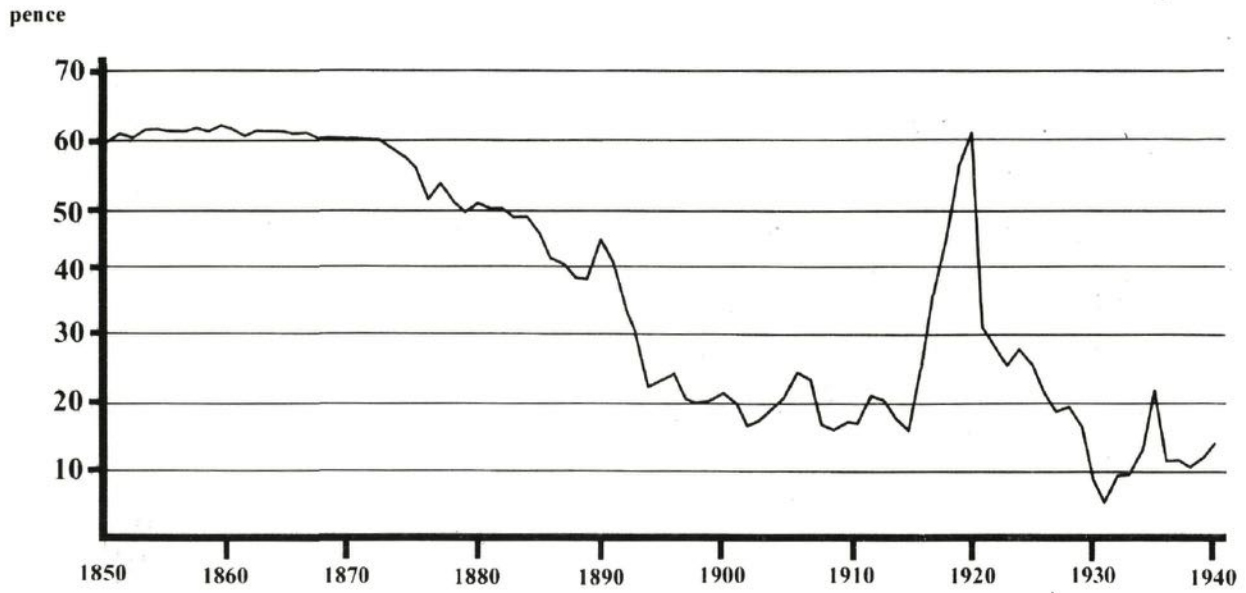
In 1934, in an effort to liquidate a favourable trade balance and under pressure from mining interests in Nevada and California to raise the silver price on world markets, the United States passed the Silver Purchase Act, which in effect involved America buying up large amounts of silver on the open market. As a result of this policy the price dutifully began to rise and economic conditions in China became increasingly uncomfortable. The activities of the United States' government dominated the fluctuations in the bullion market and contrary to some views that a rise in silver would be a benefit to China, it caused rather serious concern. During 1934 over \$250 million worth of silver currency was exported from China, and from Hong Kong, too, significant quantities of currency departed. Banks in China found themselves with reduced cover for their note issues and rumours circulated that the Chinese government was thinking of devaluing the silver dollar. Other countries were also affected by this artificial rise. In Central and South America, including of all places Mexico, silver coinage had been removed from circulation in large quantities, and replaced by notes of small denomination or base metal coins.

The United States sustained its purchase policy into 1935, and it continued to cause severe financial and currency difficulties for China. The Shanghai Exchange rate fell sharply during October as did that of Hong Kong and it was no great surprise when the Chinese government announced on 4 November that it had decided to abandon the silver standard and adopt a managed currency; the silver in circulation was to be brought under strict government control and the dollar coin replaced by an inconvertible note issue controlled by the central bank. This decision was described in the *Annual Report* of the Royal Mint as 'an act of statesmanship which is all the more remarkable in view of the age-long traditions which for centuries have kept that great Empire in bonds as close as those of Holy Matrimony with silver'. The announcement was followed by a resolution from the Hong Kong government to place an embargo on the export of silver in all forms, and on 5 December Hong Kong abandoned the silver standard on substantially the same terms as China. Silver was called in from circulation and surrendered to the government, in return for which the banks received certificates of indebtedness. An Order in Council of 27 October 1936 repealed the Hong Kong Coinage Orders of 1895 and 1916 and embodied the new arrangements with regard to the coinage. On 1 August 1937 the British dollar was demonetised, being replaced by official \$1 notes backed by the silver obtained from the banking sector.

With several types of dollar in circulation in Hong Kong there had been no unified currency system, but by demonetising the British dollar, Hong Kong came closer to this goal. Local currency was then confined to regal coinage and to notes in denominations of \$1 and above issued by the three authorised local banks. As for China, despite intentions to do something about unifying its currency, despite an earlier treaty commitment with Britain to resolve the situation and despite the changes of 1935, she remained without a uniform national currency until into the 1950s when Mao introduced his very own brand of strong central control.

Established in the teeth of a falling silver price the British dollar was from the time of its inception a coin that was trusted and largely one that seems to have met the needs of those who lobbied for its introduction. Ultimately, one gets the sense that it was a coin that lived in interesting times, tossed about on the turbulent winds of the gold standard but nevertheless for a fair length of time proving itself to be resilient.

THE PRICE OF SILVER (oz) , 1850-1940



A New Mint for the Sultans of Bengal

By S.M. Iftekhar Alam

Since the *Corpus of Muslim Coins of Bengal* by A. Karim was published in 1960 a number of new mints have been discovered for the Sultans of Bengal. These include Khairābād, Ruknābād, Shamsābād, Naudia, Nāshirābād and Dawābād.

In the recently published book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Stan Goron and JP Goenka, coin type B502 shows a mint-name that the authors were not able to read fully, only the part 'Arṣah –ābād being tentatively read. This particular type is a silver tanka of Rukn al-Din Bārbak Shāh a description of which is as follows.



Obverse, in plain area, in *tughra* characters:

rukn al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l mujāhid bārbak shāh al-sultān bin maḥmūd shāh al-sultān

Reverse, in a circle: *al-sultān ibn al-sultān*, mint & date (864 AH)

Reverse margin: partially visible but not legible.

After examining the coin thoroughly I came to the conclusion that this unusual type was struck at 'Arṣah Sājilā Mankhabād (عرصه ساجلا منكهباد). Shamsud-din Ahmed writes the last part of this place as Mankhabad in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, volume IV but Ahmad Hassan Dani calls it Mankhbād in his *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*. In the spelling of this mint only one letter, the *mīm*, is not clear but all other letters are clear and in perfect sequence to enable one to read the mint name as 'Arṣah Sājilā Mankhabād.

The *sā alif* of Sājilā is placed just above the *jīm* of Sājilā in a "v" shape, the upper portion of the *kāf* of Mankhabād is detached from the lower part and is to be found just below the *lām* of the second *al-sultān*. A *hā* is clearly present after the *kāf*. The other portions/letters of the mint are very clear.

The name 'Arṣah Sājilā Mankhabād has been found in the following inscriptions of the Bengal sultans:

1. Triveni (Hugli, West Bengal, India) inscription of Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh, dated 860 AH¹.
2. Satgaon (Hugli, West Bengal, India) inscription of Jalāl al-Dīn Fath Shāh, dated 892 AH.
3. 1st Triveni (Hugli, West Bengal, India) inscription of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, dated 912 AH.
4. 2nd Triveni (Hugli, West Bengal, India) inscription of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, undated.

Regarding the geographical location of 'Arṣah Sājilā Mankhabād, Shamsud-din Ahmed² states "The name of this 'Arṣa' has been found in the inscriptions of Barbak Shah, Fath Shah and Husain Shah. This fact emphatically suggests that the place was considered to be of prime importance. RD Banerjee says, on the authority of Dr Hara Prasad Shastri, that there was a pargana in Burdwan, a contiguous district of Satgaon, known as 'Sanchol'. On the other hand, it is observed in the Aini-Akbari that the pargana of Sharifabad was alternately called 'Sandol'. The letter چ (ch) is not represented in the Arabic alphabet; it is replaced by ج (j). So it is suggested that the word 'Sanchol' was

written in Arabic as 'Sanjol', which ultimately became 'Sajla' in the inscriptions. Banerji suggests that the word 'Sandol' mentioned in the Aini-Akbari is the distorted form of 'Sanchol'.

Ahmad Hasan Dani³ mentions "This is the name of a territorial division in which Satgaon was situated. It is conjectured by Blochmann that the modern survival of the name 'Arṣah as a pargana in this part is connected with 'Arṣah Sajla Mankhabad. Most probably in common use the real name was dropped and gradually the term 'Arṣah itself became a proper name. Portions of this pargana have now passed into Burdwan district, while the major portion is included in Hugli district. Blochmann has further pointed out that the term 'Arṣah in these inscriptions means more than a pargana. It may be said to be equivalent to the term Sarkar of the Mughal period. This 'Arṣah extended from the banks of the Sarasvati to those of the Damodar."

And Abdul Karim⁴ writes "RD Banerji further says that 'Arṣah Sajla Mankhabad corresponded with the tract lying between the rivers Hugli and Sarasvati extending to the bank of the Kabodak and including the whole of 24 Parganas, the western part of Nadia and the south-western part of Murshidabad districts."

Whatever the exact territory of this new mint, it seems that the major part of this place was in the district of Hugli, West Bengal, India, where all the above-mentioned inscriptions were discovered.

1. The date is read as 860 AH (i.e. when Bārbak was a prince) by H. Blochmann.

2. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV, p. 69.

3. *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 109.

4. *Corpus of the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 150.

An Unpublished Hephthalite Drachm

By Frank Timmermann



The drachm described here is an imitation of a Peroz drachm (at an early stage) coined from good silver. The obverse (prototype Göbl III) shows the winged bust of Peroz right. Left of the bust is a 5-pointed star and, before the bust, a Hephthalite tamgha.

The reverse (prototype Göbl I) has the usual fire-altar with attendants (somewhat barbarous) with very small remnants of the king's name (in Pehlevi) to the left. To the right, a slightly corrupt Pehlevi mint sigla 'A' is shown, but it is meaningless.

The coin weighs 3.92 g and is approx. 26 mm. It may have been struck in northern Tokharistan some time between 460-500 AD.

When the Sasanian king, Peroz (459-84) was captured by the Hephthalites in the 460s, he was ransomed by Iran for an enormous sum paid in silver drachms. This episode, the recounting of which is replete with legendary details, is confirmed by numerous finds of Peroz drachms in northern Tokharistan, where the coins and their imitations circulated. They came from local mints and some of them could have been issued to the south of the Amu Darya. At first, they were all struck in good silver.

Peroz drachms served as prototypes for local imitations produced in the southern regions of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The distribution of various groups of Sasanian imitations shows that there were certain limited circulation areas for silver coins, each of which had its own specific group. The present coin appears to be an unpublished type of these imitations.

NUMISMATIC LITERATURE ON THE COINS AND BANKNOTES OF TIBET
by Wolfgang Bertsch

Introduction

This compilation represents a condensed and updated version of the numismatic section of the following work:

Hellrigl, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: *Tibet. A Philatelic and Numismatic Bibliography. A Critical Bibliography Containing over 500 Titles of Tibetan Philately, Numismatics and Monetary Histories*, George Alevizos, Santa Monica, 1983.

In the present, commented bibliography I have listed numismatic literature which deals with the coins which were struck in Tibet and with the banknotes and related items which were printed in Lhasa or elsewhere in Tibet. Hence I have excluded all numismatic literature which deals with foreign coins and banknotes which circulated in Tibet, many of them being tolerated or authorised by the Tibetan government; e.g. the coins of Nepal, Ladakh, Garhwal, Cooch Bihar and other Himalayan areas; the coins and banknotes of British India, the rupees struck in Sichuan province for the Tibet trade and other Chinese coins. Also excluded is literature on forms of currency other than coins and banknotes. Non-numismatic literature which contains paragraphs or brief remarks on the coins or banknotes produced in Tibet as well as auction or sales catalogues listing coins or banknotes from Tibet have not been considered. The items which I am excluding are to be found in the bibliography by Wolfgang Hellrigl and Karl Gabrisch inasmuch as they appeared in published form before 1983. All titles, including abstracts and comments, which have been taken from Gabrisch's earlier compilation are marked with an asterisk: *. Further titles have been extracted from an unpublished supplement to the numismatic part of the above mentioned bibliography. This supplement, which includes Chinese numismatic literature, was prepared by Karl Gabrisch with the help of Nicholas G. Rhodes and of the compiler of the present bibliographical survey. Since the death of Karl Gabrisch in 1995 I have carried on the supplement adding numerous new publications and a few titles from before 1983 which had escaped Mr. Gabrisch's attention.

I wish to acknowledge that without the dedication to and vast knowledge of Tibetan numismatics of the late Karl Gabrisch and of Nicholas G. Rhodes the present listing could not be as comprehensive.

Abbreviations:

IBNS = Journal of the International Banknote Society

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

JEAN = Journal of East Asian Numismatics, Taipei and Niskayuna NY, Taiwan and USA

NC = Numismatic Chronicle, U.K.

NIB = Numismatics International Bulletin, Dallas, USA

ONS NL = Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter, U.K.

SNC = Spink Numismatic Circular, London, U.K.

TJ = The Tibet Journal, Dharamsala, India

WCN = World Coin News, Iola, Wisconsin, USA

I Western Literature on Coins Struck in Tibet

I.1. American Numismatic Society: *Annual Report for 1973*, New York, n.d., p. 21.

A specimen of the very rare silver shokang, Qian Long, year 57 is illustrated.

***I.2. Anonymous:** "Illustrating the 'Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Coins'", *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 2, nr. 1, 1973, p. 77, plates XM XVI.

The following varieties of the "3 Srang", Y. 25 (different numbers of flames in the lion's extended fore-paw and his tail) are listed: 16-7: 4/7, 4/8, 5/8; 16-8: 4/6, 4/7, 4/8 and 5/8.

***I.3. Anonymous:** "Dating modern Tibetan Coins." *A Study of Collector's Research, Montreal Journal of International Numismatics*, Vol. 8, Nr. 2, 1974, pp. 38-39.

Dates are invariably found on the reverse of Tibetan coins. On copper coins, the dates are usually stated in numerals, inscribed clockwise in the outer rim legend. On silver pieces, the dates are written in words: a) the word "year" and the year-figures are usually placed in the centre; b) the word "cycle" and the cycle-number may be written in the centre or on the outside rim legend. Once the cycle and the year are deciphered, the method of converting the Tibetan date to A.D. or C.E. (Common Era) is simplified by the following formula: $(60 \times \text{cycle}) + \text{Year} + 966 = \text{A.D. or C.E.}$

I.4. Anonymous: "Tibetan Fake Coins Hit U.S.; Copper 2½-, 7½ Pieces." In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 6, no. 16, April 17, 1979, pp. 3 and 26.

Reported and illustrated are a 7½ skar copper coin imitating the Y-11 type and a 2½ skar of the Y-A19 type. The former has a lion of wrong style on the obverse while the latter can easily be identified owing to the wrong dat, 5-15, given on the obverse. The coins were identified as fakes by Brian Hannon and Charles Panish.

I.5. **Anonymous** (editor of WCN): "Tibet counterfeit?" In: *World Coin News*, Vol.10, no. 20, May 17 1983, p. 4.

On the Tibet Y-22, gold 20-srang fake the lion's face lacks personality, appearing round and lacking expression. The lion's face on a genuine coin has more detail, although the workmanship is crude. One believes that South Asia is the source of the Tibetan gold counterfeits. These forgeries are all dated 15-54.

I.6. **Anonymous**: "A Token from Tibet???" In: *East Asia Journal*, Issue Nr. 5 (First Quarter 1983), p. 71

The legend of a token struck over a Tibetan 5 Sho copper coin is read as: "La Hsiu Han", literally meaning "La Hsiu cliff". A monastery of this name existed in Qinghai province. Author is most probably Bruce W Smith.

*I.7. **Baulmont**, Capitaine: "La monnaie d'argent au Thibet". In: *Revue Indo-Chinoise*, Hanoi, 1907, pp. 1349-1350.

Two drawings and a description of the Sino-Tibetan coins Ch'ien-lung Year 59 and Tao-kuang Year 1.

I.8. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Varieties of Tibet's Srang Issues." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, No.1, January 1986, pp. 7-12.

Five varieties of the 1 Srang silver issue Y 9 and four varieties of the issue Y 12 are described and pictured. Besides these the author publishes with pictures three forgeries of the Y 12 issue. He has not encountered any forgeries of the Y 9 issue.

I.9. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "A Pattern Struck in England for Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 21, No.1, February 1987, pp. 33-35.

A pattern struck in brass dated "Cycle 15, Year 57" (1923 AD) with the denomination "Tam Srang 20" is described and illustrated. It may have been minted by Taylor & Challen Co. (U.K.) and was never adopted by the Tibetan Government.

I.10. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Patterns of the Year 1951" In: *NIB*, Vol. 27, No. 4, April 1992, pp. 94-96.

Three hitherto unknown patterns were illustrated in a booklet issued in Chinese by the Institute of Finance of the People's Bank of China (Lhasa Branch). Described and pictured are a) silver 50 srang, b) silver 25 srang and c) silver 50 srang with design of Potala. All three are dated "925" (= A.D. 1951).

I.11. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Some Difficulties In Dating An Early Tibetan Coin." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, No.8 August 1990, pp. 184-185.

The author attributes the so-called Vartula-tamga (C 5) to the 2nd Demo Regent who ruled from 1811 to 1819 because the same Vartula character "dza" which one encounters on the coin is also engraved on the upper border of the seal of the 2nd Demo Regent.

I.12. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Forgeries of Tibetan Copper Coins from Northern India?" In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 126, Sept.-Okt. 1990.

The author obtained and describes the dies which were used to produce the forgeries of 7½ Skar copper (15-43), 5 Skar (15-43) and 2½ Skar (15-43). The forger worked in Gangtok (Sikkim) and died in 1985. With 15 photos.

I.13. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The 'Gaden' Inscription On Tibetan Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, no. 9, September 1990, pp. 204-207.

Interpretation and origin of the so-called "Gadan Phodang" inscription on Tibetan coins.

I.14. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Snow Lion on Tibetan Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 26, No.4, April 1991, pp. 87-89.

The evolution of the Tibetan snow lion from a guardian of one of the quarters to a buddhist animal and finally to the symbol of Tibet as used on coins, paper money and postage stamps, is discussed.

I.15. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "A Tibetan Countermark on a Spanish American Coin?" In: *ONS Newsletter* 139, 1994.

It is suggested the a countermark on a 8 reales of Mexico could be the Tibetan syllable "rgya". See also under Smith, Bruce W.

I.16. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The 20th century Pattern Coinage of Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 32, Nr. 1, January 1997, pp.7-18.

A total of 16 patterns are illustrated and described; 2 are published for the first time.

I.17. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin." In: *NIB*, Vol. 32, Nr. 9, September 1997, pp. 225-231.

Four major obverse varieties and five reverse varieties of this coin are explained and illustrated. Also a grain token struck on a 3 Sho coin is shown along with another specimen struck on a 5 Sho copper coin.

I.18 **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan Grain Tokens." In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 155, Winter 1998, pp. 23-24.

The grain tokens were produced in the 1960's and are attributed to a "Motor Repair Workshop" in Lhasa. A specimen struck over the Tibetan 3 So copper coin is reported.

I.19 **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Second Issue of the 3 Srang Silver Coin of Tibet." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Fall 1998 (Issue 17), pp. 19-27.

Contains remarks on the background and significance of the second 3 Srang issue, suggests a classification of the obverse varieties and explains three scarce reverse varieties.

I.20. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Some Modern Forgeries of Tibetan Coins" In: *ONS Newsletter*, no. 157, autumn 1998, pp. 18-20.

Forged Sino-Tibetan coins of the Qian Long and Xuan Tong eras, silver strikings of the 20 srang gold coin, dated 15-53 and a copper forgery of a 3 Srang coin, dated 16-10, are illustrated and described.

I.21. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Kalsang Tangka of Tibet." In: *JEAN* Vol. 5, Nr. 4, winter 1998 (Issue 18), pp. 22 - 29.

An explanation for the term "Kalsang Tangka" is suggested, the tangka's issue is placed into its historic context and the major

varieties of this coin, including a gold striking, are listed.

I.22. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Silver Coin Presented by the 13th Dalai Lama to Monks in 1910 AD" In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Winter 1999, pp. 22-34.

After giving a brief introduction to the coinage of Tibet until the beginning of the 20th century the author discusses the so called "monk tangka" in the context of the normal tangka issues of Tibet. Variants of this special tangka are pointed out and a gold striking is recorded.

I.23. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang and **Gabrisch**, Karl: "Some Varieties of Tibet's First Struck Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, No. 6, June 1986, pp. 125-128.

Based on a Russian paper which refers to the Chinese report written by Ao-Hiu, who refers to his visit to Tibet in 1789, the authors state that the first coins in Tibet were struck in 1763-6 and 1785. They describe and picture three types of the first issue and two types of the second issue. Most of the coins are extremely rare or unique.

I.24. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang and **Gabrisch**, Karl: "10 Tam Coins from Tibet." In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 128, March-May, 1991

For the first time the authors describe three types of the extremely rare 10 Tam coins from Tibet all from their collections. Though undated, it is supposed that the coins were issued in 1909, 1928 and 1929/30. The reason for the issue probably may be an attempt by the Tibetan government to issue coins similar in size and weight to the very popular Indian rupee. The paper is illustrated with 12 photographs of the coins and related issues.

I.25. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang, **Gabrisch**, Karl and **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "A Study of Sino-Tibetan Coins of the Jia Qing Era." In: *The Journal of East Asian Numismatics*, Vol. 2, Nr. 4, Taipei and Niskayuna, summer 1995, pp. 23-34.

Following a brief historical introduction, all the known dates and major variants of this series are described and illustrated with line drawings.

I.26. **Boulnois**, Lucette: *Poudre D'Or et Monnaies D'Argent au Tibet (principalement au XVIIIe siècle)*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris, 1983.

French text. This contribution to the history of precious metals in Asia relies on documents in Western languages, as well as in Russian and Chinese. It includes two parts: the first one, on Tibetan gold; the second one on the silver coinage minted by Nepal for Tibet before 1792. In both parts the 18th century period is given special attention. In the first part, testimonies and legends are reported dealing with the gold mines of Tibet (including the famous text by Herodotus on gold-digging "ants" and the discussion it has raised) and actual facts, from ancient times till nowadays. Based on various sources, the identification of old and recent gold mines and gold fields, the extraction and circulation of gold, prices, gold/silver exchange rates, comparisons with world prices, and political consequences, are studied – as well as the ways gold was made use of, beliefs relating to precious metals and mines, treasures accumulated in monasteries and their fate. Photographs of 18th century maps help to interpret reports.

The second part deals with the monopolistic treaties by which the Nepal kings, until 1792, were entitled to mint silver coins for Tibet out of bullion provided by the Tibetans; with the evolution of this agreement during the 18th century, its commercial and political context, its numismatic aspects, the consequences of minting debased coins, the Gorkha conquest, the war with Tibet and China "the abrogation of the monopolistic treaty", Chinese attitude towards Tibetan coinage after 1793, and the source of silver bullion used to mint Tibetan coins.

*I.27 **Bruce II**, Cohn R.: "Tibet Silver Tangka, Y-13, a Preliminary Study." *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*. Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p. 75.

An attempt to classify the "white tangka".

*I.28. **Bushell**, S. W.: "Chinese Silver Coinage of Tibet". In: *China Review*, Vol. 6, No. 6, 1878, pp. 348-349.

A mint for the coinage of silver money was established in Lhasa by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in the 57th year (A.D. 1792) of his reign. The rules of the new mint are detailed in the Regulations of the Board of Revenue, Ch. 34, fol. 35-36. Two "1 sho" specimens of this coinage are illustrated: Ch'ien-lung pao tsang Year 59 (A.D. 1794) and Tao-kuang pao tsang Year 1 (A.D. 1821).

*I.29. **Bushell**, S. W.: "The Chinese Silver Coinage of Tibet. In: *China Review*, Vol. 8, No. 6, 1880, p. 392.

A drawing of the "½ sho" of Ch'ien-lung pao tsang Year 58 (A.D. 1793).

*I.30. **Bushell**, S. W.: "Additional Coins of the Present Dynasty". In: *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 33, 1889/1890, pp. 30-34.

The mint in Lhasa is under the superintendence of four officers jointly appointed by the Chinese resident and the Dalai Lama. The coins were directed to be cast from standard sycee silver, unmixed with other materials. The later emperors ordered that one fifth of the issues of the silver coinage of Tibet as well as of the coinage of Illi should still be inscribed with the reign of Ch'ien-lung in memory of the great Emperor's conquest.

*I.31. **Bykow**, A. A.: *Monety Kitaja*. Leningrad, 1969.

Russian text. On p. 32 there is a short note on the Kong-par tangka and the first Sino-Tibetan issue of 1793. On plate XVI the following coins are illustrated: the Kong-par tangka 13-46 (no. 126), the 1 sho of Ch'ien-lung Year 59 (no. 127) and of Tao Kuang Year 3 (no. 128).

*I.32. **Chang**, H.: *The Silver Dollars and Taels of China*. Hongkong, 1981.

Description and photographs, with prices, of the five issues of the "1 Srang" (nos. CH57-61).

*I.33. **Cresswell**, Oliver D.: *Tibetan Coins*. Numismatics International, Dallas, Texas, 1977.

In spite of its title, this booklet lists only coins of autonomous Tibet. The Sino-Tibetan issues are omitted. It contains useful information for beginners, but, unfortunately, there are some wrong statements and omissions in the listing of the issues.

For a review in the German language see: Gabrisch, Karl: "Cresswell, O.D., Tibetan Coins." In: *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*, Vol. 13, No. 64, 1978, pp. 92-93.

I.34. **Fengler, Heinz; Gierow, Gerhard and Unger, Willy:** *Lexikon der Numismatik*. 3rd edition, Berlin, 1982 (first edition 1976), p. 483.

In the German language. Contains a brief discussion of the Nepalese mohurs struck for Tibet and of the Gaden and Kong Par tangkas and of the sino-tibetan coinage.

I.35. **Forrest, Bob:** "Coin Abuse II." In: *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 31, Nr. 1, January 1996, pp. 10 - 17.

A small suff bottle made from two Tibetan machine struck shokang coins (Y 23) is described and illustrated (p. 12). The author thinks that it was made in Tibet. These items are, however, produced in Nepal, but occasionally they are sold in Lhasa curio shops.

*I.36. **Gabrisch, Karl:** "Abriss der Münzgeschichte Tibets". In: *Der Weg zum Dach der Welt*. Edited by C.C. Müller and W. Raunig. Innsbruck and Frankfurt/M., October 1982, pp. 220, 233-237.

German text. A short history of the development of currency in Tibet, especially in connection with the trans-Himalayan trade. The article is illustrated with photos of 19 coins, some of which are published for the first time: Jia Qing, Year 5; 20 Srang, cycle 15, year 55. Also colour photographs of six Tibetan banknotes from the author's collection are included.

*I.37. **Gabrisch, Karl:** "Grain Tokens from Tibet." In: *ONS NL*, 1983.

In 1981, a copper piece with a Chinese inscription overstruck on a Tibetan "5 Sho 16-26". appeared on the market in Kathmandu. It seems to be a ration token and is considered to be genuine. Two different pieces are illustrated.

I.38. **Gabrisch, Karl:** *Geld aus Tibet. Sammlung Dr. Karl Gabrisch*. Winterthur and Rikon, 1990 (73 pp. and 43 pl.).

In 13 chapters on 68 pages the author introduces the history of currency in Tibet based on the latest research published in Western and Chinese literature. The 40 plates illustrate 155 coins, medals and banknotes, some published for the first time; apart from two items, they are all from the author's collection. Part of this collection was on display from 25 Sept 1989 till 12 August 1990 in the coin cabinet at Winterthur (Switzerland).

*I.39. **Gabrisch, Karl:** "Beiträge zur tibetischen Numismatik II: Die Tibetischen Goldmünzen und deren Fälschungen". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 1990, pp. 1-3 and vol. 21, no 2, 1991, pp. 1-5.

German text. Tibet is rich in gold. Auriferous fields are reported in western and central Tibet. Gold is also found in the rivers in eastern parts between Chiamdo and Tachienlu. According to Chinese sources, an Indian 1 Tola gold coin was current in Tibet before 1914. The first gold coin of Tibet was minted 15-52 (AD 1918). In 15-55 (AD 1921) the minting was suspended, the last issue being the rarest. The study is based on a collection of 31 gold coins, the results such as weight, specific weight, gold content, different measurements being summed up in three tables. The author tries to establish criteria for the genuine Tibetan gold coin.

I.40. **Gabrisch, Karl and Shakya, Amogh R.:** "Numismatic Glimpses from Tibetan Borderlands". In: *NIB*, Vol. 30, Nr. 5, May 1995, pp. 105-112.

A survey of the currency used in the 20th century in areas inhabited by Tibetans of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces.

I.41. **Gabrisch, Karl and Bertsch, Wolfgang:** "Chopmarks on Sichuan Rupees and Coins from Tibet". In: *NIB*, Vol 26, No.3, 1991, pp. 57-65.

17 different chopmarks, all, except three, on Sichuan Rupees, are mentioned and, where possible, also explained. 27 coins with chopmarks are pictured.

Comment: In fact, the marks found on Sichuan rupees should not be called "chops", since they are mostly found on rupees of the later minting period (after 1930), when the habit of chopping coins was no longer prevalent in China. At least one mark seems to have been of official character and could therefore be called a "counterstamp".

Meanwhile the compiler has come to the conclusion that there exist several countermarks on Sichuan rupees and Tibetan coins which have to be considered as modern fabrications, probably of northern Indian origin.

I.42. **Gabrisch, Karl (edited by Bertsch, Wolfgang):** "The First Coins Struck in Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 34, Nr. 3, March 1999, pp. 56-63.

Four different chronologies for the issue of four early Tibetan coin types are discussed with illustrations of most coins mentioned.

I.43. **Gopakumar, P.:** "Coins of the Roof of the World." In: *Hindu* (daily newspaper), New Delhi, Nov. 26, 1989.

A brief introduction to Tibet's coinage with illustrations of three common copper coins.

I.44. **Haikichi, Aizawa:** A Study of Tangka. Published in Showa 44 (AD 1969) in. Nr. 3 of an unidentified Japanese Numismatic Journal.

A Japanese article discussing variants of the "Gaden tangka".

I.45. **Hébert, Raimond. J.:** "Bogle and Manning on the Monies of Tibet in 1774 and 1811-1812." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, Nr. 4, April 1990, pp. 88-89.

Extracts from narratives of the mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (edited by Clements R. Markham, London, 1876).

I.46. **Herrli, Hans:** *Zahlen, Ziffern, Zeitrechnungen. Ein Numismatisches Handbuch*. Köln, 1989.

The Tibetan dating by 60 year cycles is discussed on pp. 191-192. Dating systems of other Himalayan states like Nepal, Bhutan and Assam are also explained.

I.47. **Jedson** International: "Tibet's intriguing white Tangka." In: *World Coins*, Vol. 8, Sydney, Ohio, July 1971, p. 885. Republished in same journal, Vol. 9, No. 97, January 1972, p. 71.

Note on the Gaden Tangka in the form of advertising. Reports that in 1948 5 Million Gaden Tangkas were melted to produce the 10 Srang coin.

*I.48. **Kalgan**, Shih: *Modern Coins of China*. Chinese Edition: Shanghai, 1949. English Edition Shanghai 1949. Reprint of the Chinese edition: Shanghai, 1989.

The author mentions two gold coins of Tibet, a yellow one and a red one with a lower silver content. Now we know that the red coin is actually a Chinese forgery of a genuine Tibetan coin (p. 10 of the English edition). Several Tibetan coins are illustrated.

*I.49. **Kann**, Edward: *The Currencies of China*. Second edition, Shanghai, 1927.

An important work on gold, silver and copper currency. References to Tibet are scattered throughout the book.

*I.50. **Kann**, Edward: "The Coinage of Gold in China." *Bulletin of the Numismatic Society in China*, No. 7, 1941, pp. 13 and 18.

The author's reference to a Tibetan gold coin, minted between 1909 and 1911, is incorrect, since no gold coins were struck before 1918. The illustrated coin (no. 5, p. 18) is actually the modern 20 srang gold coin.

*I.51. **Kann**, Edward: *Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins*. Los Angeles, 1954. Second Edition: New York, 1966.

Despite some errors, this work was considered for many years as the best catalogue of Tibetan coins, particularly of the Sino-Tibetan series.

I.52. **Kempf**, Fred: "Tibet (More Coin-Grams)." In: *World Coins*, Sydney, Ohio, August 1967, p. 664.

The Kong-par tangkas, dated 13-46, 13-47, 15-24 and 15-25 which, at that time, were not included in the Craig and Yeoman catalogues are reported together with three none-existent dates for this coin type: 13-48, 13-49 and 13-50. The ornamental lines encompassing the date on the obverse of these coins are interpreted as the Buddhist symbol "OM".

I.53. **Kempf**, Fred: "Reading and Dating Tibet Coins." In: *World Coins*, Sidney, Ohio, 1968, pp. 392-394.

Tibet started using its own money in the late 1700 's. At first there was only one denomination, the silver tangka, weighing roughly 5 grams. It was originally a Nepalese coin. In 1909, a decimal monetary system, consisting of skar, sho and srang, was introduced: ten skar equal one sho, ten sho equal one srang. A list of interpretations is added, enabling the collector to decipher the dates and legends on native Tibetan coins, which are fascinating once they are fully understood.

*I.54. **Kempf**, Fred: *A Primary Report on Native Tibetan Coins*. Mimeograph. Seattle, Washington, 1969.

Illustrated work on modern Tibetan coins, including estimated mintage figures, based on information collected from former Tibetan government officials.

*I.55. **Klaasesz**, Paul F.: "Tibet. Part III. Coins Struck in Tibet." In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol 16, No. 2, 1950, pp. 173-176.

A tangka and three modern issues are illustrated.

*I.56. **Klaasesz**, Paul F.: "Tibet. Part IV" In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1951, pp. 664-665.

Three coins are described in some detail. However, the one that is similar in design to the gold piece is actually a silver trial-strike of a Chinese forgery of the 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-54. The second piece is a "2 tangka" (Y 15).

*I.57. **Kleist**, Christian-Ewald von: "Zeitangaben auf Münzen Tibets". In: *Die Münze*, Vol. 8, 1977, pp. 350-351.

German text. A short introduction to the dating of Tibetan coins.

I.58. **Lindegger**, Peter: "Vom Dach der Welt - Geld aus Tibet. Die Sammiung Dr. Karl Gabrisch im Münzkabinett der Stadt Winterthur." In: *Zeichen und Werte*. Kulturelle Beilage zum "Landboten und Tagblatt von Winterthur und Umgebung". Nr. 10, Samstag, 13. Januar 1990, p. 29-30.

German text. An introduction to the history of Tibet's currency and to the exhibition "Money from Tibet" (collection of Dr. Karl Gabrisch) in the coin cabinet of the Swiss town of Winterthur.

*I.59. **Martynov**, Alexander S.: "O pervykh chekankakh monety v Tibete". *Kratkie Soobshcheniia, Akademia Nauk SSR, Institut Narodov Azii*, No. 69, Moscow 1965, pp.197-202.

Russian text. Based on a little-known Chinese work, "Koerkha Chilueh", the dates of the first coins issued in Tibet are stated to be AD 1763, 1764, 1785 and 1791-2, prior to a decree by the Emperor.

*I.60. **Martynov** Alexander S.: *Status Tibeta w XVII-XVIII wekach*. Moscow, 1978, pp. 156-175.

Russian text. A longer excursion-into Tibetan monetary policy.

I.61. **Martynov**, Alexander S.: "Some Aspects of the Qing Policy in Tibet at the close of the 18th Century. (Prehistory of the Manzhou Invasion of Nepal in 1792)" In: *Rolamba*. Journal of the Joshi Research Institute, Vol. 7, No. 3, July/Sept. 1987, pp. 6-20. (Adapted from "Manzhou Rule in China" Moscow 1983, pp. 216-234).

Discussion of the coinage problem which existed between Tibet and Nepal after Prithvi Narayan Shah had conquered the

Kathmandu Valley and of the somewhat belated reaction of the Manzhou Government to the conflict between Nepal and Tibet.

- *I.62. **Marvin, W. T. R.:** "The Coins of Thibet". *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. 42, 1907, pp. 3-13.
A very instructive report on coins and the monetary system mainly of Eastern Tibet and the border areas between China and Tibet.
- *I.63. **Meyer, H.:** "Münzgeschichtliches aus Tibet. In: *Die Münze*, Vol. 7, 1976, pp. 321-323.
A short sketch of the monetary history of Tibet.
- * I.64. **Obojski, R.:** "The Coins and Currency of Tibet, the Forbidden Land." *Numismatic News Weekly*, Vol. 12, No. 11, May 1964, pp. 9-10.
A short, illustrated introduction to Tibetan coins and banknotes.
- * I.65. **Panish, Charles K.:** "Tibet Y 13, Struck in a Collar". In: *India Asiatic Numismatic Society* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p. 76.
Some notes on the minting of the "tamga Gabo" (white tangka).
- *I.66. **Plant, R.J.:** *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic Coins and how to read them*. Scorpion Publishers, Amherst, New York, 1979.
Contains an introduction to the Tibetan alphabet and inscriptions on the Tibetan issues (pp. 187-191).
- I.67. **Prinsep, James:** *Useful Tables Illustrative of the Coins, Weights and Measures of British India*. Edited with Notes, and Additional Matter by Edward Thomas. London 1858. (Reprint: Indological Book House, Delhi and Varanasi, 1971). pp. 65-66 and plate XLVI, Nr. 7.
Possibly the earliest illustration and description of two of the Sino-Tibetan issues in the name of emperor *chah hchhin* (sic), year 8 and 25.
- *I.68. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "An Unpublished Sino-Tibetan Date." In: *NIB*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1975, p. 101.
Drawings of two coins of very different styles, dated Ch'ien lung (Qian Long) Year 61 and recorded for the first time. This date is unexpected because the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien Lung only reigned for 60 years and abdicated on 6th February 1796. These Sino-Tibetan coins must have been struck in the weeks before the news of the abdication of Ch'ien Lung had reached Lhasa.
- *I.69. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "Further Forgeries". In: *ONS NL*, No. 51, 1977.
A short note on a forgery of the Tibet 7½ skar 15-43 (AD 1909; Y 11). It can be distinguished by one letter in the word below the lion which is written in a different way. Apart from this, the forgery is of good workmanship and could easily deceive.
- *I.70. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Sino-Tibetan Countermark" In: *ONS NL*, No. 53, 1978.
A rectangular countermark on a late Sichuan rupee consisting of one Tibetan and two Chinese characters. The author gives some possible translations but the true meaning of this countermark remains a mystery.
- *I.71. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Tibetan Forgery". In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 86, 1978, pp. 364-365.
A Chinese forgery of the Tibetan 20 Srang gold coin struck at Chengdu before 1949. Examples struck in silver and in copper and, possibly, in brass, also exist. The forgery (dated 15-54) and a genuine coin are illustrated.
- *I.72. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** *Tibetan Mints*. ONS Information Sheet, No. 19, 1978.
Personal research enables the author to list ten mints established in Tibet during the last 150 years. These are Dodpal, Gianda, Tip Arsenal, Dode, Mekyi, Ser-khang, Nörbu Tsoki, Takpo, Tapchi and Dogu. Each mint is classed with different types of coins produced there, according to historical sources or statements made by the author. The report is completed with drawings of 15 coins and two maps illustrating the locations of the mints "outside Lhasa" and "in and around Lhasa", respectively.
- *I.73. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "The Development of Currency in Tibet". In: *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*. Edited by Aris, Michael and Suu Kyi, Aung S. Warminster, 1981. Reprinted: *NIB*, Vol. 15, No. 10, October 1981, pp. 295-305.
An exhaustive article on the history of Tibet's currency, from barter of the earliest days till the issue of the last coin - a Chinese restrike of the 1950's. With 16 drawings of historically important coins.
- *I.74. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. ONS Occasional Paper. No. 17, January 1983. (20 pp.)
Contains "Appendix I: Description of Main Classes and Varieties"; with 20 drawings and "Appendix II: An Analysis of Weight Standards"; with a list of tangkas, weighed by C. Valdetaro and by the author.
This is the best substantiated work on the Gaden tangka to date. The author's comments on the secret marks on the tangkas, probably introduced partly as a method of detecting forgeries and partly to identify the date of issue and the official responsible for the mint, represent most useful and original research.
- I.75. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "Tibetan-Indian Exchange Rates." In: *Postal Himal*, No. 35, 3rd. Quarter, 1983, p. 33.
Tibetan-Indian Exchange rates between 1904 - 1947 (March) are listed.
- I.76. **Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "Some Sino-Tibetan Forgeries." In: *NIB*, Vol 20, Nr. 11 1986, pp. 254-257.
The author discusses 3 Sino-Tibetan "5 Fen" issues (Chia Ching Yr. 8, Tao Kuang Yr. 1 and Hsien Feng Yr. 3) which were offered in the Money Company auction, Sept. 1986 and states that all these pieces are forgeries. The paper contains 6 drawings of the mentioned issues.

- I.77. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Some Sino-Tibetan Coins Formerly in Peking." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, Nr. 12, 1986, pp. 283-285.
 In 1937 Huang Peng-hsiao published a small book entitled "Coins of the Ching Dynasty" and mentioned some Sino-Tibetan coins said to have been presented to the Emperor as examples of those issued throughout the Empire. The author analyses 9 Sino-Tibetan coins mentioned and pictured but hitherto unknown to collectors.
- I.78. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "The 'Suchakra Vijaya' Tangka of Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 21 Nr. 1, 1987, pp. 21-23.
 This is a rare coin attributed to ca. 1840 AD. The inscription, identical on both sides, is in the so called "Hor-yig" or "Phags-pa" script and means "Suchakra Vijaya" which can be translated as "The Victory of the Dharma (the Buddhist doctrine)."
- I.79. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Two 'Tibetan Pattern Coins.'" In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 105, March-April, 1987.
 A unique copper pattern with the denomination "50 silver srang" dated in the Tibetan year 925 and in the Christian year 1951 and a smaller copper pattern "5 srang" from the author's collection are described and pictured.
- I.80. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Silver in the Himalayas?" In: *Newsletter: The Journal of the London Numismatic Club*, Vol. VII, Nr. 14, 1989, pp. 3-7.
 A historical sketch on silver coins of the Himalayan states Cooch Behar, Bhutan, Nepal, Garhwal and Ladakh, which were minted for the trans-Himalayan wool trade with Tibet and played an important part in the numismatic history of that country.
- I.81. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Two Rare Tibetan Coins." In: *ONS Newsletter* No. 124, May-June 1990.
 The 1 Sho brass dated 16-1 (1927) and the 5 Sho silver dated 16-4 (1930) should probably be regarded as patterns. It is supposed that the first mentioned coin was struck by Messrs. Taylor and Challen in Birmingham in 1923. The second coin appeared in Nepal in 1969. The reverse of the no. 2 is the re-engraved die of the coin no. 1 made by the Tibetans themselves to strike the 5 Sho silver, which was never issued in quantity.
- I.82. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "The first Coins struck in Tibet?" In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 15, Nr. 4, Winter 1990, pp. 115-134.
 The author tries to date three early Tibetan Tangkas (which are undated) taking as base the "Qing Ding Guo Er Ka Ji Lue" (The records of the Emperor's decisions regarding relations with the Gorkhas). He includes translations of chapter XI and XII of this important Chinese document as an appendix. He also discusses the Sino-Tibetan trial issues, dated 57th year of Qian Long which are all extremely rare. He illustrates all five pieces which are known from Western Collections and a recently published book in Chinese about Tibet's coinage by Xiao Huaiyuan (see section III).
- I.83. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Tibetan Forgeries made in Calcutta?" In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 152, 1992, pp. 89-96, p1. 12 and 13.
 Details of the production of large numbers of forgeries (mostly of the copper shokang) in Calcutta in the mid 1920s are described. The forged types are illustrated.
- I.84. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Coins used in Tibetan Medicine." In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 138, 1993, p. 10.
 In Tibetan Medical Paintings recently published, there is a most unexpected numismatic reference. 23 paintings illustrate various forms of silver ingots in the form of Indian, Nepalese, Bhutanese, Russian and Khampa Zho-kha-ma currency.
- I.85. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "A Tibetan Coin Struck in the name of Aurangzeb?" In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 156, summer 1998.
 Reports a gold mohur of Aurangzeb, dated 1076 AH, Year 8 (1665/66 A.D.) bearing the mint name *Tibet-i-Kalan*. The author suggests that it was probably struck in some mint in Kashmir by order of the king of Ladakh (and with the permission of the Moghul emperor) who used it to pay tribute to Aurangzeb in AD 1665.
- *I.86. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G. and **Gabrisch**, Karl: "Two Sino-Tibetan Coins." In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 88, No. 5, 1980, P: 172.
 An illustrated article on two rare Sino-Tibetan coins that have never been fully recorded before: 1) a very rare "1/2 Qian" of Qian Long, year 57 (AD 1792). The Tibetan inscription "Bod-kyi Rin-po-che" means "Tibetan Rinpoche", a reference to the Dalai Lama. 2) "1 Qian" of Jia Qing, year 6 (A.D. 1801) with Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu inscription, fully translated by the authors.
- I.87. **Rockwell**, Thomas, P.: "Dating Systems on Coins since 1000 AD" In: *NIB*, Vol.17, Nr. 5 (May 1983), pp. 136-151.
 This article was published also in: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 87, Nr. 1, Jan. 1974, p. 5-32.
 On pp. 148-149 a discussion of the "Tibetan Era" used on Tibetan banknotes. The author suggests that adding 256 to the T.E. date gives the Western date.
- I.88. **Rose**, F.M.: *Chopmarks*. Numismatics International. Dallas, 1987.
 On p. 33 the author illustrates and describes a 1 Srang coin, Xuan tung year 1, bearing several small Chinese chops. This and another coin of the same type sold in the Money Company Hongkong auction Sept. 25, 1982 are the only examples of Tibetan coins with chops known to the author who believes that some Tibetan tangkas with chops should exist.
- *I.89. **Rudko**, P. J.: "An Introduction to the Dating of Modern Coinage of Tibet". In: *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p. 78.
 A short note on dating modern issues.
- I.90. **Salmen**, W.: "Die tibetische Wahrung und ihr Ausdruck auf den Briefmarken des Landes." In: *Der Sammler-Dienst*. Vol. 23, Nr. 1, Coburg, Jan. 1972, pp. 50-53.
 A German language introduction to the Tibetan currency system explained with the help of two tables and illustrations of a copper

shokang, a silver Tangka with Lantsa inscription and a blue 50 Tam banknote.

This article is already listed in the philatelic section of the Hellrigl/Gabrisch Bibliography.

*I.91. **Semans, Scott:** *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. Info-Sheet No. 11, Cleveland, n.d.

An attempt to classify the Tibetan Gaden tangka.

*I.92. **Semans, Scott:** "Some more Forgeries". In: *ONS NL*; No. 50, August 1977.

A forgery of the Tibetan 2½ skar (Y A19), dated 15-55, is currently found in India. It is easy to detect, as the figures "1" and "5" in the date are connected and the tail of the "5" is split. Also the style of this forgery is generally wrong.

I.93. **Shakabpa, Wangchuk Deden, Tsepon.:** "Tibetan Currency." In: *Tibet House Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No.1 Spring 1992, pp. 1 and 3. (Translated by Lhakdor).

This article was originally published in the Tibetan language (see below, section V).

I.94. **Shrestha, Swoyambulal:** "Mudraharubare Yauta Chithi (A letter on coins)". In: *Nepali*, Nr. 15, Madan Puraskar Guthi 2020 (= AD 1963), p. 34-36.

Article in Nepalese. A Tangka of the type C 27 and a Kong Par Tangka dated 15-24 are illustrated together with two Nepalese coins.

I.95. **Smith, Bruce W:** "A Tibetan Countermark on a Spanish American Coin? By Wolfgang Bertsch. ONS Newsletter 139 Winter 1994, p. 13." In: *JEAN* Vol. 2, Nr. 1, 1995, p. 13.

Some comments on Bertsch's article, suggesting that the countermark on the Spanish American coin is not Tibetan, but represents an abbreviated cursive form of the Chinese character "shou".

I.96. **Smith, Bruce W:** "Tibetan Coins and Tokens". In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, Nr. 1, Niskayuna Winter 1997/Spring 1998, Issue 14/15, p. 40.

Refers to the article "The Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin" by W. Bertsch and agrees that the pieces showing Chinese characters overstruck on Tibetan 3 Sho and 5 Sho copper coins are ration tokens for four liang of grain.

*I.97. **Terrien de Lacouperie, A.:** "The Silver Coinage of Tibet". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 3, 1881, pp. 340-353 and plate XV

One of the classical reports on the early history of currency in Tibet. The author describes the mintage of the Malla kings of Nepal on behalf of Tibet, and the Sino-Tibetan issues. There are some errors, discovered and corrected by later writers. Sixteen coins are illustrated.

I.98. **Thierry, François:** *Monnaies de Chine*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1992.

This work includes a chapter called *La tradition tibétaine* (pp. 83-85) in which 35 Tibetan coins (including a mohar of Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur struck for Tibet) are described. The Malla coin and a Sino-Tibetan 1 Sho silver coin of Qian Long, year 59, are illustrated.

* I.99. **Thwing, E. W:** "Tibet, New or Recent Issues." In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 45, No. 7, July 1932, p. 452.

A short description of a "tram-sang" coin. The obverse shows a lion in a circle, the reverse bears the date 15-43 (AD 1909). This is actually the "tam srang gang", called "sranggor" by the Tibetans, the srang coin classified as Y 12.

I.100. **Van Heurck, Philippe:** "Introduction à la Numismatique Tibétaine". In: *La vie Numismatique*, Vol. 34 (1984), pp. 156-160 and 205-211 and Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 58-63.

French language. An illustrated introduction to Tibet's coinage history including several passages translated from "The Development of Currency in Tibet" by N.G. Rhodes without giving credit to this author.

*I.101. **Villaret, E. de and Codrington, O.:** "On some Silver Coins of Tibet". In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol 3, 1895, pp. 1052-1056.

Drawings of five coins and a reprint of the paper "The Silver Coinage of Tibet" by Terrien de Lacouperie.

* I.102. **Walsh, E.H.:** "The Coinage of Tibet". In: *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 11-23, 2 plates. Calcutta, 1907.

The first extensive work on earlier Tibetan currency, unfortunately containing errors which diminish its value for reference purposes. 29 Sino-Tibetan and Nepalese issues for Tibet are illustrated.

* I.103. **Wood, Howland:** "The Coinage of Tibet". In: *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. 46, No. 4, October 1912, PP. 164-167. Reprinted in: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1913, pp. 233-238.

An excellent article on the monetary history of Tibet. According to Chinese sources, in former times cowries and knife-shaped corns were current in Tibet. Silver has been known as a medium of exchange since the 12th century. Later, the minting of coins took place in three periods: Nepalese issues on behalf of Tibet, Sino-Tibetan coins and native Tibetan issues. With illustrations.

II Western Literature on Tibetan Paper Money

*II.1. **Anonymous:** "Lama-Ruled Tibet Issued Exotic Notes." In: *World Coins*, Vol. 4, Nr. 42, Sydney, Ohio, June 1967, P.

A brief introduction to the different issues of Tibetan notes with numerous incorrect statements. The face of a 100 Srang note is illustrated.

II.2. **Anonymous**: "Billets de Banque Tibétains." In: *Nouvelles de Tibet, Getza Tibet Secours*, no. 2, June 2000, pp. 5-6.

Introduction to Tibetan paper money in French language based on "A Study of Tibetan Paper Money" by W. Bertsch (see below).

II.3 **Beresiner**, Yasha: *A Collector's Guide to Paper Money*. Stein and Day, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y., 1977, pp. 154-155

Claims that the srang-notes are printed on 'edible' rice paper. Chinese issues overprinted with Tibetan characters for use by Tibetan communities in China include those of the Manchu-Mongol Bank of Colonisation, the China and South Sea Bank, and the Central Bank of China.

II.4. **Beresiner**, Yasha: "Tibetan Notes Have Aura For Hobbyists." In: *WCN*, Vol. 5, No. 49, December 5, 1978, p. 28.

A brief introduction to Tibetan paper money. It is erroneously reported that the first notes were printed in 1915 and that the Srang notes were introduced in 1945. The red seals are attributed to the Panchen Lama and the black ones to the Dalai Lama. The legend in four lines as found on the early issues and the 10 Srang notes is translated.

II.5 **Beresiner**, Yasha: "A Look At Tibet." In: *Bond and Banknotes*, No. 7, June 1984, pp. 34-35.

A short survey of Tibetan paper money, unfortunately a repetition of many errors known from other sources.

II.6. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Buyer Beware! The forgeries of the 1913 50 Tam banknotes of Tibet." In: *Bank Note News*, No. 40, March/April 1991, p. 24.

Was also published under the title "Forgeries of the Tibetan 50 Tam Bank Notes of AD 1913." In: *Journal of the International Banknote Society*, Vol. 30, nr. 3, October 1991, pp. 21-22.

The forged 50 Tam note can be recognized by the fully drawn petals of the flowers located on the horizontal middle line of the obverse of the notes. Two different genuine and one possibly forged note are illustrated.

II.7. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang : "Some notes on Tibetan paper currency." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 128-137.

The author publishes a 10 Tam note, dated T.E. 1658 (=AD 1912) and suggests that the early 15, 25 and 50 Tam notes which are only known with the date T.E. 1659, may have been issued already with date T.E. 1658. Most of the notes dated T.E. 1659 are obviously printed from blocks with the 1659 altered from an original 1658. Also mentioned is a forgery of the 50 Tam note T.E. 1659 and a printing block is illustrated which may have been a pattern for a note which was planned in the 1950s but was never issued.

II.8. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Exotisches Papiergeld aus Tibet." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*, 8th year, Nr.6, Regenstauf, 1994, pp. 6-11 and 8th year, Nr. 7, 1994, pp. 12-21.

German text. A survey on Tibetan Paper money based on western and Chinese sources and the author's own research with many illustrations of banknotes from the author's collection.

II.9. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: *A Study of Tibetan Paper Money. With a Critical Bibliography*. Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1997.

A historical and numismatic survey of Tibetan banknotes based on Chinese and western sources and illustrated with colour plates showing notes from the author's collection. A detailed catalogue lists all known types and dates of Tibetan banknotes.

II.10. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Early Tibetan Paper Money" In: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, Autumn 1997, pp. 5-17.

Contains a brief discussion of the first banknote series in Tam and gives a list of 10, 15, 25 and blue 50 Tam notes known to exist in private and public collections.

II.11. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "A Survey of Tibetan Paper Currency (1912-1959)." In: *Bulletin of Tibetology New Series*, no. 3, Gangtok, 2nd November 1996, pp. 3-22.

This article has been extracted from the manuscript which formed the base for the publication "A Study of Tibetan Paper Money" (see above).

II.12. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Security Devices on Early Tibetan Banknotes." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, Nr. 1, Winter 1997, Spring 1998 (14/15), pp. 22-30.

Variants existing among the early red 10 Tam and blue or purple 50 Tam notes are interpreted as being possible security devices.

II.13. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "A Partly Forged Tibetan 50 Tam note?" In: *Spink Banknote Circular*, Nr. 11, London, September 1998, p. 7.

A multicoloured 50 tam note dated T.E. 1682 with a serial number belonging to the range used for the notes dated T.E. 1677 is identified as a note which must have been stolen from the mint or bank and released for circulation after having been inexpertly numbered and stamped with a forged red seal. Unfortunately this article is published without the proper illustrations and cannot be understood without them.

II.14. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "The Production of Tibetan Banknotes." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 29-54.

Based on a metal block for a 10 Tam note and on several metal blocks for the 25 and 100 Srang notes, the author discusses the printing technique used for the Tibetan banknotes.

II.15. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Tibetische Klostergeldscheine für den Kauf von Teeziegeln." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*, Vol. 13, Issue 7, Regenstauf, October 1999, pp. 10-14.

In German. Four paper notes issued in the 1940s by Tashi Dargyas monastery (eastern Tibet) and intended for the purchase of high quality tea-bricks from the monastic storerooms are illustrated (two issues of "half rupee" and two issues of "one rupee") and described and a brief discussion of the use of brick tea in Tibet is given.

II.16. **Bertsch**, Wolfgang: "Tibetische Rationsscheine von 1960 bis 1996 (Part 1)." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*. Vol. 15, nr. 1, Regenstauf, February 2001, pp. 6-11; Part 2: Vol. 15, nr. 2, March 2001, pp. 25-28.

In German. Ration coupons and related items which were used in Tibet during the "Cultural Revolution" and thereafter are discussed in their historical context and their inscriptions are explained. Many examples are illustrated.

II.17. **Bower**, Peter: *Banknote Examination. Five Tibetan Banknotes from the Collection of Colin Narbeth*. London, May 1995.

Three 100 Srang and two 25 Srang notes were examined. The paper seems to be a blend of fibers of *Daphne Papyracea* and *Daphne Bholua*. The notes consist of two layers of paper which were glued together before printing. The "security legend", which appears like a watermark, was printed on the verso sheet in the case of a delaminated 25 Srang note. It was printed in inverted script on the back of the face layer in the case of a delaminated 100 Srang note.

(B.N. Shrestha found a third interior layer of paper on which the security legend was printed, but when interviewed in 1995 by the compiler he could not remember which notes he had delaminated and was no longer in possession of the delaminated notes.

It is likely that both methods of producing the security legend were used even within the same series of banknotes.)

*II.18. **Bowker**, H.E.: "A Tibetan Paper Note." In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 64, Nr. 2, 1951, pp. 141-142.

Illustration and description of a 5 Srang note (Serial Nr. ka 024831).

II.19. **Bruce II**, Colin R.: "It's Backwards, Upside Down!". In: *WCN*, Vol. 9, No. 19, May 11, 1982, p. 3.

Reports a 100 Srang note with inverted security legend discovered by the Hong Kong collector Anil Kumar Jain. A 100 Srang note with this error (serial number za/1 10528) is illustrated together with a note which has the normal security legend (ser. nr. na/1 17179).

*II.20. **Cresswell**, Oliver D. and Hogan, Patrick D.: "An Unrecorded Date of Tibetan 50 Tangka Note Issue." In: *T'ung Pao*, Vol. 1, Nr. 3, 1975, p. 73.

The multicoloured 50 Tam note dated T.E. 1680 (= A.D. 1934) is recorded for the first time.

II.21. **Dahnke**, K. H.: *Tibet. Handbuch und Katalog der Marken und Stempel*. Handbuch der Forschungsgemeinschaft "China-Philatelie e.V." Essen, 1978 and 1981.

Contains some remarks on the Tibetan banknotes and illustrations of the reverses of the 25 Tam, the blue 50 Tam and the 100 Srang notes. The obverse of a 25 Srang note is also illustrated (nr. 117—119).

The book also contains an extensive chapter on the coinage of Tibet with illustrations of several coins (pp. 156-165). On p. 164 a table shows the equivalents of the value of Tibetan currency in Indian rupees, German marks, U.S. dollars and Chinese taels for the year 1958.

*II.22. **Gabrisch**, Karl: "Six Unrecorded Dates of the Tibetan 50 Tam Note." In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 85, 1977, p. 544.

The following dates for the multicolored 50 Tam note are recorded: T.E. 1678, 1679, 1681, 1682, 1683 and 1686.

*II.23. **Gabrisch**, Karl: "An Unknown date of the Tibetan 10 Srang Note." In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 86, 1978, p. 189.

The 10 Srang note dated T.E. 1690 is recorded for the first time.

II.24. **Grosch**, Günter: "Tibet und seine Geldgeschichte, ein Versuch." Schluss. In: *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*, Vol. 2, Nr. 10 (1968) pp. 61-62.

A brief description of the Srang issues and of the multicoloured 50 Tam, which the author calls a "7½ Srang" note. Both sides of each type of these notes are illustrated.

II.25. **Hage**, Sidney: "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *International Banknote Society Magazine*, Autumn 1963, pp. 4-5.

II.26. **Haverbeck**, H.D.S.: *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Tibet*. The Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. 31, no. 2, New York, March 1952. Second edition: Collectors Club, New York, 1958.

The 10 Tam note T.E. 1659 with serial nr. 18080 is illustrated.

The book also contains an Appendix A, entitled *The Tibetan Monetary System*. (p. 76 of the second edition).

II.27. **Helfer**, A. L.: "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *Bulletin. International Banknote Society* Summer, 1964.

II.28. *Journal of East Asian Numismatics*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer, 1998, p. 56 and back cover.

On the back cover the faces of the following notes are illustrated: 5 Tam, missing black seal, ser. nr. 9061; 10 Tam, T.E. 1659/58, ser. nr. 19252; 15 Tam, T.E. 1659/58, ser. nr. 2799; 25 Tam, yellow, T.E. 1659, ser. nr. 54165 and 50 Tam (blue), T.E. 1659, ser. nr. 50461.

On p. 56 the following comment: "This group of notes is documented to have been together since 1951. The notes were given to U.S. official (sic) from a member of 1948 Tibetan Trade mission to the United States. The five trade mission members was (sic)

scheduled to meet President Truman. (...)

Comment: The member of the trade mission who presented the notes was Surkhang Shape.

*II.29. **Klaasesz**, Paul E.: "Tibet. Part 1 - Paper Money." In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 15, Nr. 10, October 1949, pp. 848 - 853.

Illustrates and describes a purple 15 Tam (serial nr. 4375), a yellow 25 Tam (called "3 sangs or 7½ shyos"; serial nr. 39236), a blue 50 Tam (called "7½ sangs"; serial nr. ?), a multicoloured 50 Tam dated T.E. 1675 and a 10 Srang, dated T.A. 1692.

Comment: It is likely that these notes were part of the samples brought to the USA in 1948 by the Tibetan Trade Mission.

*II.30. **Muszynski**, Maurice: "Varieties of the Tibetan 50 Tam Note." In: *Bulletin of the International Banknote Society*, 1970, pp. 99 - 102.

Discusses some interesting variants of the multicoloured 50 Tam note. The tablets which contain the handwritten serial numbers were enlarged from originally 19 mm to 22.5 mm in length on later issues in order to accommodate the higher serial numbers. Most of the 50 Tam notes dated T.E. 1677 bear an additional red seal which was stamped on genuine banknotes after inspection. This became necessary because false 50 Tam banknotes had been discovered in 1930.

II.31. **Narbeth**, Colin: "Tibet" In: *Coin & Medal News*, November 1987, pp. 71-72.

Brief introduction to Tibetan paper currency and a review of the publication *Tibetan Paper Currency* by B. N. Shrestha (see entry II.36).

II.32. **Obojski**, Robert: "The Coins and Currency of Tibet - The Forbidden Land." In: *Numismatic News*, Vol. 12, Nr. 11, 25th May 1964, pp. 9-10.

*II.33. **Panish**, Charles K.: "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *Whitman Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 5, Nr. 8, August 1969, pp. 467-471 and Vol. 5, Nr. 9, September 1968, pp. 501-508.

This was the best work on Tibetan paper notes till 1987, when B.N. Shrestha's monograph appeared (cf. entry II.36). The issues for Sikang province with Tibetan script and the Central Bank of China issues with Tibetan overprint most probably never circulated in Tibet according to the author. All notes which were produced in Tibet are listed and the following notes are illustrated: 15 Tam (purple), serial nr. 12132, 50 Tam (blue), serial nr. ?, multicoloured 50 Tam dated T. E. 1675 and another one dated 1687, a 10 Srang dated T.E. 1692, and a 5, 25 and 100 Srang note. The date T.E. 1689 for the multicoloured 50 Tam note has been recorded by Panish, but could never have been confirmed. Most probably he refers to a 1686 note the date of which was misread.

II.34. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "Obscure System. The Dating Of Tibetan Banknotes" In: *Coin & Medals News*, January, 1987, pp. 89-90.

See following entry.

II.35. **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "The Dating of Tibetan Banknotes." In: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XIII, no.1, 1988, pp. 57-60.

The author solves definitively the problem of how to interpret the dates found on Tibetan banknotes and gives the conversion factor of Tibetan Era + 254 = AD date.

II.36. **Shrestha**, Bhupendra Narayan: *Tibetan Paper Currency*, Transatlantic Authors Ltd. St. Albans, Herts, 1987.

So far the most thorough work on Tibetan banknotes published in English, profusely illustrated with photocopies of notes from the author's collection, which may be the best existing. The black seals are read for the first time, many details of the design of the notes are explained and, based on the recorded serial numbers of surviving notes, fairly exact figures of the total numbers printed of each denomination are given. The following rare early notes are illustrated: 1) 10 Tam (red), dated T.E. 1658, black and red seals missing, serial nr. 3600. 2) 10 Tam (red), dated 1659, serial nr. 16211. 3) 15 Tam (reddish violet), serial nr. 5654, 25 Tam, serial nr. 18180 and 50 Tam (blue), serial nr. ? Also a forged blue 50 Tam note and some forged Srang notes are illustrated. (cf. entry nr. II.31)

For a review of this book written by N.G. Rhodes see *ONS Newsletter* Nr. 109, November/December 1987.

(Abstract written by K. Gabrisch: The basic publication on Tibetan paper money with numerous photocopy-illustrations of notes from the author's collection. It also deals with forgeries and contains tables which allow the collector to identify any note, Tibetan number or letter which appear on notes.)

II.37. **Shrestha**, Bhupendra Narayan and **Rhodes**, Nicholas G.: "The Earliest 10 Srang Tibetan Bank Note?" In: *International Banknote Society Journal*, Vol. 30, Nr. 3 (1991), pp. 20-21.

A so far unique 10 Srang note without serial numbers, dated T.E. 1686 is illustrated and the possibility of it being either a forgery or an early trial print is discussed.

II.38. **Slobodnik**, Martin: "Tibetské papierové platidlá v hodnote 50 tam z r. 1926, 100 srang z. 1937, 5 a 10 srang z r. 1941. (Tibetan paper money with the nominal values 50 tam 1926, 100 srang 1937, 5 and 10 srang 1941)." In: *Numizmatika*. Journal of the Slovak Numismatic Society, Nr. 16, Bratislava, 1998, pp. 65-91.

Well researched, illustrated article in Slovakian language. Discusses the issue of Tibetan paper money in its historical and economic context and explains the seals and the iconographic elements found on the late 50 tam and the srang notes. The author gives a summary in English.

III Chinese Language Publications on the Coins struck in Tibet

A list of Chinese publications on Tibet, published from 1949 to 1995 which include titles on trade, economy and

currency of ancient and modern Tibet can be found in the following publications:

“Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies” Compilation Committee: *Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies (1949-1991)*. Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994.

---: *Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies (1992-1995)*. Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1997.

III.1. **Anonymous:** (Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People’s Bank of China): “Xi Zang He Ping Fang Qian Yin Zi Qian Bi Kai Kuang (Brief information on the Minting and Printing of Tibetan Money before the Peaceful Liberation)”, in: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 28, Beijing, 1988.1, pp. 50-55.

III.2. **Anonymous:** “Special Conference on the History of Tibetan Currency in Lhasa” In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing, 1989.4, pp. 74-75.

General survey of recent research on Tibetan currency.

III.3. **Anonymous:** (Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People’s Bank of China): “Xi Zang Di Fang Zhen Fu De Zhao Bi Chang (The Mint of the Local Tibetan Government)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 22, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 29-42.

The modern Tibetan mint Grva-bzhi las khungs was officially opened on 18 Nov. 1931 and replaced the earlier mints Grva-bzhi (founded in 1914 as machine factory) Me khyim (founded in 1917), Luo-Dui (founded in 1920) and Dog-sde (founded in 1922).

The article discusses the organisation, the income of the mint and the departments located outside the mint like a paper factory in Jing-Dong and a bank in Shigatse and Gyantse. An account of the machinery used in the mint, also of the kind of paper money printed and the coins minted is given including figures for the amount of notes printed, the number of coins struck and the production technique used.

In the early 1950s there existed a project in the mint to buy up Yuan Shikai dollars at the rate of 15 srang each, to melt them down and to recoin them as 25 and 50 srang low grade silver issues.

III.4. **Cao Gang:** *Zhong Guo Xi Zang Di Feng Huo Bi (Chinese Tibet’s Regional Currency)*, Sichuan Minzi Chubanshe. Chengdu, 1999. (206 pp. illustrated).

Judging by the first part of the book, which appears as well in English translation, the author tries to interpret Tibet’s currency primarily as part of Tibet’s economic and cultural history. Numismatically he hardly contributes anything to Tibet’s currency history which is not known already from previous Chinese publications. As is usual with Chinese authors who write on this subject, he ignores the extensive Western numismatic literature on Tibet. A catalogue of major coins is given and the book has several colour plates of reasonable quality, unfortunately with some illustrations and legends being mismatched. Illustrations of two dies of rare patterns, one shokang die and one die for a 50 Srang issue featuring the Potala, are published for the first time. Most of the rare coins and banknotes which are illustrated are from the collection of the Lhasa Branch of the People’s bank of China and were previously published by Zhu Jing zhong, Ci Ren Ping Cuo & Yan Lunzhang: *Introduction to the Tibetan Regional Currency (Yuan Xi Zhang Di Fang Qian Bi Gai Kuang)*. Institute for Financial Affairs of the People’s Bank of China in Tibet. Lhasa, 1988.

III.5. **Chen Yi Shi:** “Qingdai Xizang Yinbi Kao Lue (A brief investigation on the Qing period silver coins of Tibet)”. In: *Sichuan Wenwu (Sichuan Cultural Relics)* Chengdu 1985, Issue 2.

III.6. **Chinese Numismatic World Bimonthly**, No. 38, Taipei, March 1983.

On pp. 2-9 there are two articles on Tibetan coins with drawings (obv. and rev.) of seven Tibetan modern copper and silver coins.

III.7. **Ci-ren Ping-cuo, Yan Lunzhang & Zhu Jinzhong:** “The Study of Tibetan Currency and its Practical Meaning.” In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses (Zhong Guo Qian Bi Lun Wen Chi)*, Vol. II, Beijing, 1992, pp. 464-468.

General description of Tibetan currency. It is noted that a numismatic collection exists in the Institute for Financial Affairs of the People’s Bank of China. This collection consists of 4000 items, including metal dies, and blocks for printing banknotes. Also there is an archive of some 200 documents.

III.8. **Ci-ren Ping-cuo and Zhu Jinzhong:** “Xi Zhang Di Fang Jin Wan Zhou Bi De Xia Jan - Lun Bai Yin Wu Liang Tanga Bi (article on the silver tangka valued at 5 Srang)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1997, issue 1 (nr. 56), pp. 28-29 and 36 and one plate.

With the help of a dated pair of dies of the so-called “monk-tangka (Y 31)”, an undated drawing of this coin and other documentary evidence the authors establish that, in the years 1953 and 1954, 331292 pieces of this special tangka were struck, making it Tibet’s last coin issue. The authors also publish a drawing of an apparently unissued Gaden Tangka of the same period, which could have served as alternative design for the monk tangka.

III.9. **Ding Jin Jun:** (article in which a document referring to the issue of silver coins for Tibet during the late Qian Long period is published). In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing 1995, 3rd issue (nr. 50), pp. 23-25.

III.10. **Dong Wencho:** *An Overview of China’s Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages – the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing, 1992. pp. 69-70 (gold coins); pp. 139-165 (Qing Dynasty silver coins); pp. 627-638 (Republic of China Period, silver coins).

An impressive book, with bilingual text, Chinese and English. Of particular interest are the 5 Fen of Jia Qing Year 1 (no.142), the base anepigraphic copy of Ranajit Malla, apparently with number “45” (no. 127), and the 1951 patterns (nos. 1406-09).

- III.11. **Fu Zhenlun**: "Xi Zang Yin Bi Kao (Discussion of Tibetan Silver Coins)." In: *Yugong*, Vol. VI, Nr. 12 (1937), pp. 83-88.
A detailed account of the introduction of silver coins in Qian Long Yr. 57, based on imperial records, together with an account of the introduction of the Sechuan rupee.
- *III.12. **Huang Peng Hsiao**: *Ku Kung Ch'ien P'u (Old Ching Coin Catalogue)*. Peking 1937.
Chinese text. The Sino-Tibetan Hsien Feng issues are "samples", perhaps "genuine patterns", made in China for Imperial inspection.
- III.13. **Lang Sa**: "Xizang Yinbi Kao (Research on Tibetan Silver Coins)". In: *Lhasa He*, 1994.1 (Nr. 11) pp. 62-64.
Description (no illustrations) of various Tibetan silver coins, including the 1763 issue, the 13-45 coin described as struck in Jue Mu Ka Gou in the Gongbu region, and the 50 srang coin with the view of the Potala. Some interesting comments.
- *III.14. **Li Dongyuan**: 'Textual Research into Tibetan Money'. (From: Research on the History of the Post and Currency of Tibet). Taipei, 1959.
A light-weight book, with information mainly derived from Kann: One unusual silver coin, probably a fantasy piece of Jia Qing, is illustrated opposite p. 48. This coin is not known from other sources.
- III.15. **Li Feng**: "An attempt to analyse the historical background behind the minting by Tibet of its own coinage". In: *Min Zu Yan Jing*, 1992.2, pp. 85-87.
- III.16. **Liu Yuan**: "Amusing Anecdotes about Tibetan Money." In: *Xue Yi Wen Hua (gang ljongs rig gnas [Tibetan Culture])*, Vol. 19, Nr. 3, Autumn 1993, p. 50.
Brief comments on the 3 Srang silver coin of 1932/33, called "black money" after the 13th Dalai Lama had died, and about the cutting of Nepalese coins in Tibet.
- III.17. **Lu Rongquan**: "The important witness of the unified China in politics". In: *Wuxi Qianbi (Wuxi Numismatics)* 1991, second issue, pp. 38-44.
An introduction to the coinage of Tibet with 30 rubbings of Tibetan coins, Indian and Sichuan rupees and Nepalese mohars.
- III.18. **Ma Ding Xiang**: "Tibetan Silver Coins Struck in the first year of the Republic of China. (Ming Guo Yuan Nian Xi Zhang Bi)". In: *Qian Bi*, Nr. 30.
- III.19. **Ma Fei Hai** (general editor): *The Great Series of Chinese Money (Zhong Guo Li Dai Huo Bi Da Xi)*. Vol. 8, Silver Ingots and Copper Dollars of the late Qing and Republic. Shanghai, 1998.
One of the most comprehensive listing of Tibet's gold (p. 251), silver (pp. 370-384) and copper (pp. 792-800) coins, including some rare patterns. The Lukuan rupee (p. 526) and the Sichuan rupees (pp. 527-529) are also included. All coins are illustrated.
- III.20. **Qian Jie**: "Xi Zhang Qian Bi. Bian Shi. (Tibetan Coinage)" In: *Qianbi Bolan*, Shanghai, 1996, first issue, pp. 15-19 and 1996, third issue, pp. 25-28 and p. 15.
Article in two parts introducing the coinage of Tibet with explanations of the coin legends and some design details, illustrated with many rubbings.
- III.21. **Qian Yu**: "The Coin Inscriptions on the Tibetan Coins struck during the Qing Dynasty. (Qing Dai Xi Zhang Ying Bi De Bi Wen)" In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 26, 1989.3, pp. 66-71 and p. 50.
- III.22. **Tang Guoyuan, Lei Jinming & Lun Bingjun**: *Historical Currencies of Yunnan. (Yun Nan Li Shi Huo Bi)*, Kunming, 1989.
Chapter II discusses and illustrates cowries, (pp. 11-15). The book contains illustrations of 20th century Tibetan silver (p. 269) and copper coins (p. 274) which circulated in Yunnan.
- III.23. **Wang Haiyan**: "The Two Earliest Coins Struck by the Local Tibetan Government. (Xi Zhang Di Fang Zhen Fu Di Liang Ci Zhao Qi Zhu Bi)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 28, 1990.1, pp. 27-28.
First publication in China of the first coins struck in Tibet in the 28/29th and 50th years of Qian Long, using the source material from the Guo-erh-ka Ji-lue.
- III.24. **Wang Haiyan**: "The New 1 Qian Copper Coins of Tibet". In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*, Vol. II, Beijing 1992, pp. 405-416.
Die varieties of the copper I Sho coin dated 16-6 to 16-12 are described, and the interesting comment is made that, between 1938 and 1946, coins were struck bearing earlier dates, but these late productions were thinner and lighter. No further method of identifying these later productions is proposed.
- III.25. **Wang Haiyan**: "Tibetan Local Currency in the History?". In: *Xue Yi Wen Hua (Gang ljongs rig gnas [Tibetan Culture])*, Vol. 1, Nr. 12, Beijing, Spring 1991, pp. 23-25 and plate opposite p. 32.
Article giving an introduction to the coinage and paper money of Tibet and illustrating some Sino-Tibetan silver coins and a rare 15 Tam note with the serial nr. 14248.

- III. 26. **Wang Haiyan**: "The Tibetan 50 Srang Silver and Copper Coin (Xi Zang Wu Shi Liang Yin Bi Zhe Zhi Tong Yuan Bi)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1995.4, pp. 39.
Illustrates and discusses a rare 50 Srang pattern, dated "rab lo 925" and "spyi lo 1951".
- III.27. **Wang Weimao**: "About the Tibetan 'Shang Gang Guo Mu' Silver Coins (Lue Shu Xi Zang Gang Guo Mu Ying Bi)". *Hong Kong Numismatic Society*, Aug. 1991, pp. 25-26.
The 1 Srang coins, Y 9 & Y 12 are briefly described. It is noted that they are of fine silver (96%), and only 80 pieces could be made per day at "Za-Ci" mint using machines brought from central China. Hence with an issue period of about 8 months, the total production was only about 15,000 pieces.
- III.28. **Xiao Huaiyuan**: "The Issue and Circulation of the Tibetan Local Coinage (Xi Zhang Di Fang Huo Bi De Fa Xing Yu Liu Tong)". In: *Tibetan Studies*, Chengdu, 1983, Nr. 2, pp. 16-25.
An introduction to the currency of Tibet which the author subsequently expanded and published as a book (see following entry).
- III.29. **Xiao Huaiyuan**: *The History of Coinage of Tibet (Xizang Difeng Huobishi)*, Beijing, 1987.
An important, illustrated 140 page book on Tibetan currency including a comprehensive illustrated survey of Tibet's coins and banknotes and much new information, partly based on Tibetan archives. The book contains a table of contents in both Chinese and English, but no summaries of the chapters are given in English. Undoubtedly the best Chinese publication on Tibetan numismatics.
- III.30. **Xu Weiyi**: "The Tibetan 'Se Zhang Guo Mu' Gold Coins". In: *Tibetan Culture*, Vol. 16, Nr. 4, Winter 1993, p. 34-35.
- III.31. **Yan Lunzhang**: "Different Meanings on the article written by Zhang Hueixin (Mr. Kuizing?) 'Translation of Tibetan Inscription on Tibetan Silver Coins' (Zhang Zi Hui Xing Xian Seng 'Xi Zhang Ji Zhu Ying Bi Zhang Wen Han Yi' Shang Que)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 1987.3, p. 78.
- III.32. **Yan Peng**: "The Tibetan Money during the Qing Dynasty Measures for the Defence of Tibetan Sovereignty." Newspaper Article, Beijing, n.d., pp. 31-34.
- III.33. **Yang Wencao**: "On the Silver Coins struck in Tibet during the Qing Dynasty (Guan Yu Qing Chao Xi Zang Ming Jian He Di Fang Zi Zhi Ying Yi Yi)". In: *Suzhou Numismatics*, 1990, No. 6, p. 38.
Insignificant article, describing the Kong-par Tamka.
- III.34. **Zhang Hui-xing**: "Translation into Chinese of the Tibetan Inscriptions on the Machine Struck Tibetan Silver Coins - with special reference to the Tibetan Calendar. (Xi Zhang Ji Zhi Ying Bi Zi Zhang Wen Han Yi - Jiang Lung Zhang Li Huan Shuan Fa)". *Chinese Numismatic Bimonthly*, 38, Taipei, n.d.
- III.35. **Zhang Kewu**: "Fu Kang An's Economic Considerations in his Handling of Tibetan Affairs (Fu Kang An Zai Chu Li Xi Zhang Shi Wu Zhong De Rue Gan Jing Shi Xiang)". *Tibetan Studies*, Chengdu, Sichuan, No. 1, 1985, pp. 23-32.
A detailed analysis of the introduction of the Sino-Tibetan coins in 57th and 58th year of Qian Long.
- III.36. **Zhao Zhongyuan**: "Correct Understanding and Regulation of the Currency Circulation in Tibet (Zheng Que Ren Shi He Tiao Jie Xi Zhang De Hue' Bi Liu Tong)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)* No. 15, 1985.1, pp. 16-19.
- III.37. **Zhu Jingzhong, Ci Ren Ping Cuo & Yan Lunzhang**: *Introduction to the Tibetan Regional Currency (Yuan Xi Zhang Di Fang Qian Bi Gai Kuang)*. Institute for Financial Affairs of the People's Bank of China in Tibet. Lhasa, 1988.
A booklet which was distributed by the Lhasa branch of the people's bank of China. Gives a historical survey of Tibet's currency quoting from some Tibetan ordinances which refer to the issuing of coins or paper money in Lhasa. Many colour illustrations of Tibetan coins and banknotes are included.
- III.38 **Thu Jingzhong & Pu Qiong Ci Ren**: "Research into the Tibetan Silver Tamga Struck in the 50th year of Qian Long (Qian Long Wu Si Nian Zao Xi Zhang Ga Ying Bi Kao)". In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, Beijing, 3, 1990, pp. 90-92.
First publication of the interesting anepigraphic tamka, wt. 5.63 g, with one side copied from Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon, and with a detailed commentary on the documentary evidence for coins struck in Tibet in 1763/64 and 1785. The coin was apparently purchased in the coin market in Octagon Street, a few weeks before the article was written. Part of the pseudo-Arabic legend, copied from a Bengali coin, is read as "Tamka", but this seems far-fetched. Similarly, the interpretation of five and three dots as the number "23" is very unconvincing. The number "45" in Tibetan numerals is read at the top of one side, but this also is very dubious. The authors consider the possibility that the coin may be identified with the one struck by the Dalai Lama in 1785, but that is also not convincing, as that coin is said to have been of a finer standard, and the piece discussed in the article is certainly very debased, judging by other specimens seen. (Nicholas Rhodes).
- III.39. **Zhu Yongjia**: "The Measures taken by the Qing Dynasty in 1793 in Tibet (Qing Dai Zai Xi Zhang De Zhong Yao Chur Shi)", n.d., pp. 512-553.
- III.40. **Zou Da Mu**: "Yi Dui Da Zui Jing Heng Shu Zhang Yi Qian Tong Bi Kao". In: *Qian Bi Yan Jiu* (Numismatic Investigation) Shaanxi Jinrong (Shanxi Finance) 1994.1, pp. 3-4.

Varieties of the copper shokang dated 15-52 are discussed and illustrated.

III.41. **Zou Da Mu**: (title not certain). In: *Shaanxi Jinrong*, 1995.1, pp. 73–76.

Illustrated are three brockages, one of which is an obverse brockage of a Tibetan copper shokang.

III.42. **Zou Da Mu**: “Xi Zhang San Qian Tong Bi Kao (Examining the Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin)”. In: *Qian Bi Yan Jiu* (Numismatic Investigation), Shaanxi Jin Rong (Shanxi Finance), 1995.3, pp. 4–5.

IV Chinese Language Publications on Tibetan Paper Money

Many of the publication which have been listed in the previous section on coins, particularly those published in book form, also contain chapters or paragraphs on Tibetan paper money. Generally, Chinese authors primarily focus their attention on the Chinese paper notes with overprinted texts in Tibetan language and on those with Chinese and Tibetan legends which were issued in the former province of Xikang. All the publications on these issues have been excluded as this bibliography exclusively deals with the paper notes printed in Lhasa. Also the numerous modern Chinese Catalogues on paper money which mostly contain a chapter on Tibetan paper currency, have not been included in the present list, since they do not contribute any research to the study of the subject of this bibliography.

IV.1. **Hai Xieng and Zheng Wang**: “Zhang Chao Gai Kuan (An account of Tibet Money)”, In: *Inner Mongolia Numismatics* (*Neimenggu Jinrong Yanjiu*), October 1985, pp. 86–87.

Text quoted directly from an article entitled “Tibetan Paper Money System”, in the *Monthly Report of the Central Bank*, dated 31. 12. 1949, vol. 2, chapt. 12, p. 113. An interesting account detailing some of the inflationary pressures that were at least partly brought about by the issue of paper money in Tibet in the years after 1926. Includes the illustration of the face of a 100 Srang note.

IV.2. **Zhang Shanxi**: “Tibetan Paper Money in High Silver Value (Xi Zang Da Man. Er Ying Liang Zhi Be)”. In: *Zhoushan Numismatics Quarterly*, No. 1. 1993, pp. 11-13.

Common 10 Srang and 100 Srang banknotes are described and illustrated.

V Publications in the Tibetan Language on the Coins and Paper Money of Tibet

V.1. **Khatag Zamyag**, Tshongpon: bod tang bal po rgya bcas la gnas bskor bskyod pa'i nyin deb phyi lo 1944 nas 1956 bar. (A Pilgrim's Diary: Tibet, Nepal & India. 1944–1956) Edited by Acharya Jamyang Wangyal. New Delhi, 1997.

This book contains an appendix entitled “bod dngul rtsis stangs dang dra par”, written by the editor. The modern Tibetan coinage as well as the banknotes are briefly discussed and a selection of coins and banknotes, mostly from the collection of the Tibet House in New Delhi, is illustrated with colour photographs.

V.2. **Sengshong Dorjee Chodpa** (seng gshong rdor rje gchod pa): Introducing some Tibetan Coins: Coins during the reign of Songtsen Gampo (bod kyi sgor moi skor gyi gnas tshul 'nga' ngo sphrod). In: *Tibetan Studies* (bod ijongs zhib 'jug), Issue 2, Lhasa 1995, pp. 43-47.

V.3. **Shakabpa, Tsepon Wangchuk Deden**: “Pod kyi gser dngul tam dang shog dngul bcas kyi lo rgyus sa bon (Tibet's Gold and Silver Coins and Paper Money; The Historical Origin).” In: *Samatok*, Vol. 1, Tibet House, New Delhi, Earth Dragon Year (probably 1988), pp. 73–82.

Shakabpa who was Finance Secretary in Tibet before the Chinese takeover, gives a historical account of the coinage and paper money of Tibet, largely from memory with some information not found elsewhere but unfortunately also including several incorrect statements. Subsequently, this article was published in English (see entry I.93)

An Unrecorded Date of the Second Issue of the Tibetan Copper Sho

by Wolfgang Bertsch



1 Sho struck in copper, dated 16–16 (AD 1941). Weight: 4.26 g; Diameter: 23.7 mm.

A first series of copper coins of one sho (Tibetan: singular: *zho-gang* plural: *zho*) was struck in Tibet between AD 1918 and 1928 (between the Tibetan cycle dates 15–52 and 16–2) in different mints. As these coins were often forged in northern India and the forgeries introduced illegally into Tibet¹, the Tibetan government decided to issue new machine-struck copper sho coins in 16–6 (AD 1932). These were struck in the modernised mint at Trabshi (Tibetan: *Grva-bzhi glog 'khrul las khungs* = Electric machine factory of Trabshi) north of Lhasa on modern coin presses which had been imported from England in the late 1920s. The beautifully designed and neatly struck copper coins of one sho were produced in considerable quantities between 1932 and 1938 (16–6 and 16–12); specimens of each year of this period are known².

Recently I discovered a sho of this series with a hitherto unknown date while examining a heap of copper coins on the table of a curio dealer in Shigatse. The coin which I illustrate above bears the date 16–16 (AD 1942). This date is quite unexpected. Tibet normally imported copper sheet for the production of its copper coinage from India and it is very unlikely that, during the Second World War, the British Indian authorities would have sold copper sheet to Tibet; hence it is improbable that the Tibetan government had serious plans to resume the production of copper sho coins on a large scale in 1942. In fact, owing to lack of raw material, no other silver or copper coins inscribed with dates ranging from 16–13 to 16–19 (AD 1939–1945) were struck in Tibet.

However, the Chinese numismatist Wang Haiyan mentions in an article that, between 1938 and 1946, copper sho coins were struck in small numbers from the old copper sho dies which had dates ranging between 16–6 and 16–12. In order to save copper these late issues were struck on thinner flans³. It is therefore possible that in 1942 there were plans to introduce new dies with the date 16–16 and to use these instead of the old dies with the dates 16–6 to 16–12. The relatively light weight of the above illustrated sho with the date 16–16 would allow an attribution to the year which is inscribed on it (1942).

Another explanation for this unusual date is the following: It may represent a die engraver's error which must promptly have been discovered, and the reverse die bearing the erroneous date was probably discarded. This error could have occurred when the coin dies for the last regular sho issue, dated 16–12, were prepared, as I have sho coins dated 16–12 struck from the same obverse dies as the sho dated 16–16⁴. Not many specimens of this date can have been struck and very few can have entered circulation, as I have seen only one more sho specimen of the date 16–16, struck with the same pair of dies, in a private collection in Nepal. The above mentioned Chinese article by Wang Haiyan, which deals exclusively with the modern sho issue, does not record the date 16–16⁵.

1. One of the forgery cases which was discovered in 1927 is reported in some detail, including illustrations of forged specimens, by Rhodes, Nicholas: "Tibetan forgeries made in Calcutta." In: *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1992, pp. 89–96.
2. A total of 6,002,000 1 sho coins were minted between 1932 and 1946. The mintage figure for the copper sho between 1932 and 1934 is 1,200,440. cf. Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People's Bank of China: "Xi Zang Di Fang Zhen Fu De Zhao Bi Chang (The Mint of the Local Tibetan Government)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 22, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 29–42.
3. cf. Wang Haiyan: "The New 1 Qian Copper Coins of Tibet". In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*, Vol. II, Beijing 1992, pp. 405–416.
4. I wish to thank Mr. Nicholas Rhodes, who first drew my attention to the die-link existing between some sho coins dated 16–12 and the one dated 16–16.
5. Wang Haiyan, *op. cit.*

An Unrecorded Mohar of Jaya Prakash Malla of Nepal

by Wolfgang Bertsch



Fig. 1

Weight: 5.38 g; Diam.: 29 mm

Fig. 2

Weight: 5.46 g; Diam.: 28.7 mm

The silver coin shown in fig. 1 is a mohar of Jaya Prakash Malla in the style of the Kathmandu mohar RGV 362 (fig. 2)¹, but the date inscribed on the obverse is NS (Nepal Samvat Era) 880 (AD 1760) instead of NS 873 (AD 1753). The mohar shown in fig. 1 was most probably struck by Jaya Prakash as ruler of Patan. It is possible that a pair of dies which had been used in Kathmandu while Jaya Prakash was king there (second rule starting in circa AD 1750) had been taken to Patan to serve as model to cut dies for the striking of a provisional coin for the occasion of the enthronement of Jaya Prakash Malla as king of Patan. However, the four specimens of the Kathmandu mohar (one is illustrated as fig. 2) from my collection are not die-linked with the coin shown in figure 1, nor is the specimen illustrated in *The Coinage of Nepal* (see footnote 1). But I suspect that Kathmandu mohars of the type RGV 362 or RGV 363 which are die-linked to the mohar of fig. 1 most probably do exist.

Possibly only a few specimens were struck until new dies had been prepared for coins which were of similar style to the one of fig. 1, but which were inscribed on the reverse with the name of the protecting goddess of Patan: Karunamaya (see RGV nr. 500). The latter coin is also dated NS 880, but the three figures representing this date are placed at the outer angles in the 4, 5 and 7 o'clock positions of the obverse, while, in the case of the coins illustrated in fig. 1 and 2, they are to be found near the fish and flower symbols of the *aṣṭamāṅgala* (eight auspicious Buddhist emblems) on the obverse.

1. RGV = Rhodes, Nicholas, Gabrisch, Karl and Valdetaro, Carlo: *The Coinage of Nepal*. Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No. 21, London 1989, plates 19 and 25.