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ONS News

ONS Website

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

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

Obituaries

Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri

It is with a heavy heart that I report the news of the sad demise of Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri a doyen of Indology, a well-known numismatist and a great epigraphist. Born on 5 March 1934 in a middle class family at Guna in Madhya Pradesh. he was named Mahendra Kumar. He received his early education in a private school named Saravati Vidyalaya at Guna where his father, Pt. Bhawani Shankar Upadhyay, was a teacher. Under the advice of Swami Satyanand Ji who happened to visit Guna during his peregrinations, he was sent to a Gurukula and was asked to choose a Mitra-ending name. Ajay Mitra was a name of his choice. Having studied in a Gurukula at Ayodhya and later in the Govt. Sanskrit College at Varanasi (now Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya), he completed (1955) his Shastri degree, which gave him his popular surname. Then he joined the Banaras Hindu University to do his M.A. in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology. A brilliant student as he was, he was loved by all his teachers including Profs. R.B. Pandey, V.S. Agrawala, A.K. Narain, V.S. Pathak, etc. In 1957, he joined Nagpur University as a Lecturer from where he retired ultimately after serving as a Reader and a Professor and Head of the Department.

He worked on the Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira for his Ph.D., which was published by Motilal Banarsidass in 1969. His first book, *An Early Outline of Buddhism*, however, was published from Varanasi in 1965. His Hindi book *Tripuri* (1971) got him the Madhya Pradesh Sahitya Parishad Award. *India as Seen in the Kuttanimita of Damodaragupta*, published in 1975, was later submitted and approved for the D. Litt. Degree. He wrote and edited about two-dozen books of which *Coinage of the Satavahanas* and *Coins from Excavations* (1972), *Coins and Early Indian Economy* (1976), *Kaushambi Hoard of Magha Coins* (1979), *Foreign Elements in Indian Indigenous Coins*

(1982), are well known to numismatists. His other books like the *Yadava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogai* (1972), *Ajanta* (1980), *Early History of the Deccan* (1987), *The Age of the Vakatakas* (1992), *Inscriptions of the Sarabhapurayas, Panduvamsins and Somavamsins* (ICHR, 1992), *Varahamihira's India* (2 vols. 1996), *Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas* (1998), are solid contributions to the history of India. He contributed chapters to the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. II and *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. IV besides translating some other works.

He contributed more than three hundred research papers and a large number of review and other articles to various research journals and volumes. He presided over numerous sessions of various national and international conferences and also presided over many of them. He served as an expert on various academic bodies and delivered endowment, memorial and scholarly lectures in a large number of universities, museums, and other organisations. He was given an award by the Uttar Pradesh Hindi Samsthan (1976) for his translation of Prof. Mirashi's *Studies in Indology*, elected as a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society and received the Akbar Medal of the NSI (1984). Prof. Shastri edited various prestigious research journals including the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* and the *Numismatic Digest* at different periods and also served as Editor/ Advisory Editor, Member of the Editorial Board, Correspondent etc. of various journals and volumes.

Prof. Shastri is known for his depth, originality, and critical and analytical acumen. A Brahmin by birth, he was much above caste and creed. He was very laborious, sincere, unbiased, honest, affectionate, frank and unsparing. He will be remembered for long for his valuable contributions and personal qualities. He suffered a massive stroke and within a few hours breathed his last on 11th January. May his soul rest in eternal peace!

Devendra Handa

(Reprinted from the South Asia Coins News Group)

Invitation

The Royal Numismatic Society Michael Broome Fund, set up in order to commemorate Michael Broome, Founder of the Oriental Numismatic Society, by supporting numismatic research, is now inviting applications.

Anyone interested in making a proposal to the Fund for a grant to support their research should send a letter of application,

with a CV and a letter of support from a numismatist or other academic of recognised standing, to the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Numismatic Society c/o The Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum. The letter of application should indicate the subject of research, the intended outcome and how the money would be used.

For information contact vhewitt@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk. The fund has £250 available to distribute in 2002. For other Research Funds supporting Oriental Numismatic Research see the RNS website <http://www.rns.dircon.co.uk/grants.htm>

Annual General Meeting

The AGM will take place on Saturday 25 May 2002 in conjunction with the London Coin Fair due to be held on that day. The venue will be the Holiday Inn Bloomsbury, Coram Street, London WC1, from 13.00-15.00. The Ken Wiggins and Michael Broome memorial lectures will be given after the official business. Further details will be published in the spring newsletter.

Cologne

Twenty-one participants attended the meeting at the Römisch-Germanische Museum on 10 November 2001. Nikolaus Ganske started the proceedings with some information about the introduction of the Euro. Herr Bartonitschek presented a richly illustrated version of the talk that he and Jan Lingen had given the previous year on the coins of the Sultans of Bijapur. Pfarrer Linse talked about an Indian temple token and some gold coins of Shivaji. Reinhard Hüther gave an overview of the unsettled history of Iran in the 18th century with special emphasis on the camp mint of Durrabkhan-e-Rikab during the time of the Zands and Qajars. Jan Lingen spoke about some recently published books and showed some fine specimens of ancient coinage. Herr Bronny gave a talk on the Tanka coins of Tibet from 1791 to 1930.

The next meeting of the group will take place on Saturday 9 November 2002. For more information please contact Nikolaus Ganske, nikolaus.ganske@ra-ganske.de

London

The following meetings are planned for London in 2002.

Saturday 6 April 2002, 11-16.00, on the pre-Abbasid Iranian world.

Saturday 5 October 2002, 11-16.00, on East Asia.

There is also likely to be an Indian Coin Study Day in December.

All meetings will take place in the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum. Anyone interested in giving a paper or seeking additional information should contact Peter Smith or Joe Cribb.

New York

In conjunction with the New York International Numismatic Convention, the Oriental Numismatic Society organised its Winter Round Table: "The Current State of Islamic Numismatics" for Saturday 19 January 2002 at the NY International Numismatic Convention. It consisted of a discussion on issues and developments of interest to collectors, dealers and scholars.

Topics discussed included:

- The impact of September 11th on the field
- Current collecting trends
- New research and current dialogues

The panel which led the discussion consisted of: Steve Album, scholar and dealer; Michael Bates, curator, American Numismatic Society; Bernard Haykel, professor, New York University; Kerry Wetterstrom, publisher/editor, The Celator

Other News

News from Shanghai

New publication: *Zhongguo gu jindai jinrong shi* [The historical metallurgy of China] by YE Shichang (Professor at Fudan University, Shanghai) and PAN Liangui (Senior Economist at the People's Bank of China, Shanghai) has been published by the Fudan University Press, 2001. (from *Qianbi Bolan* 2001/2 (30) p.4).

A Collection of Numismatic Theses. The China Numismatic Society and China Numismatic Museum (both in Beijing) have started work on volume 4 of this series. (from *Qianbi Bolan* 2001/2 (30) p.25).

Seminars on Song dynasty varieties (*banbie*) and paired coins (*duiqian*) and on charms took place in Shanghai from 18-20 April 2001. They were organised by the editorial board of the Shanghai Numismatic Society's *Daxi* series (*Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi*), to help colleagues working on volumes 4 (Song, Liao, Western Xia and Jin) and 12 (charms and foreign coins). DAI Zhiqiang (Secretary of China Numismatic Society), MA Feihai (Editor of the *Daxi* series), GONG Boqing, YAN Fushan, TANG Shunmin,

XU Tiecheng, TU Yanzhi, ZOU Zhiliang, YE Shichang, SHEN Ning, XUAN Sen, ZHOU Xiang, FU Weiqun, WAN YAN Shaoyuan and WANG Yuquan attended. (from Qianbi Bolan 2001/2 (30) p.14)

A conference on modern Chinese silver and nickel coins organised by the Shanghai Museum and the Shanghai Numismatic Society took place at the Shanghai Museum on 29 June 2001. Over 20 specialists attended, including LI Chaoyuan, Deputy Director of the Shanghai Museum, and SHEN Ning Secretary of the Shanghai Numismatic Society. The Shanghai Museum has been using such events as a way of focussing on the collections and encouraging co-operation among people from different fields. The event was a great success. (from Qianbi Bolan 2001/3 (31) p.29)

Shanghai Numismatic Society's plans for 2001

The Society's plans for 2001 focus on academic co-operation and object-based research. Four teams are looking at (1) chronology of wuzhu coins [discussant: WANG Yuquan]; (2) the origins of Chinese money, monetary history and the rise of numismatics [discussants: YE Shichang, LIU Shaobo]; (3) analysis of edge markings on foreign coins [discussant: ZHU Jianqing]; (4) authenticating renminbi [discussant: MIAO Peigui]. Presentations will take place on 14 Sept, 19 Oct, 16 Nov and 14 Dec, respectively. (from Qianbi Bolan 2001/3 (31) p.29)

Qianbi Bolan is the quarterly publication of the Shanghai Numismatic Society (address: Rm 227, 23 Zhongshan dong yi lu, Shanghai 200002). Some copies are available for consultation by appointment in the Dept of Coins and Medals, British Museum (tel: 020-7323-8607).

Helen Wang

The American Numismatic Society announces: *The Heritage of Sasanian Iran: Dinars, Drahms and Coppers of the Late Sasanian and early Muslim Periods*, co-sponsored with the Center for Iranian Studies at Columbia University.

To be held at Columbia University, New York, June 8-9, 2002

Late Sasanian coins and their subsequent Muslim, Dabuyid and Hunnic imitations formed an important part of the monetary systems of late Classical and early medieval Iran. Late Sasanian coins became the pre-eminent silver coinage in the Near East during this period. The early Muslims in Iran and dynasts of northern and eastern Iran later copied the main outlines of these coins while creating distinct provincial and regional coinages. The coins today represent documents of social, political and economic life at a time of great cultural efflorescence as well as social and political change.

The conference invites papers treating any aspect of the late Sasanian and early Muslim coins of Iran as artefacts of civilisation and culture. The topics of papers may be numismatic, historical or art historical. They may examine problems in the reading and interpretation of the Pahlavi and Arabic legends or the iconography, the representation of sovereignty, Zoroastrianism and Islam, or the production, use and regulation of these coinages.

The conference will also feature a workshop in reading the Pahlavi legends on these coins and a round-table for the discussion of issues of common interest and coins if anyone wishes to bring them in.

Abstracts and / or queries about further information and registration should be sent by e-mail to Dr. Stuart D. Sears at sears@aucegypt.edu or Dr. Michael L. Bates at bates@amnumsoc.org or by mail to: Dr. Stuart D. Sears, The American University in Cairo, Department of Arabic Studies, Box 2511, Cairo, Egypt 11511. Communications by E-mail are preferred.

Members should note that the students' room at the British Museum Coin and Medal Department will be closed from 23 February to 17 March inclusive.

Christine Fröhlich, a former Hirayama trainee at the British Museum, has recently obtained her PhD in Paris on Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins.

The pre-conference of session 49 of the 13th International Economic History Congress will take place in Paris, 8-10 July 2002. The topic of session 49 is "Long distance coin circulation, from antiquity to the 18th century. Colleagues from India, Transcaucasia, Central Europe and Europe will deliver papers on different subjects. For more information please contact Georges Depeyrot on georges.Depeyrot@ehess.fr

New and Recent Publications

Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, vol. 9, *Iran after the Mongol Invasion*, by Stephen Album, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2001. ISBN 1-85444-159-0. Price: £65

This handsomely produced volume, the second in the series to appear so far, describes and illustrates over 1800 coins issued between the 13th and 19th centuries mainly in Iran, but also including parts of Anatolia, Afghanistan and northern India (the latter two particularly for Nadir Shah and the Durrani). A range of issuing dynasties and authorities is covered including the Ilkhans, Timurids, Muzaffarids, Jalayrids, Eretnids, Aq and Qara Qyunlu, Safavids and their successors, Durrani, and several other minor dynasties. The arrangement is on a mint by mint basis which does juxtapose on a number of pages widely differing coinage. The Ashmolean collection in this area has some excellent coins, especially in the Durrani series, and some rare Safavid coins but overall the representation is not broad. Nevertheless, this volume does bring together and illustrate in one place more coins in these various series than any other publication. Needless to say, the author's introduction and notes are informative as well as authoritative. This volume should, therefore, be on the shopping list of anyone interested in the coinage of this area. (SLG)

Premlata Pokharna: *"Coins & Coin Hoards of Rajasthan"*, 1997, pp. 217, Hard Bound; 15 colour and 34 B/W plates, size 29x22 cms.

Alberto Canto and Vicente Salvatierra (eds.): *IV Jarique de Numismática Andalusí*, Universidad de Jaén, 2001, ISBN 84 8439-060-8. This contains the following papers:

1. Alberto Canto García: "La formación de los estudios de moneda islámica en España".
A very serious historiographical study on the first Spanish works on Andalusí numismatics, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries.
2. M. Castro Priego: "El origen de los estudios numismáticos andalusíes y su problemática histórica".
Another historiographical study on how the collection of Andalusí coins at the Archeological Museum of Madrid developed.
3. Tawfiq Ibrahim: "El dinar andalusí: nuevas aportaciones".
A smart description of some thirty unrecorded Andalusí and North African dinars (Umayyad Caliphate, Hammudids, Abbaidids, Murabitids and Nasrids), with attractive photos. Some comments are added to the data.
4. Carolina Doménech: "Los estudios de circulación monetaria en la numismática andalusí: el caso del País Valenciano".
A long and thorough study on the circulation of Islamic

coins in the Middle Ages in Eastern Spain, with some very precise statistical and cartographical data.

5. Fátima Martín Escudero: "El hallazgo omeya de Baena: un tesoro olvidado".
Description of a hoard of coins from the second century (hijra), with a study on some similar hoards, all of them found in Spain.
6. V. Salvatierra, J.L. Serrano and J. Cano: "El Jaén islámico: las monedas y la identificación de las primeras fases de la ciudad".
Finds of Islamic coins in the Spanish town of Jaen and their relationship to the archeological knowledge of the area. A very interesting paper that encompasses both numismatics and other, relevant fields.
7. M.T. Campos: "Feluses en las excavaciones de Jaén".
Several early Andalusí fulus found in Jaen, with catalogue and images.
8. Miguel Vega and Salvador Peña: "La mejora epigráfica del 229 H.: sentido y forma en las leyendas del dirham emiral".
A study on the epigraphical improvement of dirhams issued by the Umayyad emir 'Abd al-Rahman II in AH 229. The new design is connected with 1) the Eastern (Abbasid) influences on al-Andalus, 2) the ruler's attempts to build a solid central administration, 3) the spreading of the "new" religion. With attractive photos.
9. Gloria García: "Monedas califales en el Museo del Ejército de Madrid".
Study and catalogue of some 250 Umayyad Caliphate coins at the Army Museum.
10. Félix Retamero: "Noticia de un depósito con monedas califales hallado en el este de Mallorca".
The description of a small hoard of coins found on the Spanish Island of Majorica (two of them Eastern dirhams from the 2nd century, and some Umayyad Caliphate dirhams). With photos.
11. Josep Pellicer: "Tesorillo andalusí del Califato de la provincia de Córdoba".
Description and catalogue of a hoard of some 90 Caliphate coins found in Cordoba.
12. Josep Pellicer: "Madina Fas: un dirham partido, a nombre del imam Hisam II [al-Mu'ayyad], con [Muhammad] al-Mahdi y al-Mu'izz [b. Ziri +]".
A strange and unrecorded coin struck by the Umayyad Caliph, Hisham II in Fas.
13. Salvador Fontenla: "La moneda andalusí en Andalucía Oriental".
A long, detailed, general survey on medieval Islamic coins struck and/or found in SE Spain. With nice photos.
14. Andrés Martínez Calerón: "Quirates almorávides inéditos".
An impressive collection of 51 unrecorded Murabitid qirats, with photographs, weights and diameters, and legends.
15. Sebastián Gaspariño: "Algunas monedas almohades".
A very interesting study and description of some unrecorded silver Almohad coins. His conclusions should be kept in mind for the establishment of the limits of the Almohad system, and for the study of political influences on numismatic issues. The use of primary sources is remarkable. (With very good photographs.)
16. F.J. Alcalá Ortiz: "Monedas inéditas de las taifas almohades".
Some unrecorded post-Almohad coins, described and very well photographed.
17. Almudena Ariza: "Numismática andalusí en internet".
The Internet as a source for the study of Islamic numismatics.

Presumed to be available from: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Jaén, Vicerrectorado de Extensión Universitaria, Pasaje las Lagunillas s/n, Edif. nº 8, E-23071 JAÉN (SPAIN)
Salvador Peña (via Islamic Coins News Group)

Norman Gorny has published volume 1 of his variety catalogue of Northern Song dynasty cash, which is both a primer on identifying the varieties as well as a catalogue based on Fugo Senshi, an original classic Japanese work on "dui qian" or "matching cash" of this dynasty. This long-awaited book will enable those who have no reading knowledge of Chinese to classify the cash coins in their collections by variety. Volume 2, which covers ALL types of Northern Song dynasty (not just the "dui qian") will be available in the spring of 2002. Meanwhile, to find out more, follow this link: www.gornystudios.com/NFG/index.html.

Kutelia, Tinatin: *Catalogue of the Iranian Copper Coins in the State Museum of Georgia*. Georgian title: *Iranuli spilenzis p'ulis katalogi*. Russian title: *Katalog iranskikh mednykh monet*. Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1990. 151 pp. 500 copies.

The book lists 546 copper coins of which over 260 are illustrated in excellent line drawings. The coins are listed by mint and, in a separate section, by date (444 coins with visible dates are listed). The coins date from the 15th to the 19th century. The text is in Georgian, Russian and English (Information provided by Frank Timmermann and David Priestley).

Titles and Epithets of Islamic Towns (Şehir Lakapları) by Ömer Diler. 208 pp, card covers. Illustrated, index and bibliography, Alanya, 2001. Available from the author, P.K. 52, 07400 Alanya, Turkey. Price \$20 plus postage.

150 Devlet, 1500 Sultans (150 States, 1500 Sultans) by Dr Atom Damalı, in Turkish, pp. 436, soft cover, 210 x 210 mm, published by the Nilufer Damalı Education Foundation. Price: US\$35 plus postage.

This book provides a chronology and brief history of 150 Islamic states, illustrated by 400 coin photos, and with 10 maps of the Islamic states showing the changes every 100 years. The book may be ordered from the author at atomd@superonline.com

Ottoman Medals and Orders: Documented History (Osmanlı Madalyaları ve Nisanları: Belgelerle Tarihi) by Metin Erüreten. 382 pages, 13 x 9 inches, library binding, Istanbul 2001. ISBN 975-97637-0-2. Price US\$110. Profusely illustrated in colour, designed by DMC. Photographs by Sinan Turan and translations by Erhan Uzsay.

This is the first detailed publication on the subject, the result of fifteen years of meticulous research by the author, a graduate of a law school who has worked as a lawyer and is an authority on objects of art. He has written numerous articles on his research on Ottoman coinage.

The inclusion of a facsimile in colour of the unique manuscript *Album of early decorations* compiled by Bogaz Efendi, the chief jeweller in the Abdulmecid period, and which is preserved in the Topkapi Palace Museum, is noteworthy. All known medals and decorations issued during the reigns of the sultans, Mahmud I to Mehmed VI (1730-1922) are described, symbolising the recent 250 year History and Art of the Empire.

Included are some medals minted abroad such as the well-known Italian medieval types of Mehmed II, Selim I and Suleyman I, as well as foreign medals associated with the Ottoman Empire, and unofficial medals, lapel pins, badges and ribbons.

There is a glossary of terms, abbreviations and bibliography of books and articles. Also included is a three-page insert appendix (loose-leaf) covering the terms and their Turkish and English equivalents, from the section on the early Ottoman orders.

This is an essential reference book for researchers as well as collectors.

K. MacKenzie

History and Coin Finds in Georgia, Sasanian and Byzantine Coins from Tsitelitskaro (AD 641), Moneta 26, by M. Tsotselia. 92 pages, 16 plates, due for publication spring 2002, price €45.

"The history of coin circulation in early medieval East Georgia (Kartli) is illustrated by a large hoard (1395) found in Tsitelitskaro. This place is located 144 km from Tbilisi, in the Kakheti region, and played an important part in the history of Georgia. The hoard contains 1385 silver Sasanian drachms and 10 Byzantine hexagrams and provides good evidence of coin circulation in Kartli in the 6th to the first half of the 7th century AD. Medea Tsotselia is head of the numismatic department in the Janashia Georgian State Museum."

Los Feluses de al-Andalus, by R Frochoso Sánchez, 139 pp with 19 plates and hand drawings, published by Numismática Córdoba. Price €10. A good source for books on Spanish numismatics is Cayón. Enquiries to cayon@cayon.com

Studies of South Indian Coins vol. 12.

Contents are as follows:

Shashikant G. Dhopate: "Silver coins of Vijayanagar Empire"

Ajay Mitra Shashtri: "Another interesting identity ring from Karur"

K. Munirathnam: "A lead coin from Andhra Pradesh"

M. Mukunda Prabhu: "An unpublished silver coin of Machi Bhupala (?) Mahasamanta of Trailokyamalla Somesvara I"

P. V. Radhakrishnan, et.al: "Three gold punchmarked coins of the Kalyana Chalukyas"

K. Ganesh and M. Girijapathy: "Some interesting coins of Cholas and Telugu Chodas"

G. Sarojini Amma: "Puthina Hoard of Persian Coins from Kerala"

Jee Francis Therattil: "Dot-codes in battle-axe type Venad Chera coins"

Beena Sarasan: "Late medieval coins of Venad"

T. S. Ravishankar: "Coins of Butalavira"

M. V. Krishnappa: "A new copper coin of Achyutaraya"

Shashikant G. Dhopate: "Some coins assignable to Vijayanagar rulers"

A. V. Narsimha Murthy: "Four Sarasvati type copper coins of Vijayanagara"

G. Ajit Kumar: "A counterfeit gold coin of Devaraya II"

N. Havalaiiah: "Sarasvathi type coin of Krishnadevaraya"

Harihariah Oruganti: "The Metrology of Vijayanagara currency"

K. Ganesh and M. Girijapathy: "Coins of the Harathi chiefs"

R. Jawahar Bahu: "In search of the elusive kasu and its metrology"

R. Jawahar Babu: "Unknown French issues from Cuddalore mint in AD 1782"

R. Gopal: "Two unpublished copper coins of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III"

Numismatic Digest Vol. 23-24, has just been published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, India. The contents are as follows:

Shiji Hirano: "Novel types of local punch-marked coins"

Devendra Handa: "An interesting Vajji coin"

B. N. Mukherjee: "Satamana and Karshapana"

Om Prakash Lal Srivastava: "Coins of three unknown rulers of Erich"

Michael Mitchiner: "Indo-Parthians, Western Kshatrapas and Kushanas, as described in the Periplus Maris Erythraei (c. AD 65/69)"

Shobhana Gokhale: "Vrisotsarjana type coin of Satakarni"

P. V. Radhakrishnan and P. D. Chumble: "Isimula: a local ruling family from Junnar"

P. Anne van't Haaff: "Bankers' marks on Western Ksatrapa

drachms"

A. M. Shastri: "Silver coins of Chandra Gupta II: a chronological framework"

J. R. Hunnargikar: "Coins of Ali Barid Shah"

Danish Moin and M. K. Gupta: "Dasa and Sukki coins of Jahangir"

Nicholas Rhodes: "A gold coin of Ramakanta Simha"

S.K. Bose: "Forged coins of north-east India: highlights"

Jan Lingen: "Jagannathpur: A mint-town of the Dutch East India Company"

Shailendra Bhandare: "More about the Maratha mint Chandor and its coinage"

Chandrashekhar Gupta: "Maharajganj mint of the Bhonslas"

K. P. Rao and Joe Cribb: "Chinese coin found at Kottapatnam, Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh"

Wolfgang Bertsch: "Tibetan monastic token currency"

Ottoman Mints and Coins is the title of a new book by Slobodan Sreckovic due to be published in January 2002. The author has provided the following information:

"Throughout the catalogue the name of each mint is given in both its Turkish and Arabic forms, as well as the name of the district in which the mint was located, together with a map showing the correct location. Also listed are details of the coinage, the metals used, the denominations and the various ways in which the mint-names were engraved on the coins. Following the mint-name data is a list of coins known to have been minted there and the year of minting with denominations. For each coin there are one or two references to indicate where the coin has been published. In addition, about 50 rare or unpublished coins are listed and illustrated. The first part of the book deals with the various minting periods and the coins minted during them. There is a list of rulers, denominations and mints. 128 mints are listed plus the names of two visited cities. The book will comprise around 220 pages and will have about 10 plates. 300 copies will be printed, 50 of which will be hard-bound. The price of the soft-bound version will be \$US 35. The book can be ordered from the author Slobodan Sreckovic, Radovana – Simica Cige 9, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia; or from Ken Mackenzie and Tom Clarke in the USA. For more information please contact the author at sreckob@eunet.yu"

Collector's Guide to Mughal Coins by Dilip Rajgor, 217 x 140 mm, soft cover, pp 48, illustrations of 57 coins, published by University of Mumbai - Dinesh Mody Numismatic Museum, Mumbai, 2002. Price: US \$ 4.95 (Contact: info@coinhut.com)

Collector's Guide to Mughal Coins is a guide book both for beginners as well as serious coin collectors. This small book is designed in such a way for beginners to be able to benefit from the sections on chronology, dating and standard coin patterns. These sections deal with important features of Mughal coins like the name of the emperor, mint, date, regnal year and also where to locate them. All these features are marked by arrows on the illustrations. Coins of each and every ruler are illustrated in this fashion. The sections on mint epithets and mint towns are useful for advanced collectors as well as scholars. These list the mint towns and their respective issuers. Moreover, the Persian forms of the mint names are also appended. These Persian forms are near-to-actual forms as they appear on Mughal coins. In all, 344 mint towns found on Mughal coins are listed which were either issued by the Mughal monarchs or struck in their names by princely states or other agencies. These forms are drawn in beautiful calligraphy by Mr. Zubair Khan. The section on coin names lists denominations in three metals by their weight. In some cases where their names are known from contemporary chronicles, such names are also appended with the popular names. At the end, there is a small survey of couplets found on Mughal coins. The book

illustrates coins of each and every Mughal ruler. Moreover, three rare, gigantic coins are also illustrated. The first is a gold 5 Mohur coin of Akbar issued at Agra. The second is a unique 100 Mohur gold coin of 100 *Tolas* (1.09 kilos), issued by Shah Jahan from Shahjahanabad (Delhi). The third is also a 100 Mohur gold coin, issued by Aurangzeb from Shahjahanabad. (Information provided by the author; see also review below).

David W MacDowall: "The Rabatak inscription and the nameless Kushan king", in *Cairo to Kabul, Afghan and Islamic Studies presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, London 2001. The author summarises this paper as follows: "The recently discovered inscription from Rabatak in Northern Afghanistan provides us for the first time the genealogy of the main Kushan dynasty. Kujula was father of a Vimukta, grandfather of Vima Kadphises and Great-grandfather of Kanishka. Without full consideration of the circumstances, it has been suggested that the coins of the Nameless King were issued by Vimukta but it seems more likely that they were issued by Kujula himself, after he had unified the five Yabghu of the Yueh-chi."

Michael Mitchiner: "*Ramatankas: Hindu Religious Tokens Illustrating Themes from Ramayana*", IIRNS Publications, Nasik, India, 2001. ISBN 81-86786-11-2. Soft-bound, pp. 46, including plates, illustrated throughout. Price: IRs 150; US\$10. This is another in the Nasik Institute's series of basic publications relating to various Indian numismatic series. Its author needs no introduction and this concise work will be of interest to those coming fresh to the subject or those who have some examples in their collection and wish to know a little more about them.

Lists Received

1. Scott Semans (P.O.Box 2347, Issaquah, WA 98027. Tel: ++1 425 369 1725; fax ++1 425 369 1726 www.coincoin.com) List 62T (Tibet; Malla & early Gorkha Nepal); List 62B (Numismatic references (15pp), mainly Asian).
2. Dmitriy Markov (PO Box 950, New York, NY 10272, USA; tel ++1 718 332 4248; fax ++1 718 332 8676; e-mail: markov@banet.net; www.russian-coins.net) fixed price list, fall 2001, includes some Islamic coins.
3. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, HS8 5SJ, UK; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk) List 37 of oriental coins.
4. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 174 (Nov. 2001) and 175 (Jan 2002).
5. AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd (11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ, UK; tel ++44 20 7930 6879; fax ++44 20 7930 9450; coins@baldwin.sh) list 3 of Islamic coins (Nov. 2001).
6. Randy Weir Numismatics Ltd. (PO Box 64577, Unionville, Ontario, Canada L3R 0M9; tel ++1 905 947 1162; fax ++1 905 947 1104) November 2001 price list of world coins including oriental ones.
7. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 858 272 9440; fax ++1 858 272 9441; scordry1@san.rr.com) catalogue 122 of modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes (winter 2001)
8. Jean Elsen s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsens.be; www.elsens.be) list 219 (December 2001) includes various oriental coins.

Auction News

Jean Elsen s.a. auction 68 held on 14-15 December 2001 included around 400 lots of oriental coins. (Jean Elsen s.a., Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsens.be; www.elsens.be).

Auction 69 will take place on 16 March 2002 and will have a good selection of gold and silver Islamic coins. The catalogue may be obtained free from the above address and will also be available online.

Reviews

The coins of the Indian Sultanates, covering the area of present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. By Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka.

Hard back, A4 size, pp. xxxii + 532, with 3013 illustrations and 6 maps. Published by Munshiram Manoharlal, PO Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110 055. Price: Rs3000, £50, and equivalents.

A book that provides a detailed, accurate and comprehensive exposition of Islamic coinage minted in the Indian sub-continent has long been needed and is now available. Hitherto, those studying the history of Indian coinage have had to make do with a limited number of detailed studies of individual coin series and with other general surveys of limited depth. Goron and Goenka have now provided us with a fine catalogue that spans the period from the earliest Islamic issues minted in the sub-continent until the arrival of the Mughals. True to the book's title, the coverage embraces the areas that are now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The scope extends from early Omayyad and Abbasid period issues of the Indus region in the west across to late issues minted by the 17th century Governors of Chittagong in the east; and from the Sultans of Kashmir in the north to the Sultans of Madurai in the south.

The book is divided into a number of sections, each of which is prefaced by a brief history of the dynasty, a discussion of the coinage and references to further reading. The descriptions of individual coin types are detailed. In addition to rendering each legend in standard Arabic characters, the legends are also transliterated into western lettering with added diacritical marks, as well as being translated into English.

The authors use a standard system of diacritical marking and they have achieved the painstaking task of applying this with consistency throughout the text. Mint names are cited in the forms used on coins; a logical arrangement that does, however, give rise to such forms as "Dehli" instead of the familiar form of "Delhi". The text is a pleasure to read and the authors have set a high standard for future studies to aim at. In a work of this length and complexity it is inevitable that some errata will have escaped editing. The errors noticed by the reviewer are both few and trivial. The Afghan dynasty has lost its title on page 259, the end of the Suri dynasty is dated AH 962 / AD 1554 on page 89, which does not tally with the death of Mohammed 'Adil in 964 / 1557 on page 90 text, or 964 / 1556 on page 90 table. Some text has gone astray from types Q28 and MD42. Such discrepancies are few in number and they do nothing to detract from a very readable text that gives an accurate presentation of several very complex coin series. Throughout the book there are detailed analyses of coin metrology and of the mints used by each dynasty. The complex evolution of copper coin denominations in such series as those minted by the Sultans of Gujarat and the Sultans of Malwa has been admirably mastered and is presented with a clarity that makes it all look very simple. The analysis of the varied coinage of Bengal, which was principally in silver, may not look quite so simple. However, the authors have once again succeeded in making a very complicated coin series look relatively straightforward.

The coins of Bengal provide a wealth of information chronicling the names and dates of issuers, as well as their mints. Written documents provide limited information and to a significant degree it is the coins of Bengal that tell us its history.

Our knowledge about the chronology of the local rulers depends to a large extent on the dates found on their coins. Goron and Goenka include a great deal of new evidence that has come to light during recent years. This makes their study the most reliable source for the chronology of the Bengal Sultanate and for the analysis of its mints.

The identification of several mints remains open for debate, as the authors admit. In some cases this even applies to the actual reading of the mint name. An example is the mint "Dakhil bi-Khulna/Dakhil Banjaliya". The authors rightly exclude the earlier suggested reading "Dakhil Khulna". When the reviewer discussed this mint with John Deyell, he favoured "Dakhil bi-Khulna". Goron and Goenka favour "Dakhil Banjaliya". Was the mint "the gateway at Khulna" or the "gateway to Bengal"? Khulna is a gateway to the Sultanate from the wetlands of the far south where most communication is necessarily by water. The local history of Khulna is poorly known beyond the mosque and tomb inscriptions of the governor, Khan Jahan, who died in AD 1459. They are at Bagerhat (Khulna district) and have been published in Abdul Karim's corpus. Now that Goron and Goenka have assembled the numismatic evidence, historians and archaeologists possess the necessary template that is an essential building block for future research not only on the question of "Khulna/Banjaliya", but also on many other facts of the Sultanate period. They have provided a comprehensive picture of the numismatic scene that merits becoming the standard reference for Sultanate coinage.

Photographs that accompany the relevant text illustrate nearly all the coin types described. The illustrations have come from a variety of sources and this necessarily results in some variation in their quality. Given the difficulty of trying to assemble such a comprehensive range of illustrations, the results are good and they achieve their purpose. It is unfortunate that many photos are poorly aligned and some are severely rotated (eg. B397, K95). Although this deficiency in the finishing process contrasts with the very neat layout of the text, it is aesthetic rather than functional. It does not detract from the usefulness of the illustrations. The great majority of illustrations justify the accompanying text readings. In the case of a few tankas of the Delhi sultanate the illustrations justify the coin type, but they lack the marginal inscription needed for reading the mint name (eg. D138, D178). The illustrations help to pick out the rare misattributions that have crept in: for instance, type Q12, which is a Tamilnadu copper with corrupt Kannada inscription. For a work of this complexity, Goron and Goenka's study is laudably nearly free from such errors.

The two largest sections of the book are on the "Sultans of Delhi" and the "Sultans of Bengal". These two sections are preceded by an introductory section on coins issued by the early Muslim rulers of Sind and the Punjab. This part includes issues struck by the Arab Governors of Sind, the Amirs of Sind, the Amirs of Multan and the eastern issues of the Ghaznavids.

The main body of the work begins on page 1 with the Sultans of Delhi: the Turks, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Sayyids, Lodis and Suris who ruled from AD 1193 to 1554. The coinage of the Mughal interlude between the Lodis and the Suris is not considered. Coin types are given a prefix that is individual to each section: those for the Delhi Sultanate being numbered D1 to D1166.

The Sultans of Bengal (pp. 135-275) are represented by coin types B1 to B1023. Appended is a short section on the Rajas of Arakan and the Governors of Chittagong written by Michael Robinsons (nos. RA1-12; CG1-14). The complex dynastic changes that characterise much of Bengal's mediaeval history make this a difficult region to cover, as has already been noted. Bengal began its Moslem history as the most easterly province of the Delhi Sultanate. Frequent revolts gave rise to a

complex local coinage that was sometimes issued in the name of the local revolutionary and at other times in the name of the Delhi sultan. Goron and Goenka include all coins of this period that were minted in Bengal. The later history of the region included a transient incursion by the Mughal ruler Humayun and then a prolonged power struggle for control of the important port city of Chittagong, which is now in the southeast of Bangladesh. All these facets are reflected in Goron and Goenka's study. This means that the heading chosen for the section, "The Sultans of Bengal", has to be interpreted in the broadest sense. The authors have actually provided us with a detailed and comprehensive catalogue of all Islamic coinage struck in the Bengal/Bangladesh region down to the time of the definitive Mughal conquest.

The other sections in this book provide equally comprehensive coverage. Instead of listing these sections, it is sufficient to say that the authors have fulfilled the aim expressed in their title of providing a catalogue of coins of the Indian Sultanates across the areas that are now Pakistan, India and Bangladesh from the earliest issues down to the time when the Mughals arrived on the scene. This is no easy task, but it is a task which they have accomplished with noteworthy success. The book ends with a detailed bibliography (pp. 500-511), concordances of type numbering with Rajgor's catalogue and of Hijra with Christian dates; finally indices of rulers and mints.

Goron and Goenka's study represents an important advance in the study of Sultanate coinage. It is strongly recommended to numismatists, historians and archaeologists. It contains a wealth of information, much of which is new. The subject has been carefully researched. The result is an accurate and comprehensive exposition of a complex field of numismatics. Their book is destined to be the standard reference in this field for many years to come.

Michael Mitchiner

(The above review was first published in Spink Numismatic Circular, December 2001, Volume CIX, Number 6, and is reproduced here by permission of Spink and the author)

Collector's Guide to Mughal Coins by Dilip Rajgor, Published by University of Mumbai. Dinesh Mody Numismatic Museum, Mumbai 2002. Soft cover, pp.48. Price: IRs120, US\$4.95

Any publication of this sort needs to have a clear idea of whom it is aimed at. Is it for the beginner, a more experienced collector or the specialist collector? Only then can its structure and contents be logically determined. This is all the more essential in a publication of limited length. The present booklet suffers from indecision in this respect: it includes many things of relevance to the beginner, but also things that are irrelevant to the beginner and which are more relevant to the advanced collector. Moreover, it omits things that would be relevant to both categories.

Readers would be well advised to skip over the excessively hyperbolic foreword and proceed to the preface where the author sets out his parameters for this guide, parameters which clearly show the lack of focus already mentioned.

The Introduction gives some brief information on Mughal coinage, history and how to collect and decipher the coins. This is generally sound but there are some important omissions. No mention is made of the fact that the dies were usually larger than the planchets and that many coins do not bear clear mints and dates; that collectors should therefore prefer those coins which do bear this essential information. Nor is anything said about the grading of coins and the relationship between grade, relevant data on the coin and value, apart from one very general and not very useful statement.

The author states that one should always avoid cleaning coins. This is probably sound advice to beginners but use of soap and warm water can be advised for removing surface dirt. No

mention is made of how to store coins and how to handle them; too many collectors in India keep their coins in poor quality vinyl pages and all too often tweezers are used to extract the coins, resulting in unsightly scratch-marks on the coins.

There follows a section with the names and titles of the emperors set out with their Persian forms. This also includes any pre-accession names used on the coins. The next section deals briefly with dating, Persian ciphers, numbers and the Ilahi era.

Section 5 is a major one entitled Standard Coin Patterns. This gives illustrated examples of coins for each ruler, including even the rarest of them (which no beginner is likely to come across), showing by means of arrows where the ruler's name, date, mint etc are to be found. This is certainly useful for beginners, or would be, if they know what they are actually looking at. Clearly only a selection of coin types can be illustrated in a work of this size but one has to question the point of including a 5 mohur of Akbar which no beginner nor even the most advanced collector is ever likely to possess, or even coins of Dawar Bakhsh, Azim-ush-Shan, Shah Shuja. It would have been useful to include more copper coins, e.g. the Ilahi coins of Akbar, which the beginner is far more likely to come across.

The couplet coins of Jahangir are characterised by their "key" word as in KM but there is no indication of the mints involved in such issues. The zodiac issues of Jahangir are mentioned, but no mention is made that most such "coins" are in fact later copies or more recent forgeries. This is something that beginners certainly need to be warned about. The same goes for the rupees of Dawar Bakhsh, though that applies more to more advanced collectors.

For Aurangzeb, both the square area type and the usual type are illustrated; it would also have been useful to include the laqab type struck in the early years of his reign, especially as half a paragraph is later taken up with a rare couplet of Shah Alam I that is hardly pertinent in the present context.

The entry for Muhammad Akbar II is oddly truncated. The author states that Akbar II was enthroned by Ghulam Qadir, which is correct for his first brief "reign" as puppet ruler. But then no mention is made of his proper reign.

For Bahadur Shah II, a Nazrana rupee of Shahjahanabad is shown. These coins are indeed rare, as the author remarks; what he does not say is that most coins in the name of Bahadur II are in fact princely state coins, most of which are not rare. This section ends with mention of nisars, nazaranas and gigantic coins.

The illustrations are mostly of somewhat indifferent quality and will probably be difficult for beginners to benefit from.

Section six is devoted to a list of mint epithets with an indication of which mints used them, together with the forms in Persian. The Persian forms are supposed to be as they appear on the coins. Not only are there in fact some spelling errors but the forms given in the book often do NOT reflect the way these names appear on the coins. The following section is the listing of mint-towns. This is the most comprehensive such listing so far published and includes such recently discovered mints as Yusufabad, Lokapur, Imamnagar, Rajpalam. Again, the Persian form of the mint-names is supposed to be given as it appears on the coins and yet, again, this is often not the case. One only has to look at the entries for Azimabad, Fathnagar, Muminanabad Bindraban, Muhammadabad Banaras for examples where more care should have been taken. There are also references to the rulers in whose names the coins were struck at the mints. It would have been helpful to give some examples of how combined mint-names and epithets occur on the coins. There are a few other errors in the listing; for example, Jhansi is given as a mint-name whereas all coins of Jhansi, as far as the reviewer knows, have the mint-name Balwantnagar; Muhammadabad urf Udaipur is given for five rulers, whereas it is only known for Akbar; Farrukhnagar Ausa is given as a mint for both Farrukhsiyar and Shah Alam II, but it is known only for the former. More importantly, this listing suffers from two major drawbacks: no attempt whatsoever is made to differentiate between Mughal coins proper and those struck by the Rohillas, Marathas, Nizams, East India Companies, Princely

States. Nor is there any indication of which mints struck in what metals. Some mints are known only for copper coins, but you would not know that from the listing.

The booklet ends with a list of coin weights and names, and a mention of some of the couplets found on the coins.

To sum up: there are some useful things in this publication both for beginners and more advanced collectors, but it lacks focus, being neither one thing nor the other. It certainly does not attain the standard that one would expect from a museum publication.

In the foreward, Mr Mody pours a certain amount of scorn on the work of that excellent numismatist SH Hodivala. Present-day authors would do well to read Hodivala's work carefully and learn from that expert's methodology in terms of logic, structure and intellectual rigour before rushing into print.

SLG

Corrigenda

In Newsletter 169 we inadvertently omitted the name of Stefan Heidemann as the author of the report on the Jena meeting. Our apologies to Stefan for this lapse.

In Newsletter 167 we published an article by Michael Fedorov on Bukhārā in the 11th century AD; Prof. Fedorov has asked for two corrections to be noted. These are in the second line in the first column at the top of page 10 of the newsletter. AH 395 should replace AD 405; and (Bartold 1963, 332) should replace (Bartold 1963, 382). In the Corrigenda in that same issue, Prof. Fedorov amended what were in fact correct dates for Bahā al-Dīn Sām bin Muḥammad, i.e. AH 588-602, 1192-1206 AD. This was the result of consulting an out-of-date reference book in Russian.

A Rejoinder

In newsletter 168 we published an item from James Silver about a Chinese republican trial strike. Al Roth (al.roth@verizon.net) has sent scans of a similar piece in his collection. It weighs 22 g and is 38 mm in diameter (the 30 mm quoted in the previous article may have been an error for 38 mm). Unlike James Silver's specimen, this second one is not holed. Al believes he purchased it at a coin fair in New Jersey some time in the 1980s.



Articles

Qarākhānid coins as a source for the history of Balāsāghūn and the Chu valley in the 11th century AD

By Michael Fedorov

In 1971 I wrote an article on Balāsāghūn in the 11th century AD having used Qarākhānid coins as a historical source (Fedorov 1975, 87-94). Since then some moot points have been settled, the mysterious mint of Īl Ordū has been located by me in the Chu valley, and many new coins have been found, among them a coin of [Ha]rrān (a town in the Chu valley). My article therefore became out of date so I decided to update and elaborate it. In 1989

Kochnev (1989, 144-158) published 48 types of coins of Balāsāghūn /Quz Ordū and offered his interpretation of those coins (p.152-158). Some of his ideas, however, are debatable.

Balāsāghūn /Quz Ordū

In the eastern lands of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, Balāsāghūn and Kāshghar were as important as Samarqand and Bukhārā in its western lands. But while Samarqand, Bukhārā and Kāshghar have survived to our days, Balāsāghūn perished as a result of the internecine wars between the Mongol khans, which devastated Semirechie in the 13th and 14th centuries. That is why the location of Balāsāghūn was undetermined for about 90 years. But now it is an established fact that the hillfort of Burana is the site of medieval Balāsāghūn (Istoriia 1984, 270). Burana is situated 11-12 km south-west of the modern town of Tokmak, which sprawls along a highway 60 km east of Bishkek (the capital of the Kirghiz Republic).

The *shahrīstan* (ancient central part) of Balāsāghūn, an irregular quadrangle (570x600 m), fortified by an adobe wall, towers and moat, was surrounded by two ramparts. The outer rampart (about 15 km long) enclosed the suburbs of the town (about 25 km²), forming an area almost oval in shape (about 6.5 x 3.7 km). The inner rampart has survived only in a few places (Goriacheva 1983, 22,29; Istoriia 1984, 344,345; Nusov 1971, 16). Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (c. 1072-1078) mentioned the town of Balāsāghūn in the Chu valley and added that it had another name, Quz Ordū, sometimes written Ghuz Ordū (Bartold 1964, 298; Goriacheva 1983, 58). Some coins from the Qysmychi hoard revealed one more name for the town: Ghuz Ordūkend. Oddly enough, on Qarākhānid coins Balāsāghūn is almost always called Quz Ordū. Only once on the coins of AH 404 do we find the mint-name Balāsāghūn.

The earliest Qarākhānid coins of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212/133-4) were minted in 394/1003-04. They cite Quṭb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Haqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān. Type 212/134 cites, on the obverse, Muḥammad as a vassal of Aḥmad. Could he be Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the brother of Aḥmad?

Coins of AH 395-405 Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212-230/133, 145, 147, 160, 166-168, 185, 186, 210, 236-238, 290, 297, 301, 388, 389; Qysmychi hoard) cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān (Khāqān, Khān, Qarākhān) and some combination of his three *laqabs* (Nāṣir al-Haqq, Naṣr al-Milla, Quṭb al-Daula). No vassal is cited except for AH 396 type 215/166 which cites Mirek and AH 399 type 218/210 which cites *Nasr* (written in Uigur). In 404 (Kochnev 1995, 227/332) coins with the mint-name Balāsāghūn were also minted citing Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī but with no vassal mentioned. Balāsāghūn /Quz Ordū was Aḥmad's capital. That is why in 395-405/1004-15 vassals (or rather governors) were cited on coins there only twice, probably while Aḥmad resided in another town. In 405, apart from coins of Quz Ordū, coins with the mint-name Ghuz Ordū and Ghuzordūkend were minted (Qysmychi hoard).

In 404 internecine war broke out between Ṭoghā Khān I Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Maṣṣūr. Coins show that Maṣṣūr captured Aḥmad's capital, Balāsāghūn, and the Chu valley. In 406 (Kochnev 1995, 233/422-424) coins of Quz Ordū cite Nūr al-Daula Arslān Qarākhāqān Maṣṣūr, or Malik al-'Ādil Abī al-Muzaffār Arslān Qarākhāqān. From then on Balāsāghūn was the capital of Arslān Khān. In 407-414 (Kochnev 1995, 234-246/449, 484, 485, 506, 532, 554-557, 608; Qysmychi hoard) coins of Quz Ordū cite Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī Arslān Khāqān (Qarākhāqān, Qarākhān, Khān) and his *laqabs* Nūr al-Daula or Shams al-Milla. Usually no vassal (or governor) is cited. But sometimes we find 'Umar on coins of AH 407, 408, 409 (Qysmychi hoard) or Qārshī (243/255) on coins of AH 411-413 cited. In 415 Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was usurped

by another Qarākhānid branch, the so-called Ḥasanids. Ṭoghā (Ṭoghān) Khān II Muḥammad b. Ḥasan usurped the throne and capital of Arslān Khān, Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 38-39, footnote 4). In 415-416 coins of Quz Ordū cite al-Malik al-'Ādil Ṭoghā Khāqān Muḥammad (Kochnev 1995, 247/623). In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān I Yūsuf, ruler of Kāshghar, invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Simultaneously, Maḥmūd, sultan of Ghazna, invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan (known in the chronicles as 'Alī Tegīn), who was the brother of Ṭoghā (Ṭoghān) Khān II Muḥammad, hid with his army in the desert. Soon, however, Maḥmūd returned to Ghazna having decided that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting among each other. But, in 416, Maḥmūd's invasion allowed Qadir Khān I to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket till 418 but then lost it and Khojende to Qadir Khān (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). In 416-417 coins of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 249/657, 250/678-679) cite Nāṣir al-Dīn Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān *Iusuv* (written in Uigur) or Malik al-Manṣūr Qadir Khān (here al-Manṣūr is not a name, but an epithet meaning Victorious). There is a coin of AH 422 of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 253/736) in poor condition, on which only a part of the *laqab* "Mu'ayyad" has survived. Most probably this *laqab* belonged to a vassal of Qadir Khān.

According to Jamāl Qarshī, Qadir Khān I Yūsuf died in Muḥarram (the first month) of AH 424 and was succeeded in Kāshghar by his son, Arslān Khān Sulaimān (Bartold 1963a, 43-44). At first, Arslān Khān Sulaimān was recognised by the other Eastern Qarākhānids as supreme ruler. Thus his brother, Sultān al-Daula Muḥammad (the future Boghrā Khān), cites him as suzerain in Shāsh in AH 425-426 (Kochnev 1995, 256/774-775). In Quz Ordū, a dirhem of AH 424 and a thulth (1/3 of gold dinar) of AH 425 (Kochnev 1995, 256/769; Tübingen University Collection 92-16-10) cite al-Malik al-'Ādil (or al-Malik al-Muzaffār) Arslān Khān as the sole owner of the town, without any vassal being cited.

But later, Qadir Khān's vast state disintegrated. According to Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) in 435 Sharaf al-Daula (Arslān Khān Sulaimān) gave his brother Boghrā Khān (Muḥammad) Ṭarāz and Ispijāb, to his uncle Ṭoghā Khān "the whole of Farghāna" and to his brother Arslān Tegīn "much of the the Land of the Turks" (part of Eastern Turkestan). In fact he did not willingly give anybody anything. He was forced to sanction the dismemberment of his father's state into three khanates: Ṭoghā Khān's (Farghāna), Boghrā Khān's (Shāsh-Ispijāb-Ṭarāz) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend). As far as Arslān Tegīn is concerned, judging by his humble princely title "Tegīn", his dominion was not big enough to make one more khanate.

There is a dirhem of ... Ordū found at Krasnaya Rechka hillfort (Kirghiz State History Museum, no number) citing Arslān Qarākhāqān and his vassal, Muḥammad b. Naṣr. 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad was the son of İlek Naṣr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999). In 429-430 (Collection of A. Kamyshev, Bishkek) 'Ain al-Daula minted in Marghīnān. It seems that he was ousted from Marghīnān because, in 435, Ṭoghā Khān is mentioned as the owner of the whole of Farghāna. Anyway in 434 coins were struck in his name in Khojende (Fedorov 1968, 224) as a vassal of Arslān Khān. The fact that 'Ain ad-Daula in Khojende was a vassal of Arslān Khān (and not of Ṭoghā Khān) shows that 'Ain ad-Daula sought protection against his immediate neighbour, Ṭoghā Khān. But Arslān Khān was far away in Kāshghar and could not help much. In 436/1044-45 'Ain ad-Daula turned up in Baghdād and solicited from the Caliph an investiture for governing Khojende, Ushrūshana and "part of Farghāna" (Buniyatov 1981, 8). It is not clear whether it helped him to retain Khojende. Khojendian coins of that time are not known. But in my opinion, the coin of ... Ordū

shows that Muhammad b. Naşr lost Khojende and Arslān Khān granted him ... Ordū as an appanage. If so, this dirhem may be dated to the time after AH 434 (or rather AH 436) and no later than 440.

In 440, dirhems of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1997, 278/1197) cite 'Izz al-Dīn Sharaf al-Daula Amīr al-Umara Nāşir Amīr al-Mu'minin without any vassal. A dirhem of AH 445 Qubā (Kochnev 1997, 280/ 1227), citing Sharaf al-Daula Arslān Qarākhāqān, shows that the Sharaf al-Daula of AH 440 dirhems of Quz Ordū was Arslān Khān Sulaimān.

Arslān Khān could not reconcile himself to the dismemberment of his father's state. Circa 440/1048-49 he attacked ʾTonghā (ʾToghā) Khān and conquered almost the whole of Farghāna. In the towns of Farghāna after 440, coins cite Arslān Khān as suzerain. The title ʾTonghā Khān disappears from the coins. Only in Akhsiket in 440-49/1048-58 does some ʾTonghā Tegīn cite Boghrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/ 1196). It appears that, having retained only Akhsiket, ʾTonghā Khān changed his khanian title to the humbler title Tegīn and recognised Boghrā Khān as suzerain, seeking protection against Arslān Khān.

In 442, coins of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1997, 278/1205) cite Sharaf al-Daula Fakhr al-Milla Nāşir Amīr al-Mu'minin (i.e. Arslān Khān). In AH 44(3?) coins of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1997, 279/ 1210) cite Sharaf al-Daula Fakhr al-Milla Amīr al-Umara Nāşir Amīr al-Mu'minin without any vassal.

The situation in Quz Ordū after 440-44(3?) is somewhat obscure. Kochnev(1997, 281/1237, 310) mentions a dirhem of AH 44(5?) [Quz Ordū], which means that there was no mintname "Quz Ordū" visible and he doubted his reading of the digit as 5. He wrote that the "engraving style" of the inscription on the coin was "typical" of the coins of Quz Ordū, but this argument of his cannot be accepted as valid. The dirhem in question cites Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Yaghān Tegīn, who cites no suzerain. In my opinion, this coin could not have been minted in Quz Ordū in 445. Or if it was minted in Quz Ordū, then not earlier than 449/1057-58 when internecine wars and anarchy broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate.

In AH 44(6?) a dirhem of Quz Ordū cites only the name "Naşr", but in the same publication Kochnev (1997, 281/1239, 286/1316) mentions a dirhem of the same type with the date "450". I think the date on the first dirhem of that type should be "449", i.e. the time of the internecine wars.

Around 447, Arslān Khān attacked Boghrā Khān, but this time Dame Fortune did not smile on him. Boghrā Khān defeated Arslān Khān, took him prisoner and became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. Fifteen months later, one of his wives poisoned him (she also ordered the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be strangled). She put on the throne her juvenile son Ibrahim. Anarchy and internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. The ruler of Barskhān, Ināl Tegīn, killed Ibrahim b. Muḥammad. Taking advantage of this internecine war, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Tafghāch Khān Ibrahim b. Naşr, attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān I Yūsuf in AH 416-418, including Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

In 448 a coin of Quz Ordū (1997, 282/1256) cites Bā Naşr. Bā Naşr and Naşr (of AH 450 Quz Ordū coins) are different men: Naşr is a name while Bā Naşr (Father of Naşr) is a *kunya*. Kochnev (1997, 283/1267) mentions a dirhem of AH 44(4, 7 or 9) Quz Ordū citing a certain Aḥmad. Most probably the *kunya* Bā Naşr belonged to this Aḥmad.

In 450, (451?) in Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1997, 286/1316,1317) coins cite either Naşr (obverse) or Zain al-Daula ʾTonghā Khān (reverse) Naşr (obverse). So on these coins this Naşr had the title ʾTonghā Khān. There are coins (Kochnev 1997, 279/1208) of AH

443 (mint-name has not survived) citing Naşr/ Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (reverse) Naşr (obverse).

Kochnev (1988, 201) merged two different rulers into one and even "corrected" Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that, in 435, the ruler of Kāshghar (Arslān Khān Sulaimān, son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf) granted his brother Arslān Tegīn "much of the Land of the Turks" (i.e. part of Eastern Turkestan). In AH 444 dirhems of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 279/1217) were minted by Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, a vassal of Boghrā Khān. Kochnev wrote that this Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad was the son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf (right). Then he wrote that Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the same Arslān Tegīn mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under AH 435 (wrong). Kochnev (1988, 201) even "corrected" the "mistake" of Ibn al-Athīr, writing that Ibn al-Athīr "mentioned Arslān Tegīn as the brother of Arslān Khān ... while it is clear(?!- M. F) that he was the nephew and not the brother of Arslān Khān".

As we see, there was another Arslān Tegīn: Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naşr (Kochnev 1997, 279/1208), who never had the *laqab* Sanā al-Daula and never minted in Tūnket. Dirhems minted in the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Tūnket included) were billon. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted copper-lead alloy dirhems, which circulated in Farghāna and the Chu valley in 442-449. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted in 443-445 in Barskhān and another town, the mint-name of which has not survived on the coins (Kochnev 1997, 279/ 1208, 1211, 281/1236). When, circa 447, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad defeated Arslān Khān Sulaimān and became supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn received the new, higher title of İlek (second only to the title of Khān) and became Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek. This is how he is cited on coins of AH 448-449 Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1248, 1252). And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naşr, to whom Arslān Khān granted "much of the Land of the Turks". And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn who became Arslān İlek and the second man in the hierarchy, when his brother, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, became the first and the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids.

Thus the coins of AH 450, (451?) Quz Ordū show that, after the death of Boghrā Khān, his brother Arslān İlek Naşr, did not recognise the juvenile usurper Ibrahim (and his mother) as suzerain and accepted the khanian title, ʾTonghā Khān.

In 1999 (Fedorov 1999, 37-41) I published a billon dirhem of Jamāl al-Dīn Zain al-Daula wa Mu'īn al-Milla ʾTonghā Qarākhāqān minted in Quz Ordū in 45(1, 2, or 4). He minted both billon and copper-lead alloy dirhems, the latter being minted in 442-450. But his copper-lead alloy dirhems could have been minted in Quz Ordū only after the death of Boghrā Khān (i.e. in 449-450). These coins cite Zain al-Daula ʾTonghā Khān (reverse) Naşr (obverse). I thought then that the name Naşr could have belonged either to ʾTonghā Khān or to his vassal. I was still not sure then that ʾTonghā Khān's name was Naşr. The analysis of the new finds convinced me that the name of ʾTonghā Khān was in fact Naşr.

This ruler was recognised as suzerain and Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids by some other rulers, who did not want to recognise the usurper Ibrahim as suzerain. The billon dirhem of Ispījāb, minted no earlier than AH 451, cite Zain al-(Dau)la ʾToghān Khāqān, Bahā al-Daula (reverse) and Tāj al-Daula ... Tegīn (obverse). The *laqab* Bahā al-Daula could have belonged either to the suzerain or to a vassal. On this coin, the suzerain is cited as ʾToghān Khāqān, but the Turkic word *Tonga*, alien to Arabs and Persians, was written many different ways: ʾTonghā, ʾTongā, Tongā, ʾTonghān, Toghān, ʾToghā.

Even for the same ruler, sometimes in the same town and year, there are different transliterations of this word. For instance, on the coins of Naşr b. 'Alī, minted in Farghāna in 385, the title

was *Ṭoḡhā Tegīn* and *Ṭoḡhā Tegīn*, in 387 *Ṭoḡhā Tegīn* and *Ṭoḡhān Tegīn*. On some coins of Farghana in 384 and 385 this title was written in Uigur: *Tonga Tegin* (Kochnev 1995, 204-206/19-22, 23-25, 38, 39, 50, 54). Coins of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Shāsh 403) give one more transliteration: *Ṭoḡā Khān*. It is strange that Kochnev (1995, 226/330) describing a fals in the Hermitage Museum (Markov 1896, 223/210) wrote *Ṭoḡhā* despite the fact that, on that fals and a dirhem from the Qysmychi hoard it is quite distinctly *Ṭoḡā*. Coins of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan have the transliteration *Toḡā Qarākhāqān*. In 415 in Quz Ordū, he is cited as *Toḡā Khāqān* or *Ṭoḡhā Khān*. There is also a hybrid form, *Ṭoḡhān*, on coins of Khojend (415), Soghd (416) and Akhsiket (417). As it happens, in Soghd the same ruler on another coin is cited as *Ṭoḡhā Khān* (Kochnev 1995, 247-248/623, 622, 633, 673, 658, 659). So the transliteration of this word changed from engraver to engraver. As for the components *Khāqān*, *Khān*, *Qarākhāqān*, *Qarākhān*, all of or most of them, could be used simultaneously by the same ruler. Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī is cited on coins as *Arslān Khāqān* (Quz Ordū 407), *Arslān Qarākhāqān* (Quz Ordū 406), *Arslān Khān* (Akhsiket 407), etc. (Kochnev 1995, 233-235/422, 441, 449).

In 454 in (Quz Ordū) there was a new ruler: Burhān al-Daula Ayūb b. Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn. This ruler calls himself son of Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Kochnev 1997, 286/1320). On many coins, minted in 442-447, the *laqab* Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn is connected with the title or other *laqabs* of Arslān Khān Sulaimān (Kochnev 1997, 278-284/1197, 1205, 1210, 1225, 1247, 1281, 1289). So this Ayūb was the son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān. Apart from this type, I published five types of coins of this ruler (Fedorov 1999, 41-43). They give his full titulage: Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayūb. On types 1-4 the mint-name has not survived. On type 5 the mint-name is (Ha)rrān. Type 1 is a copper-lead alloy(?) dirhem, all the rest are billon. On type 2 the date is 4...8(?). Since it is billon, the date should be 45(8?). On type 4 the date is 45..., i.e. it was struck after AH 450.

So the dirhem, published by Kochnev, shows that, in 454, Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayūb b. Sulaimān possessed Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn and minted there as an independent ruler. *Ṭoḡhā Khān Naṣr* b. Ḥārūn could have transferred his residence to Kāshghar or Ṭarāz, the capital of the usurper Ibrahim, after the latter was killed in the internecine war. Or could it be that *Ṭoḡhā Khān Naṣr* lost another internecine war and Balāsāghūn to Arslān Tegīn Ayūb? Though the fact that Ayūb had only the title of Tegīn indicates that there was some supreme ruler with the khanian title in Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate at that time.

The first four types of Ayūb's coins cite him as suzerain (on the reverse after the name of the Caliph) and a certain Jamāl al-Daula *Ṭoḡhā Tegīn* as vassal (because the latter is cited on the obverse where a vassal or subvassal is usually cited). But in 454 Ayūb was the only owner of Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn. The fifth type minted in (Ha)rrān, cites Arslān Tegīn (i.e. Ayūb) and his suzerain, *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* b. Naṣr, the then supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate.

The coins of AH 449 and 454 *Ṭarāz* (Kochnev 1997, 286/1315, 1321) citing Arslān Khān Ibrahim b. Muḥammad show that *Ṭarāz* was his capital and that he was alive in AH 454. Ibn al-Athīr wrote that Ibrahim was sent by his mother to attack Barskhān. Ināl Tegīn, the Qarākhānid ruler of Barskhān, killed Ibrahim and the latter's army fled back to his mother (Materialy 1973, 59). The head of the Western Qarākhānids, *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* (the son of İlek Naṣr, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) made use of this situation, attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān I Yūsuf. Coins show that *Ṭarāz* was conquered by *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* no earlier than 454, though he conquered Farghāna, Shāsh and İlāq 2-3 years earlier than *Ṭarāz* (Fedorov 1980, 43). So Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn, situated east

of *Ṭarāz* (that is to say "behind" *Ṭarāz*) could not have been conquered by the Western Qarākhānids earlier than AH 454.

There are also coins of ... (Or)dū (Fedorov 1999, 45) minted not later than 460/1068 (when *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* died). They cite 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* (reverse) and his vassal, *Khāqān 'Abd al-Khāliq* (reverse). As we have seen, Arslān Tegīn Ayūb was a vassal of *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* in Harrān, which means that, provided 'Abd al-Khāliq minted at the same time as Arslān Tegīn Ayūb minted in Harrān, 'Abd al-Khāliq, being *Khāqān*, should have been in possession of the capital of the Chu valley, Balāsāghūn/Quz Ordū.

In 1982 (Fedorov 1982, 76-79) I published a dirhem of AH 460 Quz Ordū citing Ibrahim *Ṭafghāch Khān* and his vassal, Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula. This coin allowed me to establish the fact that, having lost Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn to Qadir Khān in 416, the Western Qarākhānids reconquered it not later than 460. In 1982 I considered that Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula was a grandson of *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim*, because, on one of his coins, *Khidr Khān*, the son of *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim*, had the *laqab* Burhān al-Daula. But now I am quite positive that Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula was the son of Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayūb b. Sulaimān. Having conquered the Chu valley with its capital Balāsāghūn, *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* knew better than to deprive all the Eastern Qarākhānids of their appanages, which would have caused the bitter enmity and unyielding resistance of that mighty clan. Coins show that he contented himself with their allegiance and, as was the way, a portion of the taxes which they collected from their domains. Could it be that Yūsuf b. Ayūb became an appanage-holder in Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn because both Arslān Tegīn Ayūb and *Khāqān 'Abd al-Khāliq* were dead by that time?

Before his death, *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* abdicated from the throne in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. Another son of his, Shu'aith, rebelled against Shams al-Mulk. The hostile armies clashed near Samarqand. Shu'aith lost the day and fled to Bukhārā. Shams al-Mulk besieged and defeated him there. *Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim* b. Naṣr died in 1068. The Eastern Qarākhānids used this to reconquer all the lands they had lost to the Western Qarākhānids, excluding Khojende (Bartold 1963, 377).

I thought (Fedorov 1971, 91) that the latest coin of Quz Ordū, which cites Zain al-Dīn (reverse) Nizām al-Daula Maḥmud (obverse), was minted in AH 461 and 462. But Kochnev (1988a, 60) claimed that the mint-name on these coins is "Ghannāj" (?). So these coins are uncertain.

Coins of AH 460 (or 461-462?) are the latest Qarākhānid coins of Quz Ordū/Balāsāghūn so far known for sure.

İl Ordū/Ordū

İl Ordū mint is known only for the Qarākhānids. Although the first coins of İl Ordū were published in 1896 (Markov 1896, 209-213/139,142, 145,194) the location of this mint was uncertain until the Qysmychi hoard was found in 1992. Coins of İl Ordū are quite rare. In Tajikistan between 1892-1979 only 1 coin of İl Ordū was found (Davidovich 1979/151). Kochnev (1995, 213-248/145-148, 160-161, 236, 281, 646) knew of only 10 coins of İl Ordū. Two of them were from the Qysmychi hoard. It is strange that he missed the coin found in Tajikistan. Anyway that makes nine (10-2+1) coins of İl Ordū found in the whole of Central Asia during 100 years. The Qysmychi hoard alone yielded at least 32 coins of İl Ordū. So on the one hand we have 9 coins of İl Ordū found in the whole of Central Asia (beyond the Chu valley) since 1892, on the other hand we have 32 coins of İl Ordū found in the Chu valley. The fact, that the number of İl Ordū coins found in the Chu valley more than three times surpasses the number of İl Ordū coins found in the whole of Central Asia over 100 years, proves

conclusively to me that the mint of ʿĪl Ordū was situated in the Chu valley.

Al-Muqaddasi (10th century AD) mentioned the towns of Balāsāghūn and Ordū in the Chu valley. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (11th century) mentioned Balāsāghūn and Ordū, situated close to it. He wrote that Balāsāghūn had another name, Quz Ordū, and that Ordū was bigger than Balāsāghūn (Goriacheva 1983, 58). Near Burana hillfort (Balāsāghūn) there is a hillfort Aq-Beshim, and the area, occupied by Aq-Beshim, is in fact more than that of Burana. So the mint of ʿĪl Ordū (Ordū with epithet ʿĪl - people, state) was situated in Ordū near Balāsāghūn. Archaeologists have identified Aq-Beshim with the town of Suyab founded in the Chu valley in the 5th century AD by Soghdian colonists. In AD 603 the Turk qaganate split into Western and Eastern qaganates. Suyab became the capital of the Western Turk qaganate (603-704). By its walls, the Ordū (camp, headquarters) of the qagan was set up. This was probably the reason that Suyab got its second name, Ordūkend (Town of Ordū). The names Ordūkend and Ordū are mentioned in a Turkic-Manichaean manuscript written in the reign of *Chigil Arslan*, ruler of *Ordu* and other towns. Also *Ordukent* is mentioned as a town where a Manichaean monastery existed. This manuscript was written between 739 and the middle of the 9th century AD (Istochnikovedenie 1996, 103-104, 236-238).

Suyab had a *shahristan* (35 hectares) with a citadel. The circumference of the *shahristan*'s walls is about 3.3 km, so I think it was the Suyab of Hiuen Tsiang's time, who wrote that Suyab was 6-7 li (3-3.5 km) in circumference. The "Rabad" (60 hectares) was adjacent to the eastern wall of the *shahristan*. The suburbs of Suyab were surrounded by a rampart which was about 11 km long (Nusov 1971, 11-15). I think the so-called "rabad" was the Ordū (camp, headquarters) of the qagans, fortified after the time of Hiuen Tsiang (c. 629-645). The "Rabad" and *shahristan* were surrounded by adobe walls with towers and a moat.

When the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first state of Muslim Turks, was created in the second quarter of the 10th century AD, the Qarākhānids built themselves the new Muslim town of Balāsāghūn (Quz Ordū). It was situated 5-6 km south-east of Suyab/Ordū, which started to lose its significance. In the 11th century Maḥmūd Kāshgharī still mentioned it as a town. But in the 12th century it was already abandoned. There are no cultural strata of the 12th century at Aq-Beshim. Rare finds of 12th century pottery fragments show that some people were still living there but that the population was very scarce (Istoriia 1984, 270, 344-346; Kyzlasov 1959, 236).

The earliest Qarākhānid coin (Kochnev 1995, 212/135) of this town was minted in 394/1003-04 and had the mint-name Ordū. It cites Naṣir al-Ḥaqq wa Saif al-Daula Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (reverse) and his vassal, or rather governor, Abū ʿĪbād. The *kunia* Abū ʿĪbād could not have belonged to Aḥmad b. ʿAlī because, on the coins, he is mentioned with another *kunia*, Abū Naṣr (Kochnev 1995, 213/141 *passim*).

But starting with AH 395, to the name of the town was added the epithet, ʿĪl, and the mint-name became ʿĪl Ordū. Dirhems of AH 395 ʿĪl Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 213/145-148) cite Naṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Qarākhāqān, Naṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Qarākhāqān Quṭb al-Daula, Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Qarākhāqān or Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān. No vassal is cited.

In 396 coins of ʿĪl Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 214/160-161) cite, in the reverse marginal legend, Amīr al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla. In the reverse field Khān Aḥmad b. ʿAlī or simply Aḥmad b. ʿAlī is cited. Type 214/161 also cites the vassal *Nasr* (written in Uigur).

Coins of AH 397-400 ʿĪl Ordū are not known; they were probably not minted. It seems that the mint of ʿĪl Ordū worked sporadically and in short spans.

In AH 401 (Qysmychi hoard) a dirhem of ʿĪl Ordū cites, in the reverse marginal legend, al-Amīr al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar

Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla. In the reverse field Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and the vassal *Nasr* (written in Uigur) are cited, i.e. the coins of AH 401 are an exact replica of the AH 366 type 214/161.

In AH 402 (Kochnev 1995, 220/236, 223/281) coins of ʿĪl Ordū cite Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Qarākhāqān (220/236) or Amīr al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla (reverse marginal legend) Naṣr al-Milla (reverse field). Coins of AH 403-404 are not known.

In AH 405 (Qysmychi hoard) coins of ʿĪl Ordū cite Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Qarākhāqān.

In 404 a war broke out between Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and his brother, Maṣṣūr. Coins show that Maṣṣūr captured Aḥmad's capital Balāsāghūn. In 406 (Kochnev 1995, 233/422) coins of Quz Ordū cite Nūr al-Daula Arslān Qarākhāqān Maṣṣūr. The hitherto unknown dirhem of AH 406 ʿĪl Ordū (Qysmychi hoard) citing Abū al-Muzaffar Arslān Qarākhāqān shows that Maṣṣūr b. ʿAlī also conquered ʿĪl Ordū.

There is coin of ʿĪl Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 248/646), minted no later than 415, citing Muḥammad b. ʿAlī ʿĪlek (who died in 415). As other parts of the legends have not survived, it is not clear who was the suzerain of Muḥammad on this coin. He received the title of ʿĪlek in 405. Dirhems of AH 405 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393) cite him as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī ʿĪlek. So this coin was not minted before AH 405. Could it be that Muḥammad was granted ʿĪl Ordū temporarily when the allies had conquered the Chu valley from Aḥmad b. ʿAlī?

I have mentioned above a coin of ... Ordū found at Krasnaya Rechka hillfort (Kirghiz State History Museum, no number) citing Arslān Qarākhāqān Sulaimān (1032-1056) and his vassal, Muḥammad b. Naṣr. I dated it to the time after 434/1042-43 and not later than 440/1048-49. Kochnev (1989, 152) wrote: "In view of the fact that, in the mintname, only the word Ordū was read, and that that, in the domains of Muḥammad b. Naṣr were limited to Farghāna, Khojende, Ustrūshana and ʿĪlāq, we (i.e. Kochnev- M. F.) do not consider it possible to enter this dirhem on a list of coins of Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn); it is quite probable that this coin was minted in Ordū, ʿĪl Ordū or some other place not identical to Quz Ordū". In 1989 Kochnev certainly did not know that Ordū and ʿĪl Ordū were the same and that this mint was situated in the Chu valley, but maybe he was right that the coin in question was minted in ʿĪl Ordū. In this case the dirhem in question would be the latest known coin of ʿĪl Ordū.

Harrān

I have mentioned above the coin minted by Arslān Tegīn Ayūb in "... rrān". The mintname, though partly effaced, looks most of all like Harrān. Harrān, a medieval town in the Chu valley, mentioned by the arab geographer al-Muqaddasi (c. 985-989), was situated to the south of the river Chu and about 100 km to the west of Balāsāghūn (Goriacheva 1988, 107).

The coin of Harrān illustrates the subsequent career of Arslān Tegīn Ayūb b. Sulaimān. It cites ʿImād al-Daula (wa) Ṭāj al-Milla Saif Khalifat (Allāh) Ṭafghāch (Khān) Ibrahīm, on the reverse, and Ars(lān) Tegīn, on the obverse (where the vassal or subvassal is usually cited).

After the conquest of the Chu valley by the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr, Arslān Tegīn Ayūb became his vassal and possessed the town of Harrān as an appanage. The title of Arslān Tegīn was placed on the obverse above and under the Kalima, as befitted a vassal. As for Jamāl al-Daula Toḡhā Tegīn (the former vassal of Arslān Tegīn) he disappears from the coins.

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Year		Suzerain	Vassal
394,8	D	W. Qarākhāqān Qutb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
394	D	The same	Muḥammad
395	D	W. Qarākhāqān Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
395,6	D	W. Qarākhāqān (Khān) Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
396,7	D	W. Khān (Khāqān) Qutb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
396	D	The same	Mīrek
399,400,1	D	W. Qarākhāqān Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Nasr
400,1	D	W. Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
400	D	W. Khān Qutb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
402,5	D	W. Qarākhāqān Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
402	D	W. Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
403,4,6	D	W. Khāqān Qutb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
404	D	W. Qarākhāqān Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
405	D	W. Qarākhāqān Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
405	D	W. Qarākhāqān Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
406	D	W. Arslān Qarākhāqān Nūr al-Daula Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	
406	D	W. Arslān Qarākhāqān Abī al-Muzaffar (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
407	D	W. Arslān Khāqān Nūr al-Daula (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
407	D	W. Arslān Khāqān Nūr al-Daula Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	'Umar
408	D	W. Arslān Khān Nūr al-Daula Shams al-Milla Abū al-Muzaffar Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī	
409,10	D	The same	'Umar
409,10	D	The same	
411-413	D	W. Arslān Qarākhāqān Nūr al-Daula (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Qārshī
411	D	W. Arslān Khāqān Nūr al-Daula (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	?
411	D	W. Arslān Qarākhāqān Nūr al-Daula Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	
414	D	W. Arslān Khāqān Nūr al-Daula (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
415	D	W. Tonghā Khān (II Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) Malik al-'Adil طنغا	
415,6	D	W. Tongā Khāqān Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥasan) Malik al-'Adil تنگا	
416	D	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Dīn <i>Iusuv</i> (b. Boghrā Khān Ḥārūn)	
417	D	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Dīn (Yūsuf b. Ḥārūn)	
417	D	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Maṣṣūr (i.e. Victorious; it is not name)	
422	D	... al-Mu'ayyad...	

Till 424	D	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Yūsuf b. Hārūn)	
424	D	E. Arslān Khān Malik al-'Adil (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
425	Dn	Ē. Arslān Khān Malik al-Muzaffar (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
? (43)x?	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān Abū al-Muzaffar (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	W. Muḥammad b. Naṣr
440	D	E. 'Izz al-Dīn Sharaf al-Daula Amīr al-Umarā Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (i.e. Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
442	D	E. Sharaf al-Daula Fakhr al-Milla Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (i.e. Arslān Khān)	
443?	D	E. Sharaf al-Daula Fakhr al-Milla Amīr al-Umarā Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (i.e. Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
445?	D	E. Toghān Tegīn Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī	
446?	D	E. Naṣr (b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
448	D	E. Bā Naṣr (Aḥmad?)	
44(4?7?9?)	D	E. Aḥmad (Bā Naṣr?)	
44x	D	E. Arslān Khāqān (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
450	D	E. Naṣr (b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
450, 451?	D	E. Tonghā Khān Zain al-Daula (Naṣr b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
45(1?2?4?)	D	E. Tonghā Qarākhāqān Zain al-Daula wa Mu'in al-Milla Jamāl al-Dīn Naṣr (b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	
454	D	E. Burhān al-Daula Ayūb b. Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (i.e. b. Arslān Khān)	
?	D	E. Arslān Tegīn Burhān al-Daula	E Jamāl al-Daula Toghā Tegīn
Till 460	D	W. Tafghāch Khān 'Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Ibrahim (b. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī)	E. Khāqān 'Abd al-Khāliq
460	D	W. Tafghāch Khān Ibrahim (b. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī)	E. Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula

Table 1. Quz Ordū (Balāsaghūn). Dn - dinar. D - dirham. W - Western Qarākhānid. E - Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
394	Ordū	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa Saif al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Abū 'Ibād
395	Īl Ordū	W. Qarākhāqān Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
395	Īl Ordū	W. Qarākhāqān Quṭb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
395	Īl Ordū	W. Qarākhāqān Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
395	Īl Ordū	W. Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	
396	Īl Ordū	W. Khān Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
396	Īl Ordū	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	<i>Nasr</i>
401	Īl Ordū	The same	The same
402	Īl Ordū	W. Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
402	Īl Ordū	W. Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	
405	Īl Ordū	W. Qarākhāqān Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	
406	Īl Ordū	W. Arslān Qarākhāqān Abī'l-Muzaffar (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	
Till 416	Īl Ordū?		W. Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī

Table 2. Īl Ordū (Ordū). All coins are dirhams. W – Western Qarākhānid

Some Unpublished Ancient Coins

By R.C. Senior

In previous Newsletters I have drawn attention to rare and unpublished coins in the Bactrian, Scythian and related series but have been rather quiet of late due to the time I spent on finishing my *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* catalogues ("ISCH", in three volumes - available from myself or CNG at £120/\$175 + post). The following are coins that are worthy of note that I would like to bring to your attention. Illustrations x 2.

1) **Antiochos I drachm** Bactria. Newell in *Eastern Seleucid Mints* published a unique tetradrachm of Antiochos with an additional monogram to the usual omikron/delta monogram, AB placed sideways outside the legend, right, - plate LII, 6. Here is the accompanying drachm, till now unknown. 4.03 g.



2) **Demetrius I drachm** Bactria. We all know of the wonderful Elephant-scalp headdress tetradrachms of Demetrius, once rare but now fairly common, that were struck in Bactria but how many of the lower denomination drachms are there? In several decades of collecting I have had only three, including the countermarked 'Phar' coin (S193.1D in ISCH) which came from a very old collection. They are in fact very rare indeed. Here now is one which has a unique Bactrian monogram;





The coin is in extremely fine style but with black patina caused by probable immersion in a well (such as the Mir Zakah II hoard) which has also caused weight loss. It is 3.53 g. The closest monogram to this, is one appearing on some drachms of Apollodotos I - BN6H.

3) **Diomedes Æ** The monograms appearing on Diomedes Æ are not the same as the commonest ones found on his silver coins. The coin published here seems to be the first copper to surface, in fact, bearing the monogram of one of the common silver mints. 8.05 g.



7) **Posthumous-Hermaios tetradrachm.** In my book *The Coinage of Hermaios and its Imitations struck by the Scythians* (CHIS - published by CNG) I listed all the varieties of the coinage known to me but expected to hear from collectors of many varieties that they had in their collections not previously identified. So far I have heard from no-one and so I publish one here which has the small Kharosthi letter 'Mi' written by Zeus's left foot, between it and the throne leg. According to the classification I have adopted in CHIS it is issue 29T.1/12. It weighs 9.75 g.



4) **Heliocles II Æ** Like the last coin, this coin bears a monogram, sigma alone, Σ, which is unpublished for the type - a very rare issue with Elephant right - Bull right (BN series 8). 10.18 g.



5) **Heliocles II Æ** This coin is the same rare issue as last but with a different monogram, that of Taxila. It is only the second known specimen since a poorer specimen was published as unique in the ANS (Harry Fowler) collection by O. Bopearachchi as No. 1156. 10.05 g.

8) **Azes tetradrachm.** Tetradrachms of Zeus-right type (mistakenly called Poseidon by previous authors) are well known but in ISCH I published some previously unrecorded varieties with a new monogram and a large Kharosthi 'A' in either the left or right reverse field. Here is one with the 'A' in the left reverse field and with unlisted 'Ka' (cut over another letter) on the obverse. It will be issue 99.42T. 8.88 g.



6) **Heliocles II Æ** New TYPES of coins turn up only rarely and this is one such. The obverse is the usual bearded bust right but the reverse has an elephant left with upraised trunk holding a wreath. This only occurs on a rare issue of Antialcidas, where the elephant walks right. The Kharosthi legend has the name written *Heliyakreasa* with monogram sigma, Σ, as on issue BN7F and number 4 above. The weight is 9.08 g.



9) **Azes tetradrachm.** As the last coin but with 'A' in the right field and unlisted 'So' on the obverse. This will be 99.34T in ISCH. 9.12 g.



10) **Azes drachm.** This coin is also of the Zeus-right type but drachms of the issue are extremely rare. Most of those that surface are of the same variety, usually 99.67D. Here is one with the three-ball sceptre and 'Da' before the horse on the obverse and also a dot by the horse's rump. This latter issue has so far been unrecorded as a drachm. It will be 99.25D in ISCH. 2.25 g.



11) **Hajatria Æ.** ISCH issues 145 and 146 of Hajatria, son of Kharahostes, followed on from similar coins in the name of the posthumous Azes (issue 140). There may be two issues with differing weights. Here is a new, unique, variety with the three-armed symbol behind the king (who rides LEFT as on issue 146) in place of the usual large 'Kha' and three dots. There is no symbol before the king. On the reverse is a large 'Kha' in the right lower field with a 'star' or rosette symbol above it. In the legend 'Khara...trapusa' (sic! in place of *putrasa*) is visible. 2.11 g. It will be 146.2 in ISCH and an interesting transitional coin from issue 140.



12) **Local 'Theopator' Parthian issue.** In ISCH I identified local issues struck by the Indo-Parthians, some of which bear the monogram Delta-Rho or Alpha-Rho, it wasn't possible to be sure. Now a much earlier specimen of this issue has surfaced with very clear legends and the monogram showing the first letter more clearly as an Alpha, appearing thus elsewhere in the legend. It is of the type with 'Epiphanes' in the legend. The king's hair is in five lines and the Sigma is square - a variant of 201.6D.



13) **Abdagases imitation Æ.** The Abdagases issues with bust left have the Gondopharid symbol in the reverse field (Issue 225) but one imitation bust right issue also has it (224.8) before Nike, the usual place. Here is a coin of the latter type but with the symbol behind Nike. The legends are corrupt but the Kharosthi legend, which is retrograde, seems to include the unusual title, for Abdagases, of *Dhramika*. It will be 224.9T in the catalogue. 7.00 g.



14) **Uncertain Parataraja Drachm.** The Parataraja series is one of the most intriguing of the later Indo-Parthian coinage and is as yet imperfectly catalogued, though I have made an attempt at it. Slowly some patterns are beginning to emerge. I have recently acquired the illustrated find of 10 unusual coins which I hope to classify in more detail in the future. The coin numbered 14 is a drachm with what appears to be the same legend as 297.1D. The letter forms are most unusual. This particular coin seems much larger than the illustrated coin but only weighs 3.32 gm. The bust, in much finer style, faces right. The king's father's name seems to be Hriramira and we have other kings with the name Maramira (and Miramara) as well as Yolamira (see next) and this suffix -mira/mara would seem to link this branch of the Paratarajas. This coin will be 297.3D in the catalogue and is unique. See 17



15) **Yolamara Parataraja Hemidrachms.** Six of the coins in the hoard seem to bear the Brahmi legend '.....parataraja Yolamarasa' and weigh around 1.80 g. They have a crude obverse portrait, bust right, and the swastika reverse can turn either right or left. These are hemidrachms similar to issue 296.1D Issue 288 with a Kharosthi legend which has the patronymic 'Yolatanama' and an inscription found in this area also refers to a king 'Yola...' and so we seem to have a local name-prefix surfacing. Coin 15f, which is typical, weighs 1.83 g. This issue is unreported so far. The catalogue numbers will be 297.xH according to the number of varieties I can identify. It is not the same as 298.1H.



16) **Arjuna Parataraja Hemidrachm.** One coin in the group (16) with similar portrait bears the legend 'Yolamaraputrasa parataraja Ajunasa' and this means that the issue 296.1D can now be identified as being of Arjuna, son of Yolamara.



17) **Maramira Parataraja hemidrachm.** Coin 17 with identical obverse but swastika turning in the opposite direction seems to bear the legend 'Hriramarapatasa Parata Maramirasa'. We have coins of Miramara, son of Maramira (Issue 295) and if these readings are correct we can see that a family is emerging; Hriramara father of Maramira, father of Miramara and somehow related to Yolamara father of Ajuna.



18) **Yolamara Trihemiobol.** This tiny coin is the first known Parataraja coin to omit the swastika from the reverse. There are three lines of legend 'Yo la/ ma ra sa/ x ha sa' I have no idea what the last word may be as yet (*Pahasa?*) but the obverse portrait seems identical to the last coin. 0.98 g. The catalogue number will be 297.xTr, the number (x) to be allocated later.



19) **Vasu AV stater.** Since Robert Göbl published the known varieties of Kushan gold coins (*Münzprägung des Kushanreiches*) it is unusual for a new variety to surface, particularly of the later series. Here is one with *Shi* below the king's arm. It is similar to G.574 but this is an unreported letter.



20) **Shapur III stater.** In his *Sasanidische Numismatik*, R. Göbl stated that there were 'no gold coins known' of Shapur III but this coin, found with the next, obviously fills this important gap. It is a beautiful specimen.



21) **Shapur III stater of Sind.** In 1990 I published in the *Celator* the first article on the gold coinage of Sind after discovering a coin of Bahram V with the legend 'Sri' meaning 'Lord', which had surfaced in Baluchistan. The coinage begins with coins of Shapur II (AD 309–379) with this word 'Sri' before the king's bust and is followed by that of Ardeshir II (AD 379–383). Thereafter was a gap for the time of Shapur III before the next issue in the name of Yazdgird I (AD 399–420). Now this coin of Shapur III with the ubiquitous 'Sri' has surfaced to fill the gap in this little known series. Shapur had serious troubles in all his border provinces and suffered a reverse against the Kushan King and it had seemed that in his troubles he was unable to issue a gold coinage. Perhaps he sought refuge in his most southern and eastern province, Sind, where he struck these beautiful and, so far, unique coins - one a regular issue (though with Sind type reverse) and the other a normal Sind style stater.



22) In *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks* (DIG)¹ I placed Nikias as a contemporary of Strato, c.120–115 BC. This was considerably earlier than Osmund Bopearachchi (c. 90–85 BC) or Michael Mitchiner (c. 80–60 BC) placed him. In fact I suggested on page 34 that he might have been earlier still and pointed out that his 'Prancing Horseman' type became a major silver type for later kings. Now a unique silver drachm has been discovered that has some bearing on his dates. The drachm, in poor condition, shows the king diademed on the obverse but with Prancing Horseman reverse and monogram 4 (table 4, p. 22 of DIG). The crucial point is the *style* of the horse and rider which is almost identical to that of Antimachos II (c. 160–155 BC?) with the body of the horse being oversized and not rearing back so far as on later depictions. On table 6, page 27 of DIG I showed how this 'type' passed from Antimachos to Nikias and then to Philoxenos (c. 110–95 BC). Perhaps now that a silver coin has been found, this link is confirmed but places Nikias possibly a little closer in time to Antimachos than I had suggested.



23) A further unique drachm of Nikias is illustrated here showing the helmeted version of the regular issue, but with the monogram transposed to the left side of the coin. The coin seems to be a contemporary forgery because, though struck from dies and not cast, it has a copper core.



24) On page 116 of Volume 1 of ISCH I listed the extremely rare drachms of the Indo-Parthians issued in Sind. I placed the coins of Kujula Kadphises before those of Sases but after those of an 'uncertain' King. Now a new drachm has surfaced that may have some bearing upon the situation. The drachm shows a king facing left, wearing a tiara which is decorated with a Gondopharid symbol, and with another, large Gondopharid symbol before his face. The Greek legend around seems to read 'BAΣΙΑ...EΩN ΓA' though the last 'N' resembles an 'H' and the *gamma* could also be an *upsilon*. On the reverse, a winged Nike walks right with a wreath in her outstretched right arm. In the left field is the Kharosthi letter *Bhu* and it is notable that the curve of the bottom of the letter is retrograde as on only one other known coin – that of Kujula (see B4.IIdii on page 219, Vol. 2 ISCH). The surrounding Kharosthi legend, which is mostly off the coins, reads '...rajasa Agatasa ..'. The last 'Sa' is partly overcut by the base of the Nike. The coins weighs 2.07 g. The 'uncertain' king, issue 251 (page 175, ISCH) bears some resemblance to the new coin, particularly 251.1D, but that coin is overstruck on a drachm of Nahapana and the result is that the legend that would correspond to the new coin is confused. The legend on 251 begins 'Maharajasa...' above the head and the king's name ends the legend '...tratarasa (?) Guda (ta/Na?)sa' – the latter being the king's name. On the new coin the legend is very different, with 'Agatasa' immediately following 'Maharajasa' and this would appear to be the king's name. Placed after 'Maharajasa' one would normally expect an epithet but *Agata* is meaningless as such. *Agata* is not a known king and therefore some mystery still surrounds the coinage though the particular form of *Bhu* in the left field would seem to confirm this issue as being close to that of Kujula on which the same letter-form is found. The issue of Sases (245, page 173) is the only other issue in this series on which the monarch wears a Gondopharid symbol on his tiara, but the portrait of that king, with its large bunch of hair, is very different. I would give this new coin the catalogue reference 249.1D for now.



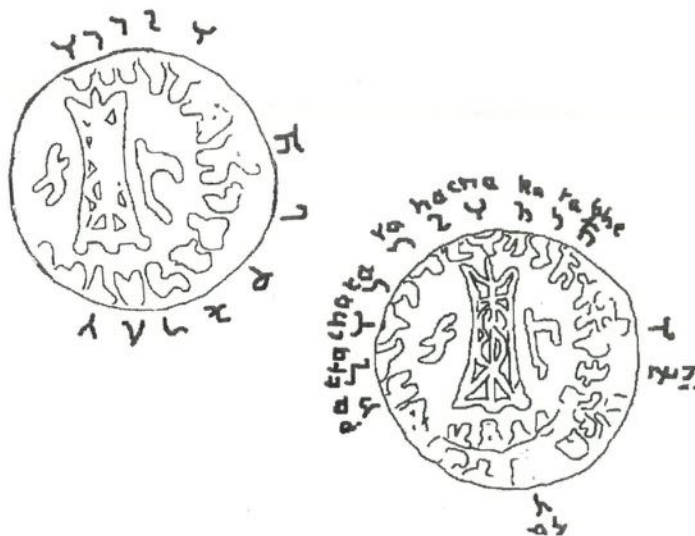
Note: A comment on Osmund Boparachchi's paper in ONS 169, p. 21. In his paper, Osmund states that he cannot read the king's name on the obverse of his new coin but it seems clear to me that the letters he reads as IC are actually a Π with a curved right let. The next letter is a long 'E' and so we have ...PEDWN of CARPEDWN. The obverse is the same as 252.3D in my catalogue. I did not have actual coins to examine, merely photographs of the coins in Taxila Museum, kindly supplied by K. Walton Dobbins, and, no matter how much one turns a photograph, the light falling on the coin does not alter! This means that a certain amount of guesswork is required to read an imperfect legend. The lower part of all the coins I illustrated is off the flan and my reading was impaired as a result. The coin read by Harry Falk has the advantage of being complete in this area and shows that the second letter is very similar to that on issues 253.4 and 255. I am pleased to say that I managed to decipher this letter as *rpe* entirely by myself. On the copper series, the stroke for 'e' is quite clear and I believe that I can see it on Osmund's illustrated coin. Perhaps Harry was working from a photograph too. The Kharosthi name should therefore be *Sarpedana*. I elected for the Greek name to be *Sarpedanos* and not *Sarpedanes* because of the consistently clear reading as such on issue 255.

25) In ISCH I proposed some major chronological changes to the eras accepted previously and one of these concerns the dating of the Western Satraps. Table 28 on page 134 (Volume.1) outlines the revision that I am suggesting and basically it removes the dated coins from the Saka Era of 78 AD, which I believe was founded by Kanishka, to one founded by Chastana in c. 15/20 AD. Prior to Chastana's reign we have a dynasty of Satraps who called themselves the Kshaharata Satraps and who also issued coins.

Chief among them was Nahapana, of whom we have some dated inscriptions (years 42–46) which I believe are dated in the Vikrama (Azes) Era of 57/8 BC. This dating (equivalent to 15–11 BC) would place *his* predecessors, Bhumaka and Abhiraka before those dates and I suggested that Abhiraka might have ruled c. 30/20 BC. This early date for Abhiraka is supported by comparing his coinage to that of Gondophares I and the fact that his 'types' of wheel and elephant/lion on pillar are found countermarked on coins of both Apollodotos II (c. 65– 55 BC) and another ruler whose coins seem to date from the same period. This latter ruler, I suggested, (p. 134) may have been a predecessor of Abhiraka (Issue 204, and 300.5i) in the same dynasty.

Now, a remarkable coin has surfaced which I believe bears out my suggested sequence and chronology. On first appearance the coin resembles a regular coin of Apollodotos II in having Apollo holding an arrow on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse (*unlike* those of his successors – note the style of the tripod bottom; the three little balls on Apollo's shoulder, legend arrangement etc.). The coin, however, is lighter, 11.28 g and the Greek and Kharosthi legends differ from those of Apollodotos. The Greek legend seems to be corrupt with the letters reading outwards whereas on Apollodotos II coins they are good Greek and read inwards. The Kharosthi legend on the new coin is not complete and not too clear but '...Jayata' (victorious) is clear and then possibly 'desa(?) A(?)bhe...'. Out of curiosity I looked up the Apollodotos II coins in Volume three (page 261) of Michael Mitchiner's 9 volume work *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage* and I found an identical specimen - 432(d) which also weighed 11.29 g, lighter than the regular coins. This specimen, too, shows an unusual legend and it seemed strange that no-one had noticed or remarked on it previously.

I telephoned the British Museum, to whom Michael recorded the coin as belonging and spoke to Joe Cribb. On the BM specimen one can clearly see 'Chaharata Chatara' and ending possibly '...bheraka'. The reverse control letters are *Di* in the left field and *Pra* in the right. The BM coin is overstruck on something and Joe recognised it as being issue 204! This last issue carries the same control letters on the reverse but is generally heavier. The BM coin must have had the weight adjusted before being re-struck. This new, lighter weight corresponds to the weight of a full unit in the name of Abheraka (Issue 300.1 – a broken specimen illustrated but another full specimen weighs 11.25 g and is the same size etc. as the newly discovered coin). The legends on my new discovery and the BM's coin are still not fully read and another specimen is awaited to make a complete and secure reading but below are drawings of the respective reverses.



The Reverse legend

The genitive ending *Sa* is omitted in the inscription. *Chaharata Chatrapa* The 'Kshaharata Satrap' is known only on the coins of Abhiraka and Bhumaka though Nahapana also calls

himself Kshaharata on his silver coins and Kshatrapa (Satrap) on his base coins. Other Kshaharatas are known (see Figure 11, page 96 of Volume 1, ISCH) such as Liaka Kusulaka and Kusulaka Patika and they are connected with Chukhsa, an uncertain province where Jihonika/Zeionises was also Satrap (later elevated to Mahasatrap). Since Zeionises seems to have ruled in the Eastern Punjab/Kashmir region and my new coin was found in northern Pakistan we can imagine that this was the original province where the Kshaharatas came to power before migrating to Gujarat in the time of Abhiraka.

There seems to be a word in the legend before *Jayata* but it is entirely unclear at the moment what this might be. On the BM specimen this is where the 'head' of the Issue 204 undertype cuts into the legend and parts of the Greek legend of that undertype become mingled with the Kharosthi. *Jayata* occurs on coins of both Abhiraka and Bhumaka (though in Kharosthi only on the latter). The next two characters are mysterious – first comes *Di* or *Hi* followed by what I read as *Sa*, but this last letter could also be read as *Ga* (or even *Cha*) and the meaning of this is uncertain. If this coin DOES bear the name of Abhiraka then the next letter should be *A* and on my coin it is just possible to accept this but on the BM coin the letter looks more like *Ra*. The last letter of the name could also read *Ti* on the BM coin whereas on my coin the last two letters are too poor to read. On all these base metal coins of Abhiraka and Bhumaka the legends are poorly inscribed and difficult to decipher. Though the regular coins of Abhiraka type (Issue 300) were known for decades, it wasn't until 1993 that I published what is most likely to be the correct reading of his name and legends.² In ONS Newsletter 158 (1998), in a note entitled 'More on the Western satraps and another mystery solved' I was able to clear up the reading of the legends on a variety of Bhumaka's coins that bear the epithet '*Jayatasa*'.

Issue 204, the undertype of the BM Apollo/tripod coin, and, as Issue 300.5i, overstruck by Abhiraka, is another coin where the legends are a mystery, this time however not because of poor die cutting or letter skills but purely because no specimens have survived in good enough condition or with the complete legend. The coins does NOT seem to bear the name of Abhiraka and therefore, as I have suggested, must be his predecessor. Coin 300.5i is now in my possession and on the Greek side it appears that the lower legend reads inwards at the bottom and possibly ends '*...ANIDIOY*'. The reverse Kharosthi legend, if following the normal convention with the king's name coming last (the legend is on three sides only) would imply that his name is Yapirajaya. There are cases, particularly in inscriptions, where a king's name is spelt in a variety of ways and there may be a link between the foreparts of the names Yapira and Abhira. Perhaps we are dealing with father and son?

Summary

The 'Yapirajaya' coins were almost certainly contemporary with the issues of Apollodotos II and have the same weight and 'feel' of those issues. The new coin is possibly also contemporary but may have been struck shortly after 55 BC in the period down to 40 BC when Dionysios and Zoilos ruled in the Eastern Punjab. It is as yet uncertain whether this issue *is* actually one of Abhiraka, but whether or not, it suggests that his issues (300) may be slightly earlier than I have previously proposed. He overstruck both the coins of Apollodotos II and 'Yapirajaya' and issued coins at the same weight as the new coin. Since we have no evidence for the date when Nahapana began or ended his reign, only his recorded dates of years 42–46 (15–11 BC) we can assume that Bhumaka's rule (as successor of Abhiraka) and the inception of Nahapana's fall into the time span between c. 40 and 15 BC. This is a comfortable period that could easily accommodate these facts. I suspect that Nahapana ruled until c. 15 AD but possibly as late as 20 AD. To fix Abhiraka to this early period and then try to extend the reigns of Bhumaka and Nahapana to 78 AD in order to allow Chastana, Nahapana's successor, to found the Saka era is untenable in my opinion. The other alternative of shifting the later

Indo-Greeks, Azes etc. to a later period by about 50 years is also unacceptable in view of the mass of data that is now known that generally fixes their dates to those outlined in my catalogue. Allocating a catalogue number to the new coin is a little difficult since I have run out of numbers in ISCH both before and after Abhiraka (300) and also before and after 'Yapirajaya' (204) whose coins we can now confirm are related to those of Abhiraka. The only solution is to give the number 300A.1

26) Every now and again one comes across a coin that stands out artistically in comparison with all the others in the same series. This Hephthalite coin depicts the king, three-quarter facing, mounted on a caparisoned horse to the right, being saluted by a female deity standing before him wearing a crescent on her head (Anahita?) and holding what appears to be a spray of flowers. There are two Brahmi letters between the figures – *Sri Dha?* – and there was a dotted border to the coin, which is unusually large at 28 mm diameter. The coin is slightly weakly struck but otherwise has suffered little wear with almost all the original silver wash present. It seems to be uniface with little trace of a reverse type. The only previously known silver 'rider' Hephthalite issues are Göbl types 105 and 117 of Kabul but those are small diameter coins without the additional figure. A cavalier type in copper was published by myself and S. Mirza in ONS Newsletter 149 (Summer 1996). The inspiration for the design of the new coin may have been the Sasanian rock-cut investiture scenes of Iran but the closest parallel in coinage are the issues of Gondophares I (Issue 215 of ISCH) and the Parthian King Artabanos II (Issue F14 of ISCH) of some centuries before. A remarkable coin by any account.



1. Monograph 2 of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, by R. C. Senior & D. MacDonald
2. Numismatic Studies, Vol. 3. Ed. D. Handa. New Delhi. 'Aghudaka? A new discovery gives a clearer reading'.

30 new coin-types from Ujjain region and possible chronological implications

by Wilfried Pieper

Since the publication of my collection of Ancient Indian coins¹ a good number of additional coins have been added. Among these recently acquired specimens are several types from the Ujjain region in Ancient Central India which, to the best of my knowledge, are new and published here for the first time. All of these 30 pieces are uninscribed copper coins and most of them are small, square and of very low weight. Sixteen belong to the Ujjain main series with the Ujjain-symbol on reverse, 5 have another reverse design and 9 are uniface.

The period immediately after the end of the Mauryan Empire was a time when many kingdoms, tribal communities and city-states began to issue their own coins. Particularly from Central India several such cities are known having the name of the respective city inscribed on their coins: examples are Kurara, Bhagila, Mahismati, Tripura, Eran and Ujjain. Regrettably such an unequivocal attribution is not possible for a great number of the uninscribed coppers from Central India. But in analogy to the different, inscribed coin series one can assume that the minting of the uninscribed coppers was also not restricted to the most important political and economical centres, like such well-known places as Ujjain in Western Malwa and Eran in Eastern Malwa.

And here it is tempting to regard the different reverse-types like the 6-armed symbol, 4-nandipada-symbol, swastika or frog as distinctive marks for different coin-issuing authorities. The few rare specimens from the region with more complex, multi-type reverse designs do not fit into this scheme and could be regarded as later, special issues of uncertain attribution. Careful registering of the different findspots of the different types could bring more insight.

Generally speaking, one can assume that the great numbers of copper coins from ancient Western Malwa with the Ujjain-symbol on the reverse were issues of Ujjain itself, the most important trade-centre of that region. Among the 16 coins with Ujjain-symbol on the reverse five are different bull-types, five are different elephant-types, one has a standing human figure, one a lion, three are of the tree-in-railing-type and one shows a bold chakra. The Chakra as an additional symbol among others is well known for Ujjain coins but this is the first time that an Ujjain coin has the chakra as its only obverse symbol.

The lion is rarely seen on the Ujjain coin series: one type is known with a lion standing left accompanied by a tree-in-railing and a small Ujjain-symbol² another type depicts the lion resting to right³. The new type presented here has the lion standing to right above a wavy line. One has, however, to keep in mind that anonymous lion-coins with an Ujjain-symbol on the reverse are also known from the Deccan from Satavahana and pre-Satavahana times so that a possible attribution to that Deccan series might also be considered.

The piece with the standing human figure shows the god, Karttikeya, frontally facing in an unusual half-standing, half-squatting position.

Among the bull-types special mention must be made of that type which has the bull accompanied by a tree-in-railing and a three-arched-hill. Of course the three-arched-hill is a very common symbol on ancient Indian coins, but on Ujjain coins it is extremely rare. The same applies to the unusual depiction of a vase on one of the other bull coins. This is the first time I have seen a vase appearing on an Ujjain coin.

As far as the 5 coins with different reverses are concerned the most impressive and unusual one is the piece with a multi-type reverse and a prominent water-tank as its only obverse design. Around a big central dot (central island) in the middle of the water-basin different animals are swimming: two ducks or swans on the water, a tortoise, fish and an unidentified creature inside the water. The reverse of this piece reminds one immediately of an Abisheka-Lakshmi coin published by Michael Mitchiner⁴. Mitchiner describes its reverse as a multi-type design with Naga-symbol left, tree-in-railing right and a wavy line below. My water-tank specimen has the same reverse design, but a flower instead of the Naga-symbol. However, just where Mitchiner identifies the Naga-symbol his coin is highly worn and it could well be that it has a flower-symbol as well and no Naga-symbol at all. In that case Mitchiner's and my specimen would be different types of a rare series sharing the same unusual reverse design. Another of the coins has a combination of elephant-obverse and bull-reverse each with a small Ujjain-symbol above. As often on coins from the Ujjain area the obverse design here is deeply incuse in contrast to the reverse design, a minting technique that is also found on the early Gandharan copper coins.

Also worth mentioning is the small round piece with a six-armed-symbol on the reverse and Karttikeya & bull on the obverse. Meanwhile several coins with six-armed-symbol as single-type reverse have been recorded: two by Allan⁵ and some more by Bopearachchi & Pieper⁶. This new type is of special interest as it links this series with the main Ujjain series in choice of design and time of issue. The same applies to a different British Museum coin⁷ and to a specimen recently published by Robert Tye⁸.

The 9 uniface coins from Ujjain region published here are new types within a series of uniface single punch-marked and uniface die-struck coppers known from different findspots in

Malwa and the Ganges valley. The majority of the known specimens show a bull with additional symbols or an elephant. Among these new types one has a single taurine-symbol, one a single Ujjain-symbol, one a single tree-in-railing, one a single six-armed-symbol and another one a lion with associated symbols. The other four have different multi-symbol designs.

Among these uniface coins the one with the six-armed-symbol deserves special attention. The deeply incuse design shows an early form of the symbol with alternating taurines and circles as is known from some of the Magadha/ Maurya punch-marked silver coins. I do not know of any other copper coins of Ancient India with this early variant of the six-armed-symbol. So its occurrence here provides valuable evidence for a relatively early chronology for this piece, a chronological attribution possibly transferable to the other uniface coppers from ancient Western Malwa as well. There is another comparable coin in my collection⁹ which has the usual variant of the six-armed-symbol with alternating taurine-symbols and arrows but, with reference to its minting technique, it shows the same features thereby likewise suggesting quite an early chronology. It also has the design deeply sunk into the metal with the borders of the incuse area, which could also be called a single punch, irregularly tracing the silhouette of the six-armed-symbol. In addition, that specimen has an uncertain small reverse punch.

These observations correspond to Robert Tye's chronological considerations¹⁰ regarding the single punch-marked coins from the Ujjain area and from places like Mathura and Kausambi. Tye placed these Central Indian single punch-marked copper coins to the earliest phase of Indian copper coinage, i.e. to the 3rd century BC, as a first experiment to find a better small denomination alternative for the mashakas, the minuscule silver pieces. But of course here one also should mention the Mauryan cast copper coins which probably around the same time served the same purpose.

Thus the chronological coin sequence of the Ujjain region until its incorporation into the Satavahana Empire around the middle of the 1st century BC could have been as follows:

1. Early local p/m silver coinage (5th-4th century BC)
2. Imperial Magadha/ Maurya p/m silver coinage (late 4th-early 2nd century BC)
3. Imperial Mauryan cast copper coinage (3rd-2nd century BC)
4. Uniface single p/m copper coinage (late 3rd century BC)
5. Uniface die-struck copper coinage (early 2nd century BC)
6. Die-struck copper coins with single-type reverse (2nd century BC-1st half of 1st century BC)
7. Die-struck copper coins with multi-type reverse (from 1st century BC onwards)

Notes

1. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins*, 1998
2. Allan, J., *BMC Coins of Ancient India*, 1967, pl. XXXVII, no.13
3. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins*, 1998, pl.8, class 6, no.2
4. Mitchiner, M., *The Ancient And Classical World*, 1978, no.4647
5. Allan, J., *BMC Coins of Ancient India*, 1967, pl. XXXVI, no.14 and pl. XIX, no.3
6. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins*, 1998, p.105, nos.3, 4 and 6
7. Allan, J., *BMC Coins of Ancient India*, 1967, pl. XIX, no.3
8. Tye, R., *list 37*, 2001, no.43
9. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins*, 1998, pl.10, class 11, no.4
10. Tye, R., *ONS-Newsletter 87*, 1983, p.4

COIN DESCRIPTIONS

Nos.1-16: Coins with Ujjain-symbol on reverse

- 1) AE, 12mm, 2.4g, round, unpubl.
 Obv: Karttikeya standing, half-squatting, stick in r. hand, bow-like curved lines on l.
 Rev: Double-circled Ujjain symbol o/s on worn Ujjain symbol



- 2) AE, 7mm, 0.4g, round, unpubl.
 Obv: Lion standing to r., parts of Ujjain symbol on r.
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 3) AE, 8x7mm, 0.6g, square, incused obverse design, unpubl.
 Obv: Humped bull to r., above bull from left to right Ujjain symbol, vertical line and vase
 Rev: Double-circled Ujjain symbol



- 4) AE, 9x7mm, 0.5g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Humped bull to l., taurine symbol before bull, tree-in-railing on r., Ujjain symbol on l.
 Rev: Ujjain symbol with big dot in each orb and a taurine symbol in each angle



- 5) AE, 8x7mm, 0.6g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Humped bull to r., big circle with dot inside above, taurine symbol on l., tree-in-railing on r.
 Rev: Double circled Ujjain symbol with a taurine symbol in each angle



- 6) AE, 8x8mm, 0.6g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Humped bull to r., above bull from left to right swastika, standard, taurine symbol
 Rev: Double-circled Ujjain symbol



- 7) AE, 12x10mm, 0.8g, square, incused obverse design, unpubl.
 Obv: Humped bull to r., taurine symbol before and 3-arched hill above, tree-in-railing on r.
 Rev: Ujjain symbol in a hollow-cross-like railing, a taurine symbol in each angle of railing



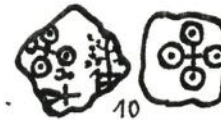
- 8) AE, 9x8mm, 0.8g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Tree-in-railing
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 9) AE, 8x7mm, 0.8g, square, deeply incuse obverse design, unpubl.
 Obv: Chakra
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 10) AE, 11x10mm, 1.3g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Tree-in-railing on r., on left from bottom to top standard, taurine symbol, Ujjain symbol



- 11) AE, 10x7mm, 0.8g, square, incused obverse design, unpubl.
 Obv: Tree-in-railing on l., standard on r.
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 12) AE, 9x9mm, 1.3g, square, incused obverse design, unpubl.
 Obv: Elephant with raised trunk to r., swastika on r., Ujjain symbol with unconnected orbs and a taurine symbol above elephant
 Rev: Ujjain symbol with dot in each orb and taurines and swastikas alternating in angles



- 13) AE, 9x8mm, 1.4g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Elephant with lowered trunk to r., above elephant from l. to r. swastika, taurine symbol and standard
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 14) AE, 9x7mm, 0.4g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Elephant to l., Srivatsa above
 Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 15) AE, 8mm, 0.7g, round, unpubl.
Obv: Elephant with lowered trunk to r., Srivatsa above
Rev: Ujjain symbol



- 16) AE, 7x6mm, 0.4g, square, unpubl.
Obv: Elephant with lowered trunk to r., standard on r.
Rev: Ujjain symbol



Nos. 17 – 21: Coins with different reverses

- 17) AE, 8mm, 0.6g, round, unpubl.
Obv: Standing Kartikeya with bull on l., perhaps leaves of tree on top above bull
Rev: 6-armed symbol with arrows and taurine symbols alternating



- 18) AE, 10x9mm, 0.8g, square, incuse obverse design, unpubl.
Obv: Humped bull to l., standard on l., Ujjain symbol with unconnected orbs above bull, river symbol with large, unidentified objects inside (design completed from a 2nd specimen)
Rev: Tree-in-railing



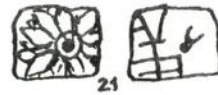
- 19) AE, 10x8mm, 0.7g, square, incuse obverse design, unpubl.
Obv: Elephant to r. with lowered trunk, Ujjain symbol above
Rev: Humped bull to r., Ujjain symbol above



- 20) AE, 14x13mm, 3.0g, square, unpubl.
Obv: Square water-tank with big central dot around which are swimming ducks or swans, fishes, a tortoise and some other unidentified creature
Rev: Wavy bottom-line, above tree-in-railing on r. and flower symbol on l., two taurine symbols between flower and wavy bottom-line



- 21) AE, 10x7mm, 1.0g, square, unpubl.
Obv: 8-petalled flower
Rev: Standard-in-railing, taurine symbol on r.



Nos. 22 – 30: Uniface coins

- 22) AE, 12x11mm, 2.0g, square, design deeply incuse, unpubl.
Obv: Tree-in-railing with 8 compartments
Rev: Blank



- 23) AE, 9mm, 1.4g, round, design deeply incuse, unpubl.
Obv: 6-armed symbol with taurines and dotted circles alternating
Rev: Blank



- 24) AE, 12x11mm, 2.6g, square, incuse design, unpubl.
Obv: Lion to r., swastika on r., standard with taurine symbol inside above lion, two orbs of Ujjain symbol above swastika
Rev: Blank



- 25) AE, 9mm, 0.6g, round, incuse design, unpubl.
Obv: Tree-in-railing on r., standard on l., above small taurine-symbol and Ujjain symbol with unconnected orbs
Rev: Blank



- 26) AE, 10x8mm, 0.6g, square, design deeply incuse, unpubl.
Obv: Ujjain symbol with crescent on top
Rev: Blank



- 27) AE, 8x7mm, 0.6g, square, design deeply incuse, unpubl.
Obv: Taurine symbol in open railing
Rev: Blank



- 28) AE, 8x8mm, 0.7g, square, design deeply incuse, unpubl.
Obv: Wavy line below, above standard on r. and tree-in-railing on l.
Rev: Blank



- 29) AE, 7x6mm, 0.6g, square, incuse design, unpubl.
Obv: 6-armed-symbol with arrows and taurine symbols alternating, vertical line on l. and small standard above
Rev: Blank



- 30) AE, 11x10mm, 1.0g, square, unpubl.
 Obv: Tree-in-railing, standard on r., taurine symbol in open railing on l. with a circle (perhaps part of Ujjain-symbol) above, river with fish on bottom
 Rev: Blank



No.31: Overstrike of 6-armed symbol reverse-type over Ujjain symbol reverse-type

- 31) AE, 11x11mm, 1.0g, irregularly square, ex Robert Tye, list 37, no.43
 Obv: Standing Kartikeya, swastika and taurine symbol on right, to left indistinct, partly overstruck design
 Rev: Six-armed symbol overstruck on Ujjain symbol



Two other comparable overstrikes in my collection had erroneously been attributed by me to Eran in 'Bopearachchi and Pieper', pl.15, nos.5 and 6. These two coins have a five-petalled flower above a horizontal line on the obverse and a 6-armed symbol overstruck on an Ujjain symbol on the reverse. These three overstrikes are further evidence for a chronological link between the series with 6-armed symbol on the reverse and that with an Ujjain symbol on the reverse: either both series are contemporaneous or the 6-armed symbol series is later.

A New Find of Small Copper Coins of Late 4th Century Gandhara

by Wilfried Pieper

The intention of this article is to bring to notice a group of small copper coins which circulated in ancient Gandhara (in modern Pakistan) at a time when Kushano-Sasanian Gandhara had been taken over by the Kidarites. The contents of the group are degenerate and crude coppers of Shapur II and new Kidarite types associated with imitations of late Kushan coppers and local Gandharan types. I have been told that these coins came from a single find in Pakistan but in the absence of precise facts I cannot publish them as an intact hoard or part of an intact hoard although the circumstance that they all are of a similar time-frame could well indicate that in fact they came from a single hoard. The history of such coin groups in most cases would be that all 'valuable' coins were removed by the finders (any gold or silver or even higher silver content billon and any obviously more valuable bronzes). Then what was left was gone through by someone more expert, picking out anything possibly having some value. The 'worthless' rest goes to the melting pot except for a few cases where such coins can be saved for numismatic studies.

Before discussing the contents of this find in detail a few words about the history of the region at the time in question may be useful. Here a good part of our knowledge depends on numismatic evidence and, as far as Kushano-Sasanian rule is concerned, different views have been put forward by scholars like Göbl, Bivar, Mitchiner, Cribb and others. I am following here the recent findings of Joe Cribb, based mainly on hoard evidence, re-readings of certain coin inscriptions, an analysis of overstrikes and comparisons with linked coin series¹. During the reign of the

Sasanian king Ardashir I (AD 224-241) Bactria (in modern Afghanistan), until then part of the Kushan Empire, was conquered by the Sasanian army and subsequently ruled by regional kings. These Kushano-Sasanian kings called themselves Kushanshahs on their coins. Under the Sasanian king Shapur I (AD 242-272) the Kushan lands south of Bactria up to the river Indus were also taken away from the Kushan Empire and incorporated into the Kushano-Sasanian realm. East of the river Indus, the Kushan continued their rule until about AD 360 under their last king Kipanada, a neighbour of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta. Under the Sasanian emperor Shapur II (AD 309-379) the Kushano-Sasanian lands were threatened and successively occupied by Huns and by Kidarites. It seems that at this time there was direct rule by Shapur II over Gandhara probably in order to repel this aggression. We have literary and inscriptional evidence that Shapur II undertook military campaigns in the Kushano-Sasanian territories in AD 356/357 and AD 367/368, with the last campaign ending in his final defeat. From this date onwards, Huns and Kidarites were able to consolidate and enlarge their power in former Kushano-Sasanian lands.

Kushano-Sasanian coins in Gandhara differed from those in Bactria according to the local monetary traditions. According to recent studies done by Joe Cribb², the Kushano-Sasanian bronzes of Gandhara were issued in the following chronological order: Peroz I, Hormizd I, Hormizd II, Peroz II and Shapur II, a sequence confirmed by overstrikes on late Kushan coppers. On these coppers, Peroz I has a flat topped crown, Hormizd I a lion-head crown, Hormizd II a winged crown, Peroz II a bull-horns crown and Shapur II a turreted crown. The reverse of all these types has a divine bust arising from a fire-altar. Cribb writes: "When arranged according to the hoard, weight and style evidence, these large coppers were followed by a further issue with a head wearing the crown of the Sasanian king Shapur II, (AD 309-379), inscribed Kavad (Kabod)... or Shapur (Shaboro)... The coins inscribed Shapur appear to be the latest and become very degenerate in style, with the reverse design on many examples obliterated". This is also true for the Gandharan copper coins of Shapur II in the group published here. Most of them are very degenerate in style with an obliterated and sometimes nearly blank reverse and only a few have decipherable legends, all in the name of Shapur, thus making their attribution to the last years of Shapur's rule over Gandhara probable. As it would not be of any benefit for the purposes of this paper to describe all the 28 Shapur coppers in detail only a sample of 8 pieces (coins 1-8) is presented here. The other 20 pieces are all highly worn indicating a long period of circulation.

There is one coin in this find (coin 9) showing the bust of a king wearing a crown decorated with ram's horns and a bust over a fire-altar on the reverse. Conventionally this king is regarded as a Kushano-Sasanian ruler. The coin is inscribed in the name Varahran and so Mitchiner³ here following Bivar, ascribed it to Varahran II, though Cribb⁴ ascribed it to Peroz III. Cribb compared the Varahran coins and contemporary, related specimens from Bactria, Gandhara and the Punjab and, as a result, put forward a hypothesis which links in a dynastic and chronological sequence three rulers known from their coins as Kirada, Peroz (III) and Kidara. This would imply that Kidara was not the founder of the Kidarite dynasty but rather a king who took over territories which the Kidarite kings before him had already occupied. In any case, the Peroz III copper type comes immediately before Kidara, who continued to strike coins with the ram's horns crown circulating in the Kushano-Sasanian realm which Kidara conquered around the middle of the 4th century AD.

Kidarite rule over Gandhara is represented by a remarkable, new discovery in this find (coin 10). It is a small copper coin struck on an irregularly shaped planchet depicting a frontally facing bust with a crown and moustache and decorated with a pearl-necklace, the whole design in a dotted border. The reverse design has a horse walking to right also surrounded by a dotted border. Crown and bust can be compared with that on certain silver drachms of Kidara of the Göbl type 11 with mostly Pakistani

provenances like Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Taxila⁵ and therefore I propose to classify this coin as a new type of Kidara. As far as the reverse design is concerned the depiction of a horse is unknown for coins of the Kidarites, although it can be found on many Central Asian coins. For the Kidarites with their nomadic culture and tradition the horse can certainly also be regarded as an appropriate design element. As a general rule for the circulation of small currencies, hoard evidence has shown that the local currencies of newly conquered regions were tolerated by the new masters. So even if Kidara would have paid attention to the minting of silver and gold coins of his own type already early in his reign, he probably would have accepted the continued use of late Kushano-Sasanian coppers which additionally seem to have been copied by his mint-masters. In many cases it is impossible to decide whether some of the crude, degenerate Shapur II coppers are really Kushano-Sasanian issues or Kidarite copies (**coins 6-8**). Sometimes it is quite clear that we have an imitative coin (**coin 12**). The continued circulation of the late Kushano-Sasanian coppers and their copies may explain the rareness of small Kidarite copper coins of distinctive types such as the bust/horse coin described above.

A series of small, thin and low weight specimens in this find deserves special attention. They have a portrait on the obverse and a simplified version of the fire-altar on the reverse. Some of the portraits can be related to those on known Kidarite silver drachms, others seem to have been inspired by certain portraits of the Kushano-Sasanian kings. The portrait of **coin 11** is crowned with a headdress topped by a large crescent. Such a crown is known from certain drachms inscribed in the name of Kidara (Göbl 14), from some unscripted Kidarite drachms (Göbl 15) and from a series of small Kidarite copper coins inscribed in the name of a certain Satrap Tarika (Göbl 25 and Göbl 28). Thus for this new coin a Kidarite attribution seems also to be probable although, in the absence of any inscription, an attribution to a definite ruler is not possible. **Coin 14** has a frontally facing bust. In spite of its poor execution the crown shows a close relationship to the Kidarite drachms in the name of Varo (Göbl 17). Following Bivar⁶, Göbl interpretes Varo as a title and considers these drachms as Northern Gandharan issues of Kidara of circa AD 380⁷. For Mitchiner⁸, Varo is a Kidarite king, a successor of Kidara, with a chronological placement circa AD 400. Both chronological attributions are compatible with the time frame of the present coin group, so that I would propose a classification of this new piece as a small denomination of the Varo series.

The headdress of **coin 15** resembles a flat cap, which might have been derived from Kushano-Sasanian coppers of Peroz I. **Coin 16** also seems to be an imitative portrait coin of simple and crude workmanship. Its nightcap-like crown, which is shaped at the top like the open mouth of an animal, obviously can be traced back to the Gandharan lion-scalp bronzes of the Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd I. However, in contrast to the above described series of small portrait coins with a degenerate fire-altar on reverse, the reverse design of this specimen is very different. It represents a Vajra-symbol decorated with flowing streamers. The Vajra, as an important object of ritual worship, is common both to Hinduism as well as Buddhism. Apart from its religious meaning it is also found widely spread within different regions of Central Asia as an important decorative element of Central Asian art. A silver drachm of the Hun ruler Khingila (Göbl 63), according to Göbl ruling from circa AD 430/440-490, provides a striking parallel in depicting a Vajra in exactly the same style. Whether this is mere coincidence or whether it allows any chronological conclusions is a question which should be left open at this moment.

The late Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite portrait coins in this find described above are associated with a group of late Kushan coins and their imitations and derivations. Such an association and sometimes even overstriking between late Kushan coins and Kushano-Sasanian coins has been found in several hoards confirming the Kushano-Sasanian kings Peroz I and Hormizd I being contemporaries of the Kushan king Vasudeva II around AD

270⁹. Vasudeva II was the successor of Kanishka III for whose dating we have inscriptional evidence placing him about 141 years after the beginning of the Kanishka era¹⁰. As hoard evidence has further shown, coins of Saka and Kipunada, Kushan kings who came after Vasudeva II, go parallel with Gandharan coppers of Shapur II and with certain Kota coppers of the Punjab. The late Kushan coppers and their imitations are mostly of two extremely popular types: the standing king/ Siva with bull type initiated by Vasudeva I and the standing king/ seated goddess Ardochsho type of Kanishka II. Thus it is not unexpected to find these two types in this coin group as well. Being of cruder style, smaller size and lower weight than the official Kushan coppers, these are most probably imitative coins. We are not in a position to define the issuers of these copies with certainty but we can assume that the Kushano-Sasanians and their successors, the Kidarites, continued to strike such imitative coins as well. The popularity of these coin-types in former Kushan lands was obviously the motivation for successive rulers to copy these types again and again in addition to their other types of small currencies. In any case the repeated occurrence of these copies in coin hoards from Gandhara suggests that they in fact have served as locally circulating small currency.

In this group, the Vasudeva imitation type with Siva and bull reverse is represented by specimens (**coins 17-21**) with crude and simplified designs with no Brahmi characters or other distinguishable marks on them. Göbl¹¹ illustrates a large number of these Siva with bull copies in different degrees of degeneration and different weights from about 8 grams down to about 1 gram classifying them as uncertain late issues and degenerate copies. The king on these pieces is depicted in a sketchy way with absurdly elongated arms. The Siva and bull design is reduced in an unidentifiable way to thick beams or parallel lines. Only **coin 18** is of relatively better style and workmanship, although here it is amusing to notice that the bull seems to have been transformed into an elephant.

The small pieces with seated Ardochsho reverse and standing king obverse (**coins 22-28**) which are included in this find are smaller, lighter and of cruder design than official Kanishka II specimens thus also clearly being imitative issues. A characteristic feature of these pieces is the depiction of the king's crown, which is high-peaked with a pronounced bifurcation at its top. This feature is not to be found on the imitative specimens of this type published by Göbl (series 1017). If we, however, look at the gold staters of the latest kings of the Kushan dynasty, those of Saka and Kipunada, we find examples with a very similar depiction of the crown. And as we know that Kipunada ruled until circa AD 360, it seems very reasonable to regard our small Ardochsho reverse coppers as direct copies of Saka's and Kipunada's coins. Among our seated Ardochsho reverse specimens, two have an obverse differing from the usual standing king design (**coins 29-30**): they show the king seated as well. These two coins obviously also are copies of a prototype reaching back to the time of Vasudeva II, listed by Mitchiner in 'Ancient And Classical Coins' as type 3569.

A few coins in the find published here can be identified as issues of the Kota dynasty (**coins 33-36**). The Kotas issued a prolific copper coinage based on Kushan prototypes with a particular preference for Sivaite designs such as Siva with bull, bull alone or trident. Kota coins have characteristic Brahmi legends or single characters like *Kota*, *Kota Bala*, *Bala* or simply *Ba*. Mitchiner¹² describes the Kota people as a Punjab branch of the Kidarites and mentions the Allahabad inscription of the Gupta king Samudragupta, who refers to the realm of the Kota family. This suggests a 4th century chronology for the Kotas which is confirmed by the association of Kota coins in hoards of the late 4th century¹³ as it is likewise documented in the find published here. Our specimens are of the *Bala* type with seated Ardochsho reverse design simplified to an extent that, on one piece, nothing is left but a few dots.

One of the most fascinating, albeit only partly identifiable, coins in this find must be considered as a local Gandharan type with a design of peculiar local style (**coin 37**). It has the figure of a

walking man on the obverse and that of a seated woman, possibly inspired by the seated Ardochsho type, on the reverse. The reverse design is only partly visible due to heavy encrustation covering the centre of the coin and the inscription on its right side. Hopefully this legend can be read and published later after successful cleaning. The man on the obverse who is walking to the right is dressed in clothes of local fashion. He is wearing boots with upturned toes, baggy trousers and his head is covered with a turban-like headdress from which ribbons are hanging down decorated with small round objects. It looks as if he is holding a long stick in his right hand, but that is an illusion caused by a metal flaw on that side of the obverse. In fact he is holding both arms bent upwards as if he were carrying something. And when we look at the pole above him, bent downwards as if burdened with a heavy load on either side, we get the impression that this man might be, for example, a water-carrier or perhaps an artiste, a juggler or something like that. In any case the iconography of this piece is very unusual and noteworthy. This larger coin is accompanied by some smaller local types, all of which seem to be both new and unpublished. **Coin 38** has a human figure standing to right with a long stick or spear in the left hand, a design probably derived from the standing Kushan king motif. The reverse of this specimen has a star symbol. **Coin 39** depicts a frontally facing human figure, one arm lowered, one arm bent and raised, with large sickle-shaped decorations above the shoulders. The reverse design is uncertain but seems to be reduced to meaningless lines and dots. The obverse design recalls the depiction of the moon goddess and a Kushan influence might well be discussed. **Coin 40** shows the caricature of a portrait or perhaps a little standing figure with grotesquely oversized head and a reverse symbol shaped like the Greek letter 'Gamma'. **Coin 41** has what could be interpreted as an extremely abstract version of a human figure with uncertain reverse design in dotted border. This interesting series of local Gandharan coppers is concluded by another numismatic challenge (**coin 42**). It might be difficult to recognise the details from the accompanying scan but this piece certainly has an unusually small frontally facing bust covered with a headdress that seems to be an oriental fez from which a tassel is swinging. The bust is surrounded by an inner border of very small dots around which is arranged a row of thick dots or round ornaments. The reverse of this enigmatic coin has a big central dot around which runs a Brahmi legend which I read as HARAMYARA. The meaning of this inscription, whether it refers to a ruler or something else, cannot be explained at this moment.

Summary:

Coin hoards from NW-India and Pakistan with late Kushano-Sasanian coins associated with Kushan copies and Kota coins are known and have been reported before. The importance of the find published here lies in the fact that in addition to the above mentioned coins it contains an interesting series of miscellaneous unpublished local coins and a likewise unpublished series of small portrait coins which I propose to attribute to the Kidarite kings.

Notes:

1. Cribb, J., Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology, in *Studia Iranica*, 19, 1990, pp.151 ff
2. Cribb, J., *ibid.*, p.160
3. Mitchiner, M., *The Ancient And Classical World*, 1978, coin 1312
4. Cribb, J., *ibid.*, p.179
5. Göbl, R., *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Band I, 1967, pp.43-44
6. Bivar, A.D.H., *The Kushano-Sassanian Coin Series*, in JNSI XVIII, 1956, pp.13 ff
7. Göbl, R., *ibid.*, Band II, 1967, p.54
8. Mitchiner, M., *ibid.*, p.477
9. Cribb, J., Gandharan hoards of Kushano-Sasanian and late Kushan coppers, in *Coin Hoards VI*, 1981, p.104
10. Cribb, J., Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology, in *Studia Iranica*, 19, 1990, p.172
11. Göbl, R., *Münzprägung des Kusanreiches*, 1984, coin series 1010

12. Mitchiner, M., *ibid.*, p.474
 13. Cribb, J., Some further hoards of Kushano-Sasanian coppers, in *Coin Hoards VII*, 1985, p.315
- My thanks are due to Bob Senior for checking this paper for English language, style and grammar.

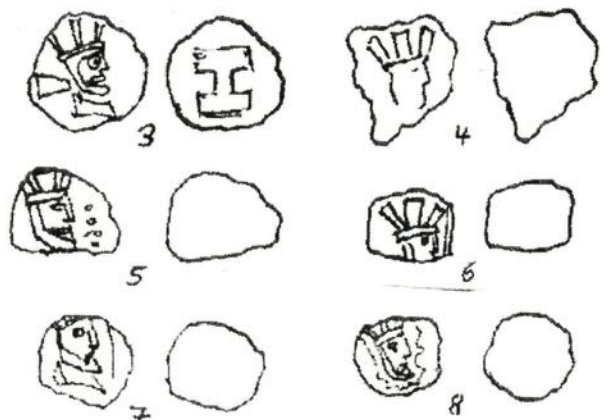
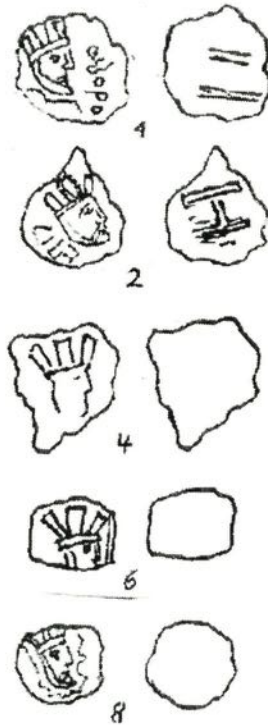
COIN DESCRIPTIONS:

Coins 1-8 are crude, degenerate specimens of the Gandharan copper type of Shapur II. (Cribb type 40). Only coin 1 shows the inscription 'Shaboro' (Cribb type 39).

Obv.: King's bust to right in turreted crown

Rev.: Crude, degenerate depiction of fire-altar, sometimes even blank reverse

- 1) 1.3 g/ 14 mm
- 2) 1.2 g/ 13 mm
- 3) 3.0 g/ 14 mm
- 4) 2.7 g/ max.19 mm
- 5) 1.7 g/ 14 x 11mm
- 6) 1.2 g/ 12 mm
- 7) 1.2 g/ 12 mm
- 8) 1.1 g/ 11mm



Coin 9 is attributed to Varahran II by Mitchiner (ACW 1312), but to Peroz III by Cribb (Cribb type 28) (weight: 1.3 g /diameter: 14 mm).

Obv.: King's bust to right in ram's horn crown, inscribed in name of Varahran

Rev.: Divine bust arising from fire-altar



Coin 10 is new, unpublished and attributed here to Kidara (weight: 1.2 g/ diameter: 13 mm).

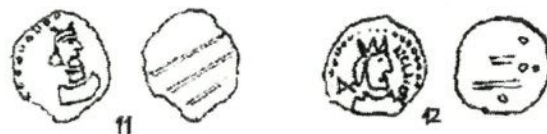
Obv.: Frontally facing, moustached bust in crown surrounded by dotted border (comparable with similar bust and crown of Kidara's silver drachms Göbl 11).

Rev.: Horse to right in dotted border

Coin 11 is new, unpublished and attributed here to an undefined Kidarite king (weight 1.0 g/ diameter: 12 mm).

Obv.: Moustached bust to right with headdress topped by a large crescent

Rev.: Possibly crude remnants of fire-altar design



Coin 12 is new, unpublished and attributed here to an undefined Kidarite king (weight: 0.6 g/ diameter: 13mm).

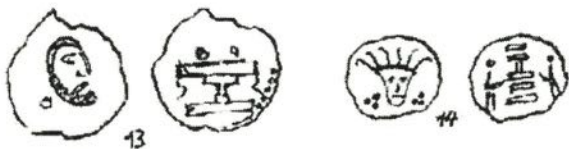
Obv.: Bust in turreted crown to right in imitation of bust of Shapur II, corrupt legend on right, all in dotted border

Rev.: Crude remnants of fire-altar design

Coin 13 is new, unpublished and attributed here to an undefined Kidarite king (weight: 2.1g/ diameter: 15 mm).

Obv.: Bare-headed, bearded bust to right

Rev.: Fire-altar



Coin 14 is new, unpublished and attributed here to the Kidarite king Varo (weight: 0.5 g/ diameter: 12 mm).

Obv.: Frontally facing bust in crown (comparable to crown of Varo on silver drachm Göbl 17)

Rev.: Fire-altar

Coin 15 is, new, unpublished and attributed here to an undefined Kidarite king (weight: 0.2 g/ diameter: 9x 8 mm).

Obv.: Bust to right in flat-topped crown, possibly imitated from Gandharan Peroz I coppers

Rev.: Worn and unidentifiable



Coin 16 is new, unpublished and attributed here to an undefined Kidarite king (weight: 0.5 g/ diameter: 9x9 mm).

Obv.: Imitation of lion-scalp bust of Gandharan coppers of Hormizd I in dotted border

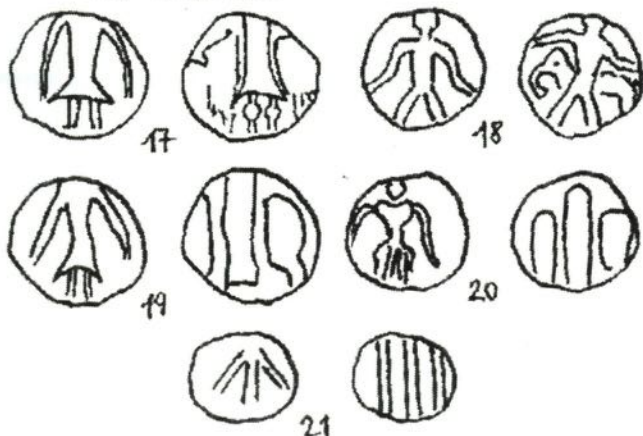
Rev.: Vajra – symbol decorated with flowing streamers in dotted border

Coins 17-21 are copies of copper coins of a type initiated by Vasudeva II in different degrees of degeneration. The standing king is crudely depicted with elongated arms, the Siva and bull design finally evolves into a simple design of thick beams or parallel lines (comparable to Göbl 1010).

Obv.: Standing king, both arms lowered

Rev.: Siva standing with bull

- 17) 3.8 g/ 17mm
- 18) 3.7 g/ 16mm (on this specimen the bull has been transformed into an elephant)
- 19) 4.8 g/ 17mm
- 20) 4.3 g/ 16mm
- 21) 2.4 g/ 13mm



Coins 22-28 are copies of coppers of a type initiated by Kanishka II in different degrees of degeneration. The peculiar shape of the crown might indicate that these are direct copies of coins of the latest Kushan kings, Saka and Kipunada.

Obv.: King standing to left, holding a long spear in his left hand.

His crown is high-peaked with a pronounced bifurcation at its top
Rev.: Crude and degenerate depiction of the seated Ardochsho design

- 22) 1.0 g/ 11 x9 mm
- 23) 1.2 g/ 13 x11 mm
- 24) 1.6 g/ 11 x11 mm
- 25) 0.9 g/ 10 x8 mm
- 26) 0.9 g/ 13 x10 mm
- 27) 1.1 g/ 11 x10 mm
- 28) 1.2 g/ 10 x8 mm



Coins 29-30 are copies of coppers of a type initiated by Vasudeva II in different degrees of degeneration.

Obv.: King enthroned facing

Rev.: Ardochsho enthroned facing

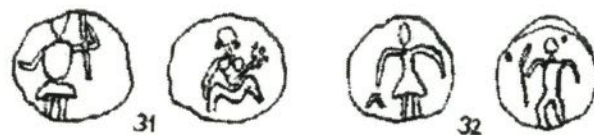
- 29) 3.4 g/ 14 mm
- 30) 1.6 g/ 14 x11mm



Coin 31 is an imitation of more local style of the Kushan type standing king and seated Ardochsho (weight:1.7 g/ diameter: 16 mm).

Obv.: King standing with long spear in his left hand

Rev.: Seated Ardochsho



Coin 32 was inspired by uncertain Kushan prototypes (weight: 1.8 g/ diameter: 13mm).

Obv.: King standing, offering at altar, both arms lowered

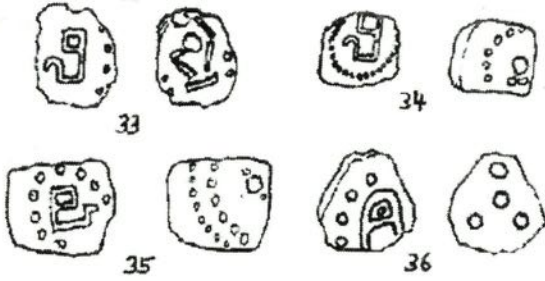
Rev.: Standing human figure holding long stick in right hand, both arms lowered

Coins 33-36 are Kota coins of Mitchiner (MACW) type 3688

Obv.: Brahmi legend *Bala*

Rev.: Seated Ardochsho in increasing degrees of degeneration

- 33) 0.9 g/ 13 x10 mm
 34) 0.7 g/ 11 x9 mm
 35) 1.8 g/ 14 x11 mm
 36) 1.5 g/ 13 x12 mm



Coin 37 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (1.8 g/ 20 mm).

Obv.: Man walking to right dressed in baggy trousers, boots with upturned toes and a turban-like decorated headdress. Both arms are bent upwards; above his shoulders is a long pole, bent downwards.
 Rev.: Seated woman, inscription on right (due to heavy encrustation the reverse design is only partly visible. The legend might be readable after successful cleaning)



Coin 38 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (0.7 g/ 10 x9 mm)

Obv.: Human figure standing to right, a spear in his outstretched left hand
 Rev.: Star

Coin 39 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (1.8 g/ 14 x 12 mm).

Obv.: Frontally facing human figure, one arm lowered, the other arm bent and raised, with large crescent-like decorations above the shoulders.
 Rev.: Meaningless lines and dots



Coin 40 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (0.4 g/ 12 mm).

Obv.: Simplified human portrait or standing human figure with grotesquely oversized head
 Rev.: 'Gamma' shaped design in dotted border

Coin 41 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (0.6 g/ 12 mm).

Obv.: Abstract version of human figure?
 Rev.: Uncertain design in dotted border



Coin 42 is a local Gandharan type, new and unpublished (0.3 g/ 10 x10 mm).

Obv.: Very small frontally facing bust in oriental fez, surrounded by an inner border of small dots, around which is arranged a row of thick dots or round ornaments

Rev.: Big central dot with Brahmi legend *Haramyara* running around

Coins of the Indian Sultanates II

In this article we publish more additions to the recently published book on this subject by your Editor and JP Goenka.

Sultans of Bengal

Sikandar bin Ilyas (AH 758-92)

B202A Half Tanka **Firuzabad** 5.4 g



Same legends as **B202**, but clearly Firuzabad. The date is probably 771. Very similar in style to the coin illustrated as **B202**. Perhaps the latter coin is also Firuzabad. (JPG)

B212 Quarter Tanka No mint 2.7 g



Obv: *abū' / l-mujāhid* Rev: *sikandar / shāh*
 Illustrated courtesy of Baldwins Auctions.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'zam (AH 792-813)

B252A Tanka No mint visible



Obv: *al-mu'ayyad bi-ta'yid al-rahmān ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar a'zam shāh bin sikandar shāh bin ilyās shāh al-sultān*

Rev: *yamīn khalīfat allāh nāsir amīr al-mū'minīn ghawth al-islām wa'l muslimīn khallada allāh khilāfatahu*

Both sides within polygon. This tanka is very similar to the gold tanka **B237**.

Illustration courtesy of Baldwins Auctions.

Saif al-Dīn Hamza (AH 813-15)

B266A Tanka



Similar to B266 but legend seems to be arranged slightly differently. Reverse legend within circle. This and the next illustration courtesy of Baldwins Auctions.

B267A Tanka



Similar to B267, but obverse legend arranged differently. No mint visible but probably Mu'azzamābād. Reverse legend within multifoil. Illustration courtesy of Baldwins Auctions.

Shihāb al-Dīn Bāyazīd (AH 814/5-17)

B291 Tanka No mint



In the book it was stated that a coin of this type dated year 814 was reported but not confirmed. The present coin appears to be dated 814 and also with the month of Jumādā al-Ākhir. The date is written out in words in the reverse margin. Part of the word for four is obscured by shroff marks none of the other years for this ruler would fit what is visible. The reverse is illustrated upside-down with the month at the bottom of the image. The date of this coin poses a problem as the coins of the preceding ruler, Saif al-Dīn Ḥamza, are known dated 813-15, and thus Bāyazīd's reign is taken to have lasted from 815-17. Both these rulers, however, were mere puppets in the hands of Rājā Ganeśa, a powerful Hindu zamindar. It is possible, therefore, that his manipulation of the puppets was more complex than hitherto believed, such that in the years 814 and 815, both Ḥamza and Bāyazīd found themselves favoured at different times. (JPG)

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, first reign (AH 818-19)

B311 Tanka Mint?



Same legends and design as type B305 but the mint-name in the reverse margin is different and, as yet, unread. **Date:** 818 (JPG)

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, second reign (AH 821/36-7)

B336 Tanka Firūzābād



Obv: *jalāl al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar muḥammad shāh al-sultān*, within multifoil with pointed and rounded lobes.

Rev: *nāṣir al-islām wa'l muslimīn khallada mulkahu*, within six-foiled with incurved sides.

Date: not clear but could be 823. There is an additional legend in the reverse margin that has not yet been read.

This type has the same principal legends as type B331, but contained within different geometric designs. (JPG)

B337 Tanka Mint?



Obv: *al-mu'ayyad bi-ta'yīd al-rahmān jalāl al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar muḥammad shāh al-sultān*

Rev: *nāṣir amīr al-mū'minīn ghawth al-islām wa'l muslimīn khallada mulkahu*

Date: 822 Mint name, if present, not clear.

This is the first coin of this ruler to come to light with an obverse legend beginning *al-mu'ayyad bi-ta'yīd al-rahmān*. This expression occurs on coins of Shihāb al-Dīn Bāyazīd dated 814-17, and on coins of Muḥammad's son and successor, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad.

This new type bears some resemblance to type B335 (the reverse of which is illustrated on its side in the book!). (JPG)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd or Muḥammad

B473 Tanka



This new type is to be considered in relation to the enigmatic tanka B472. Both types were issued by a ruler with the *laqab*, *nāṣir al-dunyā wa'l dīn*, and with the *konya*, *abū'l naṣr*. As mentioned in the book, this *konya* is otherwise known in the Bengal series only on the coins of the later ruler, Shams al-din Muẓaffar. The ruler's *ism* is unfortunately not clear on either coin but it looks more like

Muḥammad than Maḥmūd. There is no sign of a *waw* on the present coin. If the name IS Muḥammad, then we are dealing with a new, unknown ruler, which would account also for the unusual *konya*. It is also interesting to note that the precise reverse legend does not occur on any known coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. No mint or date is legible in the reverse margin. (JPG)

Obv: *nāṣir al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l naṣr muhammad? (shāh al-sultān)*

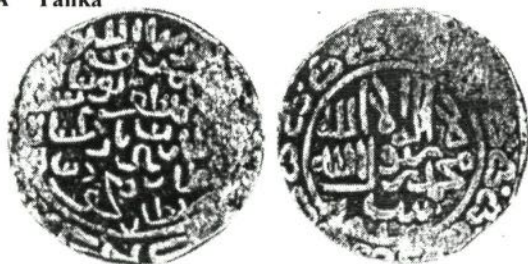
Rev: *nāṣir al-islām wa'l muslimīn ... amīr al-mū'minīn*. There may be another word, *nāṣir* or *yamīn*, before *amīr* but the area is obscured by shroff-marks.

Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak (AH 864-79)

As mentioned in the article in newsletter 169, the mint on types B502-3, has been read as 'Arṣah Sājilā Mankhabād.

Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf (AH 879-85)

B567A Tanka



This tanka has the usual legends for this ruler but the mint-name below the *shahāda* on the reverse is unusual and, as yet, not read. The absence of *nuqtas* for the letters allow for a considerable number of possible permutations. (JPG)

'Alā' al-Dīn Husain (AH 899-925)

B759 Gold Tanka Fathābād



Obv: *al-sultān al-'ādil 'alā' al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muzaffar*
Rev: *husain shāh al-sultān bin sayyid ashraf al-husainī khallada mulkahu*

This is the gold counterpart of silver tanka type B764. The date appears to be 904. The mint-name is written somewhat cursively on both the gold and silver coins. Illustrated courtesy of Heinz Bons.

A rupee of the mint of Kishtwar in Kashmir, under Jahangir
 By Nick Rhodes

The rupee that is in the collection of Mr Dilip Shah remains, until today, the only known coin of the mint of Kishtwar. The coin can be described as follows:-



Nur-al-din Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah
 Zarb Khatwar, Sanah 1024, 10 Mah Mihr.



Anyone familiar with the coins of Jahangir will immediately note that the obverse die is identical to that used for the well known rupees of the mint of Kashmir, which was located in the capital, Srinagar. I illustrate above a specimen from 1022 Yr 8, which has a very similar floral emblem above the "Jaha" of Jahangir. It is therefore clear that the mint on this rupee must be close to Kashmir, and indeed it is probable that the coin was either struck in the Kashmir mint, or the die was produced by a die engraver from the Kashmir mint.

Looking through the Gazetteer of Kashmir, the only possible candidate that I can find is the semi-independent state, normally known as Kishtwar. I am not aware whether any contemporary Persian documents use the spelling Khatwar, as it appears on this rupee, but I believe that the identification of the mint name is clear.

The state of Kishtwar was a little known, Hindu Kingdom located south east of Kashmir, and north of Jammu. From time to time the Raja of Kishtwar had to acknowledge the suzerainty of their powerful neighbour, Kashmir, but they remained independent until 1821, when the state was conquered by Gulab Singh of Jammu¹.

We are not here concerned with the early history, but in 1572 Kishtwar was invaded by Ali Shah Chak, the Sultan of Kashmir, and having been defeated militarily, Raja Bahadur Singh, submitted and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kashmir sultans. This situation continued for some years, and when Akbar conquered Kashmir in June 1586, the last Sultan, Yaqub Shah, sought refuge in Kishtwar. For the next three years, from his base in Kishtwar, Yaqub Shah harried the Moghuls, until in June 1589 he was persuaded to pay personal homage to Akbar in Kashmir. This was a trick, as Yaqub was taken prisoner, and remained in custody until his death in 1593.

Yaqub's wife and various other Chak relations continued to live in Kishtwar, and although the Raja of Kishtwar, Bahadur Singh, continually expressed his allegiance to Akbar and promised not to shelter the rebels, he was unable to control the Chaks.

In 1605, Bahadur Singh died and was succeeded by Raja Partap Singh, alias Bhup Singh. The following year, under the orders of Jahangir, a strong army was sent against the rebels. The Raja of Kishtwar supported the rebels, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Moghuls, and for the rest of his reign, until he died in 1618, he ruled without Moghul interference.

However, the Moghuls were determined to avenge the defeat of 1606, and the Chak rebels, including Aiba Chak, the brother of Yaqub Shah, were continually seeking to restore Chak rule in Kashmir. Then, in 1619 (Shahrewar 14th year), Jahangir ordered Dilawar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to invade and instructed the Raja of Jammu to provide assistance. This invasion was successful, Raja Gaur Singh was captured, his capital city was plundered, temples were pulled down, and the country devastated.

Jahangir installed a Governor in Kishtwar, and Gaur Singh was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior. During the following year, Nararullah Arab, the Governor installed by Jahangir, proved himself incompetent, and was killed in a local uprising. This prompted another Moghul invasion from Kashmir, but on this occasion Jahangir decided that Gaur Singh, who must have been a submissive prisoner, could be reinstalled on his throne. After agreeing to pay tribute of 6 annas in the rupee on his income, Gaur

Singh and his successors were able to continue to rule Kishtwar, as their ancestors had done before them.

Jahangir, in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, describes the country, including the following passage about the currency:-

"A coin of the name of sanhasi is a relic of the old rulers of Kashmir, one and a half of which equals a rupee. In their business they reckon fifteen sanhasi or ten rupees, as one padshahi mohur. The Raja takes six sanhasis or four rupees annually as land revenue from each house."²

From this passage it would appear that the old coinage of the Sultans of Kashmir continued to circulate in Kishtwar for about 30 years after the last coin of this denomination was struck in Kashmir itself. There is no evidence that the Raja ever struck coins of his own.

With this historical background, we can see where this particular rupee fits in. The date, in the month of Mihr 1024, corresponds to August 1615, during the reign of Bhup Singh, who was the only ruler of Kishtwar to rule without having to submit to the authority of the Moghuls. This seems very strange, as the coin was struck during a time when Kishtwar was neither subject to, nor being invaded by, Jahangir.

A possible answer to this problem can perhaps be found when one looks more carefully at what exactly happened in the years 1615 and 1616. It was in the latter year, during the Governorship of Ahmad Beg, that a disaster befell Kashmir, in the form of the plague. Many thousands of people died, and this calamity was then followed by a fire, in which more than 12,000 houses, and the Jama Masjid, were destroyed. Only when Dilawar Khan assumed the Governorship in 1618, did the country return to normality³.

It is possible, therefore, that the coin was prepared at the mint in Kashmir in August 1615, in advance of an invasion of Kishtwar planned for Spring of the following year, once the winter was over. When the plague struck, however, the plans were put on hold, and were only put into effect five years later. This may be a unique example of such a conquest coin being prepared five years in advance of the actual date of the conquest itself. It is a salutary example of how numismatic evidence, which we can legitimately take as truly contemporary documents, cannot always be assumed to tell us the whole truth.

We can only speculate about how the coin was issued into circulation, and how many may have been struck. I have not recorded any rupees from the Kashmir mint from this particular month, or from either of the adjacent months, although examples with the mint name Kashmir are known from many months both earlier and later. However, production in Kashmir never seems to have been very high, as the coins are rather scarce, and are not yet recorded from every month in every year, with many months only known from a single example. It is just possible that the whole production of the Kashmir mint in the month of Mihr in 1024 was struck with the "Khatwar" (Kishtwar) mint in anticipation of the forthcoming invasion. It would be interesting to study other such invasion coins issued at other Moghul mints to see if any other examples of this practice might exist. In any case, with the invasion cancelled, it is interesting that this commemorative coin was not recalled or destroyed.

My thanks to Dilip Shah for allowing me to publish this remarkable rupee, and to Shailendra Bhandare for providing me with the accompanying illustration. Also, to Bob Senior, who first brought this remarkable rupee to my attention about twenty years ago, when it originally appeared on the market in Delhi.

1. My background history of Kishtwar is taken from *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, by D.C.Sharma, Chandra Bhaga Publishers, Kishtwar, 1995.

2. The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, vol.ii, translated by Alexander Rogers, p.138.

3. *A History of Kashmir*, by Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamzai, Delhi 1962, p.364.

A Remarkable Silver Medal from Nepal

By Nicholas Rhodes

In the collection of the American Numismatic Society is a remarkable silver medal with a fine portrait of King Surendra Shah of Nepal, and a legend in Urdu script. Since I have recently discovered the circumstances in which a similar medal was awarded, it seems worthwhile publishing a photograph of this beautiful and fascinating object.



Obv: Bust of King Surendra of Nepal facing left wearing a plumed crown, with legend around *Maharajdhiraj Surendra Vikram Shah Bahadur Hukum ... (by order of)*.

Rev: Legend in Urdu script but Hindi language, commencing *Sri 3 Jang Bahadur Rana Maharaj ne Samvat 1912 salamein (in the year samvat 1912 = 1855) Tibbet se jang kar ke Pandrah baras pesh se (15 years after the war with Tibet?), Jammu Taraf ke Bhut mein jo qaid (meaning? - Bhut = Bhot = Tibet?) 4th September(?) khalas kiya (released on the 4th September?)*.

ANS collection, Wt.23.17g; Diameter: 44 mm

My thanks to Sanjay Garg and to Admiral Sohail for kindly helping with the reading of the legend.

Recently I bought a book on the History of Kishtwar¹, and noticed that one of the plates showed the reverse of a similar medal. The specimen illustrated differs only from the piece in the ANS in that it has a circular loop attached to the top for suspension, and it is clearly struck from the same die. The piece was photographed hanging from a pin, and hence it must be hanging in a display case of some sort, which may account for the fact that only the reverse was photographed for the book. The medal is described further in the text², and this description gives details not only that the recipient of the reward was Wazir Lab Joo from Kishtwar, but also a brief account of the circumstances of its award.

Further details are given in C.L.Dutta's book *General Zorawar Singh, His Life and Achievements in Lahoul, Baltistan and Tibet*³, which gives an illustration of both obverse and reverse of the same medal, and provides greater detail of the circumstances of its award, referring to official British contemporary records.

The story behind the award of the medal commences in the 1830's, with the rise to power of Gulab Singh as the Raja of Jammu, under Sikh suzerainty. In 1834 he ordered his most able General, Zorawar Singh Kahluria to invade Ladakh, and in the summer of the following year, after suffering military defeat, the king of Ladakh was forced to become vassal of the Raja of Jammu and to pay an annual tribute of Rs.20,000 and a war indemnity of Rs.50,000. In the following years the Ladakhis rebelled several times against the rule of the Dogras, and it was not until 1839 that matters settled down, and Dogra rule was firmly established in Ladakh. The military success of Zorawar Singh had, up to then, been uniformly brilliant, so it is not surprising that he thought about new conquests. After Ranjit Singh's death, the Sikh

government began to disintegrate and there was no restraining hand to control the ambition of the Dogras. In 1841 Zorawar Singh set out to invade Tibet. When the news reached Lhasa, a strong Tibetan force was dispatched westwards, and matters came to a head on 14 December 1841 at Do-yo, near Taklakot. Zorawar Singh was killed and his army completely routed. Most died on the field of battle, but a few escaped to Jammu, and some were captured and taken to Lhasa as prisoners⁴.

The prisoners remained in Lhasa for many years, and were only released in 1856 thanks to pressure from the Nepalese. In 1855 Jang Bahadur Rana launched an invasion of Tibet in order to settle differences between the two countries. These differences had been simmering since the previous hostilities between the two countries in 1792 had finished with the Nepalese army being humiliated by a Chinese army sent to support the Tibetans. This time it was the Nepalese who triumphed, and on 24 March 1856 a ten clause agreement between the Nepalese and Tibetan Governments was signed in the Thapathali Palace in Kathmandu. Of relevance to the subject of this article is clause number 4 of this treaty, under which Tibet agreed to release the "Sikh" prisoners who had been captured in 1841. Apparently this clause was included at the request of the British, acting on behalf of Gulab Singh, now Maharaja of Kashmir, who had allied himself with the British after the collapse of Sikh power⁵. The "prisoners" had apparently been settled in relatively warm regions in southern Tibet, and many of them had married Tibetan women. They had also been successful in cultivating apricots, apples, grapes and peaches, and it seems that their lives were rather comfortable. Soon after the signing of the treaty, the Tibetan Government started searching for the captives, and small parties began arriving in Kathmandu. By the end of November 1856, one hundred and six soldiers had reached Nepal, of which fifty-six consented to return to their homes in the Jammu Hills. The others objected, and expressed their wish to return to their wives and children in Tibet. The British Resident was also informed that a further thirty-four ex-prisoners were still alive in Tibet, and had so far evaded forcible eviction by the Tibetan authorities. A few had actually joined the Tibetan army, and had fought against Nepal during the recent hostilities. The arrival of the released captives in Nepal resulted in much negotiation as to who was to bear the cost of their subsistence in Nepal and of their repatriation to Jammu, not to mention what to do with those who wished to stay in Tibet. Finally, fifty-six volunteers returned to Jammu, including Wazir Lab Joo of Matta and his uncle, Maya Ram. Each of the men who returned to Jammu were given this silver medal⁶ and a robe of honour by the king of Nepal. One of the released men returned to Jammu with his Tibetan wife and seven year old son. The British funded some of the cost and were repaid by Gulab Singh, who made much political capital from having managed to repatriate so many of his subjects. Unfortunately, five men had died in Kathmandu, and the other forty-five men were finally permitted to return to Tibet to resume their lives with their Tibetan wives. I am not certain about the reading of the date "4 September", and if this is the correct reading, whether it refers to the Christian month, or the ninth month of the Samvat date. It was certainly January 1857 before the matter was fully resolved and the last of the Dogra "prisoners" returned to Tibet, but not impossible that the medal may have been issued to the volunteers who returned home as early as September.

The use of a legend in Urdu script is unique for a medal with the portrait of the King of Nepal, and may indicate that it was designed by someone from Jammu or Kashmir, maybe even by one of the prisoners themselves. Until about 1815, many copper coins struck in the hills of Nepal had a legend in Urdu script, but the practice had ceased long before 1856, and was never extended to silver coins apart from the timashas struck in Garhwal.

Finally, I should like to thank the American Numismatic Society for allowing me to publish this interesting medal. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to whom this particular example had been presented to, but it would be interesting to find

out whether any other examples are still preserved in Jammu or Kishtwar by the descendants of the released prisoners.

¹ *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, by D.C. Sharma, published by Chandra Bhage Publisher, Kishtwar (J&K State), 1995

² *Op.cit.* p.119.

³ Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1984. See in particular the Appendix to Chapter 4, pp.84-92. Most of the detail about the release of the prisoners has been taken from this source.

⁴ For a detailed account of the historical background, see *The Kingdom of Ladakh* by Luciano Petech, ISMEO, Rome 1977, pp.138-52.

⁵ C.f. L.E. Rose, *Nepal, Strategy for Survival*, Univ. of California Press, 1971, pp.114-116.

⁶ Completely different medals, with a legend in Nagari script, were presented to the Nepalese troops who took part in the fighting, c.f. "Nepalese Medals of the 3rd Nepal-Tibet War - 1855-6" by K. Gabrisch and N.G. Rhodes, *Spink Num. Circ.* Oct.1989, pp.260-63.

An Unusual Cash-like Piece Excavated in Mongolia

By Nick Rhodes and Mark Hall



The cash-like coin or charm illustrated above was excavated in 1998 by the Mongolian-American Expedition to Egiin Gol in the Egiin Gol valley of northern Mongolia. The item came from a burial situated on a knoll at Khushuutei Am (approximately 49 degrees 27 minutes N, 103 degrees, 31 minutes E). The tomb was robbed in antiquity. Apart from the coin or charm, a few undecorated earthen ware shards and some bone fragments were recovered. The fine fabric and the appearance of the shards makes specialists at the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences in Ulan Bataar date the burial sometime between the Uyghur and Mongol Empires.

Despite the red-staining, the item is believed to be a copper-based alloy. The staining comes from the surrounding lateritic soils. For the time being, Mongolian authorities have not permitted the item to be removed from the country for non-destructive testing.

The item is of interest for a variety of reasons. While some may want to dismiss it as a modern fantasy piece, it does come from an excavated context. Secondly, medievalists at the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences note that similar pieces have not been found in the excavations at Kharbalgas and Kharkorum. They also noted they had not seen such pieces until this one, but two similar pieces have apparently turned up since on the Ulan Bataar antiquities market, and the authorities are debating whether they should permit their export.

The Chinese legend reads *Ri Yue Jin Guang* (top, right, left, bottom) meaning something like "the Sun and Moon, golden (brilliant) light". Alex Chengyu Fang points out that the Chinese calligraphy is rather crude, and has kindly commented as follows on the meaning of the Chinese legend. "I remember the two phrases in a Buddhist context and found the following: Most Buddhist schools and texts refer to a Divine Light in reference to a cosmic, God-like Buddha. The Dammapada, dating as far back as the 6th century BC, tells us that "the sun shines by day, the moon shines by night; continually, day and night, does the luminous Buddha shine". Other texts tell us that "the brilliance of Buddha's light is measureless." Buddha, "the Great Enlightened", is "brilliant... highly bright". The "Enlightened Teacher Buddha has "illuminated all nations with the bright light of the doctrine... thinking in the brightness".

The script on the back is a real puzzle. Possibly it is a blundered attempt at writing. It may be pretending to be either Tibetan or the sort of Greco-Bactrian script sometimes found in Central Asia (though from an earlier period, and further west). Without the archaeological evidence, we might have guessed a Yuan Dynasty date, but we see no reason why it should not be dated slightly earlier.

The Chinese legend has none of the characteristics associated with a coin intended for circulation, but looks more like a charm, or perhaps a special "coin" for placing in a tomb, particularly the tomb of a Buddhist, to help the dead on their journey in the after-life? One would certainly expect several such pieces to be placed in the tomb, so it is perhaps not unexpected that more are now appearing on the antiquities market.

Thanks are due to Judy Kolbas and Renee Kovacs for bringing the two authors together, and to Helen Wang and Alex Chengyu Fang for commenting on the meaning of the Chinese characters. Other useful information has been contributed by Amraatvshin, Joe Cribb, Erdenbat, Robert Kokotailo, and Alexander Vovin. Funding for the 1998 field season for the Mongolian-American Expedition to Egiin Gol was provided by the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

Remembering Vagn Hilleström Hansen

(died in Patan, Nepal in 2000)

By Wolfgang Bertsch

If I remember correctly, I first met Mr Hansen in Kathmandu in 1982 or 1983. He took me to a large sombre room he had rented; it was located immediately under the roof of a huge house in old Kathmandu and could only be reached via narrow and steep stairs on which no foreigner could possibly walk upright. While we were looking at some of Hansen's coins, I was intrigued by the many boxes and trunks which were piled up in his room, but he would not tell me anything about their contents. Only much later did he once mention to me that he was taking antiques to his home country, Denmark, to sell to Danish antique dealers. Maybe he felt some qualms about this type of business, but somehow he had to earn a living and the money which he spent on Nepalese coins.

He formed an outstanding collection of Nepalese coins, particularly strong in the early copper coinage of the Licchavi dynasty and the early medieval period. Many of his coins are illustrated or listed in the *The Coinage of Nepal* by Nicholas Rhodes, Karl Gabrisch and Carlo Valdetaro. Hansen did not publish much in the field of numismatics, but he certainly had a profound knowledge of the Nepalese coinage. The only article I find of, being co-authored by Hansen (Nicholas Rhodes being the other author) is "Some tokens and passes from Nepal", *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 22, Nr. 5, May 1988, pp. 102-6.

Whenever I stayed in Kathmandu, I used to meet Mr Hansen by chance in one of the streets near Kathmandu's Durbar square or in one of the houses of the Newari coin dealers. I particularly remember one meeting with him in Kathmandu. I had just purchased two rare copper paisa patterns of King Prithvi Vir Vikram of the Shah Dynasty (published in *ONS NL* Nr. 122, January-February 1990) which I proudly showed to him. His only comment was "Everybody in Nepal knows that these are forgeries!" At that time I did not know that it is quite common among collectors to declare any unrecorded coin which another collector happens to find as a forgery. The same coin can suddenly and mysteriously change into a genuine rarity as soon as it enters the collection of the person who had declared it to be a forgery earlier on.

On another occasion, I showed him a photograph of an unrecorded Malla coin, hoping that this might capture his interest, when he dryly commented: "I don't collect photographs". Hansen

was one of those persons who do not easily open up, but he was very much respected by many Newaris of Kathmandu and Patan and became particularly friendly with the family of a Kathmandu coin dealer whose house is near the famous Kasthamandap, the building which gave Kathmandu its name. At some periods, Handsen used to have nearly all his meals with this family and was treated almost like a family member, a distinction which is not easily granted to foreigners visiting Nepal.

Later in life he seems to have taken a liking to the locally distilled Nepalese rice liquor, called rakshi. This may have damaged his liver and he had to undergo hospitalisation in Patan. I heard that Nepalese doctors advised him to seek treatment in his home country, but that he did not want to leave Nepal. He died in the Patan hospital, aged around 55.

He once told me that it was his intention to leave his outstanding collection of Nepalese coins to a museum in Copenhagen but so far I have not been able to ascertain if his coins have found a new home in a Danish Museum.

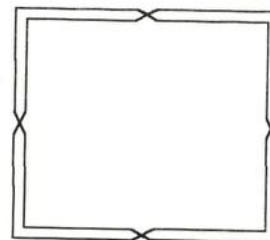
An Ayyubid Dirham of Hamah

By Frank Timmermann

This coin was struck after AH 648 in Hamah by al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf II (ibn al-'Aziz Muhammad) when Syria became the remaining portion of the Ayyubid empire. Ayyubid rule in Egypt ceased in 648 when that land became a Mamluk kingdom. The weight of the coin is 2.85 g. A similar coin, but with a different obverse was published by Doug Nicol in Paul Balog's "The coinage of the Ayyubids: additions and correction", *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 146 (1986), p. 146, no. 778a, pl. 16 (as Balog obv. 753, rev. 776) and no. 779.

Obverse:

In double
linear
square



الملك الناصر
صلاح الدين يوسف
بن محمد بن غازي

Margins

R B L T
ضرب بحماة / سنة / واربعين / وستمائة

Reverse

In double
linear
square

الامام
المستعصم
بالله ابو احمد
امير المؤمنين

Margins

R B L T
لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / محمد رسول الله

Saurashtra Coinage

By P. Anne van't Haaff

Introduction

Recently a few lots of Saurashtra silver $\frac{1}{4}$ Karshapana's were made available for my attention, all of unknown provenience. In the first instance, the elegant style of the images on some of the coins raised my interest. This was a style rather different from that of the punch-marked coins I have generally reviewed. Secondly, the enigmatic fact that practically all the coins had been re-struck several times stimulated my curiosity further.

In this article, written in the context of the AHATA research project on Ancient Indian Punchmarked coins, I have developed several hypotheses on the dating of the coins and the reasons for the frequent restrikes. I invite readers to comment on the writer's views, which are by no means the last words on the subject.

For this work I had the benefit of previous studies by Michael Mitchiner (1976), Dilip Rajgor (1996 and 2001) and Robert Tye (1984). Through the kind support of Shailendra Bhandare and Joe Cribb, I also had the opportunity to study circa 60 Saurashtran coins in the British Museum collection. It was exciting to actually handle the coins that Codrington and Elliot had acquired over a century ago and which originally started the discussion of this type. I also had access to photographs of coins from the collections of Mr G.P. Goenka and Dilip Rajgor, who were kind enough to provide the photographs of the coins for the Ahata Project. Several of these coins are illustrated in this work.

Unfortunately information from some important collections are still missing. Hopefully these can be included in an update of this research.

1. History of Saurashtra.

The Saurashtra peninsula in the mid-west of India has a long numismatic history, which began in the period of the pre-Mauryan Janapadas. The Saurashtra Janapada is mentioned in the Mahabharata. Ancient writers, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy provide further references to Saurashtra. Kautilya discusses Saurashtra together with a number of other States in the Arthashastra, section 11.1.4.5. This text mentions that Saurashtra was at the time a republic. Other people mentioned in the Arthashastra seem to have used the title of Raja for their leaders, so these areas may have been kingdoms. The term 'Raja' could however also have meant "Chief Executive". The Arthashastra is a detailed manual on statecraft and social behaviour. According to legend, it is written by Kautilya, the presumed king-maker of Chandragupta Maurya. It is generally accepted that the original text dates from the period of Chandragupta Maurya and (as is not unusual for this type of document) is based on even older regulations. The text is believed to have been passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition. Due to the oral nature, facts could have been changed over time, making the eventual written version unreliable. It should therefore be treated with care. The extant version was put in writing no later than 150 AD.

Chandragupta Maurya conquered Avanti, the Janapada east of Saurashtra, around 312 BC. There are different opinions on the date when the more western Saurashtra peninsula was incorporated into the Mauryan Empire. Rajgor dates this event to the late fourth century, based on inscriptions mentioning Chandragupta Maurya, which indicates that Saurashtra was a Mauryan province at that time.

There are reasons to suggest that the rulers on the peninsula, as in other areas along the west coast on the fringe of the Mauryan Empire, were vassals that kept a certain independence e.g. with regard to coinage. In this respect Kautilya states in the Arthashastra (7.16.17) that 'the conqueror shall permit the loyal subjugated king to continue his kingdom and privileges'. After the fall of the Mauryan Empire, Saurashtra probably followed an independent course, at least as far as coinage is concerned. This would be until it came under the rule of the Saka's in the later part of the 1st century BC.

2. Numismatic developments.

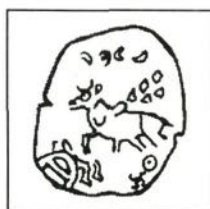
The Saurashtra Janapada issued small, more or less square, silver coins (± 0.9 gram). Most of the coins were re-struck several times. Coins with a blank reverse are in the minority. The coins have been found especially in the Junagadh district in the Southern part of the peninsula (Rajgor). They seem to have been used for local trade. Finds are mainly on the peninsula, they are relatively scarce and have an unusual weight standard of ca 0.9 gram.

Codrington was, in 1876, the first to report these coins. Elliot attributed them in 1886 to the Konkan. In 1959, P. L. Gupta thought they were from Saurashtra and in 1976 Mitchiner firmly attributed the coins to the Saurashtra Janapada. Since then Tye and Rajgor have discussed the coinage.

The Saurashtra coinages are of a wide variety. They seem to have been issued over a period of four centuries. Over the whole period three characteristics were stable, viz.:

- All are made of good quality silver;
- All weigh ca 0.9 gram;
- And have one major punchmark on the obverse.

A peculiar practise during probably the total period, however, has complicated the scene. Nearly all the coins are restrikes, mostly restrikes on restrikes with at least 4 or 5 strikes. Due to the re-striking some have gaps on the rims. They weigh between 0.8 and 1.1 gram. Most are more or less scyphate with one prominent punchmark on the "hollow" side, which I will call the obverse. This side was struck last. Along with the prominent punchmark there are often ancillary marks at random or in a circle around the main punch-mark symbol. In general the incuse impressions of the punches are shallow, possibly due to the practice of re-striking. In most cases it is not easy to produce a good scan of the coins. Therefore eye copies of the prominent types and drawings of the ancillary marks are provided.



This coin (image 200%) shows its last punch as a walking bull with a six-dot hill over the back. The under-type is a Lakshmi image facing right. Auxiliary marks are also seen, possibly remains of previous strikes. As the result of the re-striking, the flans widened and the images are often mixed up, thus becoming difficult to classify. The reverse images are often the previous obverse. Also on the reverse we see several under-types but these, however, are often too blurred to define the type.

The Saurashtran authorities probably followed an independent monetary policy as is indicated by the unusual weight standard, and even more by the fact that a number of restrikes were conducted on Magadhan Karshapanas that were cut to the desired weight of ca 0.9 gram. This is a clear indication that Saurashtra had the freedom to disregard the strongly centralised nature of the Mauryan Empire. Many of the re-issued Magadhan Karshapana's received subsequent restrikes and are often hardly recognisable as of Magadhan origin.

As previously mentioned, the Saurashtran coinage is intriguing because of:

- The image design, developing from fairly simple to refined naturalistic images;
- The weight standard;
- The restrike system.

3. Types and styles

3.1. Stability of design

Generally the designs on a coin type that is used over a long period tend to degenerate over time. Designs become cruder or even lose their original meaning. The precious metal content diminishes. The Saurashtra punch-marked coinages were issued during two, may be even four centuries. The Saurashtran coinage does not show the deterioration pattern. On the contrary, the later issues have become more refined and artistic. The metal content does not visibly change. No assay information, however, was available at the time of writing. This work discusses some possible causes for this unusual development.

First consider the marks on the Magadhan and the later Mauryan/Sunga PMC's, which were contemporary with the Saurashtra coinage. These are not examples of sophistication and artistic beauty. The punchmarks are of simple design:

- No attempt at any realistic likeness;
- The arrangement of the symbols on the flan is generally not precise;
- And they often overlap.

Clearly the coins were not intended to be a "nice numismatic piece of art", as were the Greek and, to a lesser extent, the Indo-Greek coins. It is interesting to note that the Mauryan and Sunga PMC's are not in tune with the artistic practice of the time. Sculpture of the period is not stylised but naturalistic. Huntington (1985) remarks that after Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid Empire, craftsmen from that region came to the Mauryan court and created sophisticated stonework, which seems to be based on Achaemenid techniques. This leads to the idea that coinage and the right to mint in India at that time were not tools to support the prestige of the issuing authority or the ruler, as in Greek communities. There are no portraits and no artistic depictions of gods or animals. This could support the hypothesis that the coinage were not solely produced by the royal authorities, but also or even only by guilds, traders or other local powers.

The fact that Kautilya in the Arthashastra gave strict regulations for coin content and control of coinage does not conflict with such a view. The following quotes are from the Arthashastra, taken from the Penguin Classic edition (1992), edited by Rangarajan, page 327:

'The Chief master of the Mint shall be responsible for the

- (i) Minting of silver coins, made up of [an alloy consisting of] 11/16th part silver, 1/4th part copper and 1/16th part hardening metal (such as iron, tin, lead or antimony) in the following denominations – one pana, ½ pana, ¼ pana and ⅛ pana [the weight of each coin proportional to its value].
- (ii) minting of copper coins, made up of [an alloy consisting of] three-quarters copper and one-quarter hardener in the denominations
1 mashaka [=1/16th pana]
½ mashaka
1 kakani [= ¼ mashaka]
½ kakani

[The weight of the coins, in copper alloy, being the same as those of silver coins of 1 pana, ½ pana, ¼ pana and ⅛ pana respectively].

The Examiner of Coins shall

- (i) be responsible for certifying the coins used in trade and commerce as well as those used for making payments to the treasury
- (ii) levy the charges for his services as follows:
 - (a) for new coins issued a coining fee: 8% of value
 - (b) for coins paid out from or received in the treasury: the transaction tax of 5% of value
 - (c) For coins received into the treasury only: an additional testing fee of ⅛%
 - (d) For certifying genuineness: testing fee of ⅛%
- (iii) ensure that no new coin is put into circulation unless all charges and taxes have been paid
- (iv) levy and collect the fines for illegal minting of coins, buying or selling them or certifying their genuineness'.

This is a rather detailed regulation, which most probably was adhered to in the centre of the Mauryan/Sunga Empires. This does not necessarily mean that minting was a royal prerogative. The Arthashastra describes several instances of private enterprises that were strictly regulated and taxed (a kind of VAT), and supervised by high-ranking civil servants. It is quite possible that coinage was also (partly) privatised and regulated by the above-mentioned strict rules and supervisory bodies.

So where does this fit in with the coinage of the Saurashtran Janapada?

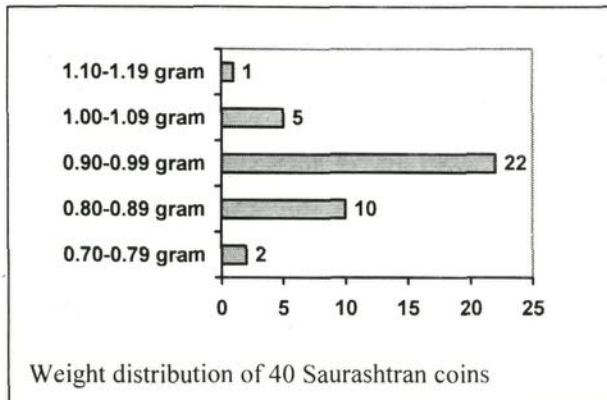
The detailed regulations and organisation published in the Arthashastra, which are generally believed to date to the time of Chandragupta Maurya, are most probably not a spontaneous creation

of the late 4th century BC. Civilisations develop gradually over time, so it is reasonable to assume that many of the practices described in the Arthashastra have an earlier origin. This is valid not only in the Mauryan centre, but possibly in other Janapadas. So the above-mentioned hypothesis of local coin production by guilds, trade-organisations or local powers, within a framework of royal regulations and control, may well have existed in Saurashtra before Mauryan times.

3.2 Weight standard

The light weight standard of ca 0.9 gram had a strong basis, considering the long time it was used. It even survived the subjugation of Saurashtra by the Mauryans, as is proved by hoard evidence,

Mauryan PMC's and Saurashtran coins are found together. An interesting question is the origin of the ca 0.9 gram standard. I have no answer to that, except that it probably was pre-Mauryan. The Mauryan PMC's were based on a Karshapana standard of 32 ratti. The ratti (seed of *Arbus Precatorius*) varies in weight between 0.104 and 0.117 gram. That is a weight of 3.3-3.6 gram. A quarter Karshapana ranges between 0.825 and 0.9 gram.



Based on the exact weight of 40 coins from my sample, the Saurashtran weight standard would be close to 0.93 gram. Allowing for weight loss due to

wear, it means that the Saurashtran coins are heavier than a ¼ Karshapana.

3.3 Image Types

Rajgor (1996) distinguishes two main series: an early one (pre-Mauryan) and a later one (see hereafter under **4. Dating of the coins**). This study is confined to the later series as I had no access to sufficient early coins or photographs of early coins. Further research will have to remedy this deficiency.

I distinguish three categories of later Saurashtran coinage

1. The typical form of the cut Magadan Karshapanas, with mostly, but maybe not always, one or two cut straight sides, where the excess weight was cut off and a circular perimeter of the original coin on the other side. A recognition of a cut Magadan coin is only possible if part of a Magadan punch-mark remains visible after the restrike. (See MAC 4115 and 4142).
2. Narrow flans, typically "cut to size" from a metal sheet, sometimes irregular, sometimes rectangular or with two sides slightly curved. This category often has crude images. The flans often have little points at the corners. This may be where the chisel ends met. These coins have restrikes, but probably less than the next category.
3. Fairly round, wide flans, often with a gap at the edge, due to frequent restrikes; examples are MAC 4112, 4113, 4117, 4119-21. On this category we frequently see different, more "elegant" images.

I have established 9 main types of images, based on the coins studied along with the illustrations of the later Rajgor series, the illustrations of Mitchiner and the British Museum coins. Further research is likely to reveal more main types. Due to the practice of re-striking, the typology must be based on the obverse, the scyphate side, which is the side that received the last strike. All types can also be found on the reverses but there the images are mostly blurred due to the impact of the last strike. There is a wide variety within the types. Some are so distinct that they have been placed as sub-types. I have refrained from giving a separate number to every variation or combination of image types and auxiliary symbols.

To demonstrate the difference in style between the early and the later series a number of early types described by Rajgor have been illustrated in the Annex after the 9 main types mentioned above.

- Type 1. Six-arched hill. In each of the arches there is a short line. This looks somewhat like the hill symbols of the Gupta/Hardaker IVa and later series. This would indicate a pre-Mauryan date. I have seen this mark only as a reverse mark, so as a previous strike and only in combination with mark 3.1.2 (Tree). One such coin is in my collection and Satya Bhupatiraju published scans of six examples on the network of the South-Asian Coins Group on 1 November 2001.
- Type 2. Six-dot hill. This type (with 4 sub-types) is seen frequently and the mark is built up from 6 three-dimensional dots, fitting tightly in three rows, three dots below, two dots in the middle and one dot on top. This is quite unlike the Magadhan/Mauryan/Sunga arched hill. It is also seen in Type 5.3, over the back of a fine sculptured bull.
- Type 3. Tree with or without railing. Again a number of sub-types.
- Type 4. Lakshmi. There are 5 types of Lakshmi images on Saurashtran coinage.
 1. Gajalakshmi, squatting with 2 elephants libating. This is a relatively scarce type, of which the British Museum has a number of examples.
 2. Lakshmi facing, squatting on a throne with a canopy.
 3. Lakshmi facing, squatting with floral design around.
 4. Lakshmi reclining to left on a couch, one arm raised, the other to her side. The feet are sometimes spread, sometimes together.
 5. The same as 3, but to the right. This type is less frequent.
 On all four types the Goddess has a typical headdress with a hair knot on top and broad braids at each side of the face. The body is finely sculptured.
- Type 5 Bull walking or standing left. There are 4 sub-types. The late bull images are realistic, three dimensional in a "Greek" style (see below). Legs (especially the hoofs and joints) and head (detailed, realistic eyes) look like the animal images on Indo-Greek coinage. The bull and elephant images are all standing or walking to the left. This differs from the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins, on which animals mostly face right.
- Type 6. Elephant walking or standing. I have identified 5 sub-types. Type 6.5.1 Elephant to the right, probably belongs to Rajgor's early types.
- Type 7. Viahara or building. Four under-types. They are not very common. Excepting type 7.5.1, I have seen them only as under-types.
- Type 8. Large tank with two fishes. This type, which is not common. I have seen it only as an under-type
- Type 9. Paddle wheel. Not a very common type.
- Auxiliary marks. These marks are seen on both sides of most coins. Some look familiar, others not. When arranged in a circle around a main image they seem to be part of the main punch. In many cases they are remainders of an under-type.

3.4. Stylistic Differences

The next topic of discussion is the differences in the styles of the image types. One style - the older one in my opinion - has rather crude images, not unlike the animal images seen on Ujjain and Kausambi coppers. The other style, the later one, shows fine, realistically sculptured images of animals, with detailed eyes, hooves and other details; images of Lakshmi sitting in a relaxed style on a couch or throne; squatting, facing; and as Gajalakshmi. Less frequent are types with temple designs. Most of these fine specimens are found in category 3, some in category 2. These specimens definitely do not look like the early types that Rajgor describes in his article.

The obvious question is why the issuing authorities modified the style of the images, keeping the weight standard of ca. 0.9 gram and the precious metal content practically constant (although as previously stated no assay was available). There probably was no single one cause for the change of style. As often with changes in a community, 'it is in the air'. Several forces influence such changes. This may have happened also in this case. Whatever can be said on this subject is conjectural as no written evidence is known and any assumption has to be based on circumstantial evidence.

I am tempted to develop the following scenario. The changes can have been internally driven by local influences and/or by powerful external influences such as trade or politics. Potential stimuli for the change may have been:

- Trade contacts bringing examples of foreign currency with different designs;

- New artistic insights on temple design and subsequently on coin design;
- A changed political environment allowing independent developments.

Influences are likely to have varied with respect to the animal (bull and elephant) images and the Lakshmi types. The origin of Lakshmi images may have been stone carvings on temples. The use of Lakshmi images may give a clue to the dating of the coins. These images have a kind of elegance not seen on Indian coinage before.

The elephants and bulls have become very realistic, three dimensional in "Indo-Greek" style. The depiction of legs, hooves and joints and the head with detailed realistic eyes are similar to animal images on Indo-Greek coinage. The die-cutters must have been highly skilled to create such fine punches smaller than a square cm.

Influence of trade

Religion and probably even more cultural aspects like artistic styles often follow trade. The interest of the elite in foreign products may attract artisans with alien skills and styles. This happened in the Mauryan period, when artisans from the Achaemenid courts moved to India and influenced the artistic scene (Huntington 1985). The trade routes to and from Saurashtra went overland to the Taxila area and, from there, either east or west. The sea-route went from Broach (Bhrigukachcha as it was then called) to Babylon. The ships either followed the coast up to Babylon or sailed across the Arabian Sea to Aden and Socotra and then up the Red Sea. Trade may have brought examples of foreign currency to the region.

The Indo-Greek link

Another influence may have been "political/numismatic". When an area comes under control or influence of a foreign power this is often reflected in the design of the coinage. Such political events may have had an impact on Saurashtran coinage. For a short period around ca 160 BC, after the Mauryans had lost control over Saurashtra, the Indo-Greeks possibly had a foothold in Saurashtra. There are two items of evidence for this hypothesis. Firstly a statement of Strabo in his *Geograpica XI* quoted by Lahiri (1974): 'They (the chiefs of the Bactrians) got possession not only of Patalene (the Sindhu delta), but also of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Saurashtra) and Sigerdis (probably Sagaradvipa meaning Cutch) which constitute the remainder of the coast'. A second piece of evidence may be a few copper coins with an Hellenic bust on the obverse and a hill-symbol with swastikas or Brahmi letters on the reverse (Mitchiner 1976, vol. 9, # 1222, 1223 and 1224). One of them has the bevelled edge, typical for early Indo-Greek coppers of the Diodoti and Euthidemos, whose coins are at least some decennia older than the Indo-Greek coins of Apollodotus and Eucratides mentioned below.

A tentative conclusion may be that an Indo-Greek influence in Saurashtra may have existed in the 2nd and 1st century BC. The change in style of the later Saurashtran coinage, especially those with elephant and bull images, may have been influenced by foreign currency, in particular by Indo-Greek/Indo-Scythian coin design. Examples are the animal images on the drachms of Apollodotus I, Boparachchi series 2, 3 and 4 (MAC 1750+), or the tetradrachms and drachms of Eucratides, Boparachchi series 6-8 (MAC 1711+ / 1713+). The 'Indo-Greek link' may also have existed via the Mathura region. The distance between Mathura and Saurashtra is considerable, but traders, pilgrims, artisans or conquerors travelled far in those times. The Mauryan Empire was succeeded by Sunga Pushyamitra in 187 BC and Mathura became Sunga country. After the death of Pushyamitra ca 151 BC the Mathura area became the domain of independent dynasties. Dr Videya Dehendra (1972, page 39) suggests that the type of letters on coins of early Mathura coins of kings such as Gomitra (150 BC, Mitch 1975 Vol 7 # 981 with a tree in railing surrounded by a square of dots) were copied from a square copper coin of Apollodotus II (160-150 BC, Mitch 1975 Vol 2 # 209). She states that they have a remarkable resemblance. It is interesting to note that other coins of Gomitra (150 BC, Mitchiner 1972 Vol 7 # 982) and kings of the Mithra dynasty (150 BC, Mitchiner 1972 Vol 7 # 985) have standing Lakshmi images. Kingdoms in that region issued copper coins with Lakshmi images for two centuries. The form of these Lakshmi image, however, is rather different from those on the Saurashtran coinage.

The Lakshmi types 4.1 and 4.2 are seen on Sunga temple carvings. An example is the Barhut Stupa (100-80 BC) with standing and squatting Gajalakshmi carvings. The image of a squatting Lakshmi is seen on a temple carving in Pitalcora (90-70 BC).

The writer has not yet seen the reclining Lakshmi on a couch (Types 4.4 and 4.5) as a temple carving. So it is also quite possible that some temples in the Sanchi, Barhut, Junnar or Pitalcora regions were a source of inspiration. These areas are of a considerable distance from Saurashtra as well.

4. Dating the coins.

There is no unanimous opinion on the dating of the Saurashtran PMC's. Below is an attempt to link the different views of Mitchiner; Rajgor and Tye. These authors propose the following dating:

Author	Period	Time Span	Status
Rajgor >early series	450-350 BC	100 years	pre-Mauryan
Rajgor >late series	350-300 BC	50 years	Mauryan
Mitchiner	310-260 BC	50 years	Mauryan
Tye	190-40 BC	150 years	post-Mauryan

4.1. Rajgor's dating

Rajgor (1992) in his excellent paper divides the coinage of the Saurashtra Janapada into an earlier (450-350 BC) and a later (350-300 BC) series, based on weight, fabric and style. He remarks that both Mitchiner and Tye only discuss his later series and the "earlier types have skipped their attention". Also the coins I had the opportunity to study were most probably not of the earlier types.

Rajgor places the first series in the pre-Mauryan period of the Saurashtra Janapada. For the second series he suggests the early Mauryan period. The hoards he discusses come chiefly from the southern part of the Saurashtran peninsula. Rajgor bases his dating on inscriptional evidence that Chandragupta Maurya conquered Saurashtra late in the fourth century BC. Saurashtra was at that time a republic. Buddhist chronicles state that, during the reign of Bindusara and Asoka, Saurashtra was a vassal kingdom ruled by King Pingalaka. So after the Mauryan conquest Saurashtra was a vassal kingdom.

In both his earlier and later series there are original, non-restruck coins. Rajgor assumes that the re-striking practice started early and was in operation during a long period. He dates the restrikes on Magadhan Karshapanas in his later series (350-300 BC) and has identified the Magadhan undertypes as # G/H 305, 344 and 450/461 from the Gupta & Hardaker Series III and IVd, late 4th century. There is a difference in the dimensions of the re-struck coins of the two Rajgor series. If we calculate a 'fictive surface area', by multiplying the length and width (e.g. 14x12 mm = fictive surface area of 168) we find for the earlier re-struck coins an average of 137, for the later an average of 153. This could be an indication of more restrikes per coin in the later series. Basing our opinion on the illustrations in his paper, the style of the earlier series looks less sophisticated than most of the later series. His remark on the poorer workmanship of the later coins is difficult to judge from the illustrations.

Another point in the discussion is that no overstrikes on Mauryan PMC's are known. This has led Rajgor to his argument that the minting authority during the Mauryan Empire was centralised and Saurashtra coinage was terminated, the more so because cutting Mauryan/Sunga PMC's to the desired weight would produce an inconvenient flan to work with. The counter-argument for that last point is of course that it is not difficult to hammer it to a more convenient size, which could most probably not be recognised as a Mauryan/Sunga original. Kautilya - the genius behind Chandragupta Maurya - in the Arthashastra advises kings to permit a loyal, subjugated king to keep his kingdom and privileges (such as possibly coinage). So it is quite possible that during the Mauryan period the money that circulated was a mixture of the traditional Saurashtran coinage and the 5-punchmark Karshapanas of the Mauryan overlords. The fact that three or more restrikes (i.e. in total 5 or more strikes) are recognisable on many coins discussed by Rajgor in his article may be an indication that the time-span of his later series could be more than the 50 years he mentions. A strong point against

the early dating of Rajgor's later series comes from Coomaraswamy's opinion (see below) that the date of the anthropological depiction of deities is no earlier than the 2nd century BC. That would conflict with Rajgor's dating of the Lakshmi coins.

4.2. Mitchiner's dating

Mitchiner's dates are 'earlier than 260 BC', and are based on his reasoning that, after that date, Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, refrained from further conquests because he was distressed by the bloodshed he had caused during his conquest of Kalinga on the east coast of India, North of the Godavari river. Mitchiner proposes a short time span of 50 years (310 - 260 BC). This timing and the large variety of types, styles and sizes and certainly the frequent restrikes lead to questions already raised above. Mitchiner, in his publications, assumes that coinage was centralised in the Mauryan Empire and that the Saurashtran coinage ended with the inclusion of Saurashtra in the Mauryan Empire. This, according to Mitchiner, happened under Asoka. Again this does give a problem with the dating of the Lakshmi types.

4.3. Tye's dating

Tye suggests a much later dating. He places the Saurashtran PMC's between the early 2nd and late first century BC. This fills a gap between the end of the Mauryan punchmarked coinage in Saurashtra and the adoption of Indo-Greek drachms of Apollodotus II. However a number of Saurashtran coins are struck on late Magadhan cut flans from the period 350-320 BC (based on the Gupta/Hardaker dating). This may shed doubt on the late date for these types proposed by Tye.

4.4. Suggested revised dates for Saurashtran coinage.

After studying about 300 coins, I am not convinced that the time-scales of the three authors mentioned cover the dating of the Saurashtran PMC's. My reasoning is as follows.

The Saurashtran authorities, living on the fringes of the Mauryan Empire, had retained relative independence, at least as far as minting was concerned, allowing them to continue to produce their own typical, low-weight (ca 0.9 gram) coinage after the Mauryans subjugated the area. From Buddhist documents it is known that during the Mauryan period a vassal king, Pingakala, ruled in Saurashtra. After the decline of the Mauryan Empire there was no longer a central authority powerful enough to enforce central dominance. The Empire crumbled at the edges, even before Pushyamitra Sunga took over in 187 BC. It is likely that these local rulers went their own way. There may have been a parallel development in the coinage, developing a refined design, which, as mentioned above, may have affinity with Indo-Greek coin types or was inspired by temple images. The punches of the Lakshmi types, most of the Bull and the Elephant types and the Vihara type definitely have different characteristics than the Magadhan/Mauryan/Sunga punchmarks or the symbols on early Saurashtran coins.

The Lakshmi images on Saurashtran coinage are interesting because of their elegance, not shown on ancient Indian coins before, but in particular because these images can be key to the dating of the coins. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1972, page 42), states that the way in which deities are depicted changed from what he calls 'elemental conceptions' (e.g. a Bodhi tree or foot imprints of the Buddha) to 'personal more anthropomorphical' forms in the 2nd century BC or maybe a bit earlier. This would mean that the Lakshmi coins of Saurashtra would need to be dated in the 2nd century BC. Considering the sophistication of the images one would expect them not to date from the early days of the anthropological way of depicting deities.

I invite readers with experience in iconography to comment on the validity of Coomaraswamy's opinion.

Lakshmi images on coins continued to be used in the North-West of India for a long time. Lakshmi in several positions are known on coins of Indo-Scythian Satraps in Pakistan. Examples are coppers of Kharostes (AD 1-5, Mitchiner 1975, vol 7#888) and Son of Kharostes (ca AD 20 Mitchiner 1975, vol 7#890) and on some coins of Rujuvula (AD 1-5 Mitchiner 1975, # 1001) in a rather crude

form. Lakshmi with two elephants is also seen on coins of Sodasa, his son (5 BC-AD 5, Mitchiner Vol 7 #1002). All these Rulers lived around the start of the present era. A connection of these later Lakshmi coins with the Saurashtra Lakshmi images, which I date between 200 and 50 BC does not seem to fit.

Suggestion for dating.

The suggestion is that there may be at least 3 period series of Saurashtran coinage with a gradual development from one to the next as follows:

- Early pre-Mauryan series (Rajgor's early series) with rather primitive designs (450-350 BC);
- Middle series, with more sophisticated designs. This is Rajgor "later series", but running longer, say 350-200 BC, circulating parallel with Mauryan Karshapanas. This series gradually changed into-;
- Late "Indo-Greek or temple" influenced series of 200-50 BC that more or less fit into the period proposed by Tye. The Lakshmi coins fit into this range.

The early pre-Mauryan start to the Saurashtran coinage was followed by a continuous local development until the large-scale introduction of Indo-Greek drachms in the first century BC put an end to that. There are no sharp boundaries between the series. The practice of restriking was applied during the full period, with the use of cut Magadhan and perhaps Mauryan PMC's, although the latter have not yet been recognised as such. Probably during the whole period "first-time" flans were produced.

6. Reasons for restriking.

No detailed analysis has been made of the combinations of the last strike on the obverse and the under-types.

Observations

Firstly, many reverses are extremely blurred, not showing recognisable details, whereas the obverse shows several recognisable under-types. That means that the restrike pattern is not always regular in such a way that the restrike is done on the reverse, which becomes the obverse, the next restrike is done on the first obverse and so on. In this regular way the coin is struck each succeeding time on the other side. On the coins with the extremely blundered reverse the restrike was done more than once on the same side.

Secondly, is the observation that coins were frequently restruck with the same type.

Thirdly, we often see a combination of the Lakshmi types and the fine "Indo-Greek" type of bull or elephant.

We can only speculate about the reasons for the practice of restriking. The Arthashastra (see 3.1) may give some clues or suggestions.

The first hypothesis for the reason for restriking is that a coin-examiner or tax authority restruck coins received by the treasury, to validate them for fresh circulation. This would lead to a continuous stream of restruck coins, but in a haphazard way, as only coins re-issued by the treasury received a restrike. The cutting and restriking of Magadhan Karshapanas would fit into such an approach. The fact that non-restruck coins are a minority may lead to the conclusion that the restriking period and consequently the circulation period was rather long, as most coins show at least 2 under-types on the obverse, which means that the coin may have received at least 5 strikes. Not a few coins also have on the reverse one or more recognisable under-types, which makes the number of strikes even more. The fact that coins were regularly restruck with the same type of design as already on the coin fits this hypothesis. Re-striking with the same type of image would be less likely in the restriking practice discussed next. Restriking by tax authorities or coin-examiners is not necessarily contradictory to the thought that the coinage was not a government monopoly and that guilds or money lenders had the right of coinage.

The other hypothesis is that, at certain points in time (e.g. change of ruler) or after a certain period, all coins were withdrawn and reissued with a new design. Such procedures are not uncommon, but are a major operation. Both Rajgor and Mitchiner propose for these coins a time span

of 50 years (Mitchiner circa 312-260 BC; Rajgor circa 350-300 BC). A time span of 50 years would indicate a restrrike program about every 10 years. This is not impossible but quite an exercise. This hypothesis would imply that all or most coins were withdrawn at a certain point of time and were re-issued with a punchmark of a new design for control purposes, similar to the counter-mark practices known from other coinage. One would expect the hoards found in Saurashtra to be fairly uniform with most or at least many with the same (type of) design of the major punchmark on the obverse. This is not supported by Rajgor's illustrations of the early series, which represent \pm 20 types of designs, nor does it fit the composition of the coin groups I saw. Also the fact that the under-types are often the same as the last strike seems to conflict with this option. There is however one recurring fixed combination of type 3.1.2 (tree only) with the six arched hill (Type 1.1.1) which could indicate a wholesale restrrike process for the six arched hill type.

So the case against wholesale withdrawal can only be absolutely proven by hoard analysis. Nearly all of Rajgor coins come from a few hoards including one of 4000+ coins and the composition of the hoards is not given.

The conclusion is that a practice of full-scale withdrawal, although not impossible, is unlikely. All the more so, as many designs were used for restriking.

Acknowledgements

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Annex

Saurashtra > Main Symbols and Auxilliary Symbols			
All illustrations and symbols are enlarged for good visibility. Average coin size is ca one square cm			
1.>Six arched hill			
1.1.1			
			
			
This symbol only seen as reverse type with Type 3.1.2 as obverse			
2.>Six dot hill			
2.1 >Symbol over bowl/tank with(out) fish(es)			
2.1.1	2.1.2	2.1.3	
			
			
2.2.> With tree, with(out) railing			
2.2.1	2.2.2		
			
			
2.3.> With auxiliary symbols			
2.3.1			



Rajgor 1996 # 28 Photograph unavailable

2.4.> With sun and fish

2.4.1



Coin in the British Museum, Photograph unavailable

3.>Tree with(out) railing

3.1.> Tree only

3.1.1



3.1.2



In Trade
Photograph not available



3.2.> Tree in circle of auxiliary symbols

3.2.1



4.>Lakshmi

4.1> Gajalakshmi

4.1.1



Coin in the British Museum. Photograph unavailable

4.2> Facing, squatting on throne with canopy

4.2.1



4.3> Facing, squatting or reclining with floral design around

4.3.1



4.4> Reclining on couch facing left

4.4.1

































With under type 7.3.3

4.5> Reclining on couch facing right

4.5.1



		
5.>Bull walking or standing left. (crude or fine)		
5.1> With Srivatsa over back		
5.1.1	5.1.2	
		
		 with under type squatting Lakshmi (4.2.1)
5.2> With sun over back		
5.2.1	5.2.2	
		
Coin in British Museum Photograph unavailable	 Sun in middle	 Sun in middle
5.3> With six-dot hill over back		
5.3.1	5.3.2	
		
		 with under type reclining Lakshmi (4.5.1)

5.4> Over rectangular tank. Auxiliary symbols around			
5.4.1			
			
			
6.>Elephant walking or standing left			
6.1> Only elephant			
6.1.1			
			
	In trade. Photograph unavailable		
6.2> With floral design or auxiliary symbols above or around			
6.2.1	6.2.2	6.2.3	
			
			
6.3> With sun over back or head			
6.3.1			
			
Coin in British Museum. Photograph unavailable			
6.4> With sloping back			
6.4.1			



6.5> Elephant right

6.5.1



This coin probably belongs to the early series

7.>Vihara or building

7.1.> Vihara with turrets








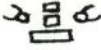



7.1.1



7.2> Square floor plan with inner court

7.2.1



			
7.3> Floor plan			
7.3.1	7.3.2	7.3.3	7.3.4
			
In Trade. Photograph unavailable	In Trade. Photograph unavailable	 Symbol in middle left	In Trade. Photograph unavailable
7.4> Pillar			
7.4.1			
			
			
Elephant with under type Pillar			
7.5> Stupa (?) over tank and in circle of auxiliary symbols			
7.5.1			
			
			
8.>Large tank with fishes			
8.1> Two fishes in square tank			
8.1.1			








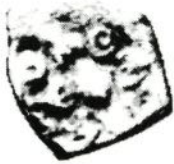






Elephant with under type Two fishes in tank



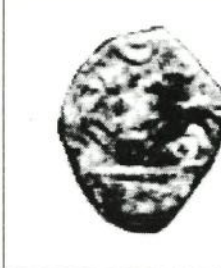
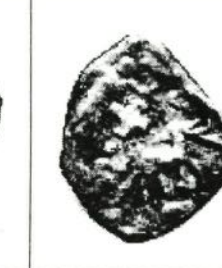
9.>Paddle wheel

9.1.1



Selection of Coins of Raigor's Early Series

Rajgor 1996 #41	Rajgor 1996 #40a	Rajgor 2001 #402	Rajgor 2001 #403	Rajgor 2001 #402
				
Photograph unavailable	Photograph unavailable			
Rajgor 2001 #420	Rajgor 2001 #421	Rajgor 2001 #404/422	Rajgor 2001 #423	
				

Auxiliary Symbols

Aux 1	Aux 2	Aux 3	Aux 4	Aux 5
				
				
Aux 6	Aux 7	Aux 8	Aux 9	Aux 10
				
	In Trade. Photograph unavailable	In Trade. Photograph unavailable		In Trade. Photograph unavailable
Aux 11	Aux 12	Aux 13	Aux 14	
				
				

All drawings except the Rajgor 1996 coins #40a and #41 are by the author.
 Drawings with a border line depict the whole coin.

Photo sources

1.1.1	VTH		4.4.3	PM		6.4.1	JPG
2.1.1	PM		4.5.1	DR; JPG		6.5.1	DR
2.1.2	JPG		5.1.1	PM		7.1.1	PM; JPG
2.1.3	JPG		5.1.2	JPG		7.2.1	VTH; JPG
2.2.1	JPG		5.2.2	JL		7.3.3	JPG
2.2.2	PM; G		5.3.1	JPG		7.4.1	JPG
3.1.2	VTH		5.3.2	PM		7.5.1	JPG
3.2.1	JPG		5.4.1	PM; VTH		8.1.1	VTH; JPG
4.2.1	VTH		6.1.1	PM		9.1.1	JPG
4.3.1	VTH		6.2.1	JPG; VTH			
4.4.1	VTH		6.2.2	PM			
4.4.2	JPG		6.2.3	PM			

JPG J.P.Goenka
 JL Jan Lingen
 PM Paul Murphy
 DR Diplip Rajgor
 VTH Anne van't Haaff