



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 180

Summer 2004

ONS News

London

An ONS meeting took place in London at the British Museum on Saturday 20 March 2004. The programme included talks by Joe Cribb on Multan coins and Robert Tye on metrology.

Oxford

An ONS meeting took place on Saturday 24 April 2004 at which Shailendra Bhandare read a paper on the East India Company issue for Anjengo.

Leiden

This year's meeting will take place on Saturday 9 October 2004 at the National Museum of Antiquities. At the time of writing two lectures are foreseen, viz: "On the coinage of Elymais" by Anne van 't Haaff; and Nico Arkesteijn will present a lecture on Islamic glass weights, particular those present in the former National Collection (now part of the Money+Bankmuseum). Additional short presentations are, as far time allows, always welcome. Those who would like to make one should contact Jan Lingen (details above).

Annual General Meeting

This took place on 5 June 2004, at the London Coin Fair, Holiday Inn, Coram Street, London WC1, commencing 1 pm, to transact the following business:

To receive the Council's report on the activities of the Society during the previous year; and

To receive and consider the accounts of the Society for the previous year.

Both items were duly received and approved. After the formal business of the meeting the Michael Broome and Ken Wiggins memorial lectures were given by Shailendra Bhandare talking on "Money on the move: the rupee and the Indian Ocean region" and Barbara Mears, who talked on "Symbols on the coins of Vijayanagar". Our thanks to Howard & Frances Simmons for providing the facilities for the meeting.

Any member who would like a copy of the Society's accounts for the year ending 31 March 2003 should contact the Honorary Treasurer, David Priestley, 148 Holmes Avenue, Hove, East Sussex, BN3 7LF or their Regional Secretary.

Members News

Congratulations to **Stephen Album** on two accounts. Firstly he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Tuebingen University on 11 May 2004 in the castle of Hohentuebingen. The ceremony

followed a decision by the dean and the council of the Faculty of Cultural Studies to honour a lifetime's work for the better use and understanding of numismatic sources within Islamic history. This applies not only to Steve's achievements in terms of publications but also to his role as collector. To mark the occasion Steve read a paper on "Inflation and taxation under the Ilkhanids, Uljaitu and Abu Sa'id".

Secondly, At its meeting on March 6, 2004, the American Numismatic Society's Board of Trustees voted unanimously to award him last year's 2003 Archer M. Huntington Medal Award for his excellent work on Islamic numismatics, in particular his recent publications in the series *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*.

Quod bonum felix faustumque sit
anno salutis
bis millesimo quarto
rectore universitatis
Eberhard Schleich
oeconomicarum rerum doctore et honoris causa doctore et artis
rationalariae professore,
decano
Klaus Antoni
philosophiae doctore et rerum Iaponarum professore,
artium humanarum ordo
universitatis litterarum Eberhardinae-Carolinae Tubingensis
reverendo viro

Stephen Album

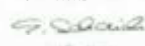
qui non modo et numismatae Islamicae peritissimum ac
doctissimum existimatorem et librorum doctissimorum cum
multiplicium tum accurate et exquisite conscriptorum auctorem se
praestitit, sed etiam de universitate Tubingensi et eius rerum
orientalium seminario, praesertim vero de instituto pro numismatica
Islamica pervestiganda dedito, cuius constitutio et auctoritas totae
debetur eius perspicaci colligendi studio, per tria lustra
familiarissimus amicis adiutorque et largissime donando et
prudentissime suadendo optime meritis est,

intra et privilegia

philosophiae doctoris
honoris causa

rite confert et hoc testatur diplomate
impressoque universitatis sigillo
Tubingae
dic XI mensis Mai anni MMIV

Universitatis rector


Die Urkunde ist dem Verleihenden
Antragsteller des Herrn Prof.
Album am 11. Mai 2004
Tübingen, den 26.06.2004



Decanus



*Steve Album's honorary degree from the University of Tübingen
(scan courtesy of Lutz Ilisch)*

Barbara Mears, who will be known to members who attend the London meetings of ONS, has recently secured a position at Spink, the numismatic auction house and publishers in London. As a collector, Barbara has been specialising in the coins of South India, and has built up some expertise in this area, helped by a recent degree course on South Asian Studies, taken at SOAS (University of London). In her new job her remit will cover a wider area, encompassing Islamic and Oriental coins, both areas that Spink is currently developing.

This will be a great challenge for Barbara, but also an opportunity for fellow ONS members to influence developments at Spink, by contacting Barbara on 0207 563 4019, or bmears@spink.com and letting her know what they would like to see on offer. Of course, Barbara is also looking for good quality coins to sell, so, if you have a series of coins in your collection that you have lost interest in, she would be pleased to give you an estimate of their value.

New and Recent Publications

Ancient Trade and Early Coinage by Michael Mitchiner. Two volumes: 12 by 8.5 ins, 1420 pages, with 5900 coins catalogued and the great majority illustrated: case-bound: £150 per set. Distributed by Spink, London.

Vol. 1: ISBN 0-904173-27-5, pages 1-692, coins 1-2175

Vol. 2: ISBN 0-904173-28-3, pages 693-1420, coins 2176-5901

Dr Mitchiner has provided the following information.

"The author looks at history and trade from a new perspective; hence coinage is also looked at from a new viewpoint.

The theme of long distance trade, particularly in metals, permeates the whole of this study. The influence of population movements across the Eurasian steppe and also into more southerly regions is a second theme. The influence of climatic changes on long distance trade and on population movements provides a third theme. Considered alongside the archaeological evidence, these themes provide a new insight into the rise and fall of cultures across the Afro-Eurasian land mass. The results of this approach include a fundamental re-writing of India's early history and a less radical re-orientation of early Chinese history. The complex web of trading patterns meant that few places were economically, or culturally, isolated by the time when coinage was introduced in Lydia shortly before 600 BC.

The electrum coinage minted in the inland kingdom of Lydia (Western Turkey), and by Greek trading partners in coastal Ionia, together with the first bi-metallic coinage made in gold and silver by Croesus, are considered down to the time of the Persian conquest in 546 BC, and the subsequent Persian repressions during following years. A new classification is proposed, partly on the basis of punchmarked reverse coin designs. Nearly 300 coins are catalogued in this section.

The rise of the Persian Empire caused fundamental changes to trading patterns around the Eastern Mediterranean. Aegina entered its phase of commercial prosperity. Silver now became the principal metal used for making coins. During the period from 545 BC until the end of the Persian Wars in 479 BC, many places began minting their own coins. Coinage minted during this period is examined southeastwards to Rhodes, Lycia and Cyprus, then northeastwards to the coastlands around the Black Sea. The copper token currencies and coinages of the Northern Black Sea region are discussed. The silver coinage of the Thrace-Macedon region leads on to that of Central Greece, including Athens and Corinth. This section concludes with the archaic coinages of South Italy, Sicily and Cyrenaica. Nearly 1,000 archaic coins of the period circa 545 to the 470's BC are catalogued, including a few later issues. Some coin series are re-dated. Weight standards are discussed and the denominational structures of many coin series are revised.

Later Greek coinage is not discussed. The aim of this study is to consider the coinage of each region from its commencement, down to the period when there is general agreement about its interpretation. The cut-off date differs for each region.

The next section focuses on coinage minted in the south. Coins minted in Phoenicia, Samaria, Judea and Babylonia prior to the Macedonian conquest are followed by coins minted in the Northwest Arabian Kingdom, in the Southwest Arabian Kingdoms and in the Southeast Arabian Kingdoms. The coinage of Southeast Arabia is considered in greatest detail because it is the least studied series. Its classification is revised.

Coinage minted across the northern belt includes a short survey of Celtic series, with particular reference to potin coinages and the tin trade and of Spanish coinage with particular reference to the Spanish silver trade and the expansion of Rome. Coinage of the Danubian region is discussed in the context of trade in tin and silver. The main focus for this northern section is the nomad migration from the steppe that brought fundamental political and economic changes to Afghanistan and Pakistan during the late second and the first centuries BC. The political history of Bactria and the datings of relevant Indo-Greek kings are revised. The southerly expansion of the Yuezhi is revised in line with the evidence provided by trading patterns and coinage. Particular attention is paid to the silver crisis across the

region. The cut-off period is the consolidation of the Kushan kingdom in the first century AD. Some 650 coins are catalogued in the two sections on the southern and the northern regions.

The Persian Empire provides the subject for the last section in volume one. The chronology and mints for the daric-siglos coinage are revised. Some revisions are also made to the classification of satrapal coinages minted during the fourth century BC. The coinage of the Eastern Satrapies forms an integral part to any discussion of the Persian Empire, its history and its trade. The chronology of the Chaman Hazouri (Kabul) hoard is revised. The "bent bar" and fractional coinage minted in Northern Pakistan is re-classified and dated after circa 485 BC.

Indian history is fundamentally revised for reasons that are discussed in detail. The kingdoms of the Middle Ganges plain began minting coins in the middle of the fifth century BC, a period when Indo-Persian trade began improving local prosperity. Local weight standards were Indian derivatives of the Babylonian and Persian weight standards used for Indo-Persian trade. The various local punchmarked coin series minted by Hindu states belonging to the Northern Black Polished Ware culture, and by non-Hindu states belonging to several Black and Red Ware cultures are discussed down to the foundation of the Mauryan Empire in the late fourth century BC. Mixed coin hoards, changes in coin weights, coin provenances and changing patterns of trade routes provide the basis for a fundamental re-interpretation of early Indian coinage. Some 1,850 coins are catalogued in the pre-Mauryan section.

The Mauryan Empire, together with its various silver and copper coin series, is discussed in context with evidence provided by such sources as Ashoka's inscriptions and the Arthashastra. The numismatic evidence attests preservation of the Mauryan trading nexus until the last years of the empire, whereas historical sources and coins also indicate political de-centralisation during the Empire's late decades. Indian and Greek sources, as well as local Greek-style coin series, attest the fall of the Mauryan Empire close to 175 BC. Selected later Indian coin series are discussed, particularly those with a punchmarked form. Some 900 Mauryan and post-Mauryan coins are catalogued.

Early Chinese coinage is discussed in context with changing patterns of internal and external trade, together with analyses of the chemical compositions of coins. Zhou, Qin and Han dynasty coins and other currency pieces are catalogued from their commencement close to 500 BC, until Wang Mang's reign in the early first century AD. Chemical compositions shed new light both on the trade in metals and also on monetary organisation. The Han mint reorganisation of the late second century BC is reflected in coin alloys. Nearly 300 coins are catalogued in this section and half of the coins have had their leaded bronze coin alloys analysed.

The last section of volume two deals with selected later eastern coin series. The gold coinage of Bangladesh, down to the eighth century AD, is partly re-classified in the light of new specimens. The various silver coin series of Arakan, Harikela and South East Asia are re-classified in the light of changing patterns of trade, and particularly the decline in maritime trade that followed the adverse climatic event of the mid-sixth century AD. Several coin series can be dated before this phase, and others afterwards. Political reverses suffered by China's Tang dynasty in the middle of the eighth century were associated with changes to the metal trade, especially to the tin trade. This is discussed in context with Central Asia, with the Kingdom of Nanchao (Yunnan), and with the local leaded copper-arsenic coin alloys used in Japan. Representative early Japanese cash, whose chemical compositions have been analysed, are catalogued.

There are several appendices, an extensive bibliography, a table of suggested coin values and an index."

The Coinage of Assam, volume 1, Pre-Ahom Period, by NG Rhodes and SK Bose, Kolkata, 2003, ISBN 81-901867-3-6, hard cover, 134 pp, 9 plates and index. This book is a must for anyone interested in medieval Assamese coinage.

Mudrātattva, ed. S Bandyopadhyay, published by the Calcutta Coin Society on the occasion of the 87th annual conference of the Numismatic Society of India, Kolkata, 2003. This soft-bound

book of 108 pp has some interesting articles on Bengal coinage. For more information please contact Jagdish Agarwal, jagarwalin@yahoo.co.in

Spink Numismatic Circular, April 2004, Vol CXII, number 2, has an article by Paul Stevens entitled "1705 coinage for the Bombay Presidency".

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 196 (April 2004), 197 (May 2004).
2. Early World Coins (7-9 Clifford Street, York, YO1 9RA, UK; tel ++1 845 4 900724; orders@earlyworldcoins.com) list 39 of oriental coins with "An attempted history of Troy weight".
3. Jean Elsen & ses fils s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be) list 228 (April-June 2004) has around 200 items of oriental interest.

Auction News

Dr Bussio Peus Nachf. (Bornwiesenweg 34, D-60322 Frankfurt am Main, Germany; tel ++49 69 9596620; fax ++49 69 555995; info@peus-muenzen.de; www.peus-muenzen.de) auction 378, which took place on 28 April 2004, had some 250 lots of oriental interest.

Todywallas's Auctions (Todywalla House, 80 Ardeshir Dady Street, Khetwadi, Mumbai 400 004, India; tel ++91 22 23854733; fax ++91 22 2380 9328; info@todyauction.com; www.todyauction.com) sale 7, which took place on 17 April 2004, had 408 lots of South Asian material.

Baldwin's Auctions (11, Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ, tel ++44 20 7930 9808; fax ++44 20 7930 9450; auctions@baldwin.sh) held two sales on 4 and 5 May 2004. The general sale (4/5 May) included a fine collection of coins of Georgia, including many Islamic issues in silver and copper, a substantial section on Indian coins of all periods, as well as some lots of ancient oriental interest; the Islamic sale (5 May) comprised 560 lots of coins, banknotes, medals and books.

Maison Palombo (22, La Canebière, 13001 Marseille, France; tel ++33 4 9154 9394; fax ++33 4 9133 8613; palombo@wanadoo.fr; www.maison-palombo.com), auction 1, held on 1 May 2004, included a section on mainly gold Islamic coins.

Jean Elsen (see address above under lists received) auction 80, held on 12 June 2004, had some 300 lots of oriental interest.

Spink (London) will be holding their next auction on 15th July 2004, which will feature coins of the Bengal Sultanates and over 50 lots of Islamic coins of all periods. Their Coinex auction will take place on 6 October, and will contain a good selection of Indian items, including over 100 coins of Portuguese India. Any interested members can contact Barbara Mears for a complimentary copy of either catalogue when they are ready. Her contact details can be found under "Members News" on page 2 of this newsletter.

Other News

The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith (7 May - 12 September 2004), a major exhibition organised by the British Library in association with the British Museum. The exhibition will include some coins from the Aurel Stein collection at the British Museum. For details, see <http://www.bl.uk/whatson/exhibitions>. New relevant publications include: (1) the lavish exhibition catalogue, edited by Susan Whitfield, *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War & Faith* (British Library, 2004) - this includes Helen Wang's article 'How much for a Camel? A New Understanding of Money on the Silk Road before AD 800'; (2) Susan Whitfield's *Sir Aurel Stein on the Silk Road* (British Museum Press, 2004, ISBN 9-780714-124162); and

(3) Helen Wang (ed.) Sir Aurel Stein. Proceedings of the British Museum Study Day, 23 March 2002 (British Museum Occasional Paper 142, 2004, ISBN 9-780861-591428).

Priceless and rarely seen Silk Road treasures from Aurel Stein's collection - considered one of the richest in the world - will go on display along side key items from around the globe in this major exhibition. The scholar, archaeologist and explorer Sir Aurel Stein fought rivals at the turn of the last century to be the first to uncover long-lost multicultural civilisations. The evidence had lain buried for up 2,000 years in tombs, tips and temples beneath the desert sands of eastern Central Asia. This exhibition brings together over 200 of Stein's seldom seen Central Asian manuscripts, paintings, objects and textiles, along with other fascinating artefacts from museums in China, Japan, Germany and France.

Visitors can take a journey eastwards from Samarkand via Dunhuang to Turfan through the Taklamakan and Gobi deserts. They can be immersed in the landscape, history and cultures of the Silk Road, as well as learning about the everyday lives of people living along the route. Their concerns are timeless to the human condition.

Exhibits range from anti-war poetry, court documents to reclaim land from squatters, and prayers to assuage deaths from the plague, down to mousetraps, desert shoes and a letter apologising for getting drunk and behaving badly at a dinner party.

Articles

A Gold Variety of Eznas of Aksum from India

By Vincent West

Our knowledge of the Aksumite gold coinage of the early fourth century AD has been considerably increased in recent years by finds from India. The Mangalore (south west India) hoard alone contained at least 23 Aksumite gold coins (17 of Ousanas, including one imitation and six of Eznas) together with 21 Roman gold coins¹. Whereas Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen in 1995 could record only six gold coins of Ousanas under their types 20-24², the author now knows of 38 specimens and two imitations, the majority of the additions being from India³. Most of these coins have been pierced twice for suspension, without loss of weight, and indeed this has become indicative of an Indian origin⁴. Such coins provide numismatic evidence of outward Aksumite trade with India to supplement existing Ethiopian numismatic evidence of inward trade⁵.

Of the gold coins of Eznas present in the Mangalore hoard, five and two "stragglers" were from the period before the conversion of the king to Christianity (AC type 36) and one from after the conversion (AC type 47)⁶. It is pleasing, therefore, to record a new Christian gold coin of Eznas from India⁷, indeed the first of its type (AC type 49⁸) found there. The coin also has the distinction of being a new variety since it has a previously unrecorded symbol on the obverse.



The new coin (illustrated here) now in the author's collection may be described as follows:

Obverse: 12:00 +HZA+NAC+ACI+AEV (Ezana King)

Crowned and draped bust r., holding stick, between wheat stalks, within beaded circle. Crescent on back above bust (previously unrecorded). Rounded ribbon, triple armet, triple bracelet. The Z is like a Ge'ez N. The first C of the legend is not the last letter of the

king's name, but is used instead of a B as the first letter of 'basileu(s)' (king). There is a prominent die flaw extending from the fourth cross across the beaded circle.

Reverse: 0300 AΞW+MITB+ICI+AA'HH (of the Aksumites man of Alen)

Capped and draped bust r., holding three strand fly whisk, between wheat stalks, within beaded circle. Pellet above head. Rounded ribbon.

The A's are chevron-barred throughout.

Die axis: 12:00. **Diameter:** 15mm. **Weight:** 1.65gm. (pierced twice without loss of metal).

The symbols previously recorded above the head (see AC) include an apostrophe-like symbol, various letters (South Arabian, Ge'ez and Greek) and various combinations of dots. The list of symbols was considerably extended by the al-Madhariba hoard from Yemen⁹ which contained 26 coins of this type.

The crescent harks back to the prominent use of the crescent and disk as a divine symbol on Aksumite coins before the conversion of Eznas to Christianity. The symbol makes occasional, less prominent appearances as an administrative mark till much later (for example on the silvers and coppers of Armah c. 600AD).

Notes

- Hahn, W.R.O., Spätantikes Handelsgold in Südindien, *Money Trend* 30, November 1998, pp.52-7, written under the pseudonym of Hanuman and Lakshmi Nawartmal. Eight of the Aksumite coins were also published in Hahn, W.R.O., Aksumite Coins in India - Some New Evidence, *Spink Numismatic Circular*, February 1999, Vol. CVII/1, pp.1-2, written under the pseudonym of Hanuman Nawartmal.
- Munro-Hay S.C. and Juel-Jensen B., *Aksumite Coinage*, Spink, 1995 (henceforth AC).
- See for example: Juel-Jensen, B.E., A Gold Coin of Aksum Struck from hitherto Unpublished Dies, *Spink Numismatic Circular*, June 1994, Vol. CII/5, p.212 and July 1994, Vol. CII/6, p.266; Juel-Jensen, B.E., A New Warq of King Ousanas of Aksum, *Spink Numismatic Circular*, September 1997, Vol. CV/7, pp.236-7; Juel-Jensen, B.E., More Gold Coins out of India of King Ousanas of Aksum, *Spink Numismatic Circular*, July 1999, Vol. CVII/6, p.176; Juel-Jensen, B.E., Aksumite "Coins" for Tourists and a Forged Gold Coin from India, *Spink Numismatic Circular*, February 2000, Vol. CVIII/1, p.8.
- On this piercing see Hahn, W.R.O., Von der Münze zum Schmuck und zurück - Montierung und Demontierung von Henkeln an Spätromischen und Axumitischen Beispielen, *Money Trend* 9/2000, pp.56-8. This also publishes four further "stragglers" from the Mangalore hoard, two of Ousanas and two of Eznas.
- Mordini, A., Gold Kushana Coins in the Convent of Dabra Dammo, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* XXIX, part II, 1967, pp. 19-25.
- See notes 1 and 4.
- Nothing more of its origin is known than that it was "in a lot with Indian coins".
- The easiest way to distinguish AC types 47 and 49 is that in the former the legends start at 6:00 and in the latter at 12:00 (obverse) and 3:00 (reverse).
- Munro-Hay, S.C., The al-Madhariba Hoard of Gold Aksumite and Late Roman Coins, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1989, pp. 83-100, pls. 22-29.

Numaylah b. Mālik

by Alan S. DeShazo

After some missteps I believe I can now offer a plausible candidate for the issuer named on the drahm that John Walker incorrectly identified as Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab¹.

In my ONS Newsletter 165 article², I was uncertain about the reading Nomayra for the personal name as advanced by Dr. Mochiri³ because of an extra and unnecessary stroke. Although the rules applied by the coin engravers for transliterating Arabic names into Pahlavi script seem to be fairly self-evident, variations

are found. I now think that the Mochiri reading is plausible but with a change in the interpretation of one letter.

What is clear is that the date on these drachms is 73 (AH). The mint signature has been generally accepted as standing for the district Veh-az-Amid-Kavad, which has Arrajan as its principal city.

I have already answered Stephen Album's objections to my reading of the patronymic as being Mālik⁴. Although the connection with Mālik b. Misma' no longer seems tenable, I have found a more plausible identification that takes into account both the personal name and the patronymic. The name is not Numayra(h), but Numaylah. "L" and "R" are represented by the same letter in Pahlavi. There is no known Numayrah b. Mālik, but there is a Numaylah b. Mālik in al-Tabari's history. He is named indirectly in connection with his son, al-Hakam⁵, where the text refers back to his father Numaylah b. Mālik who was commander of the *ahl al-ā'liyah*, one of the divisions of the army of Basrah.

The proximity of Arrajan to Basrah and the holding of a high command in the army of Basra places this man in a position of sufficient stature and geographical presence to be plausible that he is our coiner. Although it is doubtful that an army division commander would have sufficient authority to issue coins, it may be that by 73 AH he was governor at Arrajan for at least a brief time.

My conclusion is that the man named on these drachms was Numaylah b. Mālik of the *Banu Numayr*.

Many thanks are due to Dr. Mochiri for his recognition of Walker's error and for the photograph of his most interesting coin. Also I thank Michael L. Bates, my longtime friend and mentor, for his cogent improvements to a late draft of this article. Any errors are mine.

- 1 Walker, John: *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. lvii, 106, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1941, reprinted 1967.
- 2 DeShazo, Alan S.: *Newsletter* No. 165, "The Coinage of 'Ibn Mālik'", Oriental Numismatic Society, Autumn 2000, pp 11-13.
- 3 Mochiri, Malek Iraj: *Etude de Numismatique Iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabes-Sassanides*, Tome II, Nouvelle Edition Revue Et Corrigée, Tehran 1983, pp 435-437.
- 4 DeShazo, Alan S.: *Newsletter* No. 175, "A Correction and a Re-Assertion", Oriental Numismatic Society, Spring 2003, pp. 3-4.
- 5 Al-Tabari: *The History of al-Tabari*, Volume XXVI, pp.62-63, Carole Hillenbrand, translator, State University of New York Press, 1989.

Samarqand in the Eleventh Century AD (based on information from coins)

By Michael Fedorov

In Rabī' I 382/May 992, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn and Ṭarāz, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid amīr, Nūh II b. Maṣṣūr, fled to Amūl and started to raise an army. The climate and fruit of Bukhārā exacerbated the illness that Hārūn was suffering from. He therefore went to Samarqand, which did not help. He died on the way to his capital, Balāsāghūn. That is what the chronicles tell us.

Coins, however, show that that there were two Qarākhānid invasions of the Sāmānid state: one, launched from Balāsāghūn, ended in the capture of Bukhārā, the other ended in the capture of Farghāna (at least the eastern part). A Qarākhānid mint with the mintname Farghāna started its work in 381/991-2 (Kochnev 1995, 203 /1). It minted dirhams which cite Arslān Tegīn b. Ulugh Tegīn and his suzerain, *Shihāb al-Daula* Abū Mūsā Turk Khāqān. Bīrūnī (1957/150) wrote that Boghrā Khān "when he took the field in the year three hundred and eighty two, named himself *Shihāb al-Daula*" (he was not granted this laqab by the caliph).

In 383/993-4 (Kochnev 1995, 203/6), Tegīn Naṣr b. 'Alī (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) struck coins in Khojende, which means that the whole of Farghāna already belonged to the Qarākhānids. Could the Arslān Tegīn cited on dirhams of AH 381, Farghāna, be Naṣr b. 'Alī? If this were the case, his father, Ulugh

Tegīn, would have been the ruler of Kāshghar, 'Alī b. Mūsā, who was the Head of the Qarākhānids at least from 382 when Boghrā Khān Hārūn had died. The chronicles mention this 'Alī b. Mūsā as "Arslān Khān". He fell in battle against the infidel Turks in January 998 (Bartold 1963, 330).

It was Naṣr b. 'Alī who headed the drive of the Qarākhānids to the west after the death of Boghrā Khān Hārūn. In the autumn of 386/996, Naṣr launched a new invasion of the Sāmānid state. The Sāmānids ceded to the Qarākhānids all their lands east of the Qatwān steppe, which was 5 farsakhs (about 30 km) to the east of Samarqand (Bartold 1963, 324). In 387/997 Naṣr b. 'Alī was already having coins struck in his name in Ushrūshana (Kochnev 1995, 206/48), adjacent to the province of Samarqand. In 387 the Sāmānid warlord Muḥammad b. Ḥusain al-Ispījābī rebelled against the Sāmānids and asked Naṣr b. 'Alī for help. Naṣr came to Samarqand but ordered the arrest of the rebel (Bartold 1963, 326). This was when Samarqand came under the sway of Naṣr b. 'Alī. The Sāmānid amīr had no real military power to recover Samarqand and his warlords were fighting each other at that time.

The earliest Qarākhānid coin of Samarqand known so far (Tübingen University collection, EC9 D5) was minted in 388/398 by Mu'ayyid al-'Adl / Ṭonghā Tegīn (on the obverse under the Kalimah), citing Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qarākhān (reverse field) as suzerain. A dirham of AH 394 Quz Ordū citing Quṭb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1995, 212/133) shows that the laqab Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq did in fact belong to Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the brother and suzerain of Naṣr b. 'Alī.

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title Ṭighā (as I read it then) Tegīn belonged to Naṣr b. 'Alī before he received the new, higher title of İlek (second only to the title, Khān). There was no unanimity in reading this title: some read it as Ṭighā- others Ṭonghā Tegīn. A fulūs of AH 385, Farghāna, (Kochnev 1995, 204/16) settled the question: on this coin it was written in Uigur: *Tonga Tegin*. The Qarākhānids changed their titles as they rose in the hierarchy. For instance, Muḥammad b. 'Alī (the brother of Naṣr and Aḥmad) is cited on a dirham of AH 393, Ṭarāz, (Kochnev 1995, 211/121) as Muḥammad b. 'Alī *Sanā al-Daula* (field) Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkīn al-Manṣūr *Sanā al-Daula* Arslān Tegīn (circular legend). Thus at first Muḥammad had the title Arslān Tegīn which would have come to him from Naṣr, after the latter received the title of Ṭonghā Tegīn. Later he was given the higher title. Coins of AH 403-405. Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 266/320). cite him as Muḥammad b. 'Alī *Sanā al-Daula* Ināl Tegīn. Finally he received title of İlek. Coins of AH 405, Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393), cite him as Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek. It was the same with Naṣr. I believe he started as Arslān Tegīn then (c. 384) he received the title Ṭonghā Tegīn and, finally, a coin of AH 389, Bukhārā, cites him as Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 203/7, 10, 208/72).

Coins of AH 389, Samarqand, are not known. In 390 in Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 209/101) Naṣr minted fulūs without mention of any suzerain. The omission of the suzerain often occurred on copper coins, which were meant only for local trade. A dirham of AH 391 (Samarqand History Museum, Nr. 283) cites, on the obverse, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl / *Nasr* (written in Uigur). On the reverse we find Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (suzerain). As it happens, dirhams of AH 388 and 391, Samarqand, give further proof that the title, Ṭonghā Tegīn, belonged to Naṣr. A dirham of AH 388 cited *Mu'ayyid al-'Adl / Ṭonghā Tegīn* and dirham of AH 391 cited *Mu'ayyid al-'Adl / Nasr*. So we have *Mu'ayyid al-'Adl* = *Nasr* and *Mu'ayyid al-'Adl* = Ṭonghā Tegīn which means: Ṭonghā Tegīn = *Nasr*".

Coins of AH 393 Samarqand are not known. In 394, coins of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 213/136) cite a standard variant of the titlage of Naṣr and his suzerain, placed on the reverse after the caliph's name: Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān / Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek

Naşr. This standard variant occurs on almost every dirham minted by Naşr until his death in AH 403. In AH 394 some dirhams of Samarqand also cite a vassal (or rather governor) of Naşr, Mirek by name.

In 395-398 (Kochnev 1995, 211/113) coins were struck in Samarqand in Naşr's name as sole owner of the town. No subvassal is mentioned. Some of the fulūs struck in AH 400 cite only Naşr b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 219/ 224) no suzerain or subvassal being mentioned. Then changes took place (Kochnev 1995, 220/240-244). In 400 some fulūs of Samarqand cite Naşr b. 'Alī or Naşr b. 'Alī İlek or Abū-l-Ḥasan Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr (on the reverse) and his vassals (on the obverse): Aḥmad (3 times), Aḥmad 'Alī (once), 'Alī (once). No suzerain of Naşr is cited on these fulūs. In 401 (Kochnev 1995, 217/204, 220/ 243, 222/ 270-273) fulūs cite Naşr b. 'Alī, or Abū-l-Ḥasan Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr, or Abū-l-Ḥasan Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naşr b. 'Alī (on the reverse) and his vassals (on the obverse): Aḥmad (once), 'Alī, (once), Ṭoḡhā Tegīn (twice). In two instances, no vassal is cited. No suzerain of Naşr is mentioned on the fulūs of AH 401. A dirhem of AH 401. Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 222/269). reveals the name of this Ṭoḡhā Tegīn. It cites Naşir al-Ḥaqq Khān, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr and a subvassal who owned Samarqand and struck coin there: Nizām al-Daula Abū-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad b. Ḥ[asan]. On the obverse is the title of this subvassal: Ṭoḡhā Tegīn. So after Naşr b. 'Alī received the higher title İlek, his title, Ṭoḡhā Tegīn, went to Muḥammad b. Ḥasan who, in AH 415, became the Head of the Western Qarākhānids with the khānian title of Ṭoḡhā Khān.

In AH 400-401 Naşr waged a war against his brother Aḥmad. He needed money to pay the army and auxiliary troops of armed nomads. So the mint of Samarqand worked with unprecedented intensity. In 400-401, 13 types of coins (12 types of fulūs and 1 type of dirham) were minted there.

In 402 (Kochnev 1995, 224/294) fulūs of Samarqand cite İlek / Naşr (reverse and obverse field) and his vassal, the owner of Samarqand, Nizām al-Daula Ṭoḡhā Tegīn. Another type of AH 402 Samarqand fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 224/295) mentions Naşr (obverse field), 'Abd al-Raḥman (reverse field) and the immediate owner of the town, Amīr Nizām al-Daula Muḥammad (reverse marginal legend). There is no mention of the supreme ruler, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, on this type of fulūs.

Naşr died in 403. The situation then changed in Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 225/ 315-318). Ṭoḡhā Tegīn retained Samarqand but as the immediate vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Two types of dirham and two types of fulūs of AH 403, Samarqand, cite Nizām al-Daula Ṭoḡhā Tegīn as the immediate owner of the town, and his suzerain, Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān or simply Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī). In the same year, AH 403, a new change took place (Kochnev 1995, 226/319). Ṭoḡhā Tegīn was relegated in the hierarchy and became a subvassal. Some fulūs of AH 403 cite, on the reverse, Quṭb al-Daula (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and Shams al-Daula (vassal). Subvassal Ṭoḡhā Tegīn is mentioned on the obverse. Coins of AH 406, Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 234/435-436), citing Shams al-Daula Malik al-'Adil Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī or Malik al-'Adil Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī Shams al-Daula prove that the laqab Shams al-Daula belonged to Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, brother of Naşr and Aḥmad. The mention of Maṣṣūr as a vassal on coins of Samarqand did not mean that he resided there. The owner of the town was Ṭoḡhā Tegīn but Maṣṣūr was entitled to be cited on the coins and to get part of the taxes collected from Samarqand. In 403 Maṣṣūr was also cited as a vassal of Aḥmad on coins of Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 226/323). But the owner of Khojende was subvassal Sanā al-Daula (Muḥammad b. 'Alī). In 403 Maṣṣūr resided in Bukhārā where he minted as immediate (without subvassal) owner of the town and as a vassal of Aḥmad (Kochnev 1995, 224/304).

In 404, a war broke out between Aḥmad and Maṣṣūr. Maṣṣūr disappeared from the coins of Bukhārā and Kesh which he possessed as immediate owner. This means that Aḥmad conquered those towns from him. In 404 (Kochnev 1995, 225/318) Maṣṣūr disappeared from the coins of Samarqand. Ṭoḡhā Tegīn rose in the hierarchy and became a vassal of Aḥmad in Samarqand. Also in 404 Maṣṣūr disappeared from the coins of Khojende and subvassal, Sanā al-Daula, rose to the status of vassal. The internecine war continued till 407/1016-17 and ended in the victory of Maṣṣūr and his allies.

Coins of AH 404, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 228/352-355), show that Ṭoḡhā Tegīn was loyal to his suzerain. They cite Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān, Khāqān or Khān (Aḥmad, suzerain) and Nizām al-Daula Abū-l-Muzaffar Ṭoḡhā Tegīn. One fulūs (Kochnev 1995, 228/356) does not cite any suzerain, but that was often the case with the small copper coins. Because of the internecine war that was raging, the mint of Samarqand again worked very intensively during the period AH 404-407: 11 types of coins were minted there.

Coins of AH 405, Samarqand, are not known. In 406-407 the situation again changed. The town was conquered from Ṭoḡhā Tegīn and his suzerain, Aḥmad. Dirhams of AH 406-407, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 233/427), cite İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī and the anonymous Khān as his suzerain. In 406 coins of Uşrūshana, adjacent to Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 234/ 429), were also minted by İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī citing Shams al-Daula Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī as suzerain. So the anonymous Khān of AH 406-407 Samarqand dirhams was Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, because Muḥammad could not be a vassal of two different warring Khāns in two adjacent provinces simultaneously. The fulūs of AH 406, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 234/428), cite only Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek, there being no mention of a suzerain. Fulūs of AH 407, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 236 /453-455), cite Khān (suzerain), Muḥammad b. 'Alī (vassal) and Sinān al-Daula (subvassal). Sinān al-Daula Bek Tūzun, a Sāmānid general, was arrested by İlek Naşr (conqueror of Bukhārā in 389 /999) and imprisoned in Uzgend together with the last Sāmānid amīr. But later he served the Qarākhānids and so distinguished himself that Naşr granted him Kesh as appanage, where he minted in 399-402. In 403, after the death of İlek Naşr, he was deprived of Kesh (Kochnev 1989, 157-158) but, as we see, appeared again, this time in Samarqand in 407/1016-17.

In AH 408 (Kochnev 1995, 236/454) fulūs of Samarqand were minted by Sanā al-Daula Muḥammad b. 'Alī citing the anonymous Khān as suzerain. A dirham of 408, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 238/ 486), shows that, this time, the anonymous Khān was Aḥmad b. 'Alī. This dirham cites Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek and his suzerain, Naşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī). In AH 407 the Khwārizmshāh offered his help as go-between and reconciled the warring brothers (Baihaqī 1962, 592-594). Peace was made and Aḥmad was given some towns conquered from him during the war. But those were mainly the towns owned by Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who retained them as appanage "granted" to him by Aḥmad b. 'Alī. On the coins minted in such towns Muḥammad cited Aḥmad as suzerain. He also gave him part of the taxes collected from those towns. That is how Aḥmad is cited on the coin of AH 408 Samarqand. This, in fact, is the latest mention of Aḥmad b. 'Alī on the coins. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Ṭoḡhān Khān (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) died in AH 408 (Materialy 1973, 58).

In 409, dirhams of Samarqand cite İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain, Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī). Fulūs of AH 409-410, Samarqand, cite İlek and his suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī Khān or Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 235/441, 240/507-508). Samarqand also had the name Madinat al-Maḥfūza or "Guarded town" (Codrington 1904, 202). In AH 410 dirhams of Madinat al-Maḥfūza (Kochnev 1995, 241/533) were minted by İlek Muḥammad citing Arslān Khān as suzerain. It is interesting that in

410 (Kochnev 1995, 241/ 524) coins were also struck with the mintname of Samarqand. They cite İlek al-Manşūr Pādshāh, i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (here al-Manşūr is not his actual name, it is an epithet meaning "victorious"), and his suzerain Arslān Khān. Coins of AH 411 Samarqand are not known.

According to Ibn al-Athīr, the Qarākhānid, 'Alī Tegīn, a prisoner of Arslān Khān, managed to escape from him and, helped by nomad Turkmens, headed by Arslān b. Seljūq, captured Bukhārā. İlek, the brother of Arslān Khān (i.e. the lawful owner of Bukhārā, Muḥammad b. 'Alī) advanced on Bukhārā to punish the usurpers but was defeated. 'Alī Tegīn retained Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 342). Some new information is provided by the coinage. In 411 a certain Bahā al-Daula minted strange dirhams in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 243/550). He cited on them Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān i.e. the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Yūsuf b. Hārūn Boghrā Khān. His capital was in far-off Kāshghar; he had no domains in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. So this coin shows that, having captured Bukhārā, 'Alī Tegīn, whose laqab proved to be Bahā al-Daula, recognized Qadir Khān as suzerain to get his help. It looks as though Qadir Khān interceded for him with Arslān Khān, who eventually sanctioned the capture of Bukhārā by 'Alī Tegīn. In the same year, AH 411, Bahā al-Daula started to mint dirhams in Bukhārā citing Arslān Khān as his suzerain. He continued to mint such coins in Bukhārā until 415/1024-25, when Arslān Khān died.

In 412/1021-22 (Kochnev 1995, 244/572) fulūs of Samarqand cite Nizām al-Daula Ināl Tegīn and some Khān as his suzerain. The only Khān in the Western Qarākhānid Khaqanate at that time was Arslān Khān. As we remember, in AH 401-404 Samarqand was an appanage of Nizām al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Could it be that he received a new, probably higher title of Ināl Tegīn and that Samarqand was returned to him as an appanage?

In 415 both Arslān Khān and İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids, the so-called "Ḥasanids". Tonghā (or Tonghān or Toḡhān) Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan became supreme ruler with his capital in Balāsāghūn. His brother 'Alī was given the title İlek (second only to the title Khān). Coins of AH 415, Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248/ 640-642,) citing İlek al-Adil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, or İlek al-Adil Bahā al-Daula prove that the laqab Bahā al-Daula belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan or, as he was mentioned in the chronicles, 'Alī Tegīn.

There is a fals of AH 414 struck in Samarqand (Soret 1854, 33/44) citing Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek. It was minted using mismatched dies, the die with the date being obsolete. In 414/1013-14 İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī was still alive (Kochnev 1995, 244/575, 246/ 601) and Bahā al-Daula could not have received the title of İlek during the lifetime of Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

Dirhams of AH 415, Samarqand, reflect another new situation. They cite İlek Abū (or Ibn?) al-Ḥasan and his suzerain, Tonghā Khān. Fulūs of AH 415, Samarqand, cite İlek and his suzerain, the anonymous Khān (Kochnev 1995, 247/625-26). But dirhams of AH 415 show that the anonymous Khān of the fulūs was Tonghā Khān i.e. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the brother of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. Coins of AH 416 Samarqand are not known.

In AH 416, the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān I Yūsuf, invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. At the same time Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded it from the south. 'Alī Tegīn fled to the desert. Soon, however, Maḥmūd withdrew his army having decided that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other. But, in 416, Maḥmūd's invasion allowed Qadir Khān to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna with Ugend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket until 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende to the Eastern Qarākhānids (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

Kochnev mentioned coins (1994, 69; 1995 251/691, 702), which (provided he read them correctly - M. F.) show that 'Alī b. Ḥasan retained only Bukhārā and the Bukhārān oasis and that coins with the title of Yūsuf b. Hārūn (i.e. Qadir Khān - M. F.) were minted in 418 in Soghd and in 419 in Samarqand. But in both cases Qadir Khān was not the immediate owner of these towns: he is cited as suzerain by Arslān Tegīn who minted there. Who was that Arslān Tegīn? I believe he was the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. A fals of AH 421, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 252/719), cites Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn as a vassal of İlek (i.e. of 'Alī b. Ḥasan). A fals of AH 431, Bukhārā, cites Shams al-Daula Yūsuf (Kochnev 1995, 261/ 853). So we have: Shams al-Daula = Yūsuf and Shams al-Daula = Arslān Tegīn. Which gives the third equation: Arslān Tegīn = Yūsuf. Fulūs of AH 419, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250/688), cite Yūsuf b. 'Alī (b. Ḥasan). All this proves that Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn was the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. It looks as though the Samarqandian part of Soghdiana stayed with the Ḥasanids, but that Yūsuf, the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan, was forced to recognise the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids as his suzerain. There is, however, also the possibility that Arslān Tegīn, the vassal of İlek (i.e. of 'Alī b. Ḥasan) and Arslān Tegīn, the vassal of Qadir Khān were different men. There could be one Arslān Tegīn in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate and another Arslān Tegīn in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. If the Arslān Tegīn citing Qadir Khān on the coins of Soghd and Samarqand was an Eastern Qarākhānid, it would mean that Qadir Khān captured Samarqand and Soghd and granted them as appanage to his vassal, the Eastern Qarākhānid Arslān Tegīn.

But in the same year of 419/1028 (Kochnev 1995, 251/703), 'Alī b. Ḥasan's title İlek reappeared on coins of Samarqand and Qadir Khān is never again cited there as suzerain. In 419 'Alī b. Ḥasan made Samarqand his capital and minted coins there without mentioning any vassal. After 419 and until 426, when 'Alī b. Ḥasan died, the title Arslān Tegīn, laqab Shams al-Daula or name Yūsuf were not placed on coins of Samarqand. Yūsuf b. 'Alī was compensated with Bukhārā, granted to him as appanage, and where he struck coins until 426/1034-35 inclusive, citing his father as suzerain.

In AH 420-421 (Kochnev 1995, 252/713-714, 723), fulūs of Samarqand cite İlek Pādshāh or Malik Arslān İlek or Malik Pādshāh İlek. Coins of AH 422, Samarqand, are not known. In 423 (Kochnev 1995, 254/748-749), fulūs of Samarqand cite İlek or İlek (reverse) / Tarkān (obverse). The title Tarkān belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan, a fact demonstrated by various coins. A fals of 421, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 252/723), cites Malik Pādshāh İlek. A fals of 421, Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 252/ 725), cites, on the reverse, Tarkān Pādshāh (field), Malik al-Muzaffar 'Alī b. Ḥasan (marginal legend) and İlek (obverse field). A fals of 42... Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 253/726) cites Tarkān (field) and Malik al-Muzaffar 'Alī b. Ḥasan (marginal legend). So these coins leave us in no doubt that the title Tarkān belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan.

In 424, coins of Samarqand cite a new title for 'Alī b. Ḥasan: Ṭabghāch Boghrā Khān, which first appeared in 423 on coins of Harlugh Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 254/755; 256/770-772). In 425 Ṭabghāch Boghrā Khān (or Khāqān), or simply Boghrā Khān is cited on coins of Samarqand. In 426 coins of Samarqand cite Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān on the reverse and his vassal (or rather governor) Sahl on the obverse (Kochnev 1995, 257-258/788-792, 805 -806). 'Alī b. Ḥasan died in 426/1034-35.

His son, Yūsuf, rose one step in the hierarchy and, in 427, struck coins in Samarqand with the higher title of Arslān İlek (Kochnev 1995, 251/703). In 428, fulūs of Samarqand cite Arslān Pādshāh Yūsuf b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 259/828). In that same year in Samarqand dirhams were minted with the mintname Madinat al-Maḥfūza citing Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī (Tübingen University Collection 91-16-48).

In 429-430, the coins of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 260/835) cite ʿUghān Khān. His identity is uncertain. Kochnev (1995, 260/835) read on these two coins the dates 429 and 430 and the titles Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ʿUghān Khān. He considered this to be ʿUghān Khān, the brother of ‘Alī b. Ḥasan (‘Alī Tegīn), who, in 415, became Head of the Western Qarākhānids. I know of a coin in the Samarqand Museum, described by Kochnev as Samarqand AH 430. Its state of preservation is poor, so one cannot be sure of the date nor the titles. I have not seen the other coin, but could the date be 419? A contemporary of those events, Baihaqī, wrote that ʿUghān Khān *بر افتاد* in a battle with Qadir Khān. A. K. Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated it: “fell in war”. Kochnev (1984, 370), who consulted the Iranist. O. F. Akimushkin, insisted that Baihaqī’s statement should be understood in the sense that ʿUghān Khān “only lost his power” and not his life, though in another article (1979, 129), Kochnev expressed a different opinion.

The latest coin of ʿUghān Khān (II) Muḥammad (Kochnev 1995, 250/686), which I know about, was minted in 418, in Akhsiket. After that ʿUghān Khān (II) disappears from the coins. This is why I thought that ʿUghān Khān (II) fell in war in 418/1027-28 (Fedorov 1974, 174). Anyway, if Kochnev read the coins correctly it would mean that, having disappeared from all coins after 418, ʿUghān Khān (II) turned up after 12 years of obscurity as a ruler of Samarqand. But in the same AH 429 (Kochnev 1995, 260/836-838) Samarqand minted *fulūs* citing Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. ʿUghān, or Arslān İlek Yūsuf, or Yūsuf b. ‘Alī İlek. The latest coin of Yūsuf was minted in Samarqand in 430(?) Kochnev (1995, 261/850) was not quite sure of his reading of this date.

Būrī Tegīn İbrahīm, the son of İlek Naşr (conqueror of Bukhārā in 999), was a prisoner of Yūsuf. In 429 he slipped from Yūsuf’s hands and made his way to the Kumījī and Kenjīne nomads. They joined him and he raised an army of 3000 horsemen. With that army he captured Şaghāniyān in 430, because its ruler had died, having left no heir. Then he started a war against Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. Coins show that, in 431, Būrī Tegīn conquered Kesh and Samarqand and, in 433, Bukhārā (Fedorov 1980, 40-42). In 431 dirhams were minted in Kesh, Samarqand and Şaghāniyān (Kochnev 1995, 261/855) of the same type citing Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn. Then in the same years, 431 and 432 (Kochnev 1997, 248/862), dirhams were minted in Samarqand with the new, higher title for İbrahīm of “Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl Khān”. The coins also cite his vassal *Naşr* (written in Uigur). I believe he was İbrahīm’s son and the future Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Shams al-Mulk Naşr (460-Dhū-l-Qa’da of 472/1068-May1080).

In 433 (Kochnev 1997, 248/870) the coins of Samarqand cite ʿUghān Khān Boghrā Qarākhān İbrahīm b. Naşr. But some coins of Samarqand in 434-443 continued to cite Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl Khān (Kochnev 1997, 249/881). In AH 438 the dirhams of Samarqand cite either ‘Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm, or Walī Khalīfat Allāh Boghrā Khān (Kochnev 1997, 249/882, 883). Some dirhams of AH 444, 446, 447-450, Samarqand, cite Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl ‘Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm (Kochnev 1997, 250/887-888). In AH 452(?) to this titulage was added ‘Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn (Kochnev 1997, 250/892). In 453 a new title for İbrahīm appeared on coins of Samarqand: Malik al-Mashriq wa’l-Şin (Kochnev 1997, 250/896, 251/903). In 458 coins of Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 251/905-906) cite Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl Malik al-Mashriq wa’l-Şin ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm ‘Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn or ‘Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla ‘Izz al-Umma Kahf al-Muslimīn ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl. In 443 (Kochnev 1997, 249/886) one coin of Samarqand also cites Sahl as vassal of İbrahīm. Another vassal of İbrahīm,

Ja’far, is mentioned on coins of Samarqand struck in AH 44x and 45x (Kochnev 1997, 250/889).

Before his death, İbrahīm abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naşr. But another of his sons, Shu’ayth, rebelled against Naşr. The rival armies clashed near Samarqand. Shu’ayth was defeated and fled to Bukhārā. Naşr routed Shu’ayth there in 1068 AD (Bartold 1963, 377). The numismatic evidence complements what is in the chronicles. In 459-461, coins of Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 252/911, 253/928) cite Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm and his co-ruler, Naşr, as Shams al-Mulk or Sulṭān al-Şarq wa’l-Şin (on obverse). Such coins of AH 459-461 Samarqand have not survived. But there are AH 460 coins of Samarqand which cite on the obverse (like coins of AH 459-461 of Bukhārā) Shams al-Mulk or Sulṭān al-Şarq wa’l-Şin, or Shams al-Mulk Sulṭān al-Şarq wa’l-Şin (Kochnev 1997, 255/947-950). On their reverse are cited Malik al-‘Adil Shams al-Mulk Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa’l-Dīn Naşr, or Malik al-‘Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa’l-Dīn Naşr. So these coins were struck from an obsolete obverse die of AH 460 Samarqand type (citing Shams al-Mulk’s titulage, when he was co-ruler), and a new reverse die citing Shams al-Mulk’s new titulage, when he became the supreme ruler. The obsolete obverse die of AH 460, Samarqand, survived from the same type of coins which were struck in Bukhārā in 459-461 and mention Mu’ayyid al-‘Adl ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm (on the reverse) and his co-ruler, Shams al-Mulk or Sulṭān al-Şarq wa’l-Şin (on the obverse).

Some coins of AH 460-461, Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 255/951-52), cite ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm or Khān İbrahīm (on the obverse, i.e. on the side with the date) and Malik al-‘Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa’l-Dīn Naşr (reverse). Could it mean that the ailing ʿUghān Khān was not able to reign any more but was still alive and Shams al-Mulk “promoted” his own titles from the obverse (the “less honourable place”) to the reverse and ordered his father’s name to be put on the obverse where usually a vassal or subvassal was cited? Another possibility is that an obsolete obverse die of AH 460 survived from the type of coins which cited İbrahīm on both sides.

There are some enigmatic coins, which according to Kochnev (1997, 257/970-972) were minted in [Samarqand] in [460] and 461. Kochnev singled out these coins as having been minted by some unknown ʿUghān Khān ‘Alī, who cites, on the obverse, ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm or Khān İbrahīm. They seem to have been minted with an obverse die of the same type as the coins which cite Malik al-‘Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa’l-Dīn Naşr (Kochnev 1997, 255/951-952) on their reverse.

I learnt about the coins of this ʿUghān Khān ‘Alī, in 1983 (letter of Kochnev 24.8). About that time some rare Qarākhānid dirhams were found at the hillforts of Krasnaia Rechka (medieval Naviket) and Burana (medieval Balāsāghūn) which are situated about 35 and 60 km to the east of Bishkek, the capital of the Kyrgyz Republic. Those coins brought to light several unknown Eastern Qarākhānid appanage rulers of the Chu valley. One of those rulers, Jamāl al-Dīn Zain al-Daula wa Mu’in al-Milla ʿUghān (ʿUghān) Khān minted coins in Quz Ordū (another name for Balāsāghūn) in 450 and 45(1, 2 or 4). But when ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm conquered the Chu valley, coins in Quz Ordū were minted in 460 by the Qarākhānid, Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula (Fedorov 1982, 76-78) who cites ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm as suzerain. That was why I supposed that ʿUghān Khān ‘Alī, could have been the same ʿUghān (ʿUghān) Khān, who had coins struck in Balāsāghūn. This influential Eastern Qarākhānid could have been deported to the Western Qarākhānid khaqanat and given an appanage there (Fedorov 1999, 37-41).

But now it occurred to me that the ʿUghān Khān who minted coins in [Samarqand] in [460] and 461 could be Shu’ayth. Ibn al-Athīr mentioned this mutinous son of ʿUghān Khān İbrahīm as ʿUghān Khān (Bartold 1963, 377). At first sight, the name ‘Alī

contradicts this. But could this name have belonged to a vassal or governor of Toḡhān Khān?

Let us return to those enigmatic coins. Kochnev put the mintname [Samarqand] in brackets which means that the mintname did not survive and that he was prompted by some considerations known only to himself (he did not share them with his readers) to attribute those coin to Samarqand (1997, 257/970-972). If these coins were minted in Samarqand and if his reading of the titulage, Toḡhān Khān 'Alī, is correct, it could mean that the mutinous Toḡhān Khān (and his governor or vassal 'Alī?) possessed Samarqand for some time and minted coins there. Anyway the first battle between the rival brothers took place near Samarqand. Having been defeated, Toḡhān Khān fled to Bukhārā and hid behind its walls.

Some coins of AH 461, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 255/954), cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm (reverse) and Toḡhān Khān (obverse). They show that Toḡhān Khān possessed Bukhārā for some time and minted there. It appears that those coins were minted using mismatched dies, one of them, citing Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm, being obsolete. Or was it? According to the chronicles, Ibrahīm died in AH 460 (Bartold 1963a, 630), but there are several coins of AH 461 which cite Ibrahīm. It is difficult to accept that all of them were struck from obsolete dies.

In 462, 463, 466 (Kochnev 1997, 255/949) Samarqand coins cite Malik al-'Adil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naṣr (reverse) Shams al-Mulk Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Ṣīn (obverse). In 464 coins of Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 256/959) cite Malik al-'Adil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Abū-l-Ḥasan Naṣr (reverse) Malik Shams al-Mulk Sulṭān Arḍ al-Sharq (obverse). The latest Samarqand coin of Shams al-Mulk (Kochnev 1997, 256/962) was struck in 470/1077-78.

Shams al-Mulk died in Dhū-l-Qa'da 472 / 13.4-12.5 1080 (Bartold 1963a, 630). His brother, Khiḍr succeeded him to the throne. Coins of Khiḍr are scarce. Only two of his coins minted in Samarqand are known (Kochnev 1997, 257/974-975). One was minted in 47(6?), on the other the date did not survive. The titulage used is Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Ṭabghāch Khān Khiḍr or Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Khiḍr. Khiḍr was succeeded by his son, Aḥmad. The date of Khiḍr's death and Aḥmad's accession to throne are not known. Kochnev (1997, 257/977-978) mentions two coins of Aḥmad (without date and mintname). The titulage on them is Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Saif Khalifat Allāh Aḥmad and Sulṭān ... Ahmad. There is a coin of AH 479, Samarqand, which Kochnev (1997, 257/979) attributed to either Khiḍr or Aḥmad. The titulage on it is Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Sulṭān. I discovered and published the first coin of Khiḍr in 1978, the second coin in 1985 and four more in 1999 (Fedorov 1978, 173; 1985, 147; 1999, 13). Two other coins of Khiḍr were published by Kochnev (1997, 257/974-975). And on none of them did Khiḍr have the title Sulṭān. On the contrary, Aḥmad b. Khiḍr had the title Sulṭān on one of his coins. I believe it means that the AH 479 coins of Samarqand were minted by Aḥmad and that he became the Head of the Western Qarākhānids no later than 479/1086-87.

During Aḥmad's reign the conflict between the Qarākhānids and clergy exacerbated. The clergy appealed to the Saljūqid ruler, Malikshāh, accusing Aḥmad of tyranny. Malikshāh invaded Mawarānnahr in 481 (Ḥusaini) or 482 (Ibn al-Athīr), captured Samarqand, took Aḥmad prisoner, sent him into exile to Iṣfahān and left his governor in Samarqand. Then he proceeded to Uzgend and demanded that the Qarākhānid ruler of Kāshghar recognise him as suzerain. The latter obeyed his order. Then Malikshāh returned to Merv. In his absence, the nomad Chigils, who constituted part of the Qarākhānid army, mutinied against the Saljūqid governor. Malikshāh quelled the mutiny, captured Samarqand and again proceeded to Uzgend. Then he left some amīr in Samarqand and returned to Merv. Later, though, he

summoned Aḥmad b. Khiḍr and restored him as ruler of Samarqand. Conspirators killed Aḥmad on 18 Jumādā II 488/26 June 1095 (Ḥusaini 1980, 71; Bartold 1963, 379-380).

The coins of Samarqand of this time corroborate the data from the chronicles. There are silver-gilt dinars minted in AH 482-483 in Samarqand by Malikshāh (Fedorov, Ilisch 1996, 30-33). They were minted by a mobile mint which accompanied Malikshāh and produced coins to pay the army. The style of those coins is purely Saljūqid, resembling the coins of Iṣfahān. Both coins show traces of gilt. There were two methods for gilding coins: either by using an amalgam of gold and mercury or by blanching. But blanching worked only with silvery flans with low gold content being put in acid. The acid dissolved the silver and left gold on the surface.

But in 483 in Samarqand (Fedorov, Ilisch 1996, 30-3) other gilt dinars were struck differing in style, calligraphy and minting techniques: their silver nucleus was covered with two thin layers of gold overlapping each other on the edge. Such flans were heated in a forge until the overlapping layers melted together. These coins were minted by a Qarākhānid ruler who cited Malikshāh as his suzerain. Kochnev (1997, 257-258/980-981) was sure that these coins were minted by Muḥammad, the son of Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Kochnev (1993, 409-410) wrote that Muḥammad was an ephemeral ruler, cited only on coins of AH 482 and that already on a Samarqand dinar of AH 483 only Malikshāh had figured. Kochnev is juggling with the facts here. There is no dinar of 482 citing Muḥammad. The coin of AH 482, Samarqand, cites Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Arslān Khān (reverse) and Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Malikshāh (obverse). There is no name of Muḥammad on the coin (Kochnev 1997, 257/980). Those who do not know Kochnev and his methods, will have the impression that the coin of AH 482 Samarqand indeed cite Muḥammad. But in fact Muḥammad (provided Kochnev read the name correctly) is mentioned on another coin of Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 258/981) the date of which has not survived: Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Qilych Arslān Khān Muḥammad. Moreover, the Qarākhānid ruler ('Imād?) al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla ...h.m.d Khān minted coins in Samarqand in 483 on which he cites Malikshāh as suzerain (Fedorov, Ilisch 1996, 31).

So, contrary to Kochnev's affirmation, coins in Samarqand in AH 483 were minted not only by Malikshāh. Some Qarākhānid ruler also minted coins in Samarqand in AH 483. It is noteworthy that Aḥmad b. Khiḍr (Kochnev 1997, 257/977) had the same laqabs Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula as the ruler cited on a coin of 482, Samarqand, which Kochnev (1997, 257/980) attributed to Muhammad, notwithstanding the fact that no name of Muhammad was there. So the question is moot. Let us hope that new finds of AH 482-483 coins of Samarqand will clarify it.

Having killed Aḥmad in 488/1095, conspirators enthroned his cousin, Mas'ūd (Bartold 1963, 381). His reign was short. In 490/1097 the Saljūqid ruler, Barkiārūq, invaded Mawarānnahr, took Samarqand and put the Qarākhānid, Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd on the throne. But later, Barkiārūq enthroned another Qarākhānid, Maḥmūd (Ḥusaini 1980, 80; Bartold 1963, 381). The latest coins of the eleventh century AD from Samarqand were minted by this ruler (Kochnev 1997, 258/983-984). He is cited as Maḥmūd Khān or Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayid al-Malik al-Muzaffar Maḥmūd. No vassal or suzerain of his is cited on those fulūs.

Such, then, is the history of Samarqand in the eleventh century AD according to the information provided by Qarākhānid coins.

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Table 1. Samarqand 388-426/998-1035. D - dirham. F - fals. W - Western Qarākhānid. E - Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
388	D	W. Nāšir al-Ḥaqq Qarākhāqān	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghā Tegīn	
390	F		W. Našr b. 'Alī	
391	D	W. Nāšir al-Ḥaqq Khān (b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Našr	
394	D	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Našr	Mīrek
395-398	D	The same	The same	
400	F	W. Īlek Našr b. 'Alī		
400	F	The same	Aḥmad 'Alī	
400	F	The same	Aḥmad	
400	F	The same	'Alī	
400	F	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Abū-l Ḥasan Našr	Aḥmad	
400-401	F	W. Našr b. 'Alī	The same	
401	F	The same		
401	F	The same	W. Ṭonghā Tegīn	
401	F	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Abū-l Ḥasan Našr b. 'Alī		
401	F	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Abū-l Ḥasan Našr		
401	D	W. Nāšir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Našr	W. Ṭonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan
402	F	W. Īlek Našr	W. Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn	
402	F	W. Našr	W. Nizām al-Daula Muḥammad	'Abd al-Raḥman
403	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Shams al-Daula (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Ṭonghā Tegīn
403	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn	
403-404	F	The same	W. The same and Abū-l Muzaffar	
403-404	F	W. Khāqān or Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	The same	
404	F	W. Nizām al-Daula Abū-l Muzaffar Ṭonghā Tegīn		
404	D	W. ... Khāqān ... (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. ... Tegīn	
404	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Nizām al-Daula Abū-l Muzaffar	
406	F	W. Īlek Abī Maṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī		
406-407	D	W. Khān	W. Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
407-408	F	W. Khān or Khāqān	W. Amīr Muḥammad b. 'Alī	Sinān al-Daula
408	D	W. Nāšir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
409	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
409-410	F	W. Khān Maṣūr b. 'Alī	The same	
410	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. al-Maṣūr (i.e. "Victorious", not name) Īlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
410	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek Muḥammad (b. 'Alī)	
412	F	W. Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Nizām al-Daula Ināl Tegīn	
414	F	W. Bahā al-Daula... Arslān Īlek (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
415	D	W. Ṭonghā Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Pādshāh Īlek Abū (or Ibn?) al-Ḥasan (Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	
415	F	W. Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Īlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	

419	F	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq va al-Şīn (Qadir Khān I Yūsuf b. Hārūn Boghrā Khān)	W? E? Arslān Tegīn	
419, 421	F	W. Arslān İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
420	F	W. Pādshāh İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
420-421	F	W. Malik Arslān İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
423	F	W. Tarkān İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
423	F	W. Malik İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
424	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān or Khāqān ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
425	F	W. Ṭafghāch/Ṭabghāch Khān ('Alī b. Ḥasan)		
425-426	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula va Naşr al-Milla Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān or Khāqān ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)		
426	F	W. Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān	Sahl	

Table 2. Samarqand 427-490/1035-1097. Dn - dīnār. D - dirham. F - fals. W - Western Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
427	F	W. Arslān İlek (Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	
428	F	W. Arslān Pādshāh Yūsuf b. 'Alī (b. al-Ḥasan)	
428	D	W. Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī (b. al-Ḥasan)	
429-430 (?)	D	W. Ṭonghā Khān Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan (?)	
429	F	W. Arslān İlek Yūsuf or Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. Ṭafghāch (sic!)	Yūsuf
429	F	W. İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī	
429	F	W. Ṭonghā Khān	?
430?	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī	
431	D	W. Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn (Ibrahīm b. Naşr b. 'Alī)	
431-432	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Khān (Ibrahīm b. Naşr b. 'Alī)	W. Naşr (b. Ibrahīm)
433	D	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm b. Naşr	
435-441,3,5	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naşr b. 'Alī)	
438	D	W. Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
438	D	W. Walī Khalīfat Allāh Boghrā Khān (Ibrahīm b. Naşr b. 'Alī)	
443	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naşr b. 'Alī)	Sahl
444,6,8 44(7?9?),450	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
44x, 45x	D	The same	Ja'far
452? 458,9?	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh 'Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
454,6	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Malik al-Mashriq wa al-Şīn Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
xx4	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula	
458	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Malik al-Mashriq va al-Şīn 'Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
460	D	W. Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	W. Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq va al-Dīn Naşr
460,1	D	W. Khān Ibrahīm	The same
(460)	D	W. Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	W. Ṭonghā Khān 'Alī
461	D	W. Khān Ibrahīm	The same
?	D	W. Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	W. Fakhr(?) al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Ṭonghā Khān 'Alī
460,2,3,6	D	W. Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wall Dīn Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Şīn Shams al-Mulk Naşr (b. Ibrahīm b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)	
464	D	W. Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Sulṭān Arḍ al-Sharq Shams al-Mulk Abī al-Ḥasan Naşr (b. Ibrahīm)	
470	D	W. Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naşr	
476?	D	W. Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Ṭafghāch Khān Khiḍr	
?	D	W. Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Khiḍr	
482	Dn	Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Malikshāh (Saljūqid)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Arslān Khān
?	Dn	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Qilych Arslān

			Khān Muḥammad
482	Dn	Sultān al-Mu'azzam Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Fath Malikshāh (Saljūqid)	
483	Dn	The same	
483	Dn	Sultān al-Mu'azzam Malikshāh (Saljūqid)	W. ('Imād al-Daula) wa Tāj al-Milla (Mu)hammad Khān
490	F	W. Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayid al-Muzaffar(?) Maḥmūd	
490?	F	W. Maḥmūd Khān	

Demetrios II of Bactria and Hoards from Ai Khanoum

By L.M. Wilson

The correct placing of Demetrios II (Athena reverse Attic coinage) in the king sequence of Bactria is important in unravelling the complex events around the middle of the second century BC. Some coin evidence has been discussed previously¹, including the diadem ties, monograms and style. This suggested the best placing of Demetrios II was in the later part of the reign of Eukratides I, possibly as a contemporary of Eukratides II and Heliokles I. It also suggested that Demetrios II was a rather minor king, while the king named 'Demetrios' at the beginning of the usurpation of Eukratides I was probably Demetrios I.

Further evidence from the epithets on some of the coin series of this period has also been used², helping to place Demetrios II before Eukratides II or contemporary with the early coinage of Eukratides II (without epithet) and probably before the death of Eukratides I. Since all the kings after Eukratides I appear to take epithets, a satisfactory arrangement can be made around this time using the adoption or absence of epithets, but the use of epithets by joint 'sub' kings may be more complex during the reign of Eukratides I. A 'timeline' based on adoption of epithets has been used by Senior³ to order the kings of this period.

One possible objection to placing Demetrios I at the beginning and Demetrios II after the beginning of the reign of Eukratides I could be the passage in Justin (book 41; 6, 1-6) referring to the war between Demetrios the king of the Indians and Eukratides. However, it is well known that Justin (writing in about the 2nd century AD, much later than the events described) is a confused, compressed and difficult source and is only summarising Trogus (c. later 1st century BC) for his own purposes. The main difficulties include: 1] huge omissions 2] transpositions 3] period synchronisms 4] huge omissions 2] moralising (probably for the purpose of oratory) and 6] no distinction between kings of the same name. Demetrios II has been identified⁴ with the Demetrios 'king of the Indians' (who besieged Eukratides) mentioned by Justin and has been placed at the beginning of the usurpation of Eukratides I, despite being mentioned *after* Eukratides had conducted many wars, implying he should be much later. The passage can thus be interpreted equally easily by placing Demetrios I at the beginning of the reign of Eukratides I, making him Demetrios king of the Indians.

The relevant passage can be summarised as follows and begins by stating that Eukratides came to the throne at about the same time (a) as Mithradates in Parthia and that the Bactrians finally succumbed (b) to the Parthians, practically worn out and exhausted (c) after many wars against their neighbours. Eukratides conducted many wars with vigour, but weakened by these (d), he was besieged by Demetrios (e) the king of the Indians. Delivered from the siege he then conquered India (f) and during the return journey (g) from India he was killed by his son, whom he had made a partner on the throne. The whole passage consists of only nine sentences, about 17 lines of text.

Without attempting a full discussion, which would take too much space and speculation, it may be worth pointing out some details. Eukratides I may or may not have come to the throne at 'about' the time (a) of Mithradates I because of the artificial synchronisms favoured by Justin and other ancient writers and it

is not known how precise his phrase (*eodem ferme tempore*) is meant to be. Justin jumps forward in time at (b) to the end of the Bactrian kingdom, but then immediately jumps back to the reign of Eukratides. Eukratides was weakened by many wars (d), which seems to be an echo of the weakened state of Bactria (c), possibly a little poetic licence. Eukratides was besieged by Demetrios, called the king of the Indians, implying that Demetrios was (already) the king of some Indian territory. Although this passage (e) is placed after Eukratides' many wars, it may possibly belong before these wars at the beginning of his reign. It is not certain that Justin has not jumped in time again and the identity of this Demetrios is also not certain (Demetrios I or II). If there was a conflict with a Demetrios in the later part of the reign of Eukratides, it may not have been with Demetrios the 'king of the Indians'. He then conquered India (f), the implication being that he conquered India from Demetrios, but the evidence seems to show that other kings were actually ruling in the Indian territories at this time. Finally, Eukratides was killed while returning from this campaign (g), but the death of Eukratides was long after he took over Indian territory, not on his return from this same campaign, and probably long after the war with Demetrios. There is obviously a great deal of compression and omission here.

What does the passage tell us then? While the actual events described may be real, there is considerable confusion, mainly because Justin introduces artificial links to allow for the compression and omissions, so the events are not necessarily in the correct order. An alternative interpretation could go as follows; Eukratides fought a war against Demetrios I, and then many wars against the neighbours of Bactria. He conquered Indian territory and later, while returning from campaign, he was killed by his son. Bactria itself then succumbed. This order of events would seem to fit the numismatic evidence better.

The very recent discovery⁵ of the dating of the 'Greek Era' starting in 186/5 BC, has opened up the interpretation of the Ai Khanoum treasury inscription giving 'the 24th year' of some king or of some era. Although there are possible linguistic difficulties⁶, Senior has pointed out³ this could be dated in the 'Greek Era' rather than the 24th year of Eukratides (the inscription is incomplete and a king is not actually named). If true, the date could be 162/1 BC. Thus it is likely that Ai Khanoum fell soon after this date, say c.160 BC rather than the previously accepted 145 BC^{6,4}. However, even if the inscription does refer to Eukratides, there is still considerable uncertainty in the dates, depending on when Eukratides I actually began to reign and how long after the inscription Ai Khanoum actually fell. The dating could then be from c.150 to 140 or later. If the date is c.160 rather than 150 or 145, then we can consider some implications, although, if in fact it turns out to be a different date, the timeline will simply be shifted again to the new date. There are of course implications for the advance of the Scythians or Yueh-Chi, who may have taken the whole of the northern bank of the Oxus (Sogdiana) and the Ai Khanoum plain on the southern bank by 160. If this is true then Eukratides I lost ground to the nomads during his lifetime, rather than the nomads taking advantage of his death. The nomads could of course have been taking advantage of the absence of Eukratides I while he was involved in his Indian campaigns (possibly in this period 162/0). Mithradates I of Parthia could also have taken the two Bactrian provinces (Tapuria and

Traxiana) from Eukratides at this time. There may be a link here to the usurper Timarchos; perhaps he formed an alliance with Eukratides I as well as sharing his coin type. After Mithradates defeated Timarchos in Media he could have turned his attention east to Bactria; most of his coinage has the ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ epithet and he even has the Dioskouroi reverse on some coins, which could have been copied from Timarchos or from Eukratides. As suggested by Tarn, this could indeed have happened around 160/159 BC, and during the lifetime of Eukratides I, as stated in Strabo. If Ai Khanoum fell in c.160 Tarn's idea seems more likely. Alternatively, it could of course have been about 10 to 15 years later in about 150 BC, possibly still before the death of Eukratides (as Strabo), with Mithradates attacking years after he had dealt with Timarchos and the nomads also attacking c.150 or some years later at about the time of the death of Eukratides³. This may fit better with the dated Herakles reverse tetradrachms of Mithradates, as pointed out by Senior.

The re-dating of the fall of Ai Khanoum to c.160 ties in to the hoard and stray find evidence from Ai Khanoum. So far not a single coin of Demetrios II has been found in any of the hoards or stray finds. While the stray finds were mostly bronze, with 224 legible coins out of 274, the latest kings represented were Demetrios I (6 coins), Euthydemos II (5 coins), Agathokles (3 coins), Antimachos I (2 bronze coins, 1 silver), Apollodotos I (1 bronze, 1 silver), Eukratides I (11 bronze, 1 silver). One bronze coin assigned (7) to Demetrios II must in fact belong to Demetrios I, because Demetrios II minted no known bronze coinage and also the mint-mark is found on Demetrios I, not on Demetrios II.

The first Ai Khanoum hoard, Ai Khanoum I, found in 1970, contained mainly Indian punchmarked coins and also 6 bilingual coins of Agathokles⁷.

The second hoard, Ai Khanoum II, found in 1973, contained 63 silver Greek and Bactrian tetradrachm coins⁷. The last kings represented were Demetrios I (3 coins), Euthydemos II (1 coin), Agathokles (3 coins, one with ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ epithet), Antimachos I (2 coins), Apollodotos I (1 coin) and Eukratides I (1 coin). This last coin of Eukratides is one of the helmeted bust with *megalos* epithet type tetradrachms.

The third hoard, Ai Khanoum III, was found in 1973/4, and contained about 141 silver coins, mainly tetradrachms⁸. More than half of these were of Euthydemos I (81 coins), with 8 Demetrios I, 3 Euthydemos II, 2 Antimachos I, 11 Agathokles and about 9 Eukratides I. One of the tetradrachm coins attributed to Eukratides I in this hoard is in fact an early coin of Eukratides II, with the standing Apollo reverse without the ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ epithet. However, it cannot be known with certainty that this coin was in the original hoard since the hoard was contaminated before it could be properly studied. Several of the Agathokles coins were commemorative types with the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ epithet.

A more recent hoard, Ai Khanoum IV, was found about 20 years after the others and contained well over 1000 silver coins⁹. The last coins in this hoard were of the same kings as above and again end at the new (helmet) type of Eukratides I and again there were no coins of Demetrios II or even of Eukratides II (at least so far as has been reported). Interestingly, there were a few tetradrachm coins of a new intermediate type of Eukratides I, between BN series 1 and 6, with a linear ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ inscription in 2 horizontal lines.

The implication of these hoards and stray finds from Ai Khanoum is that Demetrios II did not appear until after the fall of the city (in c.150 or perhaps 160). Although such a deduction based on an absence of coins is always dangerous, the evidence does seem to be mounting and it is unlikely that Demetrios II can be dated before 150 (or 145 in the standard dating). Particularly since the Ai Khanoum IV hoard is so large and still contains no Demetrios II coins, it seems unlikely that coins of Demetrios II will be found at Ai Khanoum. This provides us with another timeline, fixed at about 150 BC (or possibly 160), with the kings whose coins are found at Ai Khanoum coming before 150 (or

possibly 160) and those such as Demetrios II, Eukratides II (probably), Plato and Heliokles I coming after 150. It appears that the joint kings, Demetrios II and Eukratides II, did not take epithets at the same time as the other kings such as Agathokles, Antimachos and Eukratides I who already have epithets on their coins from Ai Khanoum and that the dating of Demetrios II could thus be set in the period 150 to 145/140 BC^{1,2,3}. The coins of Demetrios II seem to fit into the period of BN series 6 nos. 35 to 40 of Eukratides I, simply from a comparison of the coins and monograms, assuming Demetrios II was a joint or sub-king. However, his reign appears to have been quite short and so would only have lasted for a few years in this broad period. The end date for this period is taken as the death of Eukratides I, since this could be the latest date when Eukratides II adopted his epithet² and Demetrios II probably preceded this date (since he did not take an epithet). This is supported by the fact that the arrangement of the inscription on coin series BN 2, 3 and 4 of Plato is the same arrangement as on the later coins of Eukratides II with the epithet, and Plato is generally taken to date from c.145 or 139/8³. Eukratides II would also seem to date from about 150, but of course if the coin of Eukratides II from the Ai Khanoum III hoard is a genuine coin then Eukratides II must date from just before 150, as this would be the only coin of Eukratides II found so far.

A closer dating of the fall of Ai Khanoum would give a better dating of the change in the coinage of Eukratides I from the pre-ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ to the helmeted types with ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ epithet. Since coins with this epithet were found, the change must have occurred before c.150 BC (or perhaps 160). The relatively low numbers of coins of Eukratides I (compared to Euthydemos I for example) may indicate that the city fell nearer to the time of this change to the ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ coinage type, rather than nearer to the end of the reign of Eukratides I, although there could of course be other factors involved. This change in type has been set to before 162 BC (due to Timarchos copying the type in 162 BC) and seems possible given the later fall of Ai Khanoum in c.150. Even if 160 BC were taken, the two dates still seem to fit together quite well.

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Malayaman coins with Brahmi legend - fact or fiction? by Wilfried Pieper

A series of square copper coins characterized by the depiction of a horse with additional symbols as obverse design and a three hills with river reverse design has been attributed to the Malayaman firstly in 1987¹ by R.Krishnamurthy. The Malayaman ruled parts of south-east India in the early centuries of the Christian Era and they find mention in Sangam Age literature. According to this literary evidence they were involved in conflicts between Chola and Chera rulers with changing alliances, the Malayaman in some instances supporting the Cholas, in others the Cheras². Their kingdom stretched north and south of the river Ponnaiyar.

The peculiar reverse design of their coins has been identified as a map illustrating the location of their capital Tirucoilur (west of Pondicherry) on the river Ponnaiyar³. Among the coins of this dynasty a few have been published which have been described as bearing the legend 'Malayaman' in Tamil-Brahmi script. Krishnamurthy was the first to have published such specimens in 1987⁴, somewhat later in 1990⁵ and recently in 1997⁶. In his beautifully illustrated catalogue of 1997 he published four such specimens commenting on his reading as follows: "...not a single paper contradicting my reading has appeared in any scholarly journal so far. I still hold the view that my reading of the legend is nearly correct and furnish the details of these two coins below." These two coins, on which Krishnamurthy reads the legend 'Malayaman' are coins 218 and 219 in his catalogue. They are followed by two other coins, numbers 220 and 221, on which Krishnamurthy reads the legend 'Malaiyan'⁷. Mitchiner supports Krishnamurthy's reading 'Malayaman' in his catalogue about South Indian coins from 1998⁸.

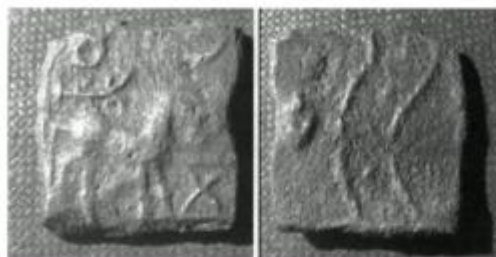
If one looks at the specimens in question the aforementioned reading appears to be far from clear. It even seems to be uncertain whether we are really faced with a legend at all. Assuming the devices around the horse were in fact Brahmi letters forming the word 'Malayaman', their arrangement would in any case be most unusual: above the horse on top the first two letters upright from left to right, below them the third letter lying on its side, the fourth letter upside-down in front of the horse and the fifth letter upright behind the horse. Apart from their peculiar and illogical arrangement the shape of the single 'letters' raises another problem. It cannot be explained why the letter 'MA' should be written in two completely different ways in one and the same word: the body of the first 'MA' is roundish whereas that of the second 'MA' has a strictly triangular shape. Without going into each disputable detail of the purported legend, the 'YA' certainly deserves special attention. At first sight one would never identify this particular device as a Brahmi 'YA'. Only by regarding it as lying on its side, does this device bear at least some resemblance to a 'YA'. But even then this reading remains very questionable. The asymmetrical base from which arises a disproportionately elongated vertical stroke is not what one would expect of a 'YA'. The same applies to the two pairs of short horizontal bars which cross the vertical stroke in its medial and upper part. The doubts and the difficulties posed by this device find their expression also in the different interpretations by Krishnamurthy, who sees it as a 'YA' lying on its left side, in contrast to Mitchiner, who draws it as a 'YA' lying on its right side. To add to the problems the 'legend' differs on different specimens, thus forcing Krishnamurthy to read 'Malayaman' on some specimens and 'Malaiyan' on others⁹.

Doubts are also strengthened when looking for related coin types within the same series on which devices can be found which have been regarded as Brahmi letters on the coin type under discussion. Krishnamurthy's coin type 242 shows a horse to left with different symbolic devices in front of the horse and above, described as pillar, ankusa and sun symbol. The device above the horse is described as an ankusa but it is exactly the same device which on the coin type with 'legend' had been described as a Brahmi letter 'YA'. Even the position of this device, above the horse's back and parallel to it is identical on both types. A comparable observation can be made when looking at Krishnamurthy's coin type 235. On this specimen the crescent-like symbol, identified as a Brahmi 'LA' on the coin type with 'legend', is described as 'a semi-circle resembling moon'.

In this context it may also be helpful to take a look at the symbolic devices used on other Sangam age Tamil coins, especially coins of the Pandyas and Cheras which were issued more or less at the same time as the Malayaman coins. Krishnamurthy's catalogue 'Sangam Age Tamil Coins' with its rich collection of well-preserved and sharply illustrated specimens can certainly serve as the best source of material. Arrangements of celestial symbols, auspicious devices and symbols of royalty seem

to have played an important role in the symbolic repertoire of these Tamil dynasties. Round, circular objects and moon-like crescents appear on certain coin types of Cheras, Pandyas and Malayaman. Taurine symbols can likewise be found on coins of all three dynasties - provided one regards this device as a taurine and not as a round-shaped Brahmi 'MA'. The ankusa was an important device not only on coins of the Malayaman but of the Cheras as well. Apart from its resemblance to an ankusa, the purported 'YA' above the Malayaman horse reminds one also of a very similar device above an elephant on certain Chera coins where it has been described as a plough (Krishnamurthy's coins 95-99). And if we finally look for something comparable with the device like an inverted square 'MA' which is depicted on the Malayaman coin type under discussion, we find a similar symbol on some Pandyan and Chera types described by Krishnamurthy as a 'dumb-bell' or 'drum' (Krishnamurthy's coins 52-54 and 122).

Having said all this let me now present three Malayaman coins which I recently added to my collection. They provide welcome new evidence shedding fresh light on this problematic coin type.



1. Square Malayaman copper coin; 18x18mm; 4.6g; Krishnamurthy's type 218

Obv.: Horse standing to right. Plough-like symbol on left above the horse, taurine above the plough, crescent on right above the horse's head and a symbol looking like an inverted Brahmi 'MA' in front of the horse.

Rev.: River symbol with oval shaped device on left.

The sharp contrast in the depiction of the round taurine symbol on top and the triangular-shaped device in front of the horse is very clear on this coin. It seems most improbable that both devices were intended to represent the same Brahmi letter 'MA'. As for the device in front of the horse it might also be that it was engraved as a symbol like a 'dumb-bell'. It looks as if the bottom edge of the coin is a bit raised just where the symbol touches the edge. In this case the lower part of the symbol would be closed by a horizontal line making it a 'dumb-bell' symbol, but one cannot be sure about this.

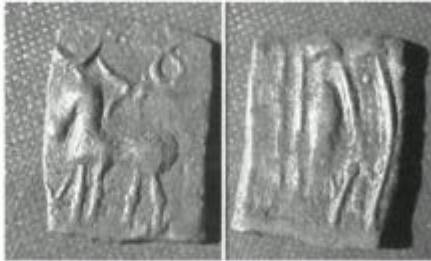


2. Square Malayaman copper coin; 20x20mm; 4.0g; Krishnamurthy's type 220

Obv.: Horse standing to right. Plough symbol on left above the horse, crescent on right above the horse's head. Vessel-like symbol (bowl? jug?) in front of the horse. (The thick round dot just below the horse's mouth is probably caused by a thick spot of encrustation).

Rev.: Three triangular hill symbols on top from which flows a river. Roundish device left of the river.

According to the drawing of his specimen, Krishnamurthy identifies the Brahmi letter 'MA' at the left top part of his coin. The photo in his catalogue, however, seems rather to show some irregularly scattered deposits of encrustation at that area. My specimen is free from encrustation or corrosion in the area in question and it clearly shows that there is no further device at all above the plough symbol. If a further device was engraved, at least its lower part should be visible on my specimen because there is enough free space between the plough symbol and the top edge of the coin. This is important because, on those specimens where there is a taurine or 'MA'-like symbol above the plough, it is placed immediately above the lower device. The device in front of the horse, very different from that on the other specimens with a purported legend, poses another problem. It has already been mentioned above that this variety obliged Krishnamurthy to postulate the existence of two different legends on the coins in question, reading the 'legend variety' on this type as 'Malaiyan'. Apart from the disputable identification of the device in front of the horse as a Brahmi 'N' I cannot see any diacritical mark which could turn the crescent into a Brahmi 'LAI'. In conclusion I think Krishnamurthy's identification of this type has to be revised. Instead of being an inscribed Malayaman coin it rather seems to be an anepigraphic coin with three symbolic devices around the horse.



3. Square Malayaman copper coin; 21x19mm; 3.4g; unpublished type.

Obv.: Horse standing to left. Plough-like symbol above the horse's back, taurine on top right above the plough, crescent on top left above the horse's head. Triangular symbol with horizontal bottom line in front of the horse.

Rev.: Triangular hill symbols on top from which flows a river symbol. Oval device on left with two parallel lines left of the oval device.

This coin is a new type confirming all doubts about the purported Brahmi legends. The device in front of the horse is once more different and cannot be interpreted as a Brahmi 'MA'. A device in front of the Malayaman horse appears on most specimens of the series and it can be found depicted in very different ways. The meaning of this device is unknown but in most cases it seems to be an artificial, man-made object. Maybe it is just a kind of trough where the horse finds food and water. Then it could well be possible that the respective devices on the above described coins, the bowl and the triangular symbols, were intended as simplified versions of the horse's trough which appears in more elaborate forms on other specimens of the series.

This new type (coin 3) deserves special attention also because of the placing of the devices around the horse. If we really had a Brahmi word on this coin one would expect its single letters to be placed in the same way as on the comparable specimens with the horse to right. This however is not the case. The purported letters change sides according to the changing position of the horse. No problem at all for symbolic devices but for Brahmi letters this would result in an illogical and unacceptable legend that would have to be read from right to left.

In conclusion, the evidence provided by the Malayaman coin types discussed here is against the existence of such Brahmi legends as 'Malayaman' and 'Malaiyan' on these coins. On the contrary, I consider there to be good reason to regard the purported Brahmi letters as symbolic devices.

Notes:

1. Krishnamurthy, R., "Sangam period 'Malayaman' coins", *JNSI* 1987, pp.41-43
2. Krishnamurthy, R., *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, 1997, p.131
3. Mitchiner, M., *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, pt.2, 1998, p.93
4. Krishnamurthy, R., "Sangam period 'Malayaman' coin", *JNSI* 1987
5. Krishnamurthy, R., *Sangakala Malayalam Nanayangal (Tamil)*, Madras 1990
6. Krishnamurthy, R., *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, 1997, pp.133-134
7. Coin 220 is identical with specimen coin 8/plate III in Krishnamurthy's article in *JNSI* 1987 and coin 221 is identical with coin 9/plate III in that article.
8. Mitchiner, M., *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, pt.2, 1998, p.94, coin 204
9. Krishnamurthy, R., *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, 1997, p.134, coins 220 and 221

History and Coinage of the Angreys, Admirals of the Maratha Navy

By Shailendra Bhandare

In the annals of late medieval Indian history, the Angreys have been an enigma. The family and their exploits are well-known to students of Maratha history, wherein they are treated as national heroes – the Angreys were accomplished naval commanders, and the navy was a military genre often regarded as a preserve of western colonial powers. Colonial historiography has, however, treated the family with contempt, labelling them as 'pirates'. The Angreys were 'pirates' much in the same sense of the word that Sir Francis Drake was a 'pirate'. But in their case the romantic, swashbuckling airs of chivalry associated with Sir Francis when he raided Spanish ships for his queen seem to have been substituted with accusations of treachery, plunder and depredation.

The dubious treatment that colonial historians have meted out to the Angreys have not stopped at these accusations; they doubted the very origins of the family as well. The basis of this story is not known, but almost all British historians of the 18th and 19th centuries mention that the Angreys were of a foreign origin, variously labelled as African or Persian Gulf (Arab), and were Muslims. A forefather is said to have 'converted' to Hinduism and married into Maratha families of repute in the 15th century to launch the lineage. The same misinformation is reproduced in Ken Wiggins and K. K. Maheshwari's seminal monograph on Maratha coinage (*Maratha Mints and Coinage*, Nasik, 1989, p. 41). This would seem to be a deliberate attempt to downgrade the Angreys' roots. It would be no surprise if it were restricted to contemporary writings but it is indeed anguishing to see that the record has not been set straight even at present – most web-based sources consulted for this paper continue to voice both the 'piracy' and non-Indian origin theories. As for the former, the justification given is that the Angreys never had 'official sanction' for their actions and it was their belligerence towards 'overlords' that ultimately caused their downfall.

The Angreys were in fact high-caste Marathas, belonging to the fabled Lunar Lineage. Their family belongs to the '96-ers', which is a group of 96 *Kshatriya* families, claiming descent from Rajput ruling houses of repute. Many of the surnames in this group are indeed Marathi variations on medieval dynastic names, like 'Kadams' for the Kadambas, or 'Jadhavs' for the 'Yadavas'. In English the name is often spelled 'Angria' which is an anglicised version of the Marathi 'Āṅgrīy'. But I have chosen to resort to 'Angrey' firstly because it eliminates the unnecessary Anglicisation, secondly because it is how the descendants of the Angreys themselves spell their name and thirdly because a notable

writer like John Keay has already adopted it in his history of the East India Company. It is actually a secondary surname derived from *Āngar*, or 'cultivation'. The original or primary surname of the family was 'Sankhpāl', which derives its name from the Sanskrit '*Shankhapārya*', a court title from the Imperial Rashtrakuta rulers of the Deccan (8th-10th c. AD) that means 'Bearer of the Royal Conch'. The Angrey family hailed from Angarwadi, a village near Pune situated on the Deccan plateau, but the family's career centred around Konkan, the coastal strip adjoining the Deccan on the West, roughly located between Bombay to the North and Goa in the South.

The career of the Angreys began almost simultaneously with Maratha resurgence in the Deccan. Shivaji, the progenitor of Maratha activity, captured Kalyan and a few other ports in North Konkan by 1650. A ruler of foresight, he encouraged local shipbuilders to mastermind the formation of a Maratha navy. The navy would serve as a check against the Portuguese and the Sidis of Janjira who were, till then, the supreme masters of the sea in these regions. Shivaji appointed Tukoji Angrey, who had earlier served with his father, in charge of a small naval fleet with the title of *Sarkhel*, which loosely translates as Admiral. Like most contemporary Maratha titles, this came associated with a feudal tenure with 'nested' rights and privileges and was deemed hereditary. Later, in the 1670s, Shivaji gave special attention to sea-forts along the coast. He strengthened his maritime position by fortifying many of those in existence and also building a few massive new ones. The apogee of Shivaji's career came in 1674, when he crowned himself with the title of 'Chhatrapati' and became the supreme Maratha leader. During this period that the Angreys seem to have settled in Konkan, their den was in all probability the sea-fortress of Suvarnadurg ('Fortress of Gold') at Harnai, about 100 miles to the south of Bombay. Shivaji fortified two other forts, namely Colaba ('Surrounded by Water') and Vijayadurg ('Fortress of Victory'), located off Alibag and Gheria to the north and south of Harnai respectively. These forts later came into prominence as Angrey strongholds. Alibag is located just 20 miles off Bombay Island. It is to be noted that the British established themselves at Bombay in this very period and the sheer geographical proximity of these two maritime powers resulted in enmity and rivalry for years to come.

The most famous member of the Angrey family was Kanhoji, the son of Tukoji. His date of birth is obscure but he seems to have flourished in Konkan around the 1670s. Myth has it that a cobra shielded the young Kanhoji's head from the sun by distending its hood, while he slept under a tree. Local Brahmin savants interpreted this peculiar phenomenon to predict royalty for him. It is not certain when he inherited his father's title, but events following Shivaji's demise in 1680 were partly responsible for his ascendancy. After 1680, the Maratha kingdom went through a 25-year period of turbulence precipitated by a large-scale military action by Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor. He managed to kill Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the son and successor of Shivaji in 1689 and in the same year, captured Sambhaji's son, Shahu, the legitimate heir to the Maratha throne. Sambhaji's brother (Shahu's uncle), Rajaram, fled the Maratha country to Jinji in Tamilnadu. There he was crowned 'Chhatrapati', and carried on the war in his name. During this period, several barons of the Maratha court assumed significant vestiges of authority and kingship. But they remained as a loosely bound group of ruling elite owing allegiance to the Chhatrapati. Accordingly in 1697, Kanhoji Angrey declared himself the master of Konkan and initiated revenue collection. Rajaram breathed his last in 1700 but his widow Tarabai carried on the struggle with the Mughals in the name of her infant son, Sambhaji II. In 1707, Aurangzeb's successor, Shah Alam Bahadur, decided to free Shahu from captivity, just so that the latter should enter into a succession dispute with Tarabai, who was pushing claims for her infant son to become the Chhatrapati. Shah Alam's aim was fulfilled as Shahu clashed with Tarabai, both factions now trying to win important barons to their side so as to prove their individual

claims to legitimacy. Kanhoji Angrey initially allied himself with Tarabai, who confirmed his naval tenure as *Sarkhel* and entrusted him to the governance of Konkan. But Balaji Vishwanath, Shahu's astute prime minister, managed to persuade Kanhoji to join Shahu's side. A treaty effected between Shahu and Kanhoji in 1713 re-confirmed the tenure of *Sarkhel* to the latter, made him the master of the sea by assuring his control over ten prominent sea-forts dotted all along the coast, and also gave him a considerable control over trade between the Deccan and Konkan by rewarding him with control of some hill-forts guarding arterial passes that traversed the Western Ghats. In return, Kanhoji Angrey agreed to support Shahu's claim to the supreme title. The treaty explicitly sanctioned Kanhoji to wage war against 'Habshis and Phirangis' (the Sidis of Janjira and the Europeans) effectually to further the cause of the Maratha confederacy. Later historians, especially the British chroniclers seem to have conveniently forgotten the terms of this treaty to conclude that Kanhoji was a 'pirate' who had no rights to justify his predatory actions. Kanhoji's naval strength increased formidably and he soon came to be regarded by the British at Bombay as a 'Sea-Monster'. He based himself at the town of Alibag and made the sea-fortress of Colaba his chief den. The warships constituting the Maratha navy under Kanhoji and his successors were fast crafts like Pals, Grabs and Gallivets and they were dispersed along the coast in various harbours such as Alibag, Harnai, Jaygarh, Rajapur, Jaitapur, Sangameshwar and Gheria. The domains of the Angreys can be seen from the map. Most of these were fortified and obviously the ships concentrated at those, which afforded them the greatest safety.



Kanhoji carried out a number of operations mainly against the British and the Sidis in the next one and half decades. He initiated a system of issuing 'cartazes' for sea-trade – whosoever wished to undertake trade in the seas off the Angrey domains, which virtually included the entire Konkan coast barring a few enclaves like that of the Sidis at Janjira, had to buy a pass or a 'cartaz' from Kanhoji to legitimise it. Failing that, the ship and merchandise on board was liable to be confiscated by the Angreys. Needless to say, this proved a massive problem for the British at Bombay who initially tried to ward Kanhoji off by a show of strength. Three British ships attacked the rocky isle of Khanderi off Alibag in 1719. But that strategy failed miserably as Kanhoji's navy proved too tough and the British ships had to beat a retreat. Skirmishes continued till Kanhoji's death and other maritime powers like the Sidis and the Portuguese also bore the brunt of the Angreys' increasing might at sea. Shahu and his Brahmin prime minister, the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath always acknowledged Kanhoji's prowess. Balaji's son Bajirao succeeded him in 1720 to the premiership of the Maratha confederacy.

Kanhoji died in 1729. He had intended to divide his domains between his sons after his death. He had three wives; each had two sons. Thus there were six contenders for Kanhoji's estates: in order of seniority they were Sekhoji, Sambhaji, Manaji, Tulaji, Yessji and Dhondji. The last two were the least motivated of the lot and lived a marginalised political life. Yessji did play a role, if at all, in the downfall of the lineage. His branch moved to Gwalior in the mid-19th century where the Scindias gave them a small *jagir* (Yessji's grandson Amritrao was adopted by Mahadaji Scindia and named Daulatrao. He succeeded Mahadaji as ruler of Gwalior). The rest of Kanhoji's sons were dispersed along the coast – Sekhoji resided at Alibag (Colaba), Sambhaji and Manaji at Harnai (Suvarnadurg) and Tulaji at Gheria (Vijayadurg). Sekhoji, being the eldest, inherited Kanhoji's title *Sarkhel* but he died within a few years, in 1734. Sambhaji, Sekhoji's younger brother, aspired to the title but was challenged by his stepbrother, Manaji. The Peshwa, Bajirao, intervened in the dispute and tried to resolve this family feud by forcing the brothers into agreement – Manaji was given the charge of Cobaba fort and was based at Alibag. Bajirao instituted a new title for him through Shahu, the Chhatrapati – this was '*Wazarat Ma'ab*' which meant the 'Vizier at Sea'. Sambhaji, on the other hand, retained his father's title of '*Sarkhel*' but agreed to live at Harnai. Tulaji, the youngest Angrey, remained stationed in the fort of Vijayadurg at Gheria. This was thus a tripartite separation of the Angrey estates and it was hoped that the feud between Sambhaji and Manaji would end at this. But it did not – in fact it flared up to such an extent that each brother wooed former common enemies to take their sides! Thus, Manaji sought help from the British who sent an envoy named Capt. Inchbird to Alibag. Inchbird fuelled the feud even further, resulting in Manaji's invasion of Sambhaji's territories. Tulaji remained mostly out of this dispute, but sided occasionally with Sambhaji. The feud went through a respite with Sambhaji's death in 1742. Tulaji succeeded to Sambhaji's titles, including the charge of the fort of Suvarnadurg at Harnai, and chose to base himself at Vijayadurg. In the next decade he strengthened the naval might of the Angreys by increasing the number of his ships. He also continued raiding various ships that did not carry his 'cartage'. Moreover, his activities were not limited to the sea alone – he also carried out a successful land campaign against the Sawants of Sawantwadi, a small baronial family whose domains lay towards the south of the Angrey realm, winning a few strategically important forts off them. Tulaji thus emerged as the most powerful naval commander in the 1740s and was widely regarded as a worthy and equally feared successor of Kanhoji. Manaji, however, the member of the senior Angrey branch ruling at Alibag, continued to harbour animosity towards Tulaji. Yessji, his stepbrother also played second fiddle to him.

Meanwhile, Peshwa Bajirao had died in 1740 and was succeeded by his son, Balajirao alias Nanasaheb. Balajirao resented the importance that the Angreys had been gaining in

coastal politics: he perceived it as a threat to his own premier position in the Maratha Confederacy. The chief mentor of the Angreys, Chhatrapati Shahu, the titular head of the confederacy, died in 1749 and after his death the supreme authority of the Chhatrapatis was systematically scuttled by the Peshwa to his own political advantage. Manaji Angrey colluded with the Peshwa while the latter brewed a scheme to annihilate Tulaji. A naval advantage was needed to annihilate the Angreys but the Peshwa did not have any. The only other power who possessed it was the British, who gladly participated in the Peshwa's anti-Angrey machinations when they were approached. Manaji, lacking political sagacity, joined this coalition against his own house. A treaty was concluded between the Peshwa and the British on 19th March 1755. That sealed the Angreys' fate. It was decided that war would begin after the end of the monsoons later that year.

The first noteworthy campaign undertaken by the coalition against Tulaji Angrey was the attack on his stronghold, the fort of Vijayadurg, where most of his navy was concentrated during the monsoons. A joint force was dispatched against Vijayadurg; the British launched the attack by sea while the Peshwa's army attacked the interior. Tulaji was overwhelmed. Vijayadurg fell on 27 February 1756 and all of Angrey's ships harboured there were either captured or destroyed. Soon afterwards Suvarnadurg was sacked too and Tulaji Angrey's might was destroyed completely. He was captured and the Peshwa imprisoned him near Pune, where he died in 1764. With Angrey's armada gone, there was no immediate threat left to the British on the Konkan coast. They happily handed over the conquered forts to the Peshwa obtaining a small tract of land in the central part of the Konkan strip, crucial for maritime trade, in return. Bankot was its centre and a fort named Fort Victoria was established there. The Peshwa did organise a small naval fleet out of Angrey's flotsam but it never had the might that it did under the Angreys.

The Angreys continued to rule over the northern part of Konkan, with the senior branch of Manaji established at Alibag. Manaji died in 1758 to be succeeded by Raghoji I. The political alliance struck with the Peshwas helped Raghoji I to secure his domains in and around Alibag. He also was invested with both titles, the older '*Sarkhel*' and the newer '*Wazarat Ma'ab*', and also with the specific rights and privileges each of them brought along. Henceforth, Alibag became the centre of the Angreys' territories, but without a navy the Angreys could hold only minor political importance. Raghoji I had a long reign, he died in 1793 and was succeeded by an infant, Manaji II. Skirmishes and rebellions followed his investiture and one, Baburao Angrey, hailing from the Gwalior branch, was sent by the Scindias as a mediator. He chose to set aside the infant baron and succeed to the title himself. The Peshwa legitimised his rule in 1799 and he ruled till 1813. During his tenure, Vinayak Parashuram Biwalkar was appointed '*Diwan*' (executor). He contributed sagaciously to the running of the Angrey estates. He also restored Manaji II back to the baronetcy after Baburao's death in 1813, which Manaji enjoyed till 1817.

The last two barons to hold the Angrey family titles were Raghoji II and an infant, Kanhoji II. The former ruled from 1817 to 1838. The most important political event of his career was the sack of the Peshwa's domains by the British in January 1818. Raghoji II concluded a treaty with the East India Company in 1822, which guaranteed his status as the '*Chief*' of Colaba and demarked the boundaries of his domains. The treaty also had other clauses, which effectively made the Angreys subordinate to the British in terms of political and foreign affairs. When Raghoji II died in 1838, his infant son was bestowed with titles. But he died soon after, thereby leaving the Angrey estates without an heir. Yashodabai, the chief Queen of Raghoji II intended to adopt a boy from the family. However, the Company's government refused to ratify the right of succession to the heir who would be adopted. The Angrey estate thereby lapsed to the British in 1844. Yashodabai went ahead with the adoption and pleaded for the rights of her adopted son, Manaji III, for the succession till her

death in 1883 to no avail from the British government. Manaji III, the non-legitimised heir, died in 1896 and with him the main line of the Angreys came to an end. His son Trimbakrao was adopted into the Gwalior branch of the Angreys. Members of this branch had styled themselves *Sawai Sarkhel* (vice admirals) although they had almost nothing to do with the maritime prowess of the main branch. Sambhajirao Angrey, baron of the Scindia court in Gwalior added one more title '*Dharmaweer*' (Defender of the Faith), to '*Sawai Sarkhel*' and '*Wazarat Ma'ab*' sometime after the death of Manaji III. Members of this Angrey branch served the Scindias with diligence and became their trusted lieutenants. Even in post-independence India, Baburao Angrey the grandson of Sambhajirao, played a significant role in local politics owing to his special relationship with Vijaya Raje Scindia, the wife of Jivaji Rao, the last ruler of Gwalior and a member of the Indian parliament.

Coinage:

As with coins of the other Maratha barons, Maheshwari & Wiggins were the first numismatists to take notice of the Angreys' coins in some detail. However, since the methodology they adopted to study Maratha coins was specific to mints rather than issuers, much of the coins' historical importance was missed. The major listing of the Angreys' coins therefore comes under the mint-heading 'Alibag' in their scheme of presentation. Another problem is that their presentation of data is often without proper references. This renders the task of checking the basis of their views from the archival sources they used very difficult and indeed its re-verification almost impossible.

Soon after the fall of the Peshwa and the beginning of the Company's rule, the Government of the newly constituted Bombay Presidency embarked upon a scrutiny of claims various Maratha barons laid to 'rights and privileges' that were granted to them by the previous regime. The scrutiny had direct links with important administrative matters like revenue settlement, as the rights claimed by most barons included a portion of revenue generated through various agencies, which the Company's government was not too happy to concede to. A minor source of revenue for some baronial families was mints, which they claimed they had a right to run, sometimes quoting a charter given to them by the Peshwa. Most of these families in fact had sub-farmed the right several times over in the past resulting in a general state of anarchy as far as coinage went. The British government, therefore, found it imperative that these rights be verified or quashed, thereby attempting to establish some sort of normalcy in money circulation. Like all Maratha barons who came under scrutiny, the Angreys claimed that a mint had been running within their possessions 'from ancient times' (*Maratha Mints and Coinage* by K. K. Maheshwari and K. W. Wiggins, Nasik, 1989, hereinafter KKM-KW, p. 42). However, no facts were presented as to when and where the mint was set up, who was in charge and which political authority sanctioned it. As a result the British authorities found it easy to fulfil their intention to stop the Angreys running a mint.

The earliest reference to the Angreys' coining activities comes from a different source. Wiggins and Maheshwari mention "A Rupee, said to be of Angria, out of silver taken in the ship 'Derby' appears in a lot of oriental coins offered at a London auction house on February 18, 1755." (KKM-KW, *ibid.*) Why they omitted details of this auction is not known – however, for the record, it may be noted that this was the auction of the collection of Dr. Richard Mead, conducted by A. Langford of Covent Garden, London on the said date. A copy of this catalogue is available in the Library of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The Angrey coin is described in lot 25 on page 194 of the catalogue, where it is bundled with other Oriental coins such as "Five Coins of the five first Signs of the Zodiack, struck in the Great Mogul *Jehan Guir's* Reign" and "Six thin Silver Coins on a String, unknown" weighing "in all about 9 oz 5 dwt".

The 'Derby' was a large East Indiaman sailing from England to India. A few days before Christmas in 1735, it made landfall at Goa but when it sailed towards Bombay, winds pushed it close to the Konkan coast where Sambhaji Angrey prevailed. On 26 December 1735, nine of his ships attacked the galley. After a swift and conclusive naval engagement, the 'Derby' was captured by Sambhaji Angrey's men and hauled into Vijayadurg (Gheria) harbour. A number of English seamen aboard the galley, including its commander Abraham Anselm, were taken prisoner. The Company's officials in Bombay secured their release about eighteen months later. Abraham Anselm died en route to England in 1737, soon after his release. The incident caused certain panic back in England and Anselm and his crew were widely criticised for their purported lack of bravery in the defeat they suffered at the Angrey's hands. A pamphlet supporting their cause against these allegations, entitled '*A Faithful Account of the Capture of the Ship Derby belonging to East India Company by Angria the Pirate*' was published in 1738 by a certain 'Philoleutherus'. The information in this pamphlet draws largely on the testimonies of the First and Second Mates of the 'Derby' (Christopher Burroughs and John Cuddon, respectively) and also on the commander's account that he was able to leave before his death. It contains interesting details about the activities of the Angreys and coinage is one of them.

As soon as the ship was stormed on 26 December, Sambhaji Angrey's men boarded it and, knowing they were aboard a 'Europe ship', asked the English seamen whether it carried any silver. Three chests of treasure lay aboard the 'Derby', which contained about 32000 Spanish dollars. Angrey's men unloaded the booty in two rounds, first on the evening of the 26th and then again on the morning of the 27th. (p. 55 of the *Faithful Account*) The prisoners were taken soon afterwards and confined in Vijayadurg fort on a strict ration of rice and water. They were, however, periodically paraded to Sambhaji Angrey who often threatened them with torture. Abraham Anselm also reports that when Sambhaji was in 'little elevated spirits', he said his ships would march on London and reduce it to dust! As the days went by, Sambhaji sought Anselm's help on several counts, such as to evaluate the merchandise aboard the 'Derby' so that a deal for paddy could be hatched with the Portuguese (p. 94-95, *ibid.*). By mid-1736, the government of Bombay started negotiations with Sambhaji to secure the release of their men. The governor, John Horne, dispatched Captain Inchbird to Vijayadurg. His mission, however, was not confined to secure the release of English prisoners; he had various other political motives as well. He arrived on 7 November 1736 and brought with him letters for the prisoners – concealed in these were Venetian ducats that could potentially be used to bribe Sambhaji's men. But the shrewd Angrey opened these beforehand and took away the gold, amounting in all to about 900 rupees. (p. 104, *ibid.*) The prisoners begged Sambhaji for the return of their money. In the meantime the negotiations with Inchbird proceeded on their course and, after securing various political deals, Sambhaji finally heeded the prisoners' request. He agreed to pay them their money in rupees but confessed that he did not have any coined. He said to them that he would "order some to be coined the next day" and within two or three days, they would all get their dues. (p. 106, *ibid.*) This is by far the most clear reference to indicate that the Angreys indeed struck coins in the first half of the 18th century and the description of the rupee in the Mead Collection auction catalogue is quite certainly a tenable piece of evidence, although it is not supported by an illustration.

It would seem certain that these Rupees would have been struck in the name of the reigning Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, as was the practice for Maratha chieftains. The Peshwa had been running a mint at Pune about the same time as the sack of the 'Derby', which produced coins in the name of Muhammad Shah (KKM-KW, p. 86, T1). Chhatrapati Shahu also ran a mint at Satara producing rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah (KKM-KW, p. 94, T1). The conclusive evidence to this effect again

comes from the *Faithful Account*, where Abraham Anselm testifies that the "Angrey coins Rupees with the Mogul stamp" (p. 114). It also mentions that the economy of the Angrey's domains was rather precarious and his men were not paid for eighteen months prior to the capture of the 'Derby' (p. 107). Thus, the need for specie would have been a dire one for the Angreys at this time and the capture of the 'Derby' with 32000 dollars aboard must have seemed like a blessing to them. As the 'Derby' was berthed in Vijayadurg (Gheria) harbour, it is possible that Sambhaji Angrey could have struck his coins there. But no coins bearing such a mintname are known. Moreover, if one assumes that the reasons for converting bullion off the 'Derby' were economical rather than political, Vijayadurg could not have been a place where a mint would be located as its importance was entirely strategic and not commercial. Further, an Angrey mint would necessarily have to be located in the southern part of the Konkan coast, as this was the geographic area where Sambhaji Angrey prevailed. Taking all these factors into account, there was only one town of commercial importance in his tracts that would qualify for a mint location – that is Rajapur. And indeed we know of rare rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah from that mint.

One of these coins was first noted in numismatic literature in the 19th century - it was the British Museum specimen (*Fig 1*), which featured in the catalogue of Mughal coins in that institution, authored by Stanley Lane-Poole in 1892.



Fig. 1



Fig 2

Another specimen exists in the Ashmolean Museum's collection housed in the Heberden Coin Room (*Fig 2*), where it was received from the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Both these bear the year of issue as AH 1148. There is no trace of the regnal year on the BM specimen but on the Ashmolean coin it could be made out as 1x, truncated beyond the first digit. Both these coins have the initial 're' of the mint-name truncated and therefore it did not come as a surprise when Lane-Poole read the mint-name on the coin as 'Ajayur'. It was added as 'doubtful' by Whitehead to his 'Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors' (published in the *JASB* 1912). The credit of identifying it as 'Rajapur' goes to S. H. Hodivala who restored it likewise and gave reasons for his restoration, identifying the mint-name with the port of Rajapur, located about 30 miles south of Ratnagiri on the Konkan coast and the headquarters of a *tālūqā* of the same name within the Ratnagiri Collectorate (*JASB-NS*, XXXI, 1918, p. 344-345). The town is located about 15 miles inland from the head of a tidal creek, which was navigable in Mughal times but has since silted. Earlier to Hodivala's note, G. P. Taylor had pointed out that a mint had been running at Rajapur under Aurangzeb, and coins were struck bearing the name 'Islambandar' (*JASB-NS*, XVII, 1912, p. 127-129) which he identified as an Islamic alias of

Rajapur, owing to the fact that it served as a port of embarkation for Haj pilgrims. Hodivala drew on Taylor's evidence and commented, "it would appear that this new-fangled designation was, like several others, consigned to oblivion after Aurangzeb's death, though the mint continued to be maintained for meeting the demand for currency in a busy port down to AH 1148, the 18th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah to which the coin belongs". Hodivala's view suggesting a continuum in the mint's functioning needs to be contested and so does his mention of the 18th regnal year of Muhammad Shah on the coin – there is no evidence to suggest that the mint was productive after Aurangzeb's death in AH 1110 till the issue of the coin dated AH 1148, as no specimens struck in the name of other emperors who ruled between Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah are known; neither is any trace of the 18th regnal year to be seen on extant specimens. Maheshwari & Wiggins suggest that the Rajapur coins may have been Angrey issues, but while they discuss Angrey coinage for Alibag they comment, "if indeed the Angreys did strike coins in the first half of the 18th century it would appear that they have so far escaped recognition or not come to light"! This ambiguity is rather uncalled for, because Rajapur was sufficiently firmly in Angrey hands in the first half of the 18th century to be able to attribute any issues of that period to them.

While there can be no doubt that these coins were struck by the Angreys, there is more to their issue as suggested by the date which they bear. Both the extant specimens from the BM and Ashmolean collections bear AH 1148 as the date of issue. In fact, when the coins were examined afresh, it was clear that they were die-duplicates. AH 1148 corresponds to 1735-36 AD, which is so close to the capture of the 'Derby' that it tempts us to conjecture that these may actually have been the coins struck 'out of the silver taken' from the ship, as described in the Mead Collection auction catalogue. The Angrey myth haunted contemporary Britain to a considerable extent, as evident from the pamphleteering that went on for and against the men aboard the 'Derby' and it would not be a surprise if interested collectors sought after any such coins. The fact that two specimens resting with institutions of equal intellectual excellence behind them come from the same pair of dies further strengthens the conjecture. In all probability, therefore, the specimen of the Angrey Rupee offered for sale in the Mead collection could have been the Rajapur coin.

There is a third specimen known of the Rajapur rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah from a private collection (*Fig 3*).



Fig. 3

This is not struck from the same dies as the BM and Ashmolean specimens and this fact helps to offer a few other insights into the working of Rajapur mint under the Angreys. Unfortunately, the chronological details on this specimen are truncated so we cannot establish its chronological placement vis-à-vis the other two coins. If style were to be any guide, it would seem that this coin was struck before the other two as it has somewhat superior calligraphy. However, a general comparison of this coin with the other two coins offers a few features in common – for example the mint-name is written exactly in the same manner nearly omitting the initial 're'. This probably means that there are not many years separating their issues. What is very interesting to note is the presence of a differentiating symbol, located in the 'sin' of 'Julus' on the reverse. This heart-shaped symbol is noted specifically on rupees of Surat – it first makes its

appearance on Aurangzeb's coins and continues to appear on coins of successive emperors, down to the early years of Muhammad Shah. The earliest Mughal-style British coins of Bombay, struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar also bear it. The two Rajapur rupees lying in British institutional collections also imitate a symbol known from Surat rupees – in this case known from coins of Shajahan II and Muhammad Shah. It is in the form of a flower with five petals and a long stem. The similarity of symbols seen on the Angrey issues can be seen from the reverses of two Surat rupees of Muhammad Shah illustrated here (Fig 4).



Fig. 4

One that bears the flower symbol was struck in his first regnal year while that bearing the heart-shaped symbol was in the 4th regnal year. This similarity of symbols seen on Surat rupees and those of Rajapur is quite telling – by this the Angreys conceivably intended their coins to pass current as equals to Surat rupees in terms of value-based transactions. This is hardly surprising knowing the significance Surat rupees had in local circulation. It may be noted that coin production at Surat itself had slowed down during the 3rd and 4th decades of the 18th century. This was due to two factors – firstly, the Mughal administration of Gujarat was in turmoil with the appointment of Delhi and local Afghan barons like the Babis of Kathiawar-Saurashtra region fighting among themselves for governorship of the province. Secondly, the Marathas launched numerous raids into Gujarat during these years under the command of the Gaikwads (who went on to found the princely state of Baroda), their target often being the tract between the 'Surat-84' division of South Gujarat, of which Surat was the headquarters, and Ahmedabad, the capital of the province. One would assume that both these factors caused sufficient disturbance in the region to have an adverse effect on the Surat mint, which, in turn, would lead to a diminished specie supply to areas such as Konkan and the Deccan, which had traditionally depended on the Surat rupees for it. The only other regularly functioning mint in the region was at Bombay, run by the British, which filled the demand to a certain extent – but it is interesting to note that in upcountry Deccan, the earliest minting activities of Maratha chiefs such as the Peshwa at Pune and the Chhatrapati at Satara began exactly in this period, and it will not be too speculative to point that this may have been at least in part a result of the drop in production at the Surat mint. All these issues have a common feature that justifies this inference to a certain extent – they have mintmarks similar to those found on the Surat rupees. It is no wonder therefore that the Angreys also struck coins at Rajapur during the same period and with the same characteristics.

The numismatic activity of the Angreys in early 18th century seems to be of a transient nature. The rarity of Rajapur coins demonstrates this and in any case, the feud that engulfed the family in 1735-1755, may have meant that stability bringing forth such economic engagement would have been rare. The family's supremacy so far as their naval prowess is concerned vanished after the debacle in 1756. The next references to the family's coining activities are to be found from the late 1790s onwards. They are primarily gathered from details in the 'Bombay Gazetteer', which is a source of information used extensively by Maheshwari & Wiggins. I intend to append the information available largely through the use of English sources with details

from Marathi sources, which are hitherto unpublished. A lengthy Marathi treatise on Angrey family's history was published from Pune in 1940 by a researcher named Damodar Gopal Dhabu, under the patronage of Sardar Chandrojirao Angrey, the family title-holder, resident of Gwalior and a baron in the Scindia Court. It is named *Kulābkar Angrey Sarkhel* (The Angrey Admirals of Colaba) and it contains on pages 344-347 some worthwhile information about coinage, mint administration and coin circulation in the Angrey territories around Alibag. The second Marathi source is *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* (the 'Ashtagar' of Angrey times – 'Ashtagar' is a Marathi geographic term for Alibag and seven of its neighbouring coastal villages), which is essentially a chronological compilation of information listed as 800-odd entries available through the records of a local landholder family surnamed Adhikari, resident of Chaul near Alibag. It covers a period of four centuries from c. 1430 to 1865 but it is more regular in noting the developments from c.1700 onwards with chronological details appended. It therefore conforms to a genre of texts known in Marathi as *Shakāwali*, a sort of historical almanac. It is edited by Shantaram Vishnu Awalaskar, an amateur but disciplined and worthy Marathi historical researcher, and published in 1947 under the aegis of 'Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala', the noted Pune-based society that contributed significantly to Maratha historiography in early 20th century. There are other English sources such as a memorandum submitted by John Clunes, on 14th August 1829 to the East India Company on 'List of rupees most current in Poona &c &c', reprinted in the Indian Numismatic Chronicle, vol. IV, part 1 (1964-65), pp.26-37. The folios of James Prinsep and Oliver Codrington in the archives of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum also furnish some details about the coinage of the Angreys in its latter phase. There are a couple of engravings in the folios of Prinsep and Codrington (Fig 5) under the heading 'Alibaug'. Maheshwari & Wiggins provide what is by far the most detailed discussion about the issues of the Alibag mint, but their treatment of the Angrey coinage is almost devoid of any proposals of an internal chronology.



Fig. 5

The 'Bombay Gazetteer' states that a rupee named 'Alibag-Kolaba or Old Rupee' was struck by the Angria's government'. Clunes' memorandum further identifies this coin as a 'variety of Ankoosy rupee', passing at a rate of 119 rupees to 100 of the 'Poona Halli Sicca' rupees. Two estimates of alloy are listed by Clunes, 15.909 and 17.045, which indicate the fluctuation in pure contents of these coins. Clunes further states – "Struck at Aleebagh by Angria and intended formerly, as far as I can learn, to pass current in the Konkan at the same rate as the Poona Ankoosy and in the same province. No coinage has been issued from this mint for two years past until the last two months". The data in *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* (entry no. 758) corroborates Clunes' information and further states that the "rupees current in the domains of the *Sarkhel* were equal to Poona standard. When Baburao Angrey was invested with robes, he named it the 'Alibagi'. This coin was rated at 1 Anna *baṭṭā*". The information in D. G. Dhabu's treatise is, however, different from most sources. He claims that the 'Alibagi' rupee of the Angreys had "Persian inscription on one side and the letters 'Chhatra/Pati' in two lines

on the other". He does mention that the Alibagi rupee had pure silver contents of 84.75% which corresponds to Clunes' mention of around 15-17% alloy. But the coins illustrated in Prinsep and Codrington's folios are undoubtedly of the 'Ankusi' kind (*vide supra*)

From all these sources certain basic facts about the 'Alibag' rupee of the Angreys may be established. Firstly, it was a variety of the Ankusi rupee, which was a standard Maratha coin of the Deccan, first struck at Poona under a license issued by Peshwa Madhavrao I (1762-1771 AD). It had certain peculiarities associated with it – it was struck with 'Shah Ali Gauhar', the pre-accession name of Shah Alam II, had characteristic calligraphy, the mintname resembled 'Surat' in degraded form and most importantly it had the 'Ankush', or elephant goad as a differentiating symbol, placed prominently on the reverse, hence the name. The Ankush is one of the attributes of Ganesha, the elephant-headed god whom the Peshwas ardently followed. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as the authority of the Peshwa's government steadily faltered, many Maratha barons took it upon themselves to issue licenses for striking varieties of Ankushi rupees. The license obviously brought them resources much needed in years of political instability but the Konkan and Deccan regions came to the brink of financial collapse due to the unchecked circulation of variously debased coins as a direct outcome of this wanton monetary practice. The Angreys were no exception and seem to have inaugurated a variant 'Alibag' Ankusi rupee in these very years. The *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* clearly states that the 'Alibagi' rupee was a 'creation' of Baburao Angrey after he received charters from the Peshwa legitimising his rule at Alibag. The date of inception of the coinage could, therefore, be 1799 or soon after. A note published in Dhabu's lengthy treatise clarifies the story further: it confirms that the mint was indeed started in 1799. Its contents reveal that a duo that was most probably brothers named Lakhiram Gopal and Motiram, residents of Alibag, applied for a license to produce 'small change of copper and rupees'. The license was granted on the first day of the ascending phase of the moon in the month of *Chaitra*, year 1720 *Saka* – which is New Year's Day by Marathi calendar. The term of the license was for a year and the mint farmers were charged a sum of 400 rupees for it. However, Dhabu's description of the coins as being bilingual has to be discarded in view of better evidence as that offered by the folio engravings, which confirm that this was not the case. Also, it is conceivable that although Baburao, the baron, is accredited with the issue of the coins, his Diwan, namely Vinayak Parashuram Biwalkar, who was entrusted with the civil and fiscal administration of the Angrey territories in 1802, must have been the mastermind behind the subsequent management of the new currency.



Fig. 6

Maheshwari & Wiggins recognise one Ankusi rupee as the 'Alibagi' and list it as T1 (Fig 6) in their presentation of the coinage of the Alibag mint. Their identification seems to have stemmed from the fact that they see an additional differentiating mark comprising two tiny flower buds emanating off a single stem, below the reverse legend. Something similar is seen on one of the coin engravings in Prinsep and Codrington's folios. This link could have been the basis for Maheshwari & Wiggins' attribution. The coin is in the British Museum collection and, when examined afresh, failed to convince that any such similarity exists. The additional 'mark' is nothing but an executional

variation in the somewhat crude and cursive way the pseudo-mint name 'Surat' is inscribed. The coin, however, is visibly of a low silver content. Only a metallic assay would prove its Alibag credentials, if matched with the c.85% fineness that most records are unanimous about.

The remarks found with the engravings in the folios throw a welcome light on the functioning of the Alibag mint. There are two 'Ankoosy' rupees illustrated therein and each carries a pencilled remark - one reads 'Alibaug' while the other 'Alibaug Bellapore'. The first would surely indicate an affinity of the coin illustrated with the town named as such, but 'Bellapore' following the second makes the picture more interesting. It is ostensibly the name of another town and to know more about it we have to turn to Clunes who states that there was a mint located in a town so named in the years 1805-1806. He further states that "when the Poona Ankoosy became current in the Konkun, these were first struck at Belapoor and afterwards at ten or twelve other places throughout the Konkun, but they all had the name of Belapooree". The occurrence of the word after 'Alibaug' in the scribble accompanying the engraving would suggest that the coin was indeed struck at Alibag and was of the 'Belapoor' standard. This leads us to the inference that the prevalent standard at Alibag mint may actually have undergone a change in the years succeeding 1805-06. Clunes lists two standards for the 'Belapooree' variety of the Ankoosy rupee: the 'Bareek-Belapooree' had a variable alloy of 13.636 and 15.909, while the 'Belapooree' had one of 18.182 and 20.454. Evidently, the latter indicates a debasement below the original 'Alibag' standard, which had c.15% alloy. The fact that 'Alibaug' and 'Alibaug Bellapore' have been distinguished by these separate remarks makes it clear that the rupees produced in Alibag mint were debased at a later date. This date cannot be prior to 1805-06 as those were the years in which the mint at Belapoor became functional (much to the displeasure of the Peshwa Baji Rao II, as Clunes indicates. The Peshwa tried to prohibit it, but was successful "not before they had issued 50 lacks of rupees or upwards".) Thus the picture about the running of the Alibag mint under Baburao Angrey's tenure is clarified much further when all the evidence at our disposal is taken into account. To sum up, we know that the mint at Alibag started functioning in 1799, it struck rupees to a local standard, at par with the Pune standard, until 1805-06, anytime after which it was changed to a more debased 'Bellapoor' standard. Who was responsible for inducing this inflation is not known, but it throws important light on the political uncertainties prevalent in the region which were responsible for attempts like this, one that made the money in circulation go just that little bit further than it intrinsically could.

The demise of the 'Alibag' rupee of the Angreys cannot be dated. In 1818 a mention of 9 'Alibag' rupees is quoted by Dhabu amongst other kinds of rupees like the *Poona*, *Surti* and *Malharshahi*, which are part of an expenditure account. Raghoji II signed a treaty with the British in 1822 and the Company's government actively discouraged native barons like the Angreys from running a mint. During the 1820s, an inquiry was launched into various claims made by the baronial households of the Deccan. These claims were validated and, if proved unfounded, declared null and void. As mentioned earlier, the Angrey family's rights came under scrutiny and Vinayak Parashuram Biwalkar, the Diwan, must have faced most of it. He seems to have secured a concession insofar as the coining rights were concerned as evident by the launch of a new coinage for the state. This coinage finds mention in most of the sources mentioned earlier – the *Bombay Gazetteer* names it as the 'Janjira-Colaba or New rupee', ostensibly to differentiate it from the 'Alibag' or 'Old rupee'. The same source provides the determining clue to its attribution – it states that the 'new' rupee had on both sides the Marathi word 'Shri' and there was a small hole drilled in the coin (Fig 7).



Fig. 7

It further states that the new coin was issued because the East India Company forbade petty chieftains coining, but as a special case they allowed the Alibag mint to issue a silver coin of inferior value, which did not circulate beyond the limits of the state. Of the Marathi sources, Dhabu is entirely silent about these coins but entry no. 758 of the *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* mentions that "Vinayak Parashuram Diwanji stopped the 'Alibagi' rupee and replaced it with one inscribed only 'Shri'. This coin was current only in the *Sarkhel's* territories, elsewhere no-one would accept it". This entry is dated 1835, so one would assume the launch of the 'Shri' rupee must predate this year. Although it is not certain exactly when the Angrey territories went through a currency transition, a passing remark by Clunes may help us to date it. He states, while describing the 'Alibagh Ankoosy', that "no coinage has been issued from this [i.e. Alibag] mint for two years past until within the last two months". As the date of submission of Clunes' memorandum is August 1829, one could date the initial cessation of Alibag mint around 1825-26 and the inception of the new coinage around May 1829. The fact that it had a radically different design than any other coin contributed to its unpopularity, to which the description in *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* serves as a testimony. In continuation of the same note, it is said that the new rupee added to the misery of the population because the fact that it had marginal circulation and acceptability did not help revenue collections, which the Diwan was keen on and used force to exact. That the new rupee was inferior in contents was borne out by the fact that the Company's government allowed the mint to strike it on this very ground, making it sure that it would lead to a restricted circulation, and eventually a slow death. The sole purpose behind the launch of the new currency therefore seems to be the ulterior motives the Diwan may have had in the running of the mint and the profits that would have accrued from striking an inferior coinage. It is not certain when the new rupee stopped circulating, but, judging by the rarity of available specimens, it seems to have had a very limited issue. Its eventual demise may have come with the lapse of the Angrey estates to the Company's government in 1844, but it is quite probable that it may have gone out of circulation before that. The entry dated 1835 from *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* gives an indication that it was still in vogue in that year, so the date of its downfall may be placed between 1835 and 1844. In short, the new currency lived only for about a decade. Maheshwari & Wiggins have listed a rupee, a half rupee (Fig 8, illustrated from the Ashmolean collection, ex. Hugh Shortt Bequest) and a square piece (Fig 9) whose weight is not certain as T2 and T2b.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

There were mints in Angrey territories producing copper coins, too. The *Faithful Account* states that while Sambhaji Angrey coined his Rupees with the Mogul stamp, he struck "his Pyce with the name of Sow Raja" (p. 114). Thus the issue of Angrey copper coins bearing the name of the Chhatrapati Shahu had commenced as early as 1736-37 AD. The Bombay Gazetteer mentions that the 'Alibag copper pice' although issued from the Angria's mint, bore the stamp of the king of Satara. The practice of striking copper coins in the name of the Chhatrapati was thus continued into the 19th century. Conceivably, this means that the copper coin struck by the Angreys conformed to the 'Shivarai' Paisa design having the legends 'Chhatrapati' on its reverse. As there are several varieties of this paisa, it has not been possible to distinguish the copper paisas struck by the Angreys at Alibag. Dhabu's treatise mentions copper coins, but the description he furnishes does not provide any attributional indications. His mention that the Shivarais struck at Alibag had a hole drilled through them seems to be a conflation of the Bombay Gazetteer's description of the 'new' rupee. The *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* has two entries, numbered 439 and 443, which note the foundation of a mint to produce copper coins at two places respectively, viz. Rewadanda and Alibag. The note for the inception of the mint at Rewadanda is rather ambiguous and corresponds to 1781-82 while the one indicating the same for Alibag is more precise, dated March 1781, corresponding to New Year's Day by the Marathi calendar. M. G. Ranade mentions a mint operating at Rewadanda on the basis of a charter given to one, Bahiro Ram Datar, dated in 1774 (*Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule*, JBRRAS, vol. XX, 1898, pp. 191-200). However, this does not undermine the validity of the entry in the *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* as it was common practice to renew the charters periodically to the highest bidders. Accordingly, Dhabu mentions another individual named Tatyā Deshmukh Rewadandkar as a licensee for the mint for coining copper coins at Rewadanda.

A correspondence dated 1832-33 giving detail of mints operating in various villages in Angrey tracts such as Apta, Kopar, Gauhan, Dapoli, Revus, Maneri apart from Rewadanda is mentioned by Maheshwari & Wiggins. These mints were producing spurious copper coins and the Angrey (in this case he must have been Raghoji II) was asked to prohibit them, as they were causing inconvenience by producing coins in excess of market needs, thereby leading to the devaluation of circulating specie. He was, however, allowed to keep one of them running to meet currency demands. It seems that these orders were not carried out and the mints continued to function, to which the government accused the Angrey of acting in a reprehensible manner that prejudiced the government's interests. He was warned again in 1833 and the government, invoking causes of the 1822 treaty signed with the Angrey, exercised its supremacy to take it upon itself to stop the mints. It would have been worthwhile revisiting this correspondence - in all probability the information must have been culled from papers in the India Office Library. But unfortunately, Maheshwari & Wiggins do not give a proper archival reference, which makes the quest frustrating, to say the least.

It would be proper to end with two quotes from the *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar*. The first is dated 1829 (entry no. 741) and gives a general idea of what kind of coins circulated in the Angrey territories when they were 'under the Mughals' while the second, dated 1865 (entry no. 813) laments contemporary monetary developments. The first describes the 'state of currency as was ordered' and states the following clauses:

- The 'Sajgāni' was current in the past but now it is called 'Dhabu', which is equivalent to two 'Shivarai' paisas;
- One 'Basri Lari' was equivalent to 12 'Shivarai' paisas and 5 Laris made a rupee;
- One 'Asarfi' currently makes half a rupee;
- 'Buzrukhis' were current in the past, but now the 'Shivarai' means the same as the 'Buzrukhi';

- 4 'Rukas' equalled a 'Buzrukhi', but now 4 'Rukas' equal one Paisa.

It can be seen that much of this information is jumbled. The 'Sajgāni' was synonymous with 'Shivarai' rather than being double in value. Its name has roots in the Persian '*Shash Gāni*', meaning six Gānis, the 'Gāni' being an early copper denomination. However, no metrological connection can be established between the 'Gāni' and the actual weights of 'Shivarai' paisas so we have to conclude that the nomenclature was purely vestigial. The 'Dhabu' was equivalent to two paisas so there seems to be a transcriptional error in the first clause. The second clause is interesting because it mentions the Lari struck at Basra in Iraq and gives its equivalence to indigenous silver and copper coins. It is a matter of common numismatic knowledge that the Laris circulated widely on the entire western coast of India and especially in Konkan, where they became the coin of choice for trade and revenue collection, with returns on land tenures often being expressed in terms of Laris. The third clause seems gibberish if we take the word 'Asarfi' to mean *Asharfi* the gold coin. But in this context, it stands for the 'Xerafim' struck by the Portuguese in Goa, in which case it is the equivalent of half a rupee. 'Buzruk' in the fourth and fifth clauses may refer to the 'Bazarucco' of the Portuguese or the 'Budgerook' of the British, both deriving from the Persian *Bazaar Rukh* meaning 'small change'.

The second entry is amusing because it hints at a monetary grievance in the post-Angrey period. It mentions that a 'Rupee with a Head' now circulates in the tracts, evidently referring to the British milled coin. It states further that the rupee weighs a *tola* but is worth only 10 Annas. 64 'Didkis' or paisas make a rupee. The 'Didki' weighs 6 *mashas* (half a tola). It then goes into a sort of twisted logic to conclude that the rupee has more alloys in it than needed to make it convertible with paisas! There is a reference to 'leather notes' of 10 rupees to a 1000 rupees being issued and a sigh is emitted that such indulgence in 'banking practices' by the government along with 'spurious' coins would lead to the extraction of precious metals from the populace and make them poor. The note also laments mechanisation – the government is accused of patronising 'trains and boats powered by fire' making travel cheaper, it also mentions a mechanised mint where coins are produced with 'machines of fire' and the conclusion is that all these will lead to more unemployment and add to people's miseries. Obviously, this entry has very little wisdom but as an insight into the deprivation felt by the privileged elite of the bygone regime, such as the Adhikari family on whose records the *Angreykālīna Ashṭāgar* draws upon, this information is surely worthy of some historical merit.

An Angrey medal (Fig 10):



As an addendum, it is interesting to note another item of a numismatic nature associated with the Angreys. I am grateful to Jan Lingen for the photograph and for his permission to include it here. Since Tony McClenaghan does not describe it in his monograph on princely medals (*Indian Princely Medals: A Record of the Orders, Decorations and Medals of the Indian*

Princely States, New Delhi, 1996) I thought it appropriate to publish it.

The medal is made of bronze and, although it is undated, it seems that it was struck to mark the investiture of Chandrojirao Angrey (born 1895) of the Gwalior branch. Unfortunately we do not know the exact year when he succeeded his father to the Angrey baronetcy under Gwalior State. The most useful source would have been D.G. Dhabu's Marathi treatise but it is silent on the matter. However, the book was published in 1940 under the patronage of Chandrojirao Angrey and also has a fine portrait of the baron next to the dedication.

The obverse carries a profile portrait of Madhavrao Scindia, the ruler of Gwalior (1888-1925). The reverse has an interesting coat-of-arms at the centre of which there is an elliptical crest, partly shaped like a shield, in the centre of which appear the interlocking letters 'CSA', standing for Chandrojirao Sambhajirao Angrey. They are surrounded by his titles – *Sardar Bahadur*, *Vazarat Mab* and *Sawai Sarkhel* all inscribed in English. The crest is topped by a standing figure of Hanuman the monkey god, who, apart from his might and strength, also symbolises unstinted devotion to the master. Below his feet and above the initials is a small royal umbrella cleverly forming a part of the exergue of the shield. The title *Dharma Veer* appears inscribed in Marathi, divided by the divinity. Below the shield is a Marathi motto within a ribbon that reads *Kulābā āṅi Gwalior Prēm*, meaning 'Love (between) Colaba an Gwalior!' Below the ribbon is a crescent moon, which stands for the 'Lunar Lineage' from which the Angreys claimed their descent. On the left of the shield is a two-mast six-sailed galleon, symbolising the naval connections of the family and, to the right, is the equestrian image of god Khandoba, who is a pastoral icon of the Deccan and many Maratha families regard him as their patron deity. At 6 o'clock, the initials of the engraver 'G.E.W.' are seen. It is not certain whose name they represent.

Dates for future UK meetings

London, British Museum, Saturday 13 November 2004

London, British Museum, Saturday 26 February 2005

London, British Museum, Saturday 19 November 2005

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Saturday 23 April 2005

The next AGM will take in place in June 2005, London, date to be confirmed.

More information will be published in the Newsletter in due course. Members can also contact Peter Smith, Joe Cribb and Shailendra Bhandare, as appropriate.

16th Oxford Symposium

This will take place on 15-17 September 2004 at Worcester College, Oxford. The subject is *Indian Numismatics, Epigraphy and Archaeology: recent advances in reconstructing the past*.

The history of India in the so-called 'Ancient' or 'Early Historical' Period (c. 500 BC – AD 500) has always been problematic because of the paucity of written historical traditions. The methodological focus for historical reconstruction for this period has traditionally rested on gleanings offered by a body of literary evidence, mainly in form of indigenous texts, which were rendered approachable for the purpose by textual exponents in the 19th and 20th centuries. To these were added the evidence of Western accounts of early India, of inscriptions and of coins. These attempts have established almost all of the skeletal elements of chronology, political succession and dynastic history pertaining to the period. However, archaeological explorations and excavations, and the discovery of new coins and inscriptions over most of the 20th century led to a huge increase in the material evidence available for historical inquiry. This symposium will take an historical overview of the period 500 BC – AD 500, with a primary focus on Ghandara, though other areas will also be covered. For more information please contact Shailendra Bhandare, Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont St, Oxford, OX1 2PH (shailendra.bhandare@ashmus.ox.ac.uk).

The Regnal Years of Aḥmad Shāh and Taimūr Shāh Durrānī

by Alan S. DeShazo

The coins of Aḥmad Shāh and Taimūr Shāh Durrānī were very much modeled on the contemporary issues of Mughal India. In particular, the *hijrī* year and the king's regnal year were included on all or nearly all of the dies, with one of them on the obverse and the other on the reverse. The dating schemes employed on the coins have not been generally well understood with the result that many times coins have been erroneously thought to have mismatched *hijrī* and regnal year combinations. While it is true that there are cases of old dies being reused in subsequent years, I hope to show that such deliberate mismatching was a rather infrequent occurrence in these reigns. The idea that many dates were mismatched arose, at least in part, from assuming that all of the mints used the same starting point in time and the same calendar.

Now this false impression of mismatching can be explained away. As will be shown here, some of the mints counted the regnal years according to a solar calendar while others employed a lunar calendar. In my recent article¹ on the coins of the Mughal mint at Tatta, I showed that the oddities in dating there resulted from the vacillating rules of calculation. The change in the relationship of the *hijrī* and the regnal year between Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's regnal years 2 and 3 at Peshāwar could be explained by such vacillation or an adjustment in the reckoning of the accession date, but I know of no reason for either of those policies. We are alerted to the fact that regnal year 3 is a solar year at Peshāwar by its association with the *hijrī* year 1164 on the coins, instead of year 4 or 5 that would have obtained on a lunar calculation. Other than for Peshāwar, the evidence for this is very tenuous for the early years of the reign, but counting the better documented later years back to their starting points confirm my conclusions.

The mints that I chose for inclusion in the charts were the best ones for demonstration. The data for the other mints were too limited. For an example of the difficulties of selection, the determination that the regnal years used at Bhakkar were lunar was possible only by the existence of coins bearing the date combination 1166 H and regnal year 7.

The mints in Afghan lands used solar regnal years while the mints east of the Indus varied between the solar and lunar reckonings according to local custom. Aḥmadnagar Farrukhābād was in the territory controlled by the Nawab Aḥmad Khān Ghālib Jang, an Afghan himself and an ally of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī at Panīpāt. R.B. Whitehead² erred when he wrote, "On the money of 1176,15 the regnal year is not correct." Whitehead did not realize that the regnal year is solar and correct. In the case

of Dera the regnal years down through 1169 were solar, but beginning no later than 1173 H, were changed to lunar.

In the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, Kashmīr provides an anomaly. The regnal years are all solar except in the years 1176 and 1177 H. The regnal years for that two-year span do not conform to any normal scheme and do not calculate back to any historical event that I could find.

The coins of Taimūr Shāh offer some interesting dating features. Once again Peshāwar proves to use solar regnal years. In this case year 12 is the key year for that determination with coins being known from the last few days of 1197, all of 1198 and the first few days of 1199 H. The coins of 1206 from Aḥmadshāhī give the evidence that solar regnal years are still in use there. The regnal years are 19 and 20 instead of the 20 and 21 that a lunar reckoning would have produced.

Kābul and Kashmīr have exceptional dating schemes for this reign. Both start out with solar years but on a scheme different than Peshāwar and Aḥmadshāhī. This seems to indicate that the accession date for Taimūr Shāh at Kābul was different from that at the other two cities. The cause of that disparity being the brief rule of Sulaimān Shāh in opposition to Taimūr Shāh. Kashmīr follows the same scheme as Kābul until 1194 H when Kābul corrects its regnal years to conform to Aḥmadshāhī and Peshāwar. At the same time Kashmīr goes its own way counting its years from a different starting point, that I have been unable to identify.

Dera, Derajāt and Attock all have lunar regnal years for the entire reign. Multān is a special case that requires separate treatment.

The regnal years in brackets are known only from coins that lack the *hijrī* year. By necessity these are entered twice. The letter x represents coins that have the *hijrī* year but lack the regnal year. Mismatched dates have been omitted from the chart. In the cases when it is obvious that a die has been used past its stated date, and it is nearly always the *hijrī* die that is outdated as it is the regnal year of the coin that was the date that determined the coins currency in the marketplace.

Although more than a decade late in coming, I thank Nicholas Rhodes for his information on the coins of Kashmīr. Stephen Album has been very helpful in checking historical information and both he and Joseph Lang in locating specimens for study. Any errors of fact or analysis are mine.

1 DeShazo, Alan S., *The Regnal Years of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān on the Coins of Tatta*, Supplement to Newsletter 174, Oriental Numismatic Society, 2003

2 Whitehead, R.B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum, Lahore*, 1977 reprint, p. liii.

Taimur Shah	Solar Regnal Years					Lunar Regnal Years			
H 1186	1	(1)	1	1	1	1	1		1
1187	2	2	2	2	1	2			2
1188	2		2	2		2	2		2
	3		3	3		3	3		
1189	3	x	4	3	3	3	3		
	4					4	4		
1190	4	5	5	4		5	4		
	5			4		5	5		
1191	5	x		4	5	6	5		
	6			5		6	6		
1192	6	x		5	5	6	6	6	
	7			6		7	7		
1193	7	x		6	6	7	7		8
	8			7		8	8		
1194	8	9	8	8	7	9	8		
	9			9		9	9		
1195	9		9	9	7	9	9		
	10			9	8	10	10		
1196	10		10	8	8	10	10	10	10
	11		11	9	9	11	11	10	10
1197	11	12		11	10	11	11	11	11
	12		12	10	10	12	12	11	12
1198	12	x	12	11	10	12	12	12	12
	12		12	11	11	13	12	12	
1199	13	x		12	11	13	13	13	
	13		13	12	12	14	13	13	
1200	13		13	13	12	14	14	14	(14)
	14			13	13	15	15	15	
1201	14		15	13	13	15	15	15	
	15		15	14	14	16	16	16	(16)
1202	15		15	14	14	16	16	16	
	16		15	15	15	17	17	17	
1203	16		17	15	15	17	17	17	
	17		17	16	16	18	18	18	
1204	17	18	17	16	16	18	18	18	
	18		18	17	17	19	19	18	
1205	18	19	18	17	17	19	19	19	
	19		19	18	18	20	20	19	
1206	19	19	19	19	17	20	20	20	
	20		20	19	19	21	21	20	
1207	20	20	20	20	19	21	21	21	
	21	21	21	20	20	22	21	21	
1208	21		20	20	20	22	22	22	

H	Solar Regnal Years	Ahmadshahi	Peshawar	Kabul	Kashmir	Lunar Regnal Years	Dera	Derajat	Attock
1186	1	(1)	1	1		1	1		1
1187	1	2	1	1	1	1			2
	2		2	2		2			2
1188	2		2	2		2	2		
	3		3	3		3	3		
1189	3		3	3	3	3	3		
	4	x	4			4			
1190	4					4	4		
	5	5	5	4		5			
1191	5			4	5	5	5		
	6	x		5	5	6			
1192	6			5	5	6	6	6	
	7	x		6		7			
1193	7			6	6	7	7		
	8	x		7		8			8
1194	8		8	8	7	8	8		
	9	9		9	7	9			
1195	9		9	9	7	9	9		
	10			9	8	10			
1196	10		10	10	8	10	10	10	10
	11		11	11	9	11			
1197	11			11	10	11	11	11	11
	12	12	12	12	10	12			12
1198	12		12	12	10	12	12	12	12
	13	x	13	13	11	13			
1199	13		13	13	11	13	13	13	
	14	x	14	14	12	14	14	14	(14)
1200	14		14	13	12	14	15	15	
	15		15	13	13	15	15	15	(16)
1201	15		15	14	13	16	16	16	
	16		16	14	14	17	17	17	
1202	16		16	15	14	18	18	18	
	17		17	15	15	19	19	19	
1203	17		17	16	15	20	20	20	
	18		18	16	16	21	21	21	
1204	18		18	17	16	22	22	22	
	19	18	19	18	17				
1205	19	19	19	19	17				
	20	19	20	20	19				
1206	20	20	20	20	20				
	21	21	21	21	20				
1207	21	21	21	21	21				
	22	22	22	22	21				
1208	22	22	22	22	22				

Taimūr Shāh
Multān

				Alan S. DeShazo		
As Nizam	Solar Regnal Years	Multān	Lunar Regnal Years	As King	Solar Regnal Years	Multān
H 1170	1	1	1	H 1186	1	
	1	1	1		1	
1171			2	1187	2	
			2		2	
1172	2	2	3	1188	3	
	2	2	3		3	
1173	3	3	4	1189	4	
	3	3	4		4	
1174	4	4	5	1190	5	
	4	4	5		5	
1175	5	5	6	1191	6	
	5	5	6		6	
1176	6	6	7	1192	7	
	6	7	7		7	
1177	7	8	8	1193	8	
	7	8	8		8	
1178	8	9	9	1194	9	
	8	9	9		9	
1179	9	10	10	1195	10	
	9	10	10		10	
1180	10		11	1196	11	
	10	11	11		11	
1181	11	12	12	1197	12	
	11	12	12			5
1182		13	13	1198	12	6
	12	13	13			7
1183	12	13	13		12	7
	13	14	14	1199	13	7
1184	13	14	14		13	7
	14	15	15	1200	14	7
1185	14	15	15		14	7
	15	16	16	1201	15	
					15	
				1202	16	
					16	9
				1203	17	10
					17	10
				1204	18	18
					18	18
				1205	19	19
					19	19
				1206	20	
					20	20
				1207	21	

Coins of the Bombay Presidency
Dr. Paul Stevens

As the British acquired more territories in India, so the number of different coin types under their control, increased. This caused problems, not least in collecting taxes, and it became necessary to establish an exchange rate between all of the different coins that were in use. This was certainly true in the Bombay Presidency following the third Mahratta war when many new territories were acquired. The Assay Master, Mr Noton, undertook a survey of all the coins in use across the Presidency, and in 1820 published a paper for the use of all the Collectors showing the relative values of these coins¹. The table is interesting not only because it shows these relative values, but also because of the comments that Noton makes about the different coins. Prinsep has previously published information of this type², but his tables do not contain all of the information shown in that published by Noton. Since this information is only available in the records of the East India Company held at the British Library in London, it may be of interest to other students of Indian coins to reproduce the table here.

Assay Report shewing the mint standards of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and England, and the weight, purity and intrinsic value, by assay, of all the coins, either current in the Hon'ble Company's territories under the Presidency of Bombay, or imported as bullion.

Gold Coins

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments	
Bombay Mohur	179	92	164.68	1500	In the coins of these mints, 1 part of gold represents 15 of silver	
Calcutta Mohur	204.71	91.66	187.65	1709.2233		
Madras Mohur	180	91.66	165	1502.914		
English Guinea	129.5	91.66	118.70	1081.187	1 part of gold represents 14.281 of silver	
Venetian or sequin	53	99.25	52.60	479.011	Full weight 54 grains	Imported as bullion
Gubber or Dutch Ducat	53.25	98.25	52.31	476.500	Full weight 53¼ grains	
Joaneese or Portuguese Dollar	220.75	91.50	201.98	1839.805	Full weight 222½ grains	
Persian Toman	73.50	97.25	71.47	651.06		
New Ekairee Pagoda	52.85	84	44.39	404.390	This coin was struck by Kishun Raj Wadder, Rajah of Mysore in the mint at Mysore. It is chiefly current in the Mysore and Southern districts of the Carnatic	
Old Ekairee Pagoda	52.62	84.38	44.40	404.452	This coin was struck by Rajah Boodee Bussapa at Biddanoor	
Bhol Ekairee Pagoda	52.69	84.50	44.52	405.50	Current in the Southern Mahratta country	
Bahandry Pagoda	52.72	84.50	44.54	405.768	This coin was struck by Hyder ally about 50 or 60 years ago at Seringapatam	
Funokee Pagoda	52.80	84.63	44.68	407.037	This coin was struck by the Sultan about 30 years ago	
The above six coins are usually received into the Poona treasury from the districts of Rannee Biddanoor, Koda Bunkapore, Savanoor Gudduck, Dummull Kanghulla, Andoor Kanigull & Nowlagund etc						

Gold Coins (continued)

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments
Guddapuddee Pagoda	50.97	76.38	38.93	354.625	These coins were struck by Esajee Ram, Mumleeder of the Paishwa, about 60 years ago at Darivar and Nargoond, but the coinage has been discontinued for at least 25 years.
Fudduck Pagoda	50.77	76.38	38.77	353.234	
Kudvanajee Pagoda	50.75	76.38	38.76	353.095	
Hallee Sicca Pagoda	50.90	76.38	38.87	354.139	
Modapuddee Pagoda	50.55	75.25	38.038	346.500	
Rajaram Ekaire Pagoda	52.80	84.13	44.42	404.632	These coins have little or no currency in this province, but as they are circulated in the camp bazaar to a small extent, they are inserted in the list
Bhatoree Pagoda	50.50	75	37.87	345.003	
Tomancien ½ Pagoda	26.12	84.63	22.105	201.359	
Bangalore pagoda	52.82	84.25	44.50	405.363	This coin was struck during the government of Hyder, in the mint at Bangalore. It has no vary general circulation, but is occasionally received from individuals in payment of revenue.
Mahomed Shaie Pagoda	51.50	78.75	40.55	369.431	These coins have little currency in these provinces. Their exchange has now been fixed with reference to the rates of the Ballaree treasury and to their estimated value by the shroffs
Ventrataputkee Pagoda	51.50	76.38	39.33	358.313	
Herponbillee Pagoda	50.75	77.50	39.33	358.272	
Pavan Tharokee Pagoda	52.89	84.38	44.62	406.496	Received for assay from the Collector in the Doab. Current in the Southern Mahratta country
Nagar Tharokee Pagoda	52.90	85.13	45.03	410.186	
Gharava Tharokee Pagoda	53.85	85.25	45.18	411.543	
Bhut Padee Pagoda	52.90	84.75	44.83	408.355	
Baha Tapee Pagoda	54	84.75	45.76	416.853	

Joona Elaye Pagoda	52.50	84.38	44.29	403.500	
Navee Ekee pagoda	53	84.50	44.78	407.92	
Centeroy Fanams	5.82	59	3.43	31.278	
Sultana Fanams	5.87	58	3.40	31.012	

Silver Coins

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments
Bombay Rupee	179	92	164.68	100	
Calcutta Rupee	191.916	91.66	175.923	106.827	
Madras Rupee	180	91.66	165	100.194	
English Crown	436.36	92.5	403.63	245.101	
Spanish Dollar	415.02	89.38	370.95	225.25	Full weight 416 grains
German Crown	430.25	83.38	358.74	217.84	Full weight 433 grains
Ankoos or Chinsoree Rupee	172.50	91.75	158.26	96.105	Standard coin at Poona. Current throughout the Deccan & the Northern and Southern Concan.
Chandore rupee	172.25	91.50	157.608	95.705	Coined at Chandore, and is the standard coin of Candeish; passes equivalent with the Ankoosee Rs. Current also in the Northern Concan.
Thoora rupee	170	91.50	155.55	94.425	Current at Candeish
Jeereeputka Rupee	171.6	91.25	156.58	95.083	Coined at Nassuck; bears a discount of 8 & 12 annas per cent; current in the Northern Concan and Candeish
Belapooree rupee	171.82	85	146.04	88.685	Coined at Bellapore; current at Poona, Ahmadnuggur, the Concan etc.
Batoree Rupee	171.3	87	149.03	90.495	Coined at Bhatoor near Ahmednuggur; current in the Deccan; is inferior to the Ankoosee one per cent.
Shree Sicca Rupee	172	91.50	157.38	95.567	Coined formerly at Poona, and is esteemed better than the Ankoosee rupees by one per cent
Hallee Sicca Rupee	174.75	96.25	168.19	102.128	Coined at Poona for mercantile purposes
Waubgaum Rupee	172.55	91.50	157.88	95.872	Coined at Waubgaum, bears a discount with the Ankoosee of 8 annas per cent
Purkee Rupee	178.88	94.25	168.59	102.376	Current at Candeish. Coined by Scindia and is perhaps the same coin as assayed under the name of Berhanpoor sicca
Chambagoondee Rupee	171	84.75	144.92	88	Coined at Chambagoondee and bears a discount with the established Ankoosee of two per cent
Mullarshie or Bagulcota rupee	172.3	89	153.34	93.118	Coined at Bagulcota; current in the Doab, Malwan etc

Silver Coins (continued)

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments
Shapooree rupee	174	87	151.38	91.924	Coined at Shapoor and produces 102 Ankoosee per cent at Poona
Kittoor Shapooree rupee	174	86.25	150.07	91.013	This coin was struck originally at Kittoor; this mint has continued the coinage during the last 25 years; it is current in the district of Bettikerra, Belgaum and Padshapoor
Ongien Rupee	173	90.25	156.13	94	Coined at Ongien and Chullemaishwar. Passes in Poona at a premium of two per cent for Ankoosee rupees. Current throughout Malwa

Indore Rupee	174.50	92.50	161.41	98	Coined at Indore; current throughout Malwa
Govind Buksh Rupee	171.16	78	133.50	81.066	Coined at Aurangabad; is issued in payment to the troops at 120 for 100 Company's rupees
Nagpore Rupee	166.73	86.5	144.22	87.575	Coined at Nagpore, and is inferior at Poona to the Ankoosee rupee by four per cent
Broach rupee	177.5	87.62	155.52	94.440	The only currency at Broach. Current also at Kaira, Surat etc.
Old Broach Rupee	177.06	94.25	166.88	101.335	Coined formerly at Broach. Now disappearing
Cambay rupee	179.50	81.88	146.97	89.247	Current in the Nabob's districts, Kaira etc.
Babasye Rupee	177	84.88	150.75	91.540	Coined at Baroda, also current at Kaira etc
Walkersye Rupee	177.39	87.75	155.65	94.532	
Ashasye Rupee	176.50	86.5	152.68	92.705	
Mukunsye Rupee	176.62	87.5	154.54	93.842	
Wullubsye Rupee	175.56	85	150.07	91.217	
Ahmadabad sicca rupee	179.92	84	151.13	91.772	
New Ahmadabad Sicca Rupee	180.75	85	153.63	93.292	Present currency there, current also at Anjar and throughout Cutch
Hallee Ahmadabad Sicca Rupee	174.77	96.25	168.21	102.147	Coined at Ahmadabad, current within the walls of the city
Cutch Kowrie rupee	72.15	60.75	43.83	26.615	Coined at Anjar, current throughout Cutch
Porebunder Kowrie Rupee	74.50	69.75	51.96	31.553	Coined at Porebunder
Persian Rupee	159.12	94.50	150.36	91.309	Imported as bullion; current in the Persian Gulf
New Persian Rupee	141.3	94.50	133.52	81.083	<i>ditto</i>
Goa Rupee	168.50	86	144.91	87.995	Imported as bullion
Mysore or New Holker Rupee	173.56	94.25	163.58	99.390	Coined formerly at Mysore, now disappearing
Mulkapore rupee	173.2	71.75	124.27	75.461	Coined at Mulkapore and bears a discount of 12 per cent with the Ankusi

Silver Coins (continued)

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments
Meritch Hookaree Rupee	172.6	84	144.98	88.039	Coined at Meritch, bears a discount at Poona of 5 per cent
Narrainpet Rupee	172.5	80.50	138.86	84.321	A species of Hyderabad rupee coined at Narrainpet, but little known at Poona. Rate uncertain, from 9 to 12 per cent discount
Timbourne Rupee	171.3	85.50	146.46	88.936	<i>ditto</i> , coined at Timbourne by the late Sadaser Monkaiser. Is inferior to the proper Ankoosee rupee
Waye Sicca Rupee	171.8	89.50	153.76	92.760	<i>ditto</i> . Coined at Waye, & bears a discount in Poona of 1 per cent
Jumkundee Rupee	175	92	161	97.765	Coined at Jumkundee and passes at a discount of 2 per cent
Berhanpoore Rupee	178.8	94.75	169.41	102.87	Coined by Scindeah in Candeish
Phoolshere Rupee	171.7	91.50	157.10	95.397	A species of Ankoosee rupee, coined at Phoolshere, but inferior to the regular Ankoosee by 8 annas per cent
Pertabghur Rupee	170.40	87.25	148.67	90.278	Coined at Pertabghur, a species of Ankoosee rupee but 19 per cent inferior to it
Emaumee Rupee	175	95.50	167.12	101.484	The Emaumee coin was struck by the Sultan, but is not current in this province, and is seldom received by the shroffs or sabookars
Rajah Pondicherry Rupee	176.16	94.75	166.91	101.354	This coin was struck at Mysore during Poornya's administration. It is current, but not generally, in the Raneé Biddanoor district
Punlee Old Rupee	170.60	63	107.47	65.264	This coin was struck by Karweekur Maharaj at Panallee about 50 or 60 years ago. The mint still continues. The coin has very little

					currency in these districts.
Nepanee Perkanee Rupee	173	75.75	131	79.548	This coin was by Sidowjee Row Naik Nembalkur at Nepanee about 15 years ago. It is current in the districts of Padshapoor and that vicinity
Semboo Perkanee Rupee	172.75	79.75	137.76	83.658	Current in the Southern Mahratta Country
Moodholee Perkanee Rupee	173	57.50	99.47	60.405	This coin was struck by Malajee Row Modholkur about 30 years ago. It has very limited circulation.
Old Semboo Perkanee Rupee	174	89.75	156.16	94.829	This coin was struck by the Bhosla family of Sawartawdt about 200 years ago. It is but little current

Silver Coins (continued)

Type	Weight (grains, decimal)	Touch (% decimal)	Pure Metal (grains, decimal)	Value of 100 in Bombay Rupees (Rupees, quarters, reas)	Comments
Toragull Nelkantee Rupee	170	62	105.4	64	This coin was struck by Bhalasaheb of Toregull Synakhurga (about 50 years ago). It is but little current, not very generally.
Tokoshaie Rupee	173.16	94	162.77	98.84	Current in Ahmednuggur districts
Jyenuggree Rupee	172.68	90	155.41	94.37	
Mannashie Rupee	169.50	90	152.55	92.634	
Delhi Rupee	174.50	97.65	170.57	103.578	
1820 Perkanee Newest Rupee	177.9	88.75	157.88	95.875	Coined in Sawant state; received for assay from the political agent there
Spanish Independent Dollars	420.5	89.50	376.34	228.532	Coined at Chili in 1817, by the Independents

1. Bombay consultations, 13th August 1821. Letter from the Assay Master to Government, dated 13th August 1821. IOR P/411/40, p32
2. Prinsep E.T., *Useful Tables*, volume II pp 43-60. Modern publication by Indological Book House, Varanasi

Some New Southern Han Lead Coins

By David Hartill

During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period in the tenth century, China was ruled by a succession of legitimate dynasties in the north, while various kingdoms held sway in the south. Because of the absence of copper mines in their territory, some of these kingdoms issued lead coins instead of the normal copper cash. One of these issuers was the Southern Han kingdom (909-71), whose territory covered the present province of Guangdong, part of Guangxi province, and up to 939, the north of Vietnam.¹ According to the histories, "At this time (2nd year of the Qian Heng period - 918), because the receipts of the State were insufficient, lead money was cast whose value was ten for one copper coin."² Another issuer was the Chu kingdom (907-51). "At this time (925)..., as lead and iron were produced in Hunan [centre of the Chu kingdom], the proposal of Judge Gao You was followed and lead coins were cast whose value was ten for one copper coin."³ The Min kingdom in present day Fujian was a third issuer.

As well as coins from the Southern Han bearing the inscription *Qian Heng zhong bao*, five series of lead coins are attributed to the Southern Han and Chu. These coins have only recently come onto the market in any quantity, and are not illustrated in the normal catalogues. Only Hua Guang Pu's *Zhongguo Gu Qian Mulu* (Hunan 1998) shows a reasonable selection.

The first series bears the obverse inscription *Kai Yuan long bao*, "Inaugural Currency". (This inscription is mainly associated with the coinage of the Tang dynasty from 621 onwards, but was also used by later regimes, no doubt in order to give an air of legitimacy to their currency.) The characters are fairly neat, the *bao* is long, with feet at the corners, and the *tong* has a small head. On the reverse are

various characters and numerals, probably a mint control system whose significance is not known. The second series has the same obverse as the first, but very poorly written. On the reverse are various numerals.

The third series also has the *Kai Yuan tong bao* reverse, but the characters are blundered or illegible. The reverses are plain. The coins come in various sizes, often small.

The fourth series bears the obverse inscription *Kai Yuan zhong bao*, "the Inaugural Heavy Currency", although the coins themselves are small.

The fifth series has the obverse inscription *Wu Wu*. The *wu* (five) character is written in seal script as found on the well-known *Wu Zhu* coins. Reverses are plain, or echo the first series. These coins, which the author has acquired recently, are not illustrated by Hua.

Series 1. Obv: *Kai Yuan tong bao*.

1. Rev: *Jin* (a mint name?) above the hole. *Yi* (one) below.
2. as above *Er* (two) below, (in Hua, p.390)
3. as above *San* (three) below.
4. as above *Si* (four) below.

Series 2. Obv: *Kai Yuan tong bao*.

5. Rev: *Er* (two) right.
6. Rev: *San* (three) above.
7. Rev: *Si* (four) above

Series 4.

8. Obv: *Kai Yuanzhong bao*. Rev: plain.

Series 5. Obv: *Wu Wu* in seal script.

9. Rev: *Jin* right, *yi* left, like no. 1 but sideways.
10. Rev: *Jin* right, *san* left, like no. 3 but sideways.

1. F. Thierry, "Les *Kai Yuan* de plomb du royaume de Min", *Bull Soc Fr Num* 42.9 (Nov 1987)
2. *Shi Guo Chunqiu* 58 "Nan Han", 1. 3. *Shi Guo Chunqiu* 67, "Chu", 1

Southern Han Lead Coins



Series 1. Obv.



1



2



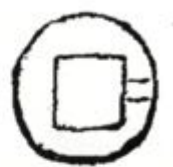
3



4



Series 2. Obv.



5



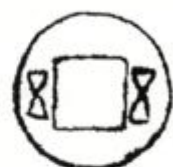
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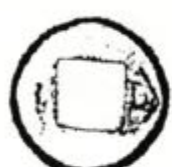
7



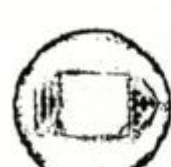
Series 4. 8



Series 5 Obv



9



10

Some modern fakes of Islamic countermarks from 7th century Syria – A warning!

By Wolfgang Schulze

During the Byzantine-Islamic transitional period in the second half of the 7th century copper coins were countermarked in Syria¹. As host coins we know of copper folles of Heraclius, Constans II and sometimes Constantine IV, as well as pseudo-Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine coins. On these counterstamps appear monograms, symbols, letters or an Arabic legend².

Recently coins with modern forgeries of such countermarks have been offered for sale. They come from the Lebanon/Syria area. Original coins have been used as host coins, viz. copper folles of Constans II and pseudo-Byzantine issues. So far the following three forgeries with Arabic legends have been noted:



فيلستين

1 Filast(in)



طبريا

2 Tabariya



اكا

3 Akka

Clearly the producers of these forgeries are trying to arouse the interest of collectors with phantasy countermarks and obtain high prices. As it is safe to assume that there were no countermarks with "Filastin", "Tabariya" or "Akka" in 7th century Syria, these forgeries are relatively easy to identify.

Moreover these forgeries can be recognised by the following features:

- at 8-9 mm diameter they are clearly larger than the genuine countermarks (6-7 mm); - the countermarks have a regular, round form and always show a horizontal (not slanting) surface; - the surface is noticeably smooth and often shows vestiges of concentric circles; - the inner edges of the countermarks are sharp and regular;
- the patina of the countermarks is identical with that of the host coins. At first sight, this can give the impression of an original strike. Presumably only the flat surface of the counterstamp has been stamped into the coin, so that the rest has been retained as lettering. This may have led to remnants of patina just like that of the host coin often appearing on the surface of these countermarks; - sometimes one can see regular grooves on the other side of the coin to the countermarks. In such cases the stamping was done on an uneven foundation.

It is quite possible that other types of these forgeries exist. To prevent such items finding their way into scientific discussions ONS members coming across any are invited to inform the present author or publish them here³.

¹ "Syria" is used here in the sense of the old Roman-Byzantine province, comprising the present-day area of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and south-east Turkey.

² cf. Tony Goodwin, Seventh Century Islamic Countermarks from Syria, ONS Newsletter No. 162, Winter 2000, 13-16.

An expanded version of this article based on considerably more examples is currently being prepared by Tony Goodwin and Wolfgang Schulze. They would be grateful for any additional references from private or public collections.

Cf. also: Stephen Album – Tony Goodwin, Sylloge of Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 1, Oxford 2002, 81, 104 with additional evidence.

³ I am particularly grateful to Dr Nassif Michel Nohra (Lebanon) for his generous provision of research material.