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ONS News

Membership List

There has unfortunately been some delay while Regional Secretaries have been checking entries to the list but we hope to have the revised membership list ready either with this newsletter or soon afterwards.

Jena,Germany 23rd-24th April 2005

For the fourth time collectors and scholars of oriental coins will be meeting in Jena. During this weekend about 10 lectures on various topics of Oriental numismatics will be given.

On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the birthday of Johann Gustav Stickel (1805-1896), the founder of the Grandducal Oriental Coin Cabinet in Jena and one of the founding fathers of Islamic Numismatics, we are proud to present the first "Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropa im Orientalischen Münzkabinett" based on his collective efforts and authored now by Tobias Mayer.

For information and participation please contact:
PD Dr. Stefan Heidemann, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena am Lehrstuhl für Semitische Philologie und Islamwissenschaft - Orientalisches Münzkabinett, Sellierstr. 6, D-07745 Jena
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Oxford: Please see note on **page 22**.

Obituary

We regret to announce the death of the Aksumite specialist, Stuart Munro-Hay at the early age of 57. His book *The Coinage of Aksum* was published in 1984 and, in 1995, a revised version with the title *Aksumite Coinage* was published.

New and Recent Publications

Callot, O. *Catalogue des Monnaies du Musée de Sahrjah (Emirats Arabes Unis) Essay on Pre-Islamic Arabian Coinages of the Oman Peninsula,* Paris, 2004, pp 164, plates. Text in English and French.

Bulletin of the Research Center for Silk Roadology 19: *Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian silver coins from Xinjiang. Sasanian type silver coins in the Xinjian Museum,* 2003, pp 342, illustrated throughout.

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 201 (Dec. 2004), 202 (Jan. 2005), 203 (Feb. 2005) and book list (winter 2004)
2. Warden Numismatics, LLC (Po Box 121, Wyncote Pa 19095, USA; tel & fax ++1 215 884 6721; dwarden@comcast.net) fixed price list 4.
3. Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; numismatique@elsen.br, www.wlsen.be) list 231 (Jan-March 2005)
4. AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd (11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ, UK; tel ++44 20 79306879; fax ++44 20 7930 9450; www.baldwin.sh; coins@baldwin.sh) Islamic Coins list no. 9, March 2005.
5. Galerie Antiker Kunst (Oberstrasse 110 D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244; drsimonian@web.de) list of Islamic and oriental coins, February 2005.

Other News

XV South Indian Numismatic Society Conference, 8-9th January, Sri Yoginareyana Ashrama Trust and Indology Centre, Kaiwara, Kolar District, Karnataka.
By Barbara Mears

It was with some trepidation that I set out from Bangalore to travel the 60 km to the SINS conference at the Yoginareyana Ashram. Kaiwara did not appear on any of my maps, being in a rural area, and my previous experience of Hindu pilgrim towns was of hot, crowded places offering substandard accommodation. Kaiwara was certainly to prove the exception. Set in the shadow of a picturesque rocky outcrop, the dazzling white buildings of the Ashram were cool and spotlessly clean. Delicious meals were served on banana leaves three times a day in the huge refectory, where we were told that between 1,000 to 2,000 pilgrims were fed daily.

The place was certainly busy. As well as the pilgrims, throughout the conference regular buses disgorged hundreds of local schoolchildren, who filed past the displays of Indian coins and banknotes mounted by members of the local numismatic society. During the introductory speeches, it was explained that one of the reasons that the conference had been held in such a rural area was in order to bring the idea of coins as historical and

collectable items to people who might not previously have considered this idea. It proved a refreshing change from Western coin fairs and symposia, usually peopled solely by wealthy collectors and diehard enthusiasts.

Apart from being centrally placed between the four South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka, a second reason for holding the conference in Kaiwara was that it was in the centre of the ancient Kolar gold fields. This had been the only place in India where gold was mined in the early medieval period, and was thus probably the source for many coins of the Hoysala, Ganga and Telegu Choda dynasties, to name a few.

Dignitaries from the Karnataka State Government inaugurated the conference and introduced various new publications, the excitement of each launch being heightened by pristine copies being unwrapped and distributed before our eyes. These included the 15th journal of the ever-popular "Studies in South Indian Coins", recording the papers presented at the 2004 conference, "Venetian Coins in Karnataka" by Dr. R. Gopal, a book on Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar by Drs. Gopal and Narendra Prasad, and Dr A. Sundara's account of Robert Bruce Foote. It was announced that Mr. R. Krishnamurthy had been awarded a long-overdue honorary doctorate for his work on South Indian coins, and I was lucky enough to be able to purchase a copy of his new publication on Pallava coins, which is sure to become a classic.

The rest of Saturday and Sunday were filled by so many papers that it would be difficult to mention them all here, but they included contributions from Dr Giripathy on a new series of Hoysala Panams with representations of Vishnu, and a new Maharathi coin from Guntakkal; Dr Narasimha Murthy on the Bhadravathi hoard of silver punchmarked coins; Dr Sankara Narayanan on Jaffna Aryachakravarti coins; T. Satyamurthy on a terracotta sealing bearing a standing bull found at Darasuram temple; and a new appraisal of symbols found on Sangam Age coins by Dr. T. Sundararaj.

I was worried because by the end of Saturday I had scarcely snatched a few moments to visit the trading area where coins were being exchanged and sold. But not to worry, as everyone was staying on-site there was plenty of time in the evening to look at what was on offer and to socialise with other collectors. The evening's activities were accompanied by evocative singing by a local musician, drifting from the temple mandapam. When I retired to bed about midnight, the singing seemed to intensify and have the added accompaniment of drums and bells. It went on ….and on… and on…. until at 5 am the temple bell rang for the morning service. We later discovered that Sri Yoginareyana had been famous for the number of songs and poems he wrote, and that devotees would regard themselves as failing in their duty if they left the ashram bereft of song at night.

For all that, I could not fault the hospitality, and the fantastic value of Rs.150 (£2.00), which covered all the conference activities, publications and mementos, accommodation and meals for two days, as well as a generous offer to all members to come back and use the facilities whenever they felt the need for a period of quiet (!) study and reflection.

This conference is held at a different venue in South India every year in early January. If you happen to be in India at the time and have any interest in South Indian coins, it is worth taking a detour to participate in it. You are assured a warm welcome, and are sure to acquire many new friends. Details can be obtained from the General Secretary, Dr A.V. Narasimha Murthy, Mysore University, 7A/2 Gokulam Road, Jayalakshmipuram, Mysore 570 012.

Auction News

Jean Elsen & ses fils s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, 1040 Brussels, Belgium, tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be) auction 83 (12 March 2005) had around 220 lots of oriental interest.

Highlights of the Spink spring auction in London included a rare Abbasid Dirham of Zubayda, wife of Harun al-Rashid, a series of Zodiac Mohurs of Jahangir, an Arab-Khwarezm Drachm, a rare ¼-Rupee of the Bengal Presidency and a collection of tin Pitis of Brunei. The summer auction, to be held on 30th June, will include a rare 10-Kori of Kutch, dated 1943, together with other Native States coins. It will also feature some medieval portrait coins from North Pakistan (ref. ONS Newsletter 181). For a catalogue, please contact Barbara Mears at bmears@spink.com or call ++44 207 563 4019.

Reviews

A Catalogue of Tibetan Coins of China, by Wen Cheng-min. Lhasa 2004. Price 200 Yuan. 261pp, many illustrations.

This book gives the very best listing of Tibetan coins published to date, in China or in the West. A total of eight hundred and seventy coins and forty-three banknotes are described and illustrated on the 261 pages, along with short descriptive text in Chinese. The illustrations are of a generally high quality, and the inclusion of weight, diameter and rarity of each specimen listed make the information given really useful and easy to use. Some of the pieces illustrated are described as either modern or contemporary forgeries, which should help the collector, although the listing of forgeries is far from comprehensive.

Several varieties of coins are illustrated that this reviewer had not previously noticed during over forty years of collecting Tibetan coins, and very few major varieties are omitted. Naturally, there are a few minor areas in which the listing could be slightly improved or corrected, but these are few and far between. For example Coin 7 is a forgery made in the 1930/40's, probably in Shanghai (it exists in red gold, silver, copper and, I believe, brass). This reviewer believes that Nos. 46, 62, 91, 133, 163 & 164 are also similar Shanghai/Beijing 20th century forgeries, and other similar forgeries of the same vintage exist, also of later emperors. No. 380 is a forgery made about 1968 in Nepal. Nos. 739, 740, 741 and 759 are forgeries made in Calcutta between 1925 and 1927 - I have similar pieces that were obtained at the time and used as evidence at the trial of the forgers in 1927 (my wife's grandfather was the police officer responsible for their arrest and prosecution). Also, certain pieces such as Nos. 292 and 795, are certainly contemporary forgeries, although not described as such.

Just for information, the coins that this reviewer had never seen before include - Nos. 79 (a new variety of 5 Fen of Qian Lung Yr.58), 130 (a very unexpected 5 Fen of Jia Qing Yr. 6, with Manchu legend - it would have been useful to have the Manchu legend translated), 260 (a wonderful and completely new variety of Gaden Tangka), 275, 283, 330, 343, 387, 627, 677 (a strange coin – which Mr Wen notes needs further research), 788 (a strange double obverse coin struck with apparently identical dies - could it be two reverses stuck together?!), and 791 (could be a Calcutta-made forgery of 1927?). The inclusion of these pieces makes the book a real treat for the specialist. By contrast, only very few pieces are obviously not listed by Mr Wen – for example there are 5 Sho coins like No. 407, but dated 15-58 and 15-60, although both are rare.

By contrast, the section on banknotes is rather disappointing. No mention is made of the dates on the rare first-issue notes, and of the two dates on the 10 Tam note that exist, only that dated 1658 being illustrated. The date on one of the multicoloured 50 tam notes is misread – No.881 is dated 1673, not 1672. No.882 is a very interesting problem note, in that the serial number is inappropriate for the date, so it must either be a forgery or there is an error in the serial number – with only the top of the note visible, it is difficult to say. Hence, for the banknotes, while the listing is the best yet published in China, it certainly does not add much to the fine book published by Wolfgang Bertsch, and published in India (*A Study of Tibetan Paper Money*, Dharamsala, 1997).

Apart from Tibetan coins, Mr Wen lists as Nos. 535 to 623, a variety of the Nepalese silver coins that circulated in Tibet. While this includes a good range of varieties, including some rarities,

there is no description other than the dates of issue. These are generally read correctly, but some errors in reading are present, for example No. 538 is dated 816 (the last digit is reversed in error), No. 609 is 1693, not 1696, No. 610 is 1696, not 1676, No. 613 is 1703, not 1702 and No. 620 is 1792, not 1782. Clearly Nepalese coins are not Mr Wen's forte, but with the correct reading of the date in most cases, and correct attribution to the three Newar kingdoms of Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu, this is a considerable improvement on anything previously published in China.

The prices generally give a reliable indication of rarity, although the relatively high prices for coins with legends in the Chinese language represent the present bias of collectors in China towards these familiar issues. By contrast, the issues of the Tibetan local government of similar rarity, are, on the whole, given a lower price, although mostly in line with world prices.

The listing of Tibetan coins is clearly the main value of this book, and the very comprehensive nature of this listing means that it will be an essential reference for anyone describing Tibetan coins in the future. Mr Wen is to be congratulated for producing a really excellent listing of Tibetan coins, and it is be hoped that future authors will now publish more historical and economic background to the various issues, including data from the records that are still held in the old Tibetan mint.

Nicholas Rhodes

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

(This review was first published in Spink Numismatic Circular, Volume CXIII, number 1, February 2005, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the editor of NC and the reviewer)

This monumental new work of scholarship from Dr Mitchiner continues his tried and tested picture-in-text format. It brings together a huge range of illustrated material within one publication, encompassing the earliest coinages of Europe, India and China, and their many independent peripheral and buffer states. Thus we have illustrations of Greek electrum issues (cross-referenced to Weidauer and the Rosen collection), Early Greek silver (cross-referenced to Babelon, BMC etc), Indian Punchmarked silver (Imperial issues cross-referenced to Gupta Hardaker) and Ancient Chinese spades, knives and cash coins (cross-referenced to the Shanghai Museum Catalogue, Coole etc). Thus it offers the collector and the student a compendium of the earliest coinages published previously in numerous disparate catalogues, complemented by publication of many series previously hardly published at all (eg the Kabul Valley punchmarked coins (2046+), or the crude first silver issues of the Caucasus region (5819+)).

Volume One opens with an extended investigation of the late prehistoric world (neolithic to iron age) out of which coinage eventually arose. Matters to do with climate change and migration, the technology of metal working and transportation and the routes and nature of long-distance trade are all investigated in a global context, in some detail, over 190 pages. A detailed account of the world's early coinages then follows over the subsequent 1200 pages. The earliest coinage of each region is taken separately, so that we find reference not only to the very archaic coins of Greece, India and China, (of the 5th century BC and earlier), but also of the early coins of Britain in the 1st century BC, those of Ethiopia in the 3rd - 6th century AD etc etc. The section including the catalogue of coins also includes a very substantial and useful selection of quotes from key primary texts, including standard works like Herodotus, Kautilya and Mencius, and also extracts from lesser known authors, rock-carved inscriptions and the like. The coin catalogue is interspersed with detailed accounts of historical, metallurgical and metrological facts and hypotheses as they seem relevant to particular developments. Needless to say this review can hardly begin to do justice to all the insights and suggestions proposed in the work.

Regarding the key questions about coin origins, Mitchiner looks to Lydia for the first coins, and suggests local supplies of natural electrum were the trigger of the event (page 209). This will be discussed further below. Mitchiner agrees with Cribb in deriving Indian punchmarked coinage from Western prototypes - and seeks to strengthen the case by arguing that the influence of Babylonian traders on India coin development can still be seen by the widespread adoption of Babylonian weight standards in early Indian coin issues (page 741). A new hypothesis is tentatively lodged concerning Chinese coin origins. Arguments are advanced that a change in alloy denotes the move from commodity/implement exchange to currency exchange, and that the so called 'fish money' seems to appear at the time of this change - the change to a lead/copper alloy. On the back of this observation Mitchiner hypothesises that Scythian traders, familiar with the copper 'dolphin' coins of Olbia on the Black Sea, might have carried the concept of currency to China. (pages 364 & 1126)

Mitchiner's central thesis is that ancient world-wide coin use is a rather seamless development out of earlier world wide use of and trade in metals. The numerous corollaries of this thesis are worked out over the course of the work. Thus the invention of coinage (in Lydia) is explained as a means of creating a market for an inferior form of bullion - electrum (page 209). International traders are assumed to be convenienced by having coin available as a means carrying their wealth from place to place. The metrology of coinage is derived directly from the metrology of bullion (page 208). Changes in denomination structure are seen as driven by changes in bullion supply (page 570). In all these areas Mitchiner follows or builds on fairly widely agreed presumptions, often representing what seems to be the current majority view. By presenting the material in a fully extended and ramified form, interpretational linkages which tend to be masked in the specialist presentations of professional academia are clearly displayed in Mitchiner's more generous and all-embracing presentation of matters. Thus we can better judge how the strengths, and the weaknesses, trickle down through the logic of the extended argument into its separate parts, a matter which is largely masked in more specialist publications.

Regarding the general thesis, surely there can be no doubt that a far-flung trade in luxury goods, specialist products and scarce raw materials grew up in late prehistoric times. And doubtless, too, a vital exchange of ideas and technologies travelled on the back of this trade. Coin use was one of these ideas, and trade was surely important in spreading that idea too. However, in some sections Mitchiner seems to over-egg the pudding regarding the importance of ancient trade. Given the labour intensive nature of agriculture, transportation and mining/manufacturing at this early period, it seems hard to believe that any but a rather small state could really survive primarily on its international export trade. The ancient citizens of Phoenicia or Miletos might have got a good deal of their wealth from trade, but it seems less credible that this could be true of a large inland state. Thus Mitchiner's hypothesis (page 125) that the decline of the ancient Indus Valley civilisation could be primarily due to competition from Mediterranean copper and Devon tin seems somewhat anachronistic.

On the origin of coinage in Lydia, Mitchiner suggests that there was no technique for separating gold from silver at the time of the first coin issue (page 207). Mitchiner supposes that the king who issued the first Lydian coins tried to overcome this problem by giving them a stamped mark, to guarantee a realistic tariff, and then passed them off on inter-regional traders (page 213). There seem to be a number of problems with this explanation as it stands. Firstly, a substantial body of scholars have argued over recent decades that salt cementation had been used to separate gold and silver for at least a thousand years before the first coinage in Lydia. Secondly, most, if not all early Lydian coinage seems to be struck

not from naturally occurring electrum, but from electrum 'diluted' with additional silver. (see Keyser and Clarke in ANS studies 24 'Hacksilber to Coinage' 2001 for a summary of both these matters). The thrust of these findings, if they can be sustained, is that the first coins likely held a significant proportion of their value in a fiduciary form only. That is to say - the king used his stamp to raise the value of the metal - as a money making device. Thus it seems less likely that international traders would be the principle customers for such overvalued forms of bullion. The use of even these first coins by citizens of the Lydian state for some kind of internal or retail purpose seems more likely.

Somewhat against the tide of modern scholarship, Mitchiner gives extensive space over to the attempted reconstruction of early metrological systems, and uses the results gained thereby as the basis for further insights. He is surely to be congratulated for this. Regarding the metrological systems of Europe and Persia, he takes the work of Head (1911) as his starting point, and extends Head's results with a number of ingenious possibilities. Regarding the metrological systems of India, Mitchiner repeats his contention, first lodged in the 1970's, that they derive from ancient Iranian weight systems. It is possible to take issue with both of these general theses. Regarding Hindu weight standards, Marshall (Mohenjo Daro, 1931) contra-Mitchiner gives rather good evidence that early Hindu coin weight standards correlate very well with a system of weight clearly in use in the Indus Valley civilisation, and clearly distinguishable from the contemporary Iranian standards. Regarding Euro-Persian standards, the continuing work of a few independently minded, mid-20th century scholars (Skinner, Berryman, Stecchini et al) seem to point away from Head's bullion based 'primitive' pound of cca 409 grams (50 staters) transformed by raising the standard (eg to 421 grams) to increase tax. The work of Skinner et al points instead to a primitive pound of cca 500 grams (60 staters), which is lowered in the case of most coinages - due to the deduction of seigniorage. Once again Michiner lodges hypotheses where the importance of trade and bullion are stressed, when it is possible instead to construct convincing theories based upon seigniorage, taxation, and other more state-centred factors.

I cannot emphasise enough how important I think it is that we follow Mitchiner in his general approach to the problem of early coinage, in throwing the net wide. Our sources concerning the development of early coins are so scant and fragmentary that otherwise we stand no chance of properly bringing the matter into the light of understanding. Unless we stand well back and look at the whole problem, we are bound to miss the wood and see only the trees. Looking at this work from the view point of scholarship, I think the net must be thrown wider still. Metrology needs also to be interpreted against the political imposition of seigniorage. The promotion of coin use and petty retailing need also to be interpreted in the light of the aspirations of the early tyrants who promoted coinage. However, from the viewpoint of an individual, it seems to me that here Mitchiner has done very much more than his own fair share of the work, laying out the broad arena of debate. This monumental labour must surely shame all the rest of us with any interest in this subject into trying a little harder to take the matter forward ourselves.

Robert Tye

Articles

The date on the 8-rosette and 4-line irregular-shaped copper coins of Queen Tamar

By Severian Turkhia and Irakli Paghava

The aim of this article is to determine the date on the 8-rosette and 4-line irregular-shaped copper coins of Queen Tamar.

During the reign of Queen Tamar (1184-1210 or 1213) the Georgian kingdom became one of the dominant political powers of the region. Despite the cultural and economical prosperity in Georgia as well as in neighbouring countries, no silver coins were issued in this period. The majority of the monetary series issued in the name of Tamar are in the form of irregular-shaped copper coins "which are little more than rudely fashioned lumps of metal of various sizes, stamped haphazardly with a die often too big or too small for the planchet" (Lang), of the following type:

fig.1

Obv. In the centre, Tamar's name in Mkhedruli/knightly script (used nowadays). Surrounded by a wreath of rosettes and a border of dots and a circular inscription in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, abbreviated for *sakhelit'a ghvt'isait'a ik'na tcheday vetskhlisi amis k'oronikonsa 407*: In the name of God, was made the striking of this silver piece in the Koronikon 407 (i.e. 1187 AD) (in another variety there is 430, i.e. 1210 AD). Surrounded by a border of dots.

Rev. In centre, in Arabic in 5 lines *al-malikat al-muaẓama / jalal al-dunia wa'l-dīn / Tamar binta Giurgi / ẓahir al-masiḥ / aiza-llaha anṣarahu: The great Queen / Glory of the Worlds and Faith / Tamar daughter of Giorgi / Champion of the Messiah / May God increase [her] victories*. Marginal inscription in Arabic, surrounded by a border of dots: *ḍāfu-llahu jalaliha wa mudda ẓilaliha wa aiyed ighbaluha: God increase her glory and lengthen her shadow and strengthen her beneficence!* Surrounded by the border of dots. (Fig. 1). (Lang #10; Pakhomov #56, #57; 1955 Kapanadze #60).

fig.2

It is noteworthy that there exist so-called double coins (Fig. 2) of the same type, produced by applying the dies twice side by side to the rudely fashioned planchet. These are much rarer. (Some extremely rare triple and quadruple irregular-shaped Georgian copper coins are known as well).

The wreath on these coins consists of various numbers of rosettes, mostly 6, though there are also extremely rare varieties with 7 (1955 Kapanadze p. 64) or 8 rosettes (1955 Kapanadze p. 64, Pakhomov #59). Kapanadze published an apparently rare 8-rosette coin with quite an interesting marginal reverse inscription in Arabic saying that the coin had been struck in AH 583 (=1187 AD) instead of the formula praising Tamar. (1969 Kapanadze p. 75-76, #68a). According to Kapanadze some 8-rosette coins have the standard 5-line reverse inscription (1955 Kapanadze p. 64). But there definitely exist different 8-rosette coins, remarkable for their reverse which lacks the last, fifth line of the standard inscription (1955 Kapanadze p. 64, Pakhomov #59).

Until the 1990s, only a few single coins with 8 rosettes and a 4-line reverse inscription were known, with the date partially

falling outside the flan or not legible. Therefore it was impossible to ascertain whether it was Koronikon 407 (1187 AD) or 430 (1210 AD). The prominent scholar, Pakhomov, was in favour of the former (Pakhomov p. 92, #59). Fortunately, quantities of 8-rosette, 4-line coins have recently emerged on the market (from some dispersed hoard). They are double (Fig. 3) and understandably bigger in size, thus enabling us to read the date.

fig.3

It is, therfore, possible to specify now that at least some 8-rosette, 4-line irregular-shaped copper coins issued by Queen Tamar are dated 1210 AD (Koronikon 430).

References:

1. Lang D. Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia, New-York, 1955.
2. Kapanadze D. Georgian Numismatics, Moscow, 1955. (in Russian)
3. Kapanadze D. Georgian Numismatics, Tbilisi, 1969. (in Georgian)
4. Pakhomov E. Coins of Georgia, Tbilisi, 1970. (in Russian)

Parthian coins in Lorestan Museum

By Farhang Khademi Nadooshan[1], Syed Sadrudin Mosavi[2], and Mohammad Azizi[3]

Summary

The coins kept in the newly established Museum of Falak ul-Aflak in Khoramabad city of Lorestan province, which was part of the ancient Median and Elymaean satrapies of Parthia, show that the territory of the Medes was one of the important states of the Parthian dynasty. The mint marks of the coins confirm Sellwood's findings that they were struck at the Ecbatana mint. Surprisingly the coins of other mints as well as Parthian tetradrachms are absent from the huge number of coins unearthed in this state.

Introduction

An eastern region of present-day Iran (see map, below), Lorestan in ancient times was part of the Median satrapy. Possibly the Parthians ruled in this part of their kingdom until the end of their dynasty. Lorestan was not only one of the important regions of the Parthian territory but was also equally important for the Elymeans and Mesopotamians. The newly established museum of Falak ul-Aflak in Khoramabad Province, Iran, contains a considerable number of Parthian coins, kept as simple finds or hoards. A catalogue of these coins has been prepared at the museum.

The existing coins at the museum show that, even during the era of the Seleucid dynasty, the coins of Alexander were still in general circulation and a good number of them, including drachms and tetradrachms, are deposited in this museum. All the Parthian coins kept in this state museum are drachms from the mint of Ecbatana except two, which are tetradrachms.

Historical background to the Parthians in Lorestan

It seems that the Median satrapy, which also included today's Lorestan, had been occupied by Mithradates I towards the end of his life. It is possible that he did not personally participate in the war but that his commander conquered this satrapy on his behalf. After his death, his son, Phraates[4], in his winter stay in Media, waged a war against Antiochus VII, the Seleucid king. After an unexpected triumph over Antiochus VII, Phraates, and his uncle, who succeeded him, were killed in a clash with Saka mercenaries.

When Mithradates II ascended the Parthian throne, he pushed the Sakas westwards[5] and captured Armenia. Next, he occupied Media and Mesopotamia. During the last stage of his life, he faced many difficulties, Gotarzes I took Mesopotamia and concentrated his power there. After some years Orodes I took his place and, finally, several other kings succeeded him.

Mithradates III killed his own father Phraates III, who was in turn killed by his brother Orodes II. During the reign of Orodes II, a Roman proconsul, Crassus, arrived in Mesopotamia where the Parthians defeated his army. After his death, his son, Phraates IV, ascended the Parthian throne.

For some time, Phraates IV was in the northern part of the Median satrapy[6] where he fought Mark Anthony, another Roman Proconsul. After the conclusion of a peace treaty between Phraates IV and Augustus, his son, Phraataces, ascended the Parthian throne and married his own mother. The sons of Phraates IV, namely, Vonenes and Orodes III, who were in Rome, succeeded Phraataces after his death, but the Parthian nobles dethroned them. Artabanus II (10-38 AD), a son of a local king, was installed on the Parthian throne. He tried to restore economic stability.

After Artabanus, the Parthian territory was divided between Vardanes I and Gotarzes II (40-51 AD). Vardanes I was in Media and finally became the sole king after recapturing Seleucia[7].

After some time, Vonenes II (51 AD) for a short period ruled in Media[8] and Vologases I (51-78 AD), the son of Vardanes, became king. With the intensification of Roman invasions of the Parthian territories, they made a united frontier. Osroes II, along with the Parthamaspates, fought off the Romans. After the normalisation of the situation by Vologases II he was replaced by Vologases III and his unknown rival ruled for some time. After Vologeses IV, Vologases V (208-224 AD) became king, a contemporary of Artabanus (216-224 AD). The latter was supported by the Medes while Vologases VI received the support of the Mesopotamians. Finally from Media he occupied Mesopotamia and Susa[9].

Comments

All the Parthian silver coins, discovered in this state and kept in the said Museum, have the mintmark of Ecbatana (Table 1) as mentioned by Sellwood[10] for the first time. Ecbatana was the capital of the Median satrapy. Surprisingly, silver coins of the Parthians, which were issued in other satraps, are absent here. Apart from two tetradrachms that were minted in Seleucia, the rest

of the coins are drachms, which indicates that Media was not on the Mesopotamian trade routes and that the drachms circulated along trade routes different from those of Mesopotamia.

From the beginning of Parthian rule (248 BC till 224 AD) there seems to have been a slow decrease in the weight of the Parthian silver coins. In the first century AD, the Parthian territory was confined to few satrapies. Possibly they issued more coins of lighter weight to overcome some economic crises.

The absence of earlier coins of Parthian kings before Mithradates II and the existence of coins of Gotarzes I and Orodes I show that the Parthians only intermittently settled in this part of Media. The absence of coins belonging to the earlier stages of Mithradates II's rule and the existence of coins belonging to the later stages of his rule in this region indicate that he controlled Media towards the end of his life.

There are also reports of the coins of some unknown local kings originating from Media. The coins of Orodes II and those of Phraates IV (who ruled for a long period and with full power in the Parthian period) have been reported in this state in considerable numbers. Possibly the centre of concentration of their power was the north of Media extending to the central parts. The Parthians were confined to the western part of Parthia and Mesopotamia at the end of their rule. Their coins mainly circulated in Media and adjoining regions.

The coins of Artabanus II, a son of the local king of Media, have been reported. But since the reigns of Vologoses I and III, and Osroes II were relatively short, the presence of their coins was possibly merely because of the several wars they waged against the Romans and against their rivals. There is no report of any coins of Vologoses V (191-208 AD), a predecessor of Artabanus IV (216-224 AD), who ruled in Media, but the drachms of Vologoses VI (208-228 AD) have been reported in good numbers.

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Notes

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4. A.D.H.Bivar, The Cambridge History of Iran, The Seleucid, Parthian and Sassanian period, Vol 3(1), London, 1993 p.37.
5. Ibid, p.41 (According to Bivar, modern Azerbaijan)
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8. Ibid, p.79.
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King's number	King's name	Number of coins	Mint	Unit	Sellwood's Classification
1	Mithradates II	19	Probably Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 27.1
2	Mithradates II	5	Probably Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 28.3
3	Gotarzes I	18	Probably Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 33.3
4	Orodes I	3	Probably Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 31.6
5	Unknown king	6	Probably Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 30.15
6	Orodes II	1	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 43.1
7	Orodes II	5	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 47.5
8	Phraates IV	1	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 54.7
9	Artabanus II	7	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 63.6
10	Pacorus II	4	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 73.1
11	Vologases I	1	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 70.13
12	Vologases III	11	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 78.11
13	Vologases III	8	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 78.7
14	Vologases IV	2	Seleucia	Tetradrachm	Type 84.4
15	Osroes II	5	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 85.2
16	Vologases VI	15	Ecbatana	Drachm	Type 88.18

Table 1

Individual coin weights are as follows:

Mithradates II (type 27.1) 19 coins: 3.6, 3.8, 4.2, 2.09, 3.9, 3.8, 4.4, 4.1, 3.8, 4, 3.9, 4, 3.6, 4, 3.9, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9 g
Mithradates II (type 28.3: 5 coins: 3.9, 3, 2.9, 2.7, 3.3 g
Gotarzes I (type 33.3) 18 coins: 3.7, 3.4, 3.9, 3.6, 3.9, 3.8, 3.7, 3.9, 3.9, 2.7, 3.2, 3.7, 3.9, 2.2, 3.6, 4.1, 3.8, 3.8 g
Orodes I (type 31.6) 3 coins: 1.9, 2.1, 3.2 g
Unknown king (type 30.15) 6 coins: 4.2, 3, 4.1, 3.7, 3.5, 3 g
Orodes II (type 43.1) 1 coin: 2.9 g
Orodes II (type 47.5) 5 coins: 4.3, 3.7, 4.1, 4.3, 3.7 g
Phraates IV (type 54.7) 1 coin: 3.3 g
Artabanus II (type 63.6) 7 coins: 2.5 , 4.3, 3, 3.4, 4.2, 3.9, 3.1g
Pacorus II (type 73.1) 4 coins: 3.7, 3.4 , 3.3, 3.5g
Vologases I (type 70.13) 1 coin: 3.4 g
Vologases III (type 78.11) 11 coins: 3.3, 3.7, 4.1, 2.9, 3.9, 4.2, 4.2, 3.9, 3.9, 3.8, 4 g
Vologases III (type 78.7) 8 coins: 2.9, 2.9, 3.9, 3.9, 3.9, 4.2, 4.7, 3.6 g
Vologases IV (type 84.4) 2 coins: 12.4, 12.9 g
Osroes II (type 85.2) 5 coins: 3.2, 3.5, 3.4, 3.7, 3.2 g
Vologases VI (type 88.18) 15 coins: 2, 3.1, 3.3, 3.4, 3.7, 4.1, 3.9, 3.4, 3.4, 3.8, 3.7, 3.7, 3.6, 3.9, 3.9 g

More on the money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach
By Michael Fedorov

When I was writing my article on the history of money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach (a very complicated and difficult subject) I missed some important things, probably because my attention was somewhat dulled by long and tiring work. Having received *ONS Newsletter* 178, I carefully re-read my article and paid attention to the Editor's note (p.12) "*the author does not provide any evidence to substantiate this belief*". The relevant line is: "In Smirnova's catalogue there are twelve different types (of coins with the trident-shaped tamgha - M .F), which I believe indicates that there were at least twelve rulers in the dynasty with the trident-shaped emblem". On thinking further about this I saw the Editor's point. He was right that there was no evidence of 12 rulers in Smirnova's catalogue. To begin with, in her catalogue there are 14 types: 1) Nr. 1498, 2) Nr. 1499-1545, 3) Nr. 1546, 4) Nr. 1547-1550, 5) Nr. 1551-1553, 6) Nr. 1554, 7) Nr. 1555, 8) Nr. 1556-1557, 9) Nr. 558, 10) Nr. 1559-1560, 11) Nr. 561, 12) Nr. 1562-1563, 13) Nr. 1564-1574, 14) Nr. 1575-1577. Also I missed the fact that of the 14 types 3 were minted by ruler **trnβč** (or **tr'βč**), whom I identify with *Mohedo* (Bahadur) *tutun* of the Chinese chronicle. He was mentioned in 713 and then in 740, when the Chinese emperor awarded him the high title of *shun i van* (Fedorov 2003, 11, 13). So actually there was one ruler and three subtypes, differing slightly. So it makes (14-2) twelve rulers (with one ruler minting 1 type and 2 subtypes).

Further. The coins of types **j, k** and **l** (Fedorov 2003, 12) were minted by the same ruler, **γwβ twn**, whom I identify with the ruler mentioned by the Chinese chronicle, ***Tun*** *tutun*. ***Tun*** *tutun* circa (but not later than) 638 attacked Dulu-khan, defeated his brother, Hilishi, but was soon after that killed. So it is (12-2) ten rulers (two rulers minting 1 type and 2 subtypes each). Now about the name **twn**. On coin Nr. 1563 Smirnova with certainty read it as **t[δ]wn**, placing δ in brackets which means that this letter is absent. On coin Nr. 1564 she read **tδwn** but in the picture of this coin, located about 3cm above, the letter δ is manifestly absent (either it did not survive or, most likely, was not placed there at all). In any case she should have put this letter in brackets, which she did not (or did not notice the mistake made by the type-setter). On coin Nr. 1571 she read **tδwn** but, to be honest, I do not see any letter δ in the picture and photo of the coin (Smirnova 1981, pl. XLIV, LXXXIV). Letter δ (written the same way as letter **l**) has its upper stroke slanting to the left (twice as high as the other letters, resembling in this respect the Arabic letter ل). On coin Nr. 1571 it is a small almost imperceptible stroke at the upper part of the loop designating the letter **w**. The word in question difers manifestly from the word **tδwn** on another coin of Chach (Fedorov 2003, 12, fig. 10, 11). On coin **i)** the letter δ is high (twice as high as the other letters) slanting to the left and standing quite apart from the following letter **w**. On coin **k)** it is a small stroke at the upper part of the loop. The letter **w** was written either as **o** or ɔ (Oranskii 1960, 203). If one puts **o** inside of one will have exactly what it is on coin **k)**. Could it be a transition from ɔ to **o**?

Further, having scanned closely types, **g** and **h**, I came to the conclusion that they were struck by the same ruler. The coins were a main unit and its multiple or fraction. Both types have the face (full view) of the ruler in a diadem with crescent (obverse), and the same trident (pointing left) with the middle tooth half the length of the lateral teeth, which diverge slightly (reverse). So it makes (10-1) nine rulers (with two rulers minting 1 type and 2 subtypes, and one ruler minting 1 type and 1 subtype).

The remaining nine types were minted by nine different rulers. Coins of these types differed in the direction of the lion and tamgha (in addition to any differences in the legend, ruler's image or the shape of the trident). This was done deliberately. Each issuer minted his own type differing in some details from the coins of his predecessors. On coin Nr. 1498 the lion faces right and the trident, left. On the most numerous (Nr. 1499-1550) coins of Tarnavch the lion faces right and the trident, left, but the trident on these coins differs greatly from the trident on coin Nr. 1498. The trident on coin Nr. 1498 is square with all teeth of the same length and the shaft placed assymetrically, not in the centre but shifted somewhat towards the left (or lower) tooth. The coin is anepigraphic. On coins Nr. 1499-1550 the trident is tapering off and resembles a half-oval with a triangle in the middle. The shaft is placed in the centre, the middle tooth is a bit shorter. There are subtypes among coins Nr. 1499-1550: on some coins the lion has one paw stretched forward, on others it is not the case. On coin Nr. 1546 under the lion is the word **prn**. But on all the coins the lion faces right and the tapering-off trident, left. The lion and the trident were oriented in different directions. If images of the obverse and reverse are put side by side, the images face each other. On coins Nr. 1551-1553 the lion faces left and the trident, right. They are turned in different directions but in a different way. If the images of the obverse and reverse are put side by side, the images are back to back. The middle tooth of the trident is shorter, about 2/3 of the lateral teeth, which are almost parallel. On coins Nr. 1556-1558 the trident faces left, the middle tooth is half the length of the the lateral teeth, which diverge slightly (not parallel). On coins Nr 1559-1560 both the lion and trident face right. Coin Nr. 1561 has on the reverse the trident in an almost vertical position (teeth pointing upwards). On the obverse is the ruler (face slightly turned to the right) wearing a crown with triangle-shaped merlons. On coin Nr. 1555 the ruler (full view) has another crown: band and bow-shaped row of pearls with crescent in between (obverse) and trident-shaped tamgha pointing right (reverse). Coins differ also in their legends. Nr. 1562 -1577 have the name and title **γwβ twn**. Nr. 1551-1553 have the legend **γwβw ... prn**. Nr. 1554 has the legend **γwβw (s)tčr**. Nr. 1555 has the legend **(prn β)yrt (?)**. Nr. 1556-57 have the legend **(č)čnk (?) γwβw ... y**. Nr. 1561 has the legend **(s)tčry tδwn**. Anyone who looks at these coins closely will see that there are nine different types minted by nine different rulers. Four rulers (coins Nr. 1498, Nr. 1499-1550, Nr. 1551-1553, Nr. 1559-1560) minted coins with a trident (tamgha of Chach) and lion (tamgha of Otrar), and ruled both Chach (or rather part of it) and Otrar. This started with *Mohedo tutun* (not later than 713 - not earlier than 740), who managed to subjugate Otrar, and continued till 751, when Arabs defeated a Chinese army at Talas (Fedorov 2003, 13). Five of the rulers (coins Nr. 1554, Nr. 1555, Nr. 1556-1558, Nr. 1561, Nr. 1562-1577) placed on their coins only the trident-shaped tamgha of Chach and ruled some part of it (since there were several other principalities in Chach).

But here I must add 3 types of coins with a trident tamgha, published by E. Rtveladze (1987, 170-173) and L. Baratova (1999, 13/a, b, c) differing from the types published by Smirnova and from each other (Fedorov 2003, 13/a, b, c). Which again makes (9+3) twelve rulers. Two of the coins were found at Kanka (mediaeval Kharashket) in the Angren valley (mediaeval Þl~q). Coin 13/a has a trident-shaped tamgha, teeth pointing left, legend **βnk?...** (reverse) and the facing bust of the ruler with ear-rings and a diadem, surmounted by a pearl and crescent (obverse). Coin 13/b has a trident-shaped tamgha, teeth pointing left, name **Sochak**, read by Rtveladze, (reverse) and three-quarters facing bust of the ruler wearing a Phrygian cap decorated with a crescent and pearl (obverse). I wonder whether **soch** + **ak** (hair +white) could be a Turk name denoting that its bearer was white-haired (either albino or grey)? Then it would have a parallel in the Persian name **Zāl** (White, Grey). In the Iranian epic Shāh Nāme the great hero Rustam had a father called Zāl, and this Zāl was albino. Coin 13/c has a trident-shaped tamgha, teeth pointing left, (reverse) and bust image of a royal couple (obverse).

Now about the trident-shaped tamgha dynasty of the rulers of Chach. The Chinese chronicle states: " The people (of Chach - M. F.) are skilful in battles; have many good horses. Under the dynasty Sui in the first year of the reign of Daye (605), the western Turks killed their ruler and charged Dele Fuchji (old Chinese *d'ək-g'iən b'iuk-tšiək*) with governing the realm" (Bichurin 1950a, 313). *D'ək-g'iən* is certainly the Turk title *Tegin*. Elsewhere, the Chinese chronicle reads: " the people (of Chach - M. F.) are good in battles but when they quarelled with ... Shegui-khan, the latter subjugated them, and now Dele Tienchji (old Chinese *d'ək-g'iən d'ien-tšiək*) rules them." Tienchji (*d'ien-tšiək*) in the fifth year of the reign of Daye (609) sent an envoy to the Court (of the emperor - M. F.) with tribute (Bichurin 1950a, 282). Smirnova (1981, 430) and, following her, the writer (Fedorov 2003, 11) thought that

Fuchji and Tienchji was the same person. Now I see that is wrong. Chinese characters have a great tendency to distort foreign names but it is rather difficult to turn *Fu (b'iuk*) into *Tien (d'ien*). *Chji (tšiək*) in my opinion was part of a title common to both rulers. For instance there was Turk tribe ***Chik*** (Malov 1959, 106). There is also the diminutive suffix ***chik***. It was like this. In 605 the western Turks killed a native ruler of Chach and put in his place some Turk aristocrat *d'ək-g'iən b'iuk-tšiək*. During his reign "Chach quarelled with Shegui-khan" (the history of the Turk qaganate is an almost incessant sequence of mutinies and internecine wars fought by different tribes and clans with hereditary feuds). Shegui-khan subjugated Chach, put on the throne a new ruler "and now Dele Tienchji (*d'ək-g'iən d'ien-tšiək*) rules them". In 609 this *Tienchji* (and not *Fuchji*) sent an envoy to China. So he was made ruler of Chach (by Shegui) not later than 609. Quite naturally, having come to power in Chach, *Tienchji* sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor to inform him about it. A simple official or governor would certainly not do that. So *Tienchji* was a founder of the Turk ruling dynasty in Chach.

Re-reading my article about money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach I noticed a slip of the pen which escaped me. On page 10 it is written: "Around the year 634 (but no later), a certain *Tun Tutun* was mentioned". It should be "year **638**". Mechanically (and annoyingly) this slip was repeated seven lines below and on page 12. L. N. Gumilev (1967, 215) gave the exact date, writing: "in the winter of 638 Tun-tudun (footnote 35), the head of conspirators, suddenly attacked the khan's camp". I expected that, in footnote 35, Gumilev would refer to the chronicle saying that it happened "in the winter of 638", or at least substantiate this date. But nothing of the kind. Footnote 35 reads: "the title shows that he belonged to the tiurkiuts". Anyway it happened after the third year of Shabolo-khan's reign (enthroned in 634), when he asked for a Chinese princess in marriage but was rejected, and not later than 638, when Yukuk-shad, invited by *Tun Tutun* to occupy the throne, was repulsed (after *Tun Tutun* was killed) and, in his retreat, sacked Qarashar in 638 (Bichurin 1950, 286; Bichurin 1950a, 295; Gumilev 1967, 215-216). So I date it around, but not later than, 638. The Chinese chronicle states: "people did not like Dulu-khan. One of his generation (of his dynasty-M. F.) *Tun Tutun* attacked him with an army. Hilishi (brother of Dulu-kan - M. F.) gathered men, clashed with *Tun Tutun* but was defeated" (Bichurin 1950, 286). *Tun Tutun* wanted to enthrone a new Qagan but soon "it happened that *Tun Tutun* was killed". In my opinion this *Tun* is the same *Tian(chji)* who, instead of the title *Tegin,* received the title *Tutun*. ***T[ie]n*** and ***T[u]n*** are quite close and differ only in a vowel in the middle, the difference of not much significance, since it could be the same vowel but represented by different Chinese characters.[1] So it seems that *Tun tutun* was enthroned in Chach not later (most probably in) than 609 and reigned there till 638, when he was killed (i.e. about 30 years).

The trident tamgha was the heraldic sign of *Tun's* family and of the dynasty of Chach rulers founded by him. Coins of types **j, k** and **l** (Fedorov 2003, 12) bearing the name and title **γwβ twn**, and the trident tamgha show this distinctly. It appears that *Fuchji*, enthroned in Chach in 605 and dethroned circa 609, did not belong to the trident-shaped tamgha family of *Tun*. As already mentioned, practically incessant internecine wars were fought in the Turk qaganate by hostile clans with hereditary feuds. It is unlikely that, having dethroned *Fuchj,* Shegui enthroned another representative of the clan hostile to him. The *Tun's* dynasty ruled Chach (or rather part of it) till the middle of the 8th century. An outstanding representative of this dynasty was *Mohedo* (Bahadur) *tutun* (not later than 713 - not earlier than 740) who reigned more than a quarter of a century and managed, under his rule, to unite the principalities of Chach and Otrar. The trident tamgha dynasty existed at least till 751. *Mohedo tutun* was a loyal vassal of China and an enemy of the Arabs. Having defeated the Chinese army at Talas, the Arabs could not miss an opportunity to take their revenge on the trident tamgha dynasty of Chach rulers. Most probably, the Arabs overthrew the trident-shaped tamgha dynasty which, starting in 713, apart from Chach also ruled Otrar.

Thus in 638 a new ruler appeared in Chach. He most likely was the ruler mentioned in 641 (Bichurin 1950, 287). An internecine war was raging in the qaganate. The Chinese emperor ordered the rivalling qagans to make peace. "Dulu-khan did not obey, sent Tutun of Shi (my underlining - M. F.). Tutun killed Shehu-khan in battle". In 657 Ishbara Khan Khallygh (Chinese *Shabolo-han Helu*) was defeated by the Chinese. "Helu...ran...and came to Shi (Chach) to the town of Sudu. The ruler of the town, *Inie Dagan* (Tarkhan), accepted them but, as soon as they entered the town, arrested them and sent them to Shi-go" (Bichurin 1950, 292). *Inie* is most probably the Chinese rendition of the Turk word *Inal*. I think that *Inal(?) Tarkhan* was the appanage ruler of Sudu and the nominal vassal of the Tutun of Shi (mentioned under the year 641) to whom he sent the prisoner. Tutun of Shi could have reigned till 658 when the new ruler of Chach was appointed by China. In 658 China defeated the western Turks. Chach submitted to China and was granted the status of a Chinese province. In 658, the ruler of Chach, *K'am t'uo d'uen* (tudun), was appointed governor. *Tudun* according to Bμr°nμ was the title of Ch~ch rulers (Biruni 1957, 111; Smirnova 1970, 235).

In 741 the ruler (of Chach), *Inai Tutun K'iuətlək*, sent an envoy to China asking for help against the Arabs but his request was denied (Bichurin 1950a, 314). It shows that *Inai Tutun's* realm was in western Chach where the Arabs were more dangerous than in eastern Chach, as that was closer to the Chinese occupational army stationed in the Chu valley. In my article on the money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach I wrote (Fedorov 2003, 9) that *K'iuətlək* is Turk *Qutlug* (Lucky, Blessed). Now it dawned on me that *Inai* is Turk *Inal* (Ruler, Lord). So it was *Qutlug Inal Tudun*. Chach was a confederation of principalities and the ruler of the strongest realm was the nominal head of Chach. Smirnova (1981, 430) mentioned king *Mohedo tutun* (*muokatu...t t'uod'uən*) and vice-king *Inai Tutun K'iuətlək*. She (1981, 431), supposed cautiously that *Mohedo tutun* was the father of *Inai Tutun* but most likely both of them were representatives of two different dynasties, each ruling its own part of Chach. And from 713, the trident tamgha dynasty of *Mohedo tutun* ruled not only part of Chach but also Otrar. According to Smirnova (1981, 431) the father of *Inai Tutun* in 742, 743, 744, 745, 746 sent envoys to China, maybe asking for help against the Arabs. It is not clear whether *Inai Tutun* and his father ruled realms of their own, though it is quite possible. So *ihshid* (king) Ghurak ruled Eastern Sogd and his son, Turgar, ruled the appanage principality of Ishtikhan (Smirnova 1981, 425). The father of *Inai Tutun*, having to manoeuvre between two fires (Chinese and Arabs), eventually fell into disgrace with the Chinese. In 750 the Chinese governor of East Turkestan, Gao Sian Chji, reported to the central government that the ruler of Chach was recalcitrant and asked permission to punish him by force of arms. The ruler of Chach, hoping to settle the conflict peacefully, gave himself up to Gao Sian Chji. The Chinese executed him. His son fled to the Arabs and asked them for help. The Abbasid governor of Khorasan, Ab° Muslim, sent general Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ to assist him. In July 751 the Arabs and Chinese clashed on the bank of the river Talas near the town of Atlakh. The Chinese were defeated and fled. The ruler of Chach, *na-g'iu-kiwo b'išie* (brother of *Inai Tutun*), became a vassal of the Arabs. This did not prevent the Chinese from granting him in 753 an honorific title, and *na-g'iu-kiwo b'išie* from sending an envoy to China in 762 (Bartold 1965, 500; Smirnova 1981, 431). As for the trident tamgha dynasty of *Mohedo Tutun* it was probably overthrown by the Arabs.

Now about the location of the realm which was ruled by the trident-shaped tamgha dynasty. In ancient and early-mediaeval time Chach comprised the valleys of the Chrchik and Angren rivers. After the Arab conquest of Central Asia they were regarded and described by the Arab geographers as different countries. The Chirchik valley was called Sh~sh (Arabs do not have the letter *ch* so Ch~ch became Sh~sh) and the Angren valley was called Þl~q. The capital of Þl~q was Tūnket (Tūn+Ket, i.e. Town of Tūn). This means that **γwβ twn** on the coins and *Tun Tutun* of the Chinese chronicles either had a new town built for himself or turned some formerly existing town into his capital. In fact, archaeological data speak in favour of this. According to Iu. F. Buriakov (1975, 110), who studied the ruins of Tunket, the city wall and powerful citadel of Tunket were built in the early-mediaeval period and the town

1 *Tun* most probably is Turk *Tung(a) / Tong(a)*, i.e. "Hero, Valiant".

grew rapidly in the 7th- 8th centuries. So the realm of the trident-shaped tamgha dynasty founded by Tun was situated in the Angren valley.

Lastly, in my article (Fedorov 2003, 15), following L. Baratova, I dated a coin with the Sogdian legend **č'čnk γwβw twrk (?)** (Rtveladze's reading), to the 7th century AD. On second thoughts, it dawned on me that this coin can be dated more exactly. This coin is a replica of early-mediaeval Sogdian coins (Obverse bust of ruler [or as Smirnova thought, a deity] , facing or three-quarters facing. Reverse Sogdian legend and tamgha). Such coins were minted in the last quarter of the 6th - beginning of the 7th century (Fedorov 2003a, 5-6). Our coin also has a three-quarter bust of the ruler, a Sogdian legend and tamgha (I called it "disproportional triskelion"), standing apart from all other tamghas found on coins minted in early-mediaeval Chach. The trident-shaped tamgha is found on coins of twelve rulers, the lyre-shaped (with some variations) tamgha is found on coins of at least seven rulers, which means that there were dynasties. The "disproportionate triskelion" tamgha has been found so far on a single (and quite rare) type of coin. This means that the ruler with the "disproportionate triskelion" tamgha failed to establish a long-lived dynasty. This fact and the legend **č'čnk γwβw twrk (?)** (Rtveladze placed a question-mark after the word **twrk** , but I think his reading is correct) meaning: *Turk Chachian Lord* or *Chachian Lord Turk*, as well as the fact that such a type of coin was issued in adjacent Sogd at the end of the 6th - beginning of the 7th century made me attribute this coin to *Dele Fuchji* (old Chinese *d'ək-g'iən b'iuk-tšiək*) who, according to the Chinese chronicle, was enthroned in Chach in 605, after the western Turks had killed the native ruler of Chach. The Chinese chronicle also states: "the people (of Chach - M. F.) are good in battles but when they quarelled with ... Shegui-khan, the latter subjugated them, and now Dele Tienchji (old Chinese *d'ək-g'iən d'ien-tšiək*) rules them. Tienchji (*d'ien-tšiək*), in the fifth year of the reign of Daye (609), sent an envoy to the Court (of the emperor - M. F.) with tribute" (Bichurin 1950a, 282). It was in the time of *Dele Fuchji* that Chach "quarelled" with Shegui-khan, who dethroned *Dele **Fu**chji* and enthroned *Dele **Tien**chji* (circa, but not later than, 609 AD). The dynasty established by *Dele Fuchji* came to an end with him, that is why the "disproportionate triskelion" tamgha has been found only on one type of coin. So the coin with the "disproportionate triskelion" tamgha was minted between 605 and 609 AD.

Finally, I would like to thank the editor for drawing my attention to some inconsistencies in my earlier article on this subject and thereby allowed me to see and understand some very important facts which had previously escaped me.

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An Unpublished Ghaznavid dinar of Qumm

By Vadim Kalinin and Vladimir Kleschinov (Moscow)

In ONS Newsletters 174, Winter 2003, p. 14-17, Roland Douwe and Stan Goron published an article on the Islamic coinage of Qumm. Having examined in detail the coinage of this town dated back to the beginning of the 5th century AH, the authors stated that the Kakwayhid and Ghaznavid period had not left any trace in the coinage of that town.

Recently we encountered an unpublished Ghaznavid gold dinar of Qumm (a private collection, Moscow). It was struck in 421 AH in the names of Yamin ad-Dawla wa Amin al-Milla Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud (387–421 AH) and his son, Mas'ud (421–432 AH). Metal: Au, diameter: 24 mm, weight: 2,73 g.

According to Gardizi, "The conquest of Rayy took place not far from Qumm in 420 AH. He [viz. Mahmud Ghaznavi] entrusted the regions of Rayy and Isfahan to amir Mas'ud and then directed himself to Ghazna"*. In other words, Mas'ud was represented on the cited coin as vice-governor ruling in the conquered region on behalf of his father. Mahmud Ghaznavi died on Thursday, 23 rabi' al-akhira 421 AH. So the dinar could have been struck within the first four months of 421 AH.

Note

* Abu Sa'id Gardizi, *Zayn al-Akhbar*, Tashkent 1991, p.109.

A Hoard of Copper Coins of the Kashmir Sultans

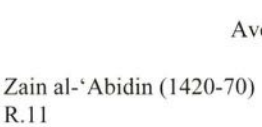
By Nicholas Rhodes

Through the good offices of Mr J.P.Goenka, I recently had the opportunity of examining a "hoard" of nearly two thousand coins from the period of the Kashmir Sultans. This gave an opportunity to check some of the conclusions drawn in my article in Numismatic Digest 1993, and to attempt to resolve some of the outstanding issues in this rather unattractive and neglected series.

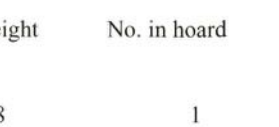
Apart from coins of the Sultans, it was not surprising to find a number of copper coins of the Hindu Kings of Kashmir, confirming that the two types of coin, which are similar in weight standard, did circulate together.

The full list of coins identified is as follows:-

	Ave. Weight	No. in hoard
Zain al-'Abidin (1420-70)		
R.11	6.8	1
R.12	6.5	7
R.13b	6.5	2
R.14a	5.89	15
R.14b	6.0	21



Mule R.14b/19



R.26b – with dot

Haidar Shah (1470-72)		
R.19	5.78	5
R.14b/19 mule	6.0	1*
Hasan Shah (1472-84)		
R.26a	5.89	21

R.26b	5.40	126
R.26b (variety with dot)	5.40	39*

R.33, R.33var, R.34a.
Note last two coins are struck with same rev. die

Muhammed Shah (1484-1537 – 5 reigns)

R.33	5.37	32*
R.33 (var. normal rev.)	5.37	3*
R.34a	5.43	130*
R.34b	5.33	83

R.34c. Very late variety with no date on rev.

R.34c	5.40	30*

Fath Shah (1487-1517 – 3 reigns)

R.42	6.03	28
R.43a	5.11	36
R.43b	5.57	4
R.43c	5.40	8
R.43d	5.34	38
R.43e	5.36	181
R.43?	5.25	321

1 2

3 4

Note 2, 3 & 4 have no date below rev., so are probably late varieties.

R.43d (var with no *saba'in*)	5.48	48* (1 & 3)
R.43e (var with no *saba'in*)	5.24	84* (4)
R.43? (var with no *saba'in*)	5.40	204
R.43 (var *ha* over *Sha*)	5.53	28* (2)
Uncertain varieties	5.55	33

Ibrahim I (1528-29)

R.52b	5.40	6

In name of Sa'id Khan of Kashghar

R.58	5.1	1

Isma'il I (1538-40)

R.63	5.35	2

Nadir Shah (2nd reign, 1540-46)

R.65	5.2	1

Yusuf Shah (1579-86 – 2 reigns)

R.103	5.02	15
R.104	5.3	1

Akbar (1586-1605)

R.112	5.4	2
R.114	5.57	3
R.116	5.17	4

Miscellaneous unidentifiable (mainly Fath Shah or Muhammad Shah)

	5.23	339

Hindu Kings

Harsha	5.52	25
Various, many unidentifiable	4.74	107

Paramandi

Paramandi	6.0	1*

Total Number of Coins 1936

Although most of the coins have a similar patina, and many were stuck together, prior to cleaning with coconut oil, there seems some evidence to suggest that this was not a single hoard taken from circulation at one given point in time. There seem to be at least two groups of coins, the first group consists of coins up to Fath Shah and Muhammed Shah, and the second group consists of coins up to Akbar. Many of the late coins of Fath Shah and Muhammed Shah, particularly those with the short reverse legend, are in almost uncirculated condition, and were probably removed from circulation in or soon after 1517. The second group of coins is much smaller in number, and is generally heavily worn, and includes coins right up to the early part of the reign of Akbar, around 1585. Whether the second group of coins was added to the first group in the sixteenth century, so that the whole lot was deposited as one hoard, or whether the merging of the two groups took place in modern times cannot be ascertained without more information about the circumstances of their discovery. Many coins dated to the period before 1517 could belong to either group, but it is not worth speculating as to which group a particular coin belongs, except that it is worth noting that the few coins of Muhammed Shah, R.34c, with no date below the reverse, were in very poor condition, and hence are probably part of the later group of coins.

Among the coins of the Hindu kings, an interesting feature is the predominance of coins of Harsha, and of very worn coins of Toramana, and other relatively early kings. No coins of Kalasa Deva could be identified, and only three of Queen Didda, although these are usually the most common of all coins of the Hindu Kings of Kashmir. A surprise was a fine example of the very rare king, Paramandi, only first published in 1990[2].

The coins of Zain al-'Abidin are generally unremarkable, and no minor denominations were found of this ruler or of any later rulers. One piece, however, has the obverse of R.14b, but a

2 "Paramandi and Pratapa Deva of Kashmir", *ONS Newsletter* No.125, July-Aug.1990

reverse of R.19, with the date '874' in Arabic, This, hence, appears to be an unrecorded mule using an overse die of Zain al-'Abidin and a reverse die of Haidar. Mules between reigns are known in silver, but this could be the first example recorded in copper, if we can find exact die identities.

Among the coins is a variety of R.26b, with a pellet in the centre of the circle in the centre of the obverse. This variety is not particularly rare, and I had noted it since writing my 1993 article. The larger number of specimens weighed proves that I was correct in assuming that the weight standard of the copper coins reduced between R.26a and R.26b, from c5.9g to c5.4g, so that the reason for the change in type was probably the weight reduction.

The large number of coins of Muhammed Shah and Fath Shah seems to give a good cross-section of issues of these rulers, and may help to distinguish between coins of the different reigns. This has, however, proved difficult, and further work is necessary. One initial finding is that Muhammed type 34c, with the shorter reverse legend, probably commenced during the 3rd reign (1514-15), rather than the 4th reign (1517-28) of Muhammed Shah. This is on the basis that the main part of the hoard was probably deposited in or before 1517, judging by the complete absence of coins of Sikandar Shah, and the relative frequency of these late coins of Muhammed Shah. Some of the late coins of Muhammed Shah are, however, well circulated and were probably part of the later accumulation of coins, and could even date from as late as the 5th reign of Muhammed Shah (1530-37).

Of the other varieties, it is interesting to note that a large number of variations in the arrangement of the reverse legend occur, but without any pattern that can be discerned. A die-link was noted between an example of the unrecorded variety of R.33 with normal reverse, and an example of R.34, so, although this variety probably occurred early in the reign, it was issued along with more normal varieties. Some specimens of both Muhammed Shah and Fath Shah were struck with small dies on flans that are small, compared with those of Hasan Shah, indicating that die or flan size may be an indicator of date. On this basis, the coins of Fath Shah with symbols to the right of the king's name seem relatively early, although those with a pellet in this position may not all be so early. Similarly, coins of Muhammed Shah with the extra line or symbol over the "Ma" of Muhammed seem to be relatively early. Other lines and marks appear at various positions on the obverse of both reigns, but no pattern or significance in these marks has been noted. When I wrote my 1993 paper, I was not certain whether coins of Fath Shah existed with the abbreviated reverse legend that was found on Muhammed Shah, without the word *saba'in* in the date. Many examples with the abbreviated legend were found in this hoard, including some with a pellet to the right of the king's name, and others with the "ha" of "Shah" to the right of the vertical stroke, rather than in the normal position, to the left. Also some of these pieces have no trace of any date below the reverse legend.

With additional work it may be possible to identify more interesting die-links which may help to classify the coins of these two reigns with greater clarity and confidence, but it is a very daunting task, particularly as the dies used are usually larger than the flans, so that not all details of the design are visible on any single specimen. In the meantime, I merely suggest that the evidence appears to indicate that the production of copper coins in Kashmir was high until about 1517, but reduced significantly after that date. Copper coins after this date seem to be relatively scarce, not just because of the low representation in this hoard, but from an examination of other collections that exist.

I should like to express my thanks to Mr J.P.Goenka for allowing me to examine and publish this group of coins.

New Coins of Malwa Sultans: The wedding of Poetry and Architect

By Prashant P. Kulkarni.

The coinage of Malwa presents a treat to the eyes as well as the inner poetical desire of a person. The empire of Mandu was full of prosperity after the reign of Mahmūd Shah by 1469 AD. Ghiyāth, the heir apparent, came to the throne to enjoy the beauty of the capital, its monumental buildings, harem and concubines. Much importance was given to festivals, processions and *nithār* of largesse. The celebrated poet Amir Khusru makes mention of the conquest of Malwa by Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. In his poetical composition *Ashika*, he describes; "Mandu taken,... a wonderful fortress four *parasangs* in circumference".[1] The Mughal emperor, Jahangir, also describes the beauty of Mandu in superlative language as "I went with the ladies to see the Nil-Kund, which is one of the most pleasant places in the fort of Mandu".[2]

The history of Malwa is fragmented and is deduced mainly from the chronicles of the Mughal Emperors and from a few original Malwa texts.[3] It has been known that Mahmūd Shah I was the great warrior king who not only fought with the Delhi Sultans but also waged wars with the rulers of Jaunpur, Gujarat and those of the Bahmani kingdom.[4] He was a good administrator as a result of which the Malwa kingdom became financially and politically strong during his reign. Of the various monuments located at the fort of Mandu, some can be attributed to Mahmūd's rule, these are: the Ashrafī Mahal, the Jāmi' Masjid, the Victory tower and the tomb of Mahmūd Shah.[5] The Asharafī Mahal is an interesting name and perhaps a part of it was either used for storing the coins or for minting them. The same building was also known as the *Madarasā*.[6]

Mahmūd was followed by Ghiyāth when the kingdom was already very strong, prosperous and stable. This latter appointed his son, Nāṣir Shah, as heir apparent and passed many duties to him. It is said that Ghiyāth was obsessed with women. He created a brigade of women. He had a guard of five hundred beautiful young Turkish women and an equal number of Abyssinian girls who used to be stationed on his right and left sides respectively. Little is known about his military activity and it is generally believed that he handed over the rule to his son, Nāṣir-al-Dīn, and devoted himself to peaceful pursuits. As there are few of his inscriptions known, the lack of information had led historians to give him a secondary position in history. The coins, however, bring to light new evidence about his career. It appears that sometime in the early part of his reign he carried out some important military expeditions in the western part of India.

The gold coin published below is an incredible example of Ghiyāth Shah's proclamation of authority over the western regions of Gujarat and Rajasthan. The word *nithār* on this coin makes it the earliest known example of *nithār* of any ruler of India. Only a few decades before the reign of Ghiyāth Shah, Mohammad Tughluq is known to have made *nithārs* of a vessel full of gold over the head of a famous theologian and traditionalist with his own hands and gave away the gold vessel, as well as the contents, as largesse. 'Alā al-Dīn Khalji is known to have employed instruments to shower gold stars and arrow heads over the heads of people.[7] Malik Kafur scattered tiny gold stars over the head of his master 'Alā al-Dīn to celebrate the victory over Madura during the prosperous and grandiose rule of the Sultan of Delhi.

This large gold coin was struck in the year 882 which was the ninth or tenth year of Ghiyāth's reign. There must have been an important event happening that year but the historians are silent about it. There is a high probability that Ghiyāth made inroads into the Gujarat territories and struck this *nithār* to commemorate his victorious return and reception at Mandu. Very interestingly enough, nearly half a century after this period, the Gujarat Sultan, Muzaffar Shah, conquered portions of Malwa and performed a victory celebration by scattering *nithār*. Hodivala mentions that, "The nisar of silver and gold and gems on the head of a newly

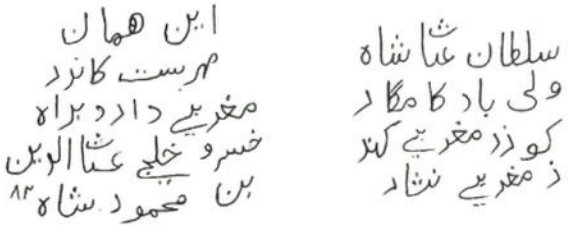
crowned King or Conqueror .....is referred to in the *Mirāt -e-Sikandari* in connection with Sultan Muzaffar II's conquests of Malwa". [8]

The most important passage however comes from the *Tabaqāt -e-Akbari*. It gives a clear mention of the *nithār* made by the Malwa Sultan as: "When Sultan Mahmūd Khilji passed away, his eldest son Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-din sat on the throne of the empire; .....He distributed the gold, which had been scattered over his umbrella among men of culture and other deserving people."[9]

The word *nithār* (pronounced as nisar), literally meaning "scattering", was an ancient custom adopted by the rulers of India. Its meanings include an element of warding off evils and jealous eyes and a protective sacrificial offering involving prayer for future successes, prosperity, good health, good fortune and general well-being. Tiny pieces of precious metals, pearls and coins of gold and silver were scattered over the head of the person at the centre of the ceremony, surrounded by a large number of well-wishers, onlookers or cheering populace, *rayyat* or subjects. There were small coins used for throwing among the public so that a large number of people from the cheering crowds got a piece or two, this being an incentive also for large crowds to hail and acclaim the victory of the king. Some times larger pieces or valuables were given away to the deserving; hence the gold coin under discussion.

These were special coins minted for the purpose of scatter during the royal procession. The double mohur of Ghiyāth Shah published here is unique in many aspects. It is the only double *tankā nithār* known up till now. It is the only known coin of the Sultanate period bearing the word *nithār*. It is the earliest *nithār* coin known from any ruler of India, the next example of the appearance of this word inscribed on a coin being only during the reign of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir. It is the only coin which is perhaps associated with a hitherto unknown coin name, *Maghribī Mohur*. And it is one of those coins of the Indian subcontinent which bear a thoughtful poetic couplet.

The coin is described as:



Gold, 22.01 grams, 38-39mm.

Obverse:
In humān muhr ast kāndar maghribī dārad barāh
khusru-i-khaljī ghiyāth al-dīn bin mahmūd shāh (8)82

This is the mohur that made inroads into the western (world)
King -Khaljī Ghiyāth al-Din, son of Mahmūd Shah, dated 882.

Reverse:
Sultān Ghayāth Shāh walī bād kāmgār
Ku zarr-i-maghribī kunad ze maghribī nithār

May the Sultan Ghiyāth Shah, the protector, be happy and prosperous,
That he did a Maghribī nithār of Maghribī gold coins (literally meaning 'the gold taken from the west confers the west upon him').

The word *Maghribī* meaning western is used on the obverse in that sense. The same word on the reverse is used in the sense of a coin name (*zarr-i-maghribī*) and the act of showering or *nithār* of *Maghribī* gold.

The meter used for the verse is Bahr -i-Muthamman Sālim Maqşur and rhymes like: fāilātun/fāilātun/fāilātun/fāilān.
See the parallel:
In humān muh/ rast kāndar/ maghribī dā/ rad barāh
fāilātun/ fāilātun/ fāilātun/ fāilan.

Khusru-i-Khal/ jī Ghiyāth-al/- Din bin Mah/ mūd Shāh
Fāilātun/ fāilātun/ fāilātun/ fāilan.

This gold coin is dated 882 but a silver *tankā* of 899 has been published earlier (see type R 3115, B/M71). This is exactly similar to the gold double *mohur*. Another silver *tankā* of year 904 is also known[10] but it bears only the first half of the verse and the second half is replaced by the standard legend "*Al wāthiq, bi'l malik al multajī abū'l fath ghiyāth shāh*". It appears that the first inscription of the word *nithār on* coins of gold took place sometime in the year 882. It is also possible that it was actually written on coins in 873 when a *nithār* ceremony took place as mentioned in the *Tabqā-i-Akbari* and thereafter the coins were copied as stereotypes for several years at least up to 904. It is also likely that Ghiyāth introduced such a legend with the words *Maghribī* written several times to please the ambassadors of the western world present for his coronation. It was only three years before 873 that an envoy of Khalifa Amir al-Momenin Mustansid billah Yusuf bin Abbas of Egypt had visited Mahmūd's court. Mahmūd treated him with great honour and bestowed on him horses with jeweled saddles and bridles and embroidered robes of honour.[11] There is a strong possibility that such ambassadors were present at the court of Ghiyāth, but we have no historical evidence to support this hypothesis.

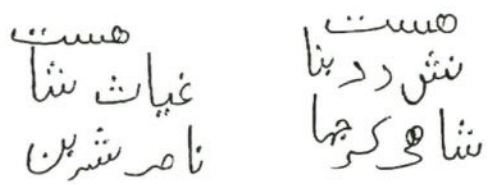
Coins of Nāşir Shah

The coins of Nāşir Shah of Malwa, son and successor of Ghiyāth Shah, are well known for their beauty and calligraphy. They are also known in various shapes and sizes. Some are round and square, while others are rhombus and *mehrābī* shaped. Nāşir Shah's coinage is a pleasant treat to the eyes. It is beautiful, ornamental and sometimes bears poetic verses. S.K. Bhatt published a unique *mehrābī* shaped coin and another of rhombus shape and tried to compare them with contemporary architecture featuring lots of decorative arches.[12]

Recently another interesting coin was found. This is of rhombus shape and it bears a new poetic couplet of Nāşir Shah.
Silver, 5.5 gram, 20mm.

Obverse: Within a square fitted inside another ornamented square, Persian legend:
nāşir shah bin ghiyāth shāhast

Reverse: Within a square fitted inside another ornamented square, Persian legend:
shāhe keh jahānash dar binā hast

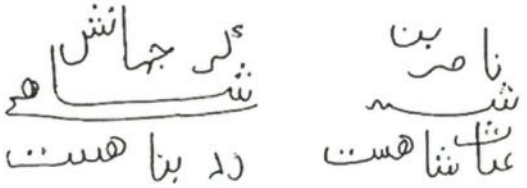


The poetic couplet rhymes as:
Shāhe keh jahānash dar binā hast
Nāṣir Sheh bin Ghiyāth Shāhast

Meaning:
The one who strengthened the foundations of kingdom in his world,
It is Nāṣir Shah, the son of Ghiyāth Shah.

The above-mentioned verse is poetically balanced and rhythmic. The composer spells Nāṣir Shāh as Nāṣir Sheh. This is to balance the rhyme with *Shāhe keh*, or really *ke*. Similarly the word *Shāhast* is indeed *Shāh ast* and rhymes with *binā hast*.

The coin has no date and it is difficult to figure out why such an ornamental half *tankā* was struck. We can however find a dated coin with the same couplet published by Goron and Goenka as an unread specimen.[13] This is also a half *tankā* and it displays the same couplet arranged differently.[14]

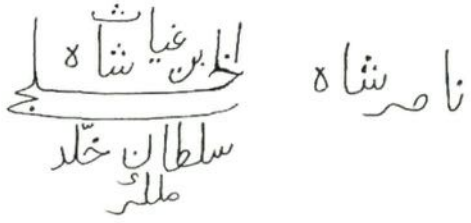


The words and figures clearly written on the obverse are: *bin Nāṣir Sheh Ghiyāth Shāhast 907*. On rearranging the words we get the above couplet. The exceptional ingredient of this coin is the date, AH 907. This must be the latter part of the first year of Nāṣir's reign and the couplet must have been composed to indicate the strengthening of the kingdom by the ruler. When Nāṣir ascended the throne in 906, Ghiyāth Shah was still alive and lived for a few months longer. Perhaps Nāṣir struck this coin after the death of his father, Ghiyāth. The squarish half *tankā* is more beautifully made than the round one. The round one has the three dots of *Shāh* inside the *bin* on the top. This only shows that the die engraver was neither very careful about the *nuqtās* nor about the artistic requirement of the coinage. This is not the case with the rhombus half *tankā* which is a beauty, a work of art in every respect. In most probability it was struck earlier than the round half *tankā*. Both the coins are halves and it is probable that they were used as largesse to be thrown to the poor from the elephants and horses of the nobles in the royal procession.

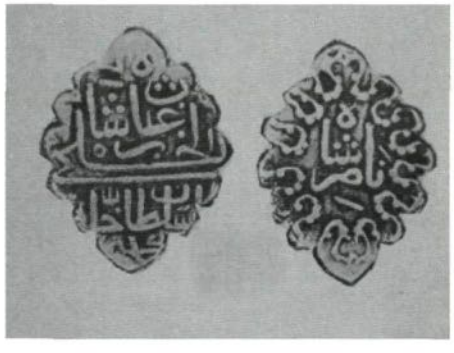
Another poetical verse is known from a unique *tankā* illustrated at type 3150 [15] and published by Goran & Goenka with full legends.[16] The verse on this coin may be rearranged in such a fashion to give balance to the rhythm as:
Ankeh bar zar muhr zil-e-allāh fi al ardain zadeh
Shāh Nāṣir bin shāh sulṭan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn zadeh

Meaning:
The one who struck on gold the name of the shadow of Allah on the earth
(He is) Nāṣir Shah, son of Sultan and born of Ghiyāth-al-Dīn.

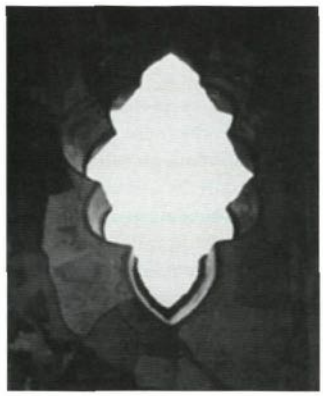
S.K. Bhatt published a unique *mehrābī mohur* of Nāṣir Shah. This is illustrated here for comparison purposes. Goron & Goenka list this coin as bearing the date 913. Bhatt does not say so. On careful examination of the coin no date is seen. This is perhaps an error that happened because of the mix-up of dates on the other coin published by Bhatt in his paper. The other square one had the figures 913 while the *mehrābī* is without date. Bhatt illustrated the *mehrābs*, or arches of the Jāma' Masjid of Jaunpur to compare with the arched shape of the coins. Another *mehrābī* coin is published here. This weighs 11 grams and bears exactly the same inscription as the earlier one but within a different design. It is interesting to note that the date 913 is partially visible on this coin.

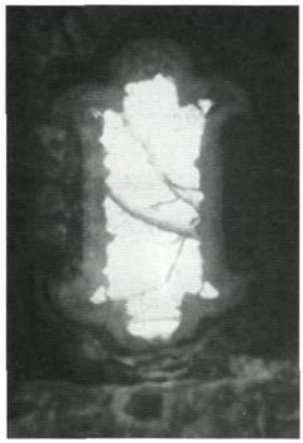


On visiting the arched ruins of Mandu Fort one can see the extraordinary variations of geometric shapes and forms in the windows and doorways of the buildings. The water tanks are also intricately designed and are a pleasant sight to look at. One of the windows is so similar to the *mehrābī* coins that it is illustrated below. Another window has a different *mehrābī* pattern and so is the shape of a water tank.

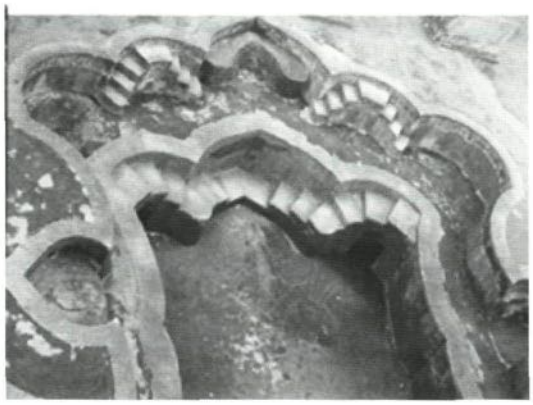


Nāṣir Shah's Mehrābī tanka





The Windows of Jahāz Mahal



The Water Tank

The shapes of the coins and that of the arches in the architectural designs are undoubtedly similar. Bhatt says that there is a possibility that the shape of the coin was copied from the shape and design of the tanks constructed on the ground floor and the upper story of the Jahāz Mahal. This was the period of plenty and prosperity. Everything was supposed to be made in the most beautiful and artistic manner. If required, help would be made of poetry. Thus the artistic shapes in the *mahals* and the coins are comparable but it would not be fair to say that the coins were copied from the former. Shapes in such form were the fashion of the day and they were used everywhere in the Sultan's dominions.[17] There is a legend about Nāṣir Shah's water tanks. Nāṣir was known to have a huge harem full of beautiful slave girls and daughters of the *zamindārs* from the neighbourhood. It is said that he used to consume so much aphrodisiac that it would generate a great amount of heat in his body. To cool off, he would sit in the tanks of the *hammāms* (baths) and soon the water of the entire tub would get warmed up. He would then replace the tub instead of changing only the water.

One of the most vivid and amazing descriptions of a banquet at these tanks is given by the Emperor Jahangir. It is such an outstanding piece of description that it is reproduced here in full. "It was a wonderful assembly. In the beginning of the evening they lighted lanterns and lamps all round the tanks and buildings, and a lighting up was carried out the like of which was perhaps never been arranged in any place. The lantern and lamps cast their reflection on the water, and it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain of fire. A grand entertainment took place, and the drinkers of cups took more cups than they could carry.

A feast was arranged that lighted up the heart,
It was such beauty as the heart desired.
They flung over their verdant mead,
A carpet broad as the field of genius.

From abundance of perfume the feast spread far,
The heavens were a musk bag by reason of incense,
The delicate ones of the garden became glorious,
The face of each was lighted up like a lamp.

After three or four gharis of night had passed, I dismissed the men and summoned the ladies, and till a watch of night (remained?) passed the time in this delightful place, and enjoyed myself. On this day of Thursday several special things happened. One was that it was the day of my accession of the throne; secondly, it was the Shab-i-barāt, thirdly, it was *rākhi*, which had already been described and with the Hindus is a special day. On account of these three pieces of good fortune I called the day Mubārak shamba". [18]

Stories apart, the beauty of the designs, calligraphy and poetical balance illustrated on these coins places Malwa coinage at the zenith of Indian numismatics of the Sultanate period.[19]

1. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Vol III, p. 550. Amir Khusru's *Tarikh-e-'ala'i* also describes the capture of Mandu in AH 705; see E.D. III, p.76.
2. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, third edition, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd., Delhi 1978, p.382.
3. In *Baburnama*, Emperor Babur describes the capture of Chanderi at great length. A.S. Beveridge, *Babur-Nama*, Low Price publications, Delhi 1989, pp. 79, 482-486, 593, 688. The *Tabaqā-i-Akbari* has a full chapter on the Sultans of Malwa running into 168 pages. See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, translated by Brajendranath De, Low Price Publications, Delhi 1990, pp. 465-632. Jahangir also describes at length the acts of Nasir Shah. See Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, *Waqi'at-e- Jahangiri*, pp. 349-50 and *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, pp.363-386.
4. Briggs translation, *Firishta,* vol.4, pp.205-6.
5. D.R. Patil, *Mandu*, ASI, New Delhi 1992, pp.3-7.
6. G.Yazdani, *Mandū, the City of Joy*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi 2000, p.57. Yazdani says in the footnote that the name *Ashrafī Mahal* signifies the edifice as beautiful as a gold mohur. However there is no supportive evidence for this analogy. It is quite likely that the building had something to do with the coins.
7. S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi 1976, p. 178.
8. *Ibid.* See *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* Bombay Lithograph 1831, p.164.
9. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmed, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari,* translated by Brajendranath De, Low Price Publications, Delhi 1990, p. 543.
10. Stan Goron and J.P Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates covering the area of present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, New Delhi 2001, p. 442, no.M 73.
11. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmed, *Tabaqāt-I-Akbari,* translated by Brajendranath De, Low Price Publications, Delhi 1990, p. 537. Also see G.Yazdani, *Mandū, the City of Joy,* p. 17.
12. S.K. Bhatt, "Architectural Designs and the Coins of Nasir Shah of Malwa", *Numismatic Digest*, Bombay 1977, Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 29-33.
13. Stan Goron and J.P Goenka, p. 448, no.M134.
14. The coins are illustrated here with the permission of the owner Al Sayyed.
15. Dilip Rajgor, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, Bombay 1991, p. 212, type 3150.
16. Goron & Goenka 2001, p. 447, M 132-133.
17. Ghulam Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, Oxford 1927, see plates.
18. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, pp.385-6.

19. I am extremely thankful to G.S.Khwaja, the Deputy Superintendent (Epigraphy) at the Archaeological Survey of India at Nagpur for his valuable guidance in deciphering the couplets on these coins.
20. I am also grateful to Admiral Sohail Khan, Richmond Hill, Canada, for going through the draft and making several important suggestions.

The Coinage of Panna

By Barry Tabor

Introduction.

In his foreword to Prashant Kulkarni's excellent "Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur" (Indian Coin Society, Nagpur 1990) Stan Goron wrote, "The numismatic history of the declining years of the Mughal Empire, of the various states that carved territory out of that dying empire, and of the post-Mughal period generally, has, with a few notable exceptions, been badly neglected. The field is very wide, potentially fertile, and waiting to be ploughed." That was in 1990 and very little has changed. This paper is intended to be a very small contribution to a furrow in that field.

It is well-known that the coinages of the numerous small states in 18th and 19th century central India, although familiar to us, have not been well-served by numismatic research, and there are still many common coins, particularly coppers, that have not been attributed with certainty to either the ruler or the state that issued them. Some, of course, will prove to be unofficial coppersmith and shroff issues - but that only adds to the fun.

A little bit of history.

Panna was a state in Bundelkhand, part of modern Madhya Pradesh, (Fig. 4) in north central India. It was ruled by Bundela Rajputs of the House of Orchha.

FIGURE 4. MODERN MADHYA PRADESH

Champat Rai, harasser and arch-irritator of Mughals, declared his independence from Aurangzeb, the then Mughal emperor, during the period of utter chaos that followed Jhujhar Singh of Orchha's ill-starred rebellion in 1635 AD. During the 1650's, Chhatarsal, his son, continued to gain in power and take territory east of the Dharsan river and extending into eastern Malwa, and by 1671 AD he was master of most of Bundelkhand. His state included Banda in the north, Rewah in the east, and Jabalpur in the south, and extended as far as the river Betwa in the west. He never held Datia or Orchha.

His first capital was Kalinjar but Panna became the chief town in 1675 AD. Chhatarpur (founded by Chhatarsal in 1707 AD) and Jaitpur were the only other towns of any importance in his territory. In 1729 AD the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah sent an army against him, which forced him out of Jaitpur, but he regained his lost territory the following year, with the assistance of the Maratha Peshwa Bhaji Rao I. In 1731 AD the Peshwa was rewarded for his able and timely help by being handed Saugor and much of the land round about. Some other vassals also received small parts of the territory, the remainder being split between two of his sons. Panna went to Hirde Singh and Jaitpur to Jagat Rai. When Chhatarsal died in 1732 AD he left numerous progeny (over 50 sons are known!) holding bits of territory in the area, including Panna, Charkhari, Ajaigarh, Bijawar, Sarila, Jaso, Jigin and Lugasi. (i)

The state of Panna, therefore, came into separate independent existence in 1732 AD, under Hirde Singh, who made Panna town his capital. He was succeeded by Sabha Singh (1739-1752 AD), Aman Singh (1752-1758 AD), who was murdered by his brother Hindupat (1758-1777 AD), who handed it on to his son Anirudh (1777-1779 AD). Anirudh was a minor and needed regents to administer the state on his behalf, but they fought among themselves and, in the resulting civil war, much of the territory was lost to Beni Hazuri, who took Maihar, Khemraj who took Paldeo and Sone Sah Ponwar who took Chhatarpur, leaving only the rump of the state for Dhokal Singh, brother of Anirudh, to govern independently.

From this it is clear that Panna was a significant state, much greater in area, wealth and power than Chhatarpur or Bijawar, which had been mere parts of the whole. Chhatarpur and Bijawar (and even, perhaps Charkhari) are said to have struck their own coinage, so where is the coinage of Panna? Krause shows only a single copper coin attributed to Panna, and that, following work by the late and greatly missed Ken Wiggins, is now accepted to be a coin of Dhar state. We must go to the coins themselves to find an answer. (vi)

There is a well-known, commonly available series of rupees (Krause includes some of them as KM.15, 17, 19, 20 and 21 of Chhatarpur Princely State) that carry the mint-name Chhatarpur. (iv) On the basis of an understanding that the Chhatarpur mint only opened in 1816 AD, long after Chhatarpur State gained its independence (ii), these coins have been attributed to Chhatarpur state. This necessitates the assumption that all dates and regnal years on these coins are fictitious. This assumption may seem valid when only a few random, mostly undated examples are known, but we are now aware that these rupees constitute a long, probably unbroken series struck from year 4 of Shah Alam II (1762 AD), or earlier, until year 26 (1784 AD) or later. This places these coins firmly in the period before Chhatarpur state was founded as a separate entity by Sone Sah Ponwar in 1785 AD. These are undoubtedly coins of Panna State. (There are other coins attributed to Chhatarpur state, and one to Bijawar state shown in Krause, more of which anon).

Undated rupees of this series fall within the reign of Hindupat; correctly dated coins fall into the time of Anirudh and those with a fixed date are from the period of civil war and the subsequent rule of Dhokal Singh. The series finishes, as far as is known, in 1784, just before the breaking up of Panna State, and the founding of Chhatarpur state as an independent entity. It is, no doubt, true that the Chhatarpur mint *re-opened* as the mint for the independent and separate Chhatarpur State in 1816 AD, but it had previously produced specie for the Panna State. What coins were produced post-1816 AD?. There are several types which are obviously crude copies of Panna rupees, and some of these are worthy candidates, but their relationship to Chhatarpur and to each other are the stuff for further research. We shall, no doubt, find the coinage of Chhatarpur and several other States among them. Two such coins are illustrated below.

Figure 1. Two late copies of Chhatarpur-type rupees. Crude

Shah Alam II legends (where legible). Weights 11.0g. and 10.9g. approx. Regnal years 35 (or maybe 25) and 30. Undated. Most symbols crudely engraved, no legible mint-name. Sunflower mint-mark.

Bijawar State coins.

The Krause Publications catalogues illustrate this series with a photograph of a single rupee, given the catalogue number KM.15. It is crudely struck on a dumpy flan from which the date is missing, if it had ever been on the die in the first place. The regnal year of this piece has been read as "4" , and since these coins are in the name of Shah Alam II (1759-1806 AD), this would indicate a date of about 1763 AD. It may be thought more likely that the correct reading could be "4x", which would put the date of the coin at about 1799-1808 AD, but this is very speculative. It is, therefore, only by reference to the name of the piece, "Ratan Shahi", as reported by John Allan in his catalogue (ii), that we are able to determine the probable ruler at the time of its introduction. This type of rupee is reported to have continued being struck until the mint was closed (in 1892 or 1897 AD, depending on which authority we follow) by order of the British administration. Ratan Singh ruled Bijawar from about 1811 AD until about 1831 AD, and the Bijawar rupee, if such it is, is presumed to have been struck during that period, and maybe beyond.

Dr. Mitchiner, in one of his standard works (iii) on page 415, illustrates a similar coin, also said to be a Bijawar rupee. This weighs 10.9g. and bears the regnal year 25 but no date. The mint is off the flan. I have not been able to trace any other certified coin of Bijawar, and like everyone else, I therefore cannot be at all precise about dating them. The mint name does not appear on what is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the only authenticated specimens, so even their attribution to Bijawar depends solely on the evidence of John Allan, as cited above, and, in turn, upon his own sources. The picture in the Krause Publications catalogues appears to be a copy of that in Allan's catalogue, and so adds nothing to our knowledge. Although Allan includes a second rupee of Bijawar (not illustrated) in his catalogue, I have been unable to obtain a picture of it, or any other coins, from the museum concerned (The Provincial Museum, Lucknow). A similar coin to that illustrated in Allan's catalogue and in Krause, currently in a private collection in the UK, is shown below, but since the mint name is entirely absent from this specimen also, it cannot with certainty be attributed to Bijawar (or anywhere else, for that matter). The regnal year is 25, which agrees with that on the coin in Dr. Mitchiner's book, and would date it about 1784 AD if not fictitious. This date was before the setting up of the independent state of Bijawar, and well before the reign of Ratan Singh. (Was Bijawar a second mint for the erstwhile state of Panna, or is this a *later* copy?) Both coins described above have a narrow, thick and arguably underweight flan (10.9g. approx.), and the calligraphy and standard of engraving is crude on both. They are said to be crude copies of Chhatarpur rupees, and this certainly appears to be so.

The regnal years on all three coins, if read as genuine regnal years of Shah Alam II, would date them before the (re-)opening of the Chhatarpur mint in 1816 AD (according to Dr. Mitchiner and other reliable authorities). Dr. Mitchiner opines that the regnal years on the Chhatarpur coins may refer to the number of years since the founding of the Chhatarpur State "in 1806" (Other authorities do not agree with this date, see below). Bijawar coins appear to be, as suggested above, copies of those of Chhatarpur, but it is not known whether the regnal years engraved on the Bijawar dies refer to a period specific to Bijawar, are identical, year for year, with those on Chhatarpur coins, or are fictitious, or fixed and irrelevant. Hence it is, at present, impossible to put a date to coins of this type.

Figure 2. A rupee of Bijawar? Undated, but with regnal year 25. Weight 10.9g. approx., with thick, narrow flan and displaying crude engraving of die.

Other coins.

As well as the rupees which are the subject of this study, the KM catalogues illustrate and describe coins of two other denominations reputedly emanating from the Chhatarpur mint. KM.2 is an undated copper paisa(?), weight not given. KM.5 is an undated quarter rupee with the regnal year 25, weighing 2.68-2.9g. Both these coins have the distinctive Chhatarpur mint-mark of a sunflower, see below. The quarter rupee appears to be crudely engraved and has no mint-name on it, and could, therefore, on the face of it, also be a product of the erstwhile Bijawar mint. No comments are possible, at this stage, about the copper.

Charkhari coins.

The tiny state of Charkhari, standing astride the river Ken, had as its capital, a fairly small town of the same name. It was surrounded by Orchha, Bijawar and Chhatarpur. The foundation of the state dates from 1765 AD.

After Raja Chhatarsal had divided his territory into inheritances for his sons (see above), various deaths and succession disputes intervened before Parhar Singh brought stability back to the area by force of arms. He settled Charkhari on Khuman Singh who ruled it from 1765 to 1782 AD. He was followed on the *gaddi* by Bijai Bikramajit Bahadur Singh (1782-1829 AD with a short gap when he was driven out of his state. He was soon reinstated by Ali Bahadur, during his invasion of Bundelkhand in 1797/98 AD), and he was followed by Ratan Singh (1829-60 AD) and Jai Singh Deo (1860-1879 AD). Bijai Singh was confirmed by sanads from the British in 1804 and 1811 AD, and Ratan Singh also received British sanads. Jai Singh Deo's administrative powers were withdrawn by the British. (i)

Charkhari's currency was described as "The Srinagari rupee struck at Rath and *the Raja Shahi struck at the mint in Charkhari town*." (Charkhari town was also known as Maharajnagar (vii)). These were replaced by British coinage in 1864 AD. Ken Wiggins, in his book on Maratha coinage, cited above, co-authored with Kamal Maheshwari, states that Rath was ".....at one time in the Jaitpur Raj, but was taken by Himmat Bahadur during his campaign in Bundelkhand. A mint was set up...(and).....the rupee struck was known as the Srinagari: evidently *another copy of the rupee of Srinagar*. They are reported to have been exported to Charkhari". The original Srinagari rupee itself is well enough known, and specimens are illustrated in the KM catalogues as KM.247, 248 and 249: also in Wiggins and Maheshwari's book on page 129 as types T.1, 1a and 1b. These were struck at Srinagar in Bundelkhand, not at Rath, as far as can be discerned. Interested readers are referred to page 130 of Ken Wiggins' book for a brief but clear account of Bundelkhand during this turbulent period.

I know of nowhere else that any Charkhari coinage is catalogued or discussed. However, there are many types of coinage in existence, clearly copied from Srinagar, Kora and Chhatarpur coins, struck (apparently) during the right period of history and currently loosely described as emanating from "uncertain central-Indian mints".

The two rupees illustrated above (Fig.1) are examples of such coins, and among such we may some day be able to define the short-lived independent currency of Charkhari. The coins shown weigh 10.9 and 11.0g. and bear more than a passing resemblance to the Chhatarpur coins being here discussed. They are representative examples only of a fairly substantial number of such coin types known from the area.

Chhatarpur coins.

The Panna rupee minted at Chhatarpur, the main subject of this note, was known locally as "Raja Shahi" (not a very helpful name) and displays parts of Shah Alam II's "fadl Allah" couplet, crudely executed, along with some very distinctive symbols or marks, most notably the large, stalked Sunflower (not a sun-burst, because flowers have stalks, bursts do not) between the words "Alam" and "Badshah" on the obverse face. There is also, on the reverse, a quatrefoil to the right of the regnal year (position 4 in Fig. 3 below) and another in the "S" of fulus (position 3). There is another symbol resembling a bent trident (or perhaps a fly-whisk?) below the word "sanat" (position 5) . The coins examined by me all weigh between 11.1 and 11.3 g. approximately (one worn example with regnal year 25 weighed only 10.9g.), and the weight stated for the Chhatarpur rupees in KM catalogues is 10.7-11.6g. Dr. Mitchiner's coins in the catalogue cited above, are stated to weigh 10.9g., the same as the weight found for the Bijawar(?) rupees in this study. Some coins examined displayed parts of symbols in other, more marginal positions, but these were fragmentary and of no help in classification of the coins, being wholly or nearly absent from most specimens.

The mint-name "Chhatarpur" (absent from many specimens) is at the bottom of the reverse face. Most regnal years between 4 and 26 of Shah Alam II, which correspond with 1762 to 1784 AD, are known to me. There have been very few AH dates reported, the date being absent from all coins that I have seen with regnal years up to and including "17". Coins with regnal year "18" are dated (AH)1190 with the "9" retrograde, and those with the regnal year "20" are dated (AH)1129 (thought to be uncommon, and presumably an error for 1192) and 1192 (with the "9" retrograde). I have seen no coins with the regnal year "19", but these, if they exist, may reasonably be expected to carry the date (AH)1191. Coins with regnal years higher than this, up to and including 26, carry the fixed date of (AH)1192 with the "9" retrograde in all specimens seen by me where the date is visible. This date would correspond with around 1778 AD, but as it is a "fixed" year, it is certainly fictitious (except, perhaps, if it is coupled with regnal year 19 or 20). It is frequently off the coin as it is at the very bottom of the obverse face die. The date, where it is present, divides the Persian words "*haft kashur.....zad dar*" (struck in.....the seven climes), which are, as would be expected, also present when the date is not. As stated above, this is part of the "fadl Allah" couplet of Shah Alam II, which reads in full:

"Struck coin in the seven climes, the shadow of divine favour-defender of the religion of Muhammad, Emperor Shah Alam ['King of the world']"

This couplet was used on coins from a number of Mughal and Maratha mints, including nearby Ravishnagar Sagar, (Saugor) and the mint at Kora (under as yet unknown authority), whose early coins were clearly used as a model for the Panna (Chhatarpur) rupees, the symbol of a trident being replaced by the Chhatarpur mint-mark of a sunflower.

The mint name, when present, is to be found at the bottom of the obverse face. It reads "Chhatarpur" (literally "Che Te P W R") with another word above and to the left which appears to be "sharh" (town) (vi). The three-dot diacritical mark above the *Sh* of *sharh* seems to have been displaced, on at least some of the coins examined, to the spot above the *Wa* of the mint name. Only the very beginning of the word appears on most flans, if at all.

The coins themselves are somewhat variable in fabric, quality of engraving and execution of strike, but fairly constant in weight. The best are as good as any other hand-struck rupee from central India, but the worst are significantly cruder. Generally speaking, the earlier coins are the best in terms of execution, including calligraphy and engraving. They are also, on average, the heaviest. This possibly reflects the steadily deteriorating political, economic and security situation during the time period in which they are assumed to have been struck, for twenty-three years or more. The design or type appears to have remained constant throughout the period during which they were struck. It is, as already stated, crudely executed Shah Alam II "fadl Allah" legends on the reverse, with the Emperor's name and titles on the obverse. There is one constant symbol on the obverse - the Sunflower already alluded to, (which changes but little from coin to coin) along with other symbols or marks in the positions shown in Fig.3, numbered 1-5, on both faces. It is upon these symbols or marks that any classification of these coins must depend, as it does in the case of the coins already catalogued in Krause as rupees of Chhatarpur state (iv). The sunflower may fairly be regarded as the mint-mark of Chhatarpur mint, and hence, of Panna state, and maybe of the later coins of Chhatarpur State as well. It has a dot (round or lozenge-shaped, stalked or not) in place of the top-most "petal" in all coins noticed in this study. The significance of that (if there is any) can only be guessed at with our present limited knowledge.

The symbols.

The Sunflower on the obverse and the symbols in positions 3, 4 and 5 on the reverse appear to remain constant in their respective positions, with only as much variation in appearance as could be explained by manual die-cutting. These marks or symbols are the two quatrefoils, one to the right of the regnal year and the other in the loop of the "S" of fulus, and the "bent trident" symbol (which has three dots to its right on coins with a regnal year above 11 seen in this study) below the word "sanat" . These symbols may, I suggest, all be ignored from the point of view of cataloguing the coins.

The symbols found in positions 1 and 2 on the obverse are those which, it is my contention, define the variety. (Exceptionally, one coin with the regnal year 17 had two symbols in position 1, one of which replaced the three diacritical dots over the *Sh* in the word "badshah"). Drawings of all symbols seen in this study are shown in table "A" below for coins of all regnal years examined. The drawings are not to any constant scale. Coins were seen with regnal years 4, 6 to 18, and 20 to 26 inclusive. Requests for information from several museums known or presumed to hold examples of these coins have gone unanswered, the Fitzwilliam at Cambridge being the single honourable exception to this. There are undoubtedly many gaps in the tables which could easily have been fille

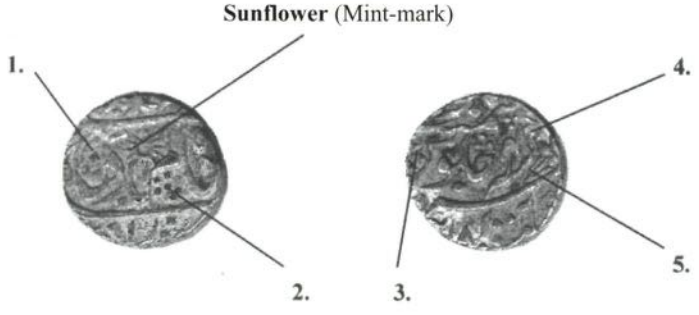
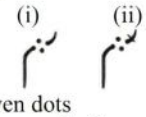


Figure 3. Positions of symbols under consideration

Table (A) The symbols found in positions (1) and (2). (Not to scale)

1 Winged dots

(i) (ii)



2 Group of seven dots

3 Lotus

4 Chakra (with 6, 7 or 9 rays)

5 Up-turned crescent

6 Down-turned crescent

7 Trident

(i) (ii) (iii)

8 Eight dots around circle

9 Group of five dots

10 Four dots in quadrants of an upright cross

11 Narrow leaf (with or without central vein) with droplet at tip

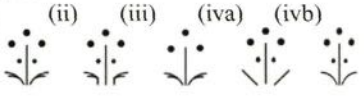
12 Nagari "1" with three dots

13 Battle-axe

14 Quatrefoil of trident-heads

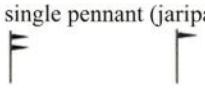
15 Flower

(i) (ii) (iii) (iva) (ivb)



16 Expanding bud

17 Double or single pennant (jaripatka?)



18 Three dots above circle

19 Mace

In addition, Krause lists but does not illustrate, a coin with an Elephant Goad (Ankus) symbol (KM.20 dated 1192, without regnal year).This symbol was not seen on any coins in this study. Indeed, no coins at all without a regnal year have been observed.

Table (B) The symbols found in positions (1) and (2) on the coins examined, by regnal year.

Reg. Yr.	Position 1	Position 2	KM #	My #
None				
1				
2				
3				
4	winged dots (i)	group of 7 dots		10.04a
5				
6	lotus	group of 7 dots		10.06a
	chakra (6 rays)	group of 7 dots	20	10.06b
7	chakra (9 rays)	group of 7 dots	20	10.07a
	chakra (7 rays)	group of 7 dots	20	10.07b
8	chakra (6 rays)	group of 7 dots	20	10.08a
	up-turned crescent	group of 7 dots		10.08b
9	winged dots (i)	trident (i)	15.1	10.09a
10	winged dots (ii)	trident (ii)	15.1	10.10a
	winged dots (ii)	circle and 8 dots	15.2	10.10b
11	winged dots (ii)	trident (ii)	15.1	10.11a
12	group of 5 dots	trident (ii)	15.1	10.12a

	cross with 4 dots	trident (ii)	15.1	10.12b
13	group of 5 dots	trident (ii)		10.13a
14	group of 5 dots	group of 5 dots		10.14a
15	group of 5 dots	group of 5 dots		10.15a
	circle and 8 dots	chakra (6 rays)	17	10.15b
16	chakra (6 rays)	group of 7 dots	15.2	10.16a
	circle and 8 dots	chakra (6 rays)	17	10.16b
17	up-turned crescent	group of 5 dots		10.17a
	narrow leaf with droplet	circle and 3 dots		10.17b
	cross and 4 dots	group of 5 dots		10.17c
	chakra AND flower (ii)	group of 7 dots	20	10.17d
	narrow leaf with droplet	group of 5 dots		10.17e
	narrow leaf with droplet	flower (iv)		10.17f
18	trident (iii)	Retrograde Nagari "1"		10.18a
	narrow leaf with droplet	flower (ii)		10.18b
	trident (iii)	flower (ii)		10.18c
19				
20	*off flan*	flower (ii)		10.20a (prov.)(dated 1129)
	battle-axe	flower (ii)		10.20b
21	quatrefoil trident heads	flower (ii)		10.21a
	battle-axe	trident (ii)		10.21b
	chakra	flower (ii)		10.21c
22	quatrefoil	flower (ii)		10.22a
	opening bud	flower (ii)		10.22b
	up-turned crescent	flower (ii)		10.22c
23	double pennant	flower (ii)	19	10.23a
24	double pennant	flower (iv)	19	10.24a
	group of 5 dots	flower (i)		10.24b
	group of 5 dots	flower (ii)		10.24c
	double pennant	flower (iii)	19	10.24d
	double pennant	flower (iv)	19	10.24e
	down-turned crescent	flower (ii)	19	10.24f
25	down-turned crescent	flower (iv)		10.25a
	single pennant	flower (iv)		10.25b
26	mace	flower (iv)		10.26a

Conclusions.

In response to the facts, speculation and conjectures set out above, it is my contention that there are not, as described in the Krause catalogues, several types of Chhatarpur rupee, but one type only, with one or more sub-types or varieties for each regnal year, as defined by the symbols in positions (1) and (2) as set out above. Furthermore, the years are genuine regnal years of Shah Alam II, and, in consequence, the coins were struck at Chhatarpur while it was still part of Panna State. The date on coins bearing regnal years 18, 19 and 20 are genuine dates, but later coins have a "fixed" and, therefore, fictitious date, probably always "1192" with the "9" retrograde.

To allow for more fractional silver coins and copper coins to be attributed to the state in the future, I have suggested referring to the rupee as Panna type 10, and the sub-types according to the regnal year thereon. Hence a Panna rupee with the regnal year 5 would be a type 10.05 and one with no regnal year (no such coin was seen during this study) would be 10.00. The combination of symbols - one or more combination for each regnal year in which coins were struck - have been given the suffices a, b, c etc. Hence a complete catalogue number might be 10.05b, for instance.

I would be grateful to hear from any collector, dealer or museum curator willing to offer additional details for inclusion in the above tables. Please let me know the regnal year (or state that there is not a regnal year on your coin) and the symbols you find in positions 1 and 2, along with date if present (including an indication of whether any numeral of it is retrograde, or in any way wrongly engraved), and any variation you spot to any of the other symbols on your coins. Details of similar coins with any mint name other than Chhatarpur would also be highly valued by the writer. A scan would be gratefully received, and I will be happy to reimburse any reasonable expenses incurred. Also, I would like to hear of any coin where the top "petal" is not a round or lozenge-shaped dot (or a hollow dot, as seen in some later copies presumed to be from outside Chhatarpur). Worn coins may appear to have a normal "petal" at the top, but it is almost certain that this is not so. I will compile all replies received into expanded versions of tables (A) and (B), and circulate them to all interested parties on request. My e-mail address is:
barrytabor@aol.com

Notes.

1). Dilip Rajgor, in his recent monograph "Collectors' Guide to Mughal Coins" intimates on page 32 that Chhatarpur was a Mughal mint which struck specie for Shah Alam II. C J Brown's "Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow" (v) lists seven such coins, all of which are apparently of the type(s) attributed by Krause and other reliable modern cataloguers to the Native State of Chhatarpur, and which are the subject of this paper. One of these (#4873) is illustrated on Plate XX, and is clearly of this type, and does not belong to the Mughal series at all. All the dates and regnal years of the coins in Mr. Brown's catalogue are in the range outlined above for this type, and are therefore believed to be Panna rupees struck at Chhatarpur mint whilst it was part of the Panna territory. It must be remembered that the excellent catalogue published by Mr. Brown was written at a time when all coins bearing Mughal inscriptions were, by default, attributed to the Mughal Emperor whose inscriptions they were. A very great number of such coins are now correctly attributed to the "Princely", or "Native States" and "Independent Kingdoms", or the "Mughal Successor States" (iii). It is easy to forget just how young the modern science of sub-continental numismatics is, and how much we owe to very recent researchers! One is entitled to wonder why Mr Rajgor thought it proper to include this mint in a listing of "Mughal Mints" when it is generally accepted that it was never such. However, even a brief inspection of Mr Rajgor's list of "Mughal mints" indicates that it includes a number of other mints that never struck specie for a Mughal emperor, but did so for other, independent authorities, ***in the name of*** one or more Mughal emperor. If this was the intention, the list is incomplete. We can

only hope that not too many aspiring "coin collectors" have been misled by this "guide".

2). Prinsep, in his "Useful Tables", states that the Chhatarpur mint dates from 1816 AD, and that it was closed by the British in 1882 AD . He is silent about the possibility of the mint operating prior to this date under the auspices of Panna State. Mitchiner agrees, stating that these rupees were struck between "about 1816 and 1882 AD". This appears to be an error. It is virtually certain that some rupees *were* struck at the Chhatarpur mint after Chhatarpur became independent from Panna, but not *these* rupees.

3). Dr. Mitchiner suggests that the regnal years on "Chhatarpur" rupees may refer to the time since the founding of the state "in 1806 AD". Most authorities seem to agree that the founding of the state actually took place in 1785 AD. Known coins would thus have been struck between 1789 and 1811 AD, and hence Dr Mitchiner's suggestion seems unlikely to be correct. Dr. Mitchiner further states that these coins were last struck for Jagat Singh between 1854 and 1867 AD. Such coins would logically be expected to carry regnal years from 48 to 60 (69 to 81 if we follow Dr. Mitchiner's date for the founding of the state), or the regnal years and legends of Bahadur Shah II or Queen Victoria. No coins were seen with legends and regnal years in these sequences, and I do not know if any have ever been reported. The highest number for a regnal year noted in Krause is 25, and the highest seen in this study was 26 (although some years above 29 have been seen on later copies, possibly from outside the state - see above). Two of the possible Bijawar rupees show the regnal year 25, which could, from the above arguments, relate to 1810 or 1831 AD, but which surely must have been copied from a Chhatarpur (Panna) rupee of 1783 AD. We have here more questions than answers.

4). Students of Native State coins have been struck by the close resemblance of the Panna rupees here described to the Kora rupees bearing regnal years 1 and 2 of Shah Alam II, which are included in the "Peshwa's Mints" section of the Krause catalogues, as Maratha types KM.160-163 inclusive. Indeed, if we remove the trident from these coins, and replace it with the familiar sunflower of the Chhatarpur mint, we probably could not tell the resultant hybrid rupees from normal Panna rupees, except for the mint-name (when it can be read). Even many of the symbols found on the Kora series are identical with (or nearly so) those found on Panna coins. There can be little doubt that the model for the Panna rupees was that attractive and popular coin from just across the river, the identity of whose originator is, for the time being, lost in the mists of time, but certainly was not the Peshwa. Other local rulers took the Kora design (or a copy of it) and modified or re-modified it, and issued numbers of similar coins for use in their own and adjacent territories. As yet, we do not have a very clear idea as to the origin of many of these coins, or their intended sphere of circulation (and that, incidentally, includes the Kora rupees spoken of above). That, of course, is a big part of the reason for our current poor understanding of 18th and 19th century Central Indian mints and coinage in general. The mints seem often to have been run by people whom Shailendra Bhandere, in his inimitable fashion, describes as "Warlords, Barons and local Zamindars" (we might just as well suggest Pindaris, Thuggees and Dacoits!) - mostly of short duration in power. The boundaries of their territories also appear to have been in a constant state of flux.

Bibliography and Acknowledgements..

(i) *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, vol. VIII was the source of much of the historical material.

(ii) *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. IV - Coins of Native States" John Allan, Indological Book Corporation, 1976, New Delhi.

(iii) *Oriental Coins and their Values - The World of Islam*, Michael Mitchiner, Hawkins Publications, London, 1977.

(iv) *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1556AD*, Krause Publications,1980, Iola, USA., and subsequent editions of the same publisher's "Catalogue of World Coins" (Century editions).

(v) *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, C J Brown, published by R C Senior Ltd, Oxford Clarendon Press (first printed 1920) reprinted 1976.

(vi) Some ideas were talked over during conversations with Stan Goron, Shailendra Bhandere and Frank Timmermann, and while my thanks are due to these individuals for their input, including the loan of publications and encouragement, this paper is entirely my own responsibility, and no blame for errors therein can be laid at anybody else's door.

(vii) *Maratha Mints and Coinage*, K K Maheshwari and Kenneth W Wiggins, IIRNS, Nasik, 1989.

The Coins of the Bombay Presidency
The Transitional Mints of the Southern Maratha Country: Bagalkot, Belgaum-Shahpur and Dharwar.

By Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

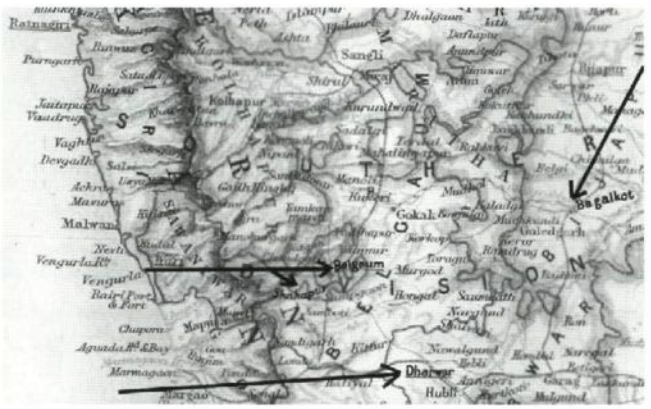
Previous papers have discussed the transitional mints of the Bombay Presidency based on a study of the records stored in the India Office Library (referred to in the footnotes as India Office Records – IOR)[1]

In the south of the Presidency was the area known as the Southern Mahratta Country, which contained mints such as Shahapur, Belgaum, Bagalkot and Dharwar, which were acquired in 1817/18.

There are fewer references to these mints in the records, particularly later in the 1820s, than there are for some of the other mints and the analysis of those coins that were produced, where and when, is therefore rather scantier than that in previous papers. Nevertheless, some important facts have emerged.

The present paper presents the results of this archival research together with an assessment of the coins issued whilst the mints continued operation under the control of the British.

Map of Mints of the Southern Maratha Country



The first reference to the mints in what the records refer to as the 'Southern Mahratta Country' occurs in 1820 when the Commissioner for the Deccan referred to a problem encountered in paying the troops with so many different types of coin in circulation. He recommended that a new mint should be established to replace those at Shahpur and Bagalkot[2]. By 1821 some action had been taken on this proposal and a new mint had been established at Belgaum[3]

'I have the honor to enclose for your inspection one of the first coins struck at the mint which was lately transferred from Sholapoor [I presume that this is Shahpoor] to Belgam. The impression of the new coin differs from that of the old only in bearing the date of the present currency, and the same weight and proportion of alloy are still observed…'

The Commissioner was able to report to the Bombay Government in May of 1821[4]:

'I have the honor to forward for the information of the Honble the Governor in Council, copy of correspondence with Mr. Thackeray in regard to the mints and coins in the Southern Maratha Country.

In concluding our final settlement with Chintamun Row, in which the relinquishment of his mint at Shahpoor was an express condition, it became necessary to consider the best means of supplying its place, particularly as the Shahpoor rupee is also coined by the chief of Kittoor. I, in consequence, suggested to Mr Thackeray to stop the mint at Kittoor as well as Shahpoor, and instead of supplying their place by a new mint of the same coinage at Belgaum, to abandon our own mint at Bagrekotta (=Bagalkot), and establish one new mint for the whole at Dharwar.'

The rupees of Bagalkot and Shahpur were well respected in the area:

'As the Shapoor rupee is at present to be coined at Belgaum, I trust that no great inconvenience will be felt by the merchants who used to carry their bullion to Shapoor and Kittoor. The management of the late Shapoor mint are far more respectable than those of any other mint in the Dooab. They merely coin the silver that is brought to the mint, without having any other concern in it, so that the satisfaction that they give to the owners of the silver is the best test of the integrity of the coin. This security and the rules which have been laid down, will I hope, under a [regular] superintendence, prevent any abuse in the new mint at Belgaum.

In my letter of the 7th October last, I endeavoured to point out the evils to be apprehended from any sudden innovation with respect to the mint. Further experience has convinced me that it would be inexpedient to stop the coinage of either the Bagulkota or Shapoor rupee, until a superior currency is ready to supply their places in the markets of the Dooab. Much pains have been taken to prevent the depreciation of these coins, and the very favourable rates at which they exchange in remote and foreign bazars is the best proof of their intrinsic value – in the bazar of Sholapur the local currency is far less acceptable than the rupees of Shahpoor and Bagulkottah. If therefore we abolish these coins, before they are superseded by the natural operation of a superior currency we shall only make a blank in the circulation, which will be filled up by an inferior substitute. I would therefore submit the expedient of continuing the coinage of the Shahpoor and Sicca rupees at Belgaum and Bagulkotah.

With respect to the expediency of re-establishing a mint at Dharwar, although Darwar itself is not a place of much trade, its situation is central, it is near the large trading town of new [Hoobly?], and it is the seat of an ancient mint. The coin originally struck here was the Darwar Pagoda and as the revenue of the adjacent Talooka were formerly collected exclusively in this coin, its value was perhaps overrated. In Tipu's time the Bahaduree Pagoda was struck at Dharwar and the general currency of this coin both here and in the Mysore would make it far preferable to the Darwar Pagoda, if it were thought advisable to re-establish a gold coinage.

There are indeed several considerations which would make it desirable to coin the Bahaduree Pagodas at Darwar – it is money of account in many parts of the district, it is more acceptable than any other coin in some of [the] countries that trade with the Dooab and its parent mint in Mysore is said [to] be losing its character for integrity. Much of the gold that supplies the mint of Mysore is carried from Goa through the Dooab, and if there were a mint to keep it here, a new channel of commerce would be opened between the district and the coast. The situation of Darwar would also be more favourable for a gold than a silver currency as the former is much more portable.

For these and other reasons, I think a mint for Bahaduree pagodas might be set up at Darwar, and tried for one year. It could at any time be stopped, it would be attended with little expense, and no inconvenience that I am aware of, and until the experiment be tried, it is difficult to judge whether it would be better to adopt the old gold coin of the place or a new silver one.

The integrity of the coin will be best supported by the kind of security noticed in the 2nd paragraph of this letter and if the coiners are prevented from working on their own account it will be easy to check abuses in the mint…

…To check this evil I would propose that a proclamation should be immediately published, excluding all coins from the revenues of the ensuing Fasli, except the Madras pagodas and rupees; the Bahaduree or Ikeree and Darwar pagodas, the Soortee or Bombay rupees, the Sicca or Bagulkotah, and Belgaum (cidevant Shapoor) rupees. Objections may I know be made to this measure but all that have struck me are counterbalanced by its advantages.'

The proposal to reduce the number of coins accepted into the treasury was adopted almost immediately[5] and by 1823 the desired effect had been achieved[6]:

'Adverting to the state of the currency, I beg leave to solicit the attention of the Honble the Governor in Council to Mr Thackeray's observations on the subject of mints and to his former correspondence on this head, which has been already laid before Government.

It appears that a great improvement has been brought about by the abolition of the Kittoor and Moodhal mints and the transfer of that of Shapoor belonging to Chintamun Row, to Belgam. The exclusion also of the inferior coins from the collections, a measure which Mr Thackeray had judiciously adopted, has had the good effect of silencing also the mints of Kolapore and of the Jageers, and Mr Thackeray is of opinion that what is now chiefly wanted, is the substitution of one uniform coinage for the currency of the Belgaum and Baggrecotta (Bagalkot) mints.'

The Bagalkot mint is believed to have closed about 1833[7].

The earlier proposal to establish one mint at Dharwar in the Doab appears to have been accepted[8]:

'With regard to the proposal of establishing one regular mint at Darwar for the whole of our possessions in the Southern Maratha Country, we see no material objection to the measure, providing the several cautions adverted to in the 3rd and 6th paras. of this report be kept in mind and that the receipts are likely to cover the charges.'

and there is an entry referring to the number of coins produced at Dharwar from 1823.

Average annual coinage for 10 years prior to 1833/34 at the Presidency and subordinates[9].

Mint	Number
Dharwar, including the Rajah of Colapoor	266,000

This seems to imply that coins were produced at Dharwar throughout the 1820s at least until 1833/34.

Bagalkot Mint

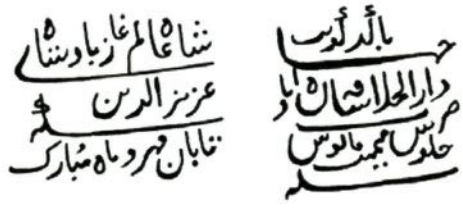
Both Rupees and half rupees are known from the Bagalkot mint showing a European style date. The half rupees are extremely rare.

Obverse: The date 1819 with a Persian Inscription: *Sikka Mubarak Taban Mihr-o-Mah Azizuddin Shah Alam Ghazi Badshah* = Struck the auspicious coin shining like sun and moon. Aziz-ud-din Shah Alam, the Warrior and Emperor

Reverse: A Persian Inscription: *Zarb Dar-ul-Khilafat Shahjahanabad Bagadkut Sanah julus maimanat manus*. Struck at Bagalkot in the ry reign of tranquil prosperity

Edge: Plain

Legend for Bagalkot Silver



Rupee

Half Rupee

Belgaum-Shahpur Mint

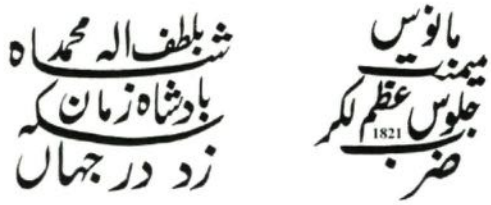
Rupees and half rupees are known with a European style date. Again the half rupee is extremely rare.

Obverse: The date, 1821, with a Persian inscription: *Sikka zad dar Jahan Balutf-I-Ilah Badshah Zaman Muhammad Shah* = Struck coin in the world by favour of God, Muhammad Shah, Emperor of the Age

Reverse: A Persian inscription: *Zarb Azamnagar Sanah julus maimanat manus*. Struck at Azamnagar in the ry reign of tranquil prosperity

Edge: Plain

Legend for Belgaum Silver



Silver Rupee of the Belgaum Mint

Dharwar Mint

The coins struck at Dharwar have not been identified but may have included pagodas and rupees.

Acknowledgements

As usual my thanks are due to Shailendra Bhandare and Jan Lingen for helpful advice and assistance with this paper.

References

[1] Stevens PJE, ONS Newsletters 179, 181 & 182

[2] Bombay Consultations, 8th November 1820. IOR P/408/46

[3] Choksey R.D., (Ed.), (1945), Selections from the Deccan Commissioner's files. Period of Transition (1818-1826). My thanks to Shailendra Bhandare for drawing my attention to this publication.

[4] Bombay Mint Proceedings 28th May 1821. Letter from the Commissioner in the Deccan to Bombay Government. IOR P/411/40 p12.

[5] Bombay Mint Proceedings 21st June 1821. Letter from the Mint Committee to Mr Secretary Farish dated 14th June 1821. IOR P/411/40 p30.

[6] Bombay Mint Proceedings 19th March 1823. Extract of a report from the Commissioner in the Deccan 25th August 1823? Transferred from the Revenue Department. IOR P/411/41 p13.

[7] Maheshwari & Wiggins, Maratha Mints and Coinage, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, monograph 2, 1989, p45

[8] Bombay Financial Proceedings, 7th May 1823. Letter from Mint Committee dated 26th April. IOR P/408/54 p366.

[9] Bombay Consultations, 1835. IOR P/411/54, No. 5 & 6. 21st January 1835.

Bagalkot Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AD	Actual Weight (g)	Diam (mm)	Comments
1.	Rupee	1819	11.07	20.5-20.9	
2.	Half Rupee	1819	5.48	16.8-17.6	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743

Belgaum-Shahpur Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AD	Actual Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Comments
1.	Rupee	1821	11.21	20.3-20.9	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743. Also South Asia KM 30 p205
2.	Half Rupee	1821			Maheshwari & Wiggins p30 cat no. T3

Oxford Meeting

In Newsletter 182 we mentioned that a meeting would take place at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford on Saturday 23 April 2005. This meeting has now been brought forward a week to **Saturday 16 April**, 10.30 am for 11.00 am start. For additional information or offers to give talks please contact Shailendra Bhandare at the museum, tel: 01865 288270; shailendra.bhandare@ashmus.ox.ac.uk.

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Supplement to ONS Newsletter 183

Countermarking in Seventh Century Syria

By Wolfgang Schulze and Tony Goodwin

Part I: Countermarks from before the Arab Conquest

By Wolfgang Schulze

Introduction

About 350 years after the last Roman Provincial coins were countermarked in Syria a new phase of countermarking started in the first half of the seventh century under Byzantine rule. About the same time countermarking also occurred in Sicily and at Bosporos. As far as we know, this phenomenon in different regions of the Byzantine Empire was not the result of a coordinated monetary policy ordered from Constantinople. The evidence rather suggests specific local reasons for countermarking in these few provinces of the huge Byzantine Empire.

While only a few types of countermarks are known from Sicily and Bosporus, in Syria many different types were in use. 'Syria' will be used here in the sense of the old Roman-Byzantine province including present-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and the southeast of Turkey. The KωT countermarks from Cyprus (class 7) and the 'eagle' countermark (class 8), which has hitherto been attributed to Egypt, have also been included.

In this article, 'Byzantine' countermarks mean countermarks with Greek monograms, pictures or symbols, exclusively found on Byzantine host coins. There are other Greek monograms from the time when Syria was under Arab rule (after 636-40). These types are discussed in Part II by Tony Goodwin. Byzantine and Islamic coins with Greek letter countermarks from the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century are discussed in Part III.

Up till now, the literature dealing with the countermarks in seventh century Syria has been meagre. Only in a few articles or excavation reports are particular problems discussed. Broader, but not at all complete, is the treatment of countermarking in collection catalogues like DOC or compilations like MIB. Up to now the results are in many cases doubtful because the authors draw their conclusions usually on the basis of only a few specimens known to them.

The aim of the following chapters, therefore, is mainly to present – as far as possible – all the countermarked coins which are to be found in public and private collections and in the numismatic literature. In this way a new and broader basis for further research and discussion of the many problems connected with the countermarked coins may be built up. Besides this, the author will try to present earlier theories and to discuss them in the light of the new corpus of specimens. Nevertheless many questions will remain – hopefully to be answered in the future.

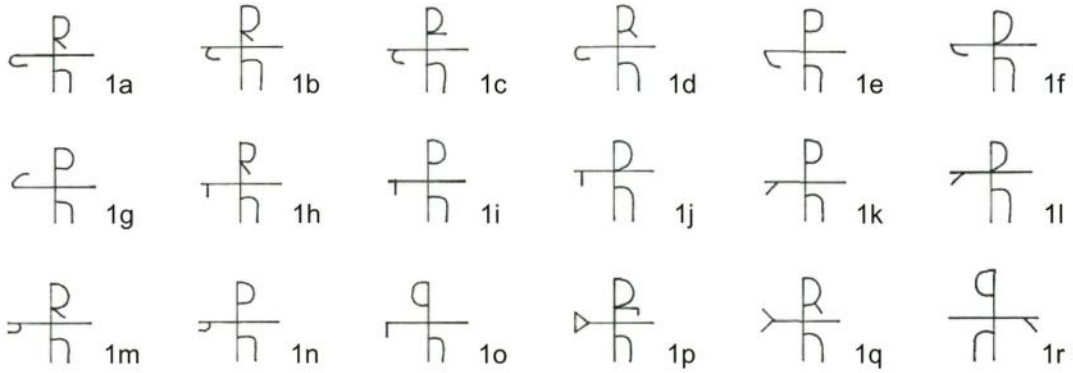
One problem is – as usual – the missing find evidence of most of the listed countermarks. As an alternative to the place of discovery the place of purchase is noted as far as possible. It is astonishing that even today certain types of countermarks are exclusively sold (and probably found) in certain regions. Only in the case of the frequent Cypriot KωT countermark (class 7) do we have broader find evidence. For this reason the corresponding chapter is relatively detailed and comprehensive.

A lot of friends have contributed to this work in one way or another, making their collections available, helping with literature or giving wise advice. These are (in alphabetical order): Tony Goodwin, Stefan Heidemann, Reinhard Hüther, Lutz Ilisch, Wolfgang Leimenstoll, Roger Lemaire, D. Michael Metcalf, Nassif Nohra, Andrew Oddy, Marcus Phillips, Andreas G. Pitsillides, Henri Pottier, Shraga Qedar, Gert Rispling, Cordula Schulze and Rainer Seupel. I am very grateful to all of them. Naturally, any inaccuracies or mistakes should be ascribed solely to me. Last but not least I wish to thank my beloved wife Ingrid Schulze for her patient help.

Class 1

The Heraclian monogram

Type 1 (HRC)
with different arrangements of the 'C'



Type 2 (HR)
'simple' monogram of Heraclius

 2a  2b  2c  2d  2e

Countermarks with the monogram of the emperor Heraclius (610-641) are found in Syria on Byzantine copper coins. Shortly a comprehensive study dealing with these countermarks on the basis of 173 coins will appear[1]. The following paragraphs therefore only give a short abstract of this article and its results.

Typology and reading of the countermarks
Type 1 can be read as **HeRaC**lius, type 2 as **HeR**aclius. Proposals to read them as Theodorus[2] (brother of Heraclius) or as Heraclius Constantine[3] are rejected[4].

Both types of countermarks are circular and have diameters between 7 and 10 millimetres. Apart from a few exceptions they are applied on the reverses of the host coins.

54 (=31.21 %) of the examined 173 host coins have been countermarked more than once. Either they are countermarked twice, three times or even four times with the same type or double countermarked with a combination of types 1 and 2. Another group shows multiple countermarking with combinations of types 1 or 2 with an additional countermark of unidentified type or with later (Arabic?) countermarks, which are called type 3, though they have nothing in common with our types 1 and 2.

Type 3 **Other (later) countermarks combined with Types 1 and 2**

 3a  3b  3c

Provenance of the countermarks
It seems unquestionable that the countermarks were applied in the old Roman-Byzantine province of Syria with a focal point at the coastal region of Palestine I. 15.60 % of the examined coins are from Cyprus.

The host coins
The countermarked host coins possibly give an overview of the small change in Syria during the first half of the 630s. Obviously all circulating copper coins, old or new, were countermarked. Usually folles are concerned, but three quarter folles (2) and half folles (17) have been found too. Most of the host coins are from the reign of Heraclius, but 38 specimens of earlier emperors have also been observed. The latest host coins are from year 26 of the reign of Heraclius (i.e. 635/36).

Distribution of the host coins

Justin I(518-527)	1 specimen	0.58 %
Justinian I(527-565)	2 specimens	1.16 %
Justin II (565-578)	2 specimens	1.16 %
Tiberius (578-582)	3 specimens	1.73 %
Mauricius(582-602)	29 specimens	16.76 %
Phocas (602-610)	1 specimen	0.58 %
Heraclius(610-641)		
years 1-19	17 specimens	9.82 %
years 20-26 (reform folles)	118 specimens	68.21 %
	173 specimens	100.00 %

[1] Schulze, Wolfgang – Schulze, Ingrid – Leimenstoll, Wolfgang, Heraclian countermarks on Byzantine copper coins in seventh century Syria, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 29, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham, 2005

[2] Lampinen, Peter, Countermarked Byzantine folles and the identification of a new imperial family member, Caesarea Papers 2 (Porthsmouth, Rhode Island, 1999), 399-404, 401

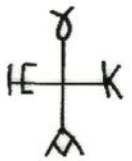
[3] Economides, Kyriakos N., Byzantine Folles Countermarked with Heraclian Monograms found in Cyprus, The Numismatic Chronicle 163 (2003) 193-204

[4] For the arguments to read them as Heraclius cf. Grierson, Philip, Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection, vol. 2, (Washington 1968); Grierson Philip, Byzantine Coins (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982); Morrisson, Cécile, Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale 491-1204 (Paris 1970); Hahn, Wolfgang, Moneta Imperii Byzantini, vol 3 (Wien 1981); DeRose Evans, Jane, Heraclian countermarks on coins found in Caesarea, American Journal of Numismatics 5-6 (1993-94), 97 ff.; Donald, P. J., A New Follis for Heraclius 629/639 AD, The Numismatic Circular (May 1997), 110; Metcalf, D. Michael, Monetary recession in the Middle Byzantine period: the numismatic evidence, The Numismatic Chronicle 163 (2003), 205-226

Dating and purpose of the countermarks

In the past, many attempts were made to date the countermarks anywhere between 610 and 640[5]. As a result, the interpretations are very different. Most of the authors assume a connection with the Heraclian monetary reform of 630 and think that the countermarks served to revalue older coins. Others suggest propaganda purposes. All former theories are based on only a few specimens. In the forthcoming article mentioned above all older interpretations are rejected. For the first time, the authors develop a new theory considering the historical background, provenances and contemporary coin hoards[6] on a representative basis of 173 specimens, which allows statistical reflections: the Heraclian countermarks were most probably applied in military mints during the armed conflict between the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim Arabs in Syria in the years 633-636. It seems that countermarking was undertaken predominantly in Palestine I. It was carried out on behalf of the soldiers in order to revalue the few circulating copper coins. The aim was to remedy the dramatic financial problems of the Byzantine army during the years 633-636[7], the supply gap and the presumed lack of cash in daily life[8]. Multiple countermarking was possibly used for further revaluation of the coins.

Class 2



type a

HEPAK

type b

HPAK

This countermark (DOC type G – MIB Heraclius Km.2) is round, has a diameter of about 10 millimetres and is usually applied at the edge of the host coin evidently to avoid destruction of the indication of value. It is much rarer than the Heraclian countermark Class 1, of which 173 specimens could be listed. Apart from the nine combined specimens with class 3 (cf. below class 4) only the following seven specimens could be found:

1	Rev.	MIB Km.2a[1]	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164)
2	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164)
3	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164)
4	Rev.	Kharcha hoard[9]	Byz	Heraclius follis year 20? (MIB 164). 10.57 g. Found in Cyprus
5	?	Whitting coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis year 23 (mentioned by Grierson DOC 2/1 p. 56)
6	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 171). 6.09 g. Obtained in Israel
7	Obv.	Pavlou, ONS Newsletter 127, 1991, p.5	Imitation	Heraclius follis, three emperors type, mintmark (T)HEY. 4.9 g

Reading

Grierson thinks that the countermark should be read as 'Heraclius Constantine or Heraclonas, not Heraclius himself'[10]. He points out that this idea may need a second thought as there are very similar Heraclian 'cross' monograms on silver plate.[11] Nevertheless in his Table II (Imperial Monograms)[12] he reads the monogram class 2a as +HPAKΛIOV and the class 2b as + HEPAKΛIOV and assigns it to Heraclius. Hahn thinks that it is an 'official' Heraclian monogram, known from contemporary silver stamps.[13] The reading as 'Heraclius' is the most probable alternative.

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[5] e. g. Grierson op. cit. (1968), 56; Morrisson op. cit., 310; Hahn op. cit., 111; DeRose Evans op. cit., 100 f.; Donald op. cit., 119; Lampinen op. cit., 404; Economides op. cit.

[6] e. g. Bates, George E., A Byzantine hoard from Coelesyria, ANS Museum Notes 14 (1968), 67-109 ('Coelesyria hoard'); Leuthold, E., Monete Byzantine rinvenute in Siria, Rivista italiana di numismatica 54-55 (1952-53), 31-49 ('Tell Bissé hoard'); Metcalf, William E., A Heraclian hoard from Syria, ANS Museum Notes 20 (1975), 109-137 ('ANS/Myers hoard')

[7] Cf. e. g. Kaegi, Walter E. Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests, Cambridge 1992, 35-39

[8] The shortage of cash in Palestine during the years of war is derived from the historical circumstances. It cannot be proved by numismatic evidence; on the other hand we have no numismatic evidence to the contrary.

[9] Dikigoropoulos, A. I., A Byzantine Hoard from Kharcha, Cyprus, Numismatic Chronicle 1956, 255-265

[10] DOC 2/1, 56. The same possibilities are offered from Paul Pavlou, A Byzantine countermark on a 'follis' bearing the mint signature of Theoupolis (Antioch), ONS Newsletter 127 (1991), 5

[11] DOC 2/1, 56, footnote 92

[12] DOC 2/1, 110, (k) and (l)

[13] MIB 3, 111

Dating

Concerning coin no. 5 Grierson thinks that the countermarks must have been applied later than year 23 (= 632/633).[14] With one exception, up to the present we have found this countermark exclusively on Heraclian folles of year 20 ff. There is no datable host coin later than year 23. Thus this countermark could have been applied during the same time as Class 1; this means during the struggles with the invading Arabs in Syria 633-636, perhaps up to 640 when Caesarea, the last Byzantine bastion, was surrendered.

Hahn believes that this countermark was still in use during the reign of Constans II.[15] He evidently refers to a countermark on a Constans II follis[16], which he has named Km.2a[2]. But in this point Hahn is mistaken. The countermark on this coin is not the monogram class 2. It seems to be the monogram A11 or A9 in the following article byTony Goodwin.

If we start from the premise that the class 2 countermarks are from about 633-640, the host coin no. 7 goes off the beaten track. Will this coin prove that this dating is wrong? Or will our dating give a clue for dating the host coin?

Paul Pavlou, who published coin no. 7 discussed here, is convinced that the countermark was applied after the coin was manufactured. Goodwin[17], referring to the same coin, believes that the countermark could have been applied to the undertype. If Goodwin's idea could be confirmed, there would no longer be any problem. The countermark on an older coin would fit into the proposed dating framework. But because we cannot exclude the possibility that Pavlou is right, the question remains: from which time could the host coin be?

The coin in question is an imitative coin of the Heraclian three figures type. This well-known group of imitations seems to be derived from the prototypes with the mint mark KVΠP from years 17, 18 and 19 with the officina letter Γ.[18] The mint mark Theoupolis (Antioch) on our coin is clearly an invention because the mint of Antioch was closed in 610, in the year of the accession of Heraclius. This imitative coin is struck on an approximately oval flan. Because the flan was prepared by halving and clipping old large module flans, Goodwin calls the coins of this group 'cut coins'. In a recent article[19] he comes to the conclusion that these 'cut coins' are from the time after the Arab conquest and can be classified as 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coinage[20]. But he leaves open the possibility 'that they are a few years earlier than the normal Pseudo-Byzantine coinage'.

Paul Pavlou goes in a similar direction: 'Presuming that the instigators of the coin(s) under discussion were the Arabs, which will depend on whether the above mentioned cruciform monogram stamp comes to light on Heraclian coins bearing regnal year 28 (637/638) and later, then the perpetrators were, in my opinion, local (Christian?) artists employed by the local authority within Arab guidelines.'

Up to the present we have not found such a countermarked Byzantine coin, minted after the end of the Arab invasion in Syria, which could confirm this idea. Thus we cannot exclude the possibility that these imitations (or a part of them) were struck earlier.

George E. Bates published a similar coin to Pavlou's (three standing figures type dated in Heraclius' regnal year 14 with the mint mark THP)[21]. He suggests the possibility that this imitative coin has been produced when Syria was occupied by the Persians (610-630) 'to supply a Byzantine type for the Byzantine populace'.

Pavlou has rejected this theory as unlikely because of the 'bad propaganda that would have resulted if they had permitted a coinage to circulate in an area under their control which portrayed, not their great king of kings, but figures which represented their mortal enemies!' But is this argument really conclusive?

After the Persians had occupied Syria they did not destroy the structures of the former Byzantine administration.[22] On the contrary, they supported the old system mainly focussed on collecting taxes and tolerated Christianity[23]. And they did not reorganise the money circulation in every day life to ensure a normal economic life in their territories.[24]

Recently in a convincing study[25], Henri Pottier proved that, under Persian rule in Syria, besides Byzantine gold and Sasanian silver coins, copper coins were in use, which were derived from well known Byzantine coin types of Justin II, Maurice Tiberius, Phocas and Heraclius. Furthermore he found out that these 'imitative' coins were struck with realistic dating and consistent standards – differing from the contemporary products of the mint in Constantinople. Despite their illiterate inscriptions and mintmarks these coins were official issues of an established regime.

Consequently imitative coins of the three figures type, derived from the Cypriot prototype (not included in Pottier's study), could also have been part of this system[26] and the provisional dating of the countermark class 2 between 633 and 640 can be defended. This does not mean that all the imitations of the three figures type were produced under Persian rule. This coin type seems to have been very popular in the first half of the seventh century and it is quite possible that imitating continued under Arab rule.

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[14] DOC 2/1, 56
[15] MIB 3, 111
[16] MIB 3, Pl. 15
[17] Goodwin, Tony, The Dating of a Series of Early Arab-Byzantine coins, ONS Newsletter No. 181 (Autumn 2004), 5-9
[18] Cf. the remark to the 'Cyprus find in class 7 below
[19] op. cit. footnote 16
[20] For the terminology cf. Goodwin, Tony, Sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 1, Oxford 2002, 74
[21] Bates, George E., The Antioch mint under Heraclius, ANS Museum Notes 16 (1970), 80-82, no. 31
[22] Similar as the Arabs did after having conquered Syria about three decades later.
[23] Foss, Clive, Syria in Transition, A. D. 550-570: An Archaeological Approach, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 51 (1997), 189-268.
[24] Foss, Clive, The Persian Near East (602-630 AD) and its coinage, Historical introduction to the book of Henri Pottier, footnote 16, 7-18
[25] Pottier, Henri, Le monnayage de la Syrie sous l'occupation Perse (610-630), Cahier Ernest-Babelon 9, Paris 2004
[26] This question will be the topic of further research. It will be interesting to see whether the pseudo-mintmarks of the three figures coins have similarities or are connected with the Persian 'imitative' coins pointed out by Pottier. In auction 134 (October 2004) of Gorny & Mosch, Munich, there appeared a coin (no. 3230) with a Heraclian three figure obverse, die-linked with an imitative reverse, described by Henri Pottier as made under Persian rule.

Purpose
See below, Class 4.

Class 3

KωNT

The diameter of this usually well struck round countermark (DOC type H – MIB Constans II Km.1) is 10-11 mm and, like Class 2, it is usually applied at the edge of the host coin. Like Class 2 it is much rarer than Class 1. Apart from the nine specimens combined with Class 2 we know of the following 16 pieces:

1	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Mauricius Tiberius (?) follis, very worn
2	Rev.	MIB Km.1	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164)
3	Rev.	Grierson 1982[27], pl. 24, no. 426	Byz	Heraclius follis, year 20 (MIB 164)
4	Rev.	Kharcha hoard 55	Byz	Heraclius follis year 23 (MIB 164). 6.49 g. Found in Cyprus
5	Rev.	Köhler-Osbar[28] 192	Byz	Heraclius follis, very worn. 4.41 g
6	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 169)
7	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170).5.23 g. Obtained in Israel
8	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170). 5.85 g Obtained in Israel
9	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis year 21 (MIB 170). 6.58 g. Obtained in Israel
10	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170/171). 4.61 g. Obtained in Israel
11	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170/171). 4.64 g. Obtained in Israel
12	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170/171). 4.83 g. Obtained in Israel
13	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170/171). 4.54 g. Obtained in Jordan
14	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 170/171)
15	Rev.	In trade 06/04	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 171a). 7.23 g
16	Obv.	Priv. Coll.	Imitation	Heraclius follis, three emperors type, 5.80 g, retrograde officina gamma on rev.

Reading
Hahn has no doubts that this monogram means Constans II[29]. Grierson[30] reads KωNT and offers three possibilities: Heraclius Constantine, Heraclonas (Constantine) or Constans II. In contrast to this he commits himself to Constans II in Table II (Imperial Monograms)[31]. Describing the coin Class 4 no. 6 below he doubts if it is later than 641.[32]

At present the question is still open and we can only speculate to some extent: we have to state that there is no known similar monogram from the reign of Constans II. On coins as well as on countermarks only the monogram Class 7 was used. Starting from the idea that a countermark should be readable at first glance, the monogram Class 3 seems not to represent Constans II. Following Grierson's numismatic feeling that this countermark is not later than 641, it could have been a short-lived monogram of Heraclius Constantine (Heraclius 'the new Constantine' – co-emperor since 613) or Heraclonas (also called 'Constantine' – co-emperor from 638). Both became Byzantine emperors for some months in 641.

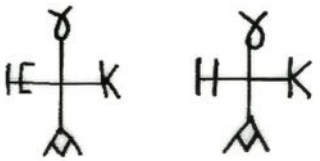
[27] Grierson, Philip, Byzantine Coins, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982
[28] Sammlung Köhler-Osbar, Byzantinische Münzen und ihr Umfeld, Vol. V/2, Duisburg 1999
[29] MIB 3, 141
[30] DOC 2/1, 57
[31] DOC 2/1, 111
[32] DOC 2/2, 511, footnote 211

Dating
Grierson dates the Class 3 countermark to the year 641[33] or 'early in the reign of Constans II'[34]. Hahn believes that this countermark was applied in Syria during the early Arab rule when the old Byzantine administration was still intact.[35] Neither dating is convincing. Apart from a Mauricius Tiberius follis and a coin imitating the Heraclian three standing figure type, the countermark Class 3 appears again exclusively on Heraclian reform folles and half folles of year 20 ff. As in Class 2 the latest datable coin is from year 23. The earlier dating of the countermarked imitative follis has been discussed above.

As a result we have no reason to date Class 3 to another period than Classes 1 and 2. Here again we can start from the idea that Class 3 is from the time between 633 and 640. This means that the reading of the monogram is reduced to Heraclius Constantine or Heraclonas – if we assume that it is nothing other than an imperial monogram. But we have to take into account that the countermark Class 3 appears usually much clearer and fresher than the countermarks of Classes 1 and 2. On the one hand this confirms the idea of a short-lived countermark; on the other hand countermarking of Class 3 should have begun later than Classes 1 and 2. Probably Class 3 was applied sometime during the last years of the Byzantine-Arab war, about 636-640.

Purpose
See below, Class 4.

Class 4



Class 2a or Class 2b

combined on rev. with Class 3

The double countermarked coins of Class 4 are exclusively Heraclian folles of year 20 ff. (MIB 164, DOC 105-116). Here, too, the countermarks are applied near the edge of the host coins without destroying the indication of value.

1	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis, year 20 (MIB 164). 10.83 g. Obtained in Lebanon
2	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis, year 20 (MIB 164). 14.47 g. Obtained in Lebanon
3	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164), overstruck on Justin II
4	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164).
5	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164), overstruck on older type
6	Rev.	DOC 2, p. 511, no. 211	Byz	Heraclius follis, year 20 (+?) (MIB 164). 9.86 g
7	Rev.	in trade 04/04	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164). Dealer from Lebanon
8	Rev.	in trade 06/04	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164)
9	Rev.	Elsen list 210, 407	Byz	Heraclius follis year 20 (MIB 164). With 3rd c/m class 5 on rev. 13.43 g
10	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164). 14.27 g

Purpose (Classes 2-4)
First of all it must be admitted that we cannot be certain about the purpose of the countermarks Classes 2-4. There are neither written sources nor find evidence which could help. For this reason we are dependent on assumptions.

Thinking about countermarking one of the first things that come to mind is that it served as a revaluation on orders from Constantinople. But the lists above show as host coins exclusively reform folles or half folles of the Heraclian years 20 ff. (630 ff.). There is no convincing reason to revalidate reformed coins a few years later – and this only in Syria. Besides countermarking the imitations of the three figures type would not make any sense in such a context. Furthermore, we have to take into consideration that the countermarks are always applied at the edge of the coins, evidently with the aim of preserving the indicastions of value. If countermarking had been used to revalue the coins there would have been no reason to do so very carefully.

That the countermarks are always struck on the reverses does not help in this connection; apparently the imperial figures on the obverse were not to be damaged. There are two exception to this rule, however: the two imitations Class 2.7 and Class 3.16. Here the countermarks are on the obverse.

[33] DOC 2/1, 55
[34] DOC 2/1, 111
[35] MIB 3, 141

Finally the small quantity of listed host coins speaks against revaluation. Whereas the countermark Class 1 could be noted 173 times, the countermarks Classes 2-4 are found altogether only on 32 host coins. If an 'official' revaluation had in fact been carried out, we should have found many more specimens.

Were the countermarks Classes 2-4 produced by a military mint in view of the dramatic financial problems and the supply gap from Constantinople in Syria during the years 633-640? Such a proposal has been made for the countermark Class 1. But for Classes 2-4 again the small quantity of listed coins speaks against this idea. In addition to this, the countermarks Classes 2-4 are well struck, exactly applied at the edges of the host coins and they do not overlap if combined on a coin. Such a careful treatment (in contrast to the countermarks Class 1) speaks against a military mint.

The relatively small quantity of countermarked coins of Classes 2-4 found up to now may be an indication that countermarking was carried out in very small districts. If our dating between about 633 and 640 is correct, where might we find such 'closed' districts in Byzantine Syria?

Arabs and Byzantines were involved in continuous armed conflicts between 633 and 636 in Syria. In August 636 the Byzantine troops had to endure a crushing defeat at the river Yarmuk. Syria was finally lost to the Arabs. Immediately after this battle Heraclius withdrew all Byzantine troops from Syria. He transferred them north in order to prevent the Arabs from advancing to the west by crossing the Taurus. But some of the Syrian cities were able to withstand the Arab invasion even after the withdrawal of the Byzantine military (Akkon, Tyrus, Sidon and Jerusalem until 637) but with the fall of Caesarea in 640 the last Byzantine bastion was lost and the Arab conquest of Syria was completed.

In these last Byzantine enclaves people must have suffered severely from the disastrous shortage of cash. One can imagine that they started countermarking to produce a sort of obsidional or money of necessity, in the first place to ensure that the coins that were still circulating remained in the cities.

This idea could also explain the double countermarking: Before or when a city was sacked by the Arabs the small change that had already been countermarked 'migrated' to the next Byzantine city (e. g. from Jerusalem to Caesarea) and became countermarked a second time. Under this premise we must presume that the countermark Class 3, the clearer and fresher one, was in use in Caesarea, the last Byzantine city, which had free access from the sea until 640, when it was conquered by the Arabs.

But this is only a vague theory, which seems more probable than other ones but has to be confirmed or refuted in the future on a broader basis and with the help of find evidence.

Class 5

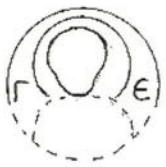
animal (lion?)

The diameter of this round countermark is about 8 millimetres. Similar to Classes 2-4 it is applied near to the edge of the host coins.

1	Rev.	Elsen, list 210, 407	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164), With 2nd and 3rd c/m Classes 2 and 3 = same specimen as Class 4.9. 13.43 g
2	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164). 8.38 g. Obtained in Lebanon
3	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164) year 20. 11.03 g. Obtained in Lebanon
4	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164) year 20. 11.08 g. Probably from around the region of Tiberias
5	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164) year 20 or 21
6	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius follis (MIB 164) year 22
7	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Heraclius half follis (MIB 171)

It is not clear whether this countermark is a 'Byzantine' or an 'Arab' one. This means we are still not able to date it. The distribution of the host coins (Heraclian folles and half folles after year 20) is similar to Classes 1-4; and the combination with Class 4.9 speaks for a connection. But this is not compelling. The countermark could just as well belong to those made under Arab rule. We know of some 'animal' countermarks from this period (cf. C1-C5 in the article of Tony Goodwin below) and our Class 5, which has a smaller diameter than Classes 1-4, might fit into this series. However, we have no host coin from the time of Arab rule in Syria, and all relevant questions regarding the reading, dating and purpose of this countermark must remain open.

Class 6



St George

1	?	Caesarea excavation	Byz	Mauricius Tiberius follis, year 7, probably Antioch
2	?	Caesarea excavation	Byz	Mauricius Tiberius follis, probably Antioch
3	Obv.	Private collection	Byz	Justin I follis, Constantinople (MIB 11)

The three specimens listed above were published in 1999 by Peter Lampinen[36]. Two were found in the summer of 1996 during the excavations in Caesarea Maritima, one is from a private collection. Lampinen describes the countermark as appearing 'to be a facing nimbate bust flanked by the letters Γ Є, all within a circle of approximately the same diameter as that of the Heraclean countermarks' and as 'most likely to be associated with the campaigns of 634-36'. As we have seen above, the Heraclian countermarks Class 1 have a diameter varying between 7 and 10 millimetres. For this reason, comparing countermarks Classes 1 and 6 is not likely to produce anything really conclusive . Nevertheless Lampinen's dating could be correct.

Furthermore, he concludes that 'the warrior St George was born and/or martyred in Diospolis (Lydda – Ludd) in Palestine, which at some point took the name of Georgioupolis. Whether the countermark can be specifically attributed to a mint operating at or near Diospolis-Georgioupolis remains uncertain.'

Class 7

The Cypriot KωT countermark

The round countermark type 7a shows the monogram KωT, well known from the coins of Constans II (641 – 668) and Constantine IV (668 – 685)[37]. Type 7b is only the retrograde form of type a, obviously an error of the die cutter.

The countermarked host coins are almost exclusively folles and a few half folles of Constans II. In addition to that, there are some isolated specimens of Heraclius, Constantine IV and imitations of the Heraclian three figures type. The provenance of the countermarks is doubtless Cyprus. Nearly all of the known specimens have been found on the island. Only a few single countermarks have come from neighbouring, mainland Syria.

Included in the following lists are the published coin hoards and stray finds from excavations in Cyprus. In addition, a number of coins from private collections are included; all of them are believed to be of Cypriot provenance. The coins are folles if not otherwise mentioned.

Cyprus find

J. Leicester Warren, On some coins of Constans II and his sons, discovered in the island of Cyprus, Numismatic Chronicle 1861, 42-55
Warwick Wroth, Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum, 2 Vols., London 1908 (reprint Chicago 1966)

The 'Cyprus find'[38] was bought in 1858 by J. Leicester Warren, who gave a rough overview of the composition in Numismatic Chronicle 1861. The hoard consisted of 512 specimens, all except one, unclassified countermarked coins. A representative selection of 120 of these coins came to the British Museum and was accurately described by Warwick Wroth in 1908:

Constans II – Constantinople mint

BMC No.	**host coin after MIB and DOC**	**year**	**c/m type/ quantity**	**c/m on/ quantity**	**quantity/remarks**
115	ЄN TOVTO NIKA	1-7	a/3	rev./3	4 specimens

[36] Lampinen, Peter, Countermarked Byzantine folles and the identification of a new imperial family member, Caesarea Papers 2, Porthmouth, Rhode Island, 1999, 399-404
[37] The mints of Syracuse and Carthage used this monogram on coins of both emperors.
[38] The 'Cyprus find' was bought in Athens and was said to have come from Cyprus.

120 123 125	Constans standing, beardless MIB 162 ff. DOC Classes 1-4		b/1	obv./1	
100	INPER CONST Bust, beardless MIB 166 DOC (Heraclonas) Class 1	3	a	rev.	1 specimen
180	INPER CONST Bust, bearded MIB 169 DOC (Heraclonas) Class 2	11	a	rev.	1 specimen
127 128 130- 134 136 138- 140 142- 144 146- 148 151- 153	ЄN TOVTO NIKA Constans standing, bearded; rev. cross or star above M MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/17 b/3	rev./20	20 specimens
164- 173 175 178 179	ЄN TOVTO NIKA Constans standing, bearded; on rev. KωNCTAN MIB 172 DOC Class 6	15-16	a/13	rev./9 obv./4	13 specimens
156- 161	ЄN TOVTO NIKA Constans standing, bearded; rev. K above M MIB 173 DOC Class 7	15-17	a/5 b/1	rev./5 obv./1	6 specimens
181- 189 191- 198	Two standing figures MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a/15 b/2	rev./13 obv./4	17 specimens
200 201 203- 207 209- 231	Obv. standing figure Rev. three standing figures MIB 175 DOC Class 9	19-23	a/29 b/1	rev./14 obv./16	30 specimens
254- 257	Obv. two standing figures Rev. two standing figures MIB 176 DOC Class 10	25	a/4	rev./3 obv./1	4 specimens
233 234 236 238- 241 243- 253	Obv. bust Rev. three busts MIB 177 DOC Class 11	26-27	a/15 b/3	rev./11 obv./7	18 specimens

258 260	**Half** follis Bust with long beard MIB 185 DOC Class 6	20-27	a/2	rev./1 obv./1	2 specimens
264	**Half** follis	16	a	rev.	1 specimen

	Two standing figures MIB 170 (Heraclius) DOC Class 5				

Pseudo-Byzantine coins[39]

273 273a 274	three standing figures type	15? ? ?	a/3	rev./2 obv./1	3 specimens

Comment

Wroth catalogued nos. 273, 273a and 274 as Heraclian folles from a Cypriot mint. On this point he seems to be wrong. The three coins are all typical Syrian three figures imitations struck on the halved flans of older folles under Arab rule[40]. They possibly came into circulation on Cyprus during the times of the Arab raids (see below).

We only know of Heraclian folles (three standing figure type) minted with the mintmark KVΠP from the years 17, 18 and 19 and with the officina Γ.[41] Remarkably such coins are not found in Cyprus; they usually come from Syria/Palestine. For this reason it is very doubtful whether there was a Heraclian mint in Cyprus during years 17-19[42]. These coins may have been struck in a military mint during the Persian war.[43]

Apart from this the coins with the mintmark KVΠP and the mint signature Γ were very often imitated, sometimes very closlye to the original, sometimes clipped with more or less unintelligible inscriptions, random dating and degenerate forms of the KVΠP[44].

Soli hoard

Alfred Westholm, A Hoard of Bronze Coins of Constans II, Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1940, 135-147

The 'Soli hoard' was found in 1927 in connection with the excavation of the theatre of Soli by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. 46 of 74 coins are countermarked.

Constans II – Constantinople mint

Soli No.	**host coin after MIB and DOC**	**year**	**c/m type/ quantity**	**c/m on/ quantity**	**quantity/remarks**
1	MIB 162 ff. DOC Classes 1-4	1-7	a	rev.	1 specimen
37	MIB 169 DOC (Heraclonas) Class 2	11	a	rev.	1 specimen
2-6 8-30	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/28	rev./27 obv./1	28 specimens
32 33 35 36	MIB 172 DOC Class 6	15-16	a/4	rev./4	4 specimens
31	MIB 173 DOC Class 7	15-17	a	rev.	1 specimen
38-41	MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a/4	rev./3 obv./1	4 specimens
43-48	MIB 175 DOC Class 9	19-23	a/6	obv./6	6 specimens

Pseudo-Byzantine coin

49	ЄN TOVTO NIKA Bust of Constans II wearing paludamentum and cuirass	-	a	rev.	1 specimen Westholm classified this coin as a Constans II follis (Kyzicus mint?), but it is definitely a Syrian Pseudo-Byzantine coin

[39] For the terminology cf. Goodwin, Tony, Sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 1, Oxford 2002, 74.
[40] Many thanks to Tony Goodwin for reconsidering these coins in the British Museum.
[41] Pars pro toto: DOC 184/185, MIB 198.
[42] Pavlou, P., Cyprus or Syria? An observation on the folles struck by Heraclios' "Cypriot" military mint, unpublished paper.
[43] Goodwin, Tony, The Dating of a Series of Early Arab-Byzantine Coins, ONS Newsletter (forthcoming)
[44] Cf. Goodwin, Tony, A Hoard of Imitative Byzantine Folles, Numismatic Circular, October 1994, 357-359

Coins without countermarks:
Constans II folles MIB 169/DOC (Heraclonas) Class 2 (1), MIB 170 f./DOC Class 5 (1), MIB 172/DOC Class 6 (1), MIB 175/DOC Class 9 (1). The remaining 24 specimens are described as 'restruck' or 'indeterminable'.

Pano Kyrenia hoard

This coin hoard from the collection of Andreas G. Pitsillides, Nicosia, is hitherto unpublished.[45] The hoard was found in 1965 in Pano Kyrenia about one kilometre to the south of the northern coast of Cyprus. 20 of 73 coins are countermarked. Only a few coins of the hoard were cleaned. For this reason some coins could not be clearly classified.
Constans II – Constantinople mint

Pan.Kyr No.	host coin after MIB and DOC	year	c/m type	c/m on/ quantity	quantity/remarks
1-8	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a	rev./7 obv./1	8 specimens
9-13	MIB 172 DOC Class 6	15-16	a	rev.	5 specimens
14-15	MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a	rev.	2 specimens
16-20	Not clearly classified	11 ff.	a	rev.	5 specimens

Coins without countermark:
Constans II folles MIB 169/DOC (Heraclonas) Class 2 (1), MIB 170 f./DOC Class 5 (3), MIB 172/DOC Class 6 (3), MIB 174/DOC Class 8 (12), MIB 175/DOC Class 9 (9), MIB 177/DOC Class 11 (2), Not clearly identified (19)[46] and from the reign of **Constantine IV** decanummia, Constantinople mint, MIB 88/DOC Class 1 (4)[47]

Finds from Curium

D. H. Cox, Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1959, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 145, New York 1959

Constans II – Constantinople mint

Cox No.	host coin after MIB and DOC	year	c/m type/ quantity	c/m on/ quantity	quantity/remarks
723	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/3	?	3 specimens Cox gives no details of the host coins nor of the position of the c/ms
724	MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a/4	?	4 specimens
725	MIB 175 DOC Class 9	19-23	a/2	?	2 specimens
726	MIB 177 DOC Class 11	26-27	a/2	?	2 specimens

Coins without countermarks:
Constans II folles MIB 166/DOC (Heraclonas) Class 1 (9), MIB 162 ff./DOC Classses 1-4 (2), MIB 170 f./DOC Class 5 (2), MIB 174/DOC Class 8 (2), MIB 175/DOC Class 9 (1), MIB 177/DOC Class 11 (1)

Finds from Paphos (Odeion)

Ino Nicolaou, Paphos II, The Coins from the House of Dionysos, Nicosia 1990 (Appendix A – The Coins from the Odeion)

[45] I am very grateful to Andreas G. Pitsillides for the permission to publish the hoard.
[46] Among the not clearly identified folles of Constans II there is no specimen before year 11.
[47] From years 15-20. This means 668-673 AD, because Constantine IV reckoned his regnal years not from his assumption of empire power in 668 but from his elevation to the rank of co-emperor in 654.

Constans II – Constantinople mint

Paphos II No.	host coin after MIB and DOC	year	c/m type/ quantity	c/m on/ quantity	quantity/remarks
93 95 96 106- 108	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/6	rev./6	6 specimens
94 110 111	MIB 173 DOC Class 7	15-17	a/3	rev./3	3 specimens
102 109	MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a/2	rev./2	2 specimens
99	MIB 175 DOC Class 9	19-23	a	obv.	1 specimen

Coins without countermarks:
Constans II folles MIB 166/DOC (Heraclonas) Class 1 (3), MIB 162 ff./DOC Classes 1-4 (3), MIB 170 f./DOC Class 5 (1), MIB 175/DOC Class 9 (3); half folles not clearly classified (4) and a countermarked follis from Sicily

Finds from Paphos (Saranda Colones)

D. M. Metcalf, Byzantine, Islamic and Crusader Coins from Saranda Colones, Paphos, Numismatic Chronicle 2003, 205-226

Heraclius – Constantinople mint

Sar.Col. No.	host coin after MIB and DOC	year	c/m type/ quantity	c/m on/ quantity	quantity/remarks
25	Heraclius in cuirass and Heraclius Constantine standing MIB 164 ff. DOC Class 5b	21-30	a	rev.	1 specimen

Constans II – Constantinople mint

42-46 49	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/6	rev./6	6 specimens

Coins without countermark:
Constans II folles MIB 162/DOC Class 1 (1), MIB 166/DOC (Heraclius) Class 1 (2), MIB 167/DOC Class 4 (2), MIB 170 f./DOC Class 5 (4), MIB 172/DOC Class 6 (1), MIB 174/DOC Class 8 (1), MIB 176/DOC Class 10 (1), follis from Sicily and 2 unclassified folles (one of them is possibly a Pseudo-Byzantine coin)

Stray finds from Cyprus

Private collections

Heraclius – Constantinople mint

current No.	host coin after MIB and DOC	year	c/m type/ quantity	c/m on/ quantity	quantity/remarks
1	Three figures. Heraclius in military dress MIB 166 f. DOC Class 6	30-31	a	rev.	1 specimen

Constans II – Constantinople mint

2	MIB 166 DOC (Heraclonas) Class 1	3	a	rev.	1 specimen

3-32	MIB 170 f. DOC Class 5	11-14	a/30	rev./30	30 specimens
33-42	MIB 172 DOC Class 6	15-16	a/10	rev./8 obv./2	10 specimens
43	MIB 173 DOC Class 7	15-17	a	rev.	1 specimen
44-51	MIB 174 DOC Class 8	15-17	a/8	rev./7 obv./1	8 specimens
52-62	MIB 175 DOC Class 9	19-23	a/11	rev./5 obv./6	11 specimens

The countermarks

The countermarks are always round, normally with a diameter of 7-8 mm. Most of them are struck with little care and sometimes can only be deciphered with much experience. Usually they are to be found on the reverses of the coins. Only 18.66 % of the coins examined bear the countermark on the obverse. But this percentage is to be regarded with caution in view of the countermarks on the host coins MIB 175/DOC Class 9 (standing figure/three standing figures). Here we find 60.41 % of the countermarks on the obverse. It seems that the people countermarking this coin type were not able to distinguish between obverse and reverse. If one disregards this type of host coin the percentage of the countermarks on the obverses is only 10.55.

Furthermore, the countermarks were applied irregularly in different positions on the coins. They were impressed anywhere on them without any order.

The overwhelming majority of the countermarks is of type 7a. In the lists above there are only 11 specimens of the retrograde type 7b; this is 4.10 %. All specimens of the retrograde type occur in the 'Cyprus find'. Countermark type 7b was probably in use only for a short time before the error of the die-cutter was detected.

Historical framework

Before discussing the reading, dating and purpose of the countermarks let us have a short look at the historical background[48].

At the beginning of the reign of Constans II millions of folles bearing the date 3 (i. e. 643/44) were shipped to Cyprus in connection with the emperor's efforts to recover Egypt from the Arabs. This may have caused an inflationary effect in the island.[49] At that time Cyprus was a quiet Byzantine province with only strategic importance as a 'springboard' to the Middle East. Suddenly in 649 and 650, the island was raided by the Arabs. Under the leadership of the Syrian governor, Muawiya, they devastated the capital, Constantia, and its port, demolished churches, plundered and took a great number of prisoners (120,000 in 649 and 50,000 in 650).[50] At this time, neither Byzantine troops nor a Byzantine governor were in Cyprus. Constantinople had not expected an Arab attack from the sea. Muawiya imposed on the island an annual tribute of 7,200 gold pieces (the same sum, which Cyprus had to deliver annually to the Byzantine ruler). This suggests that the caliph Othman made no claim to be the sole ruler of Cyprus.[51]

After the Arabs had disappeared from Cyprus in 650, Byzantium transferred some troops to the island and built new fortifications.[52] These troops made off when the next Arab raid occurred in 653, following which the Arabs established a garrison in Paphos with 12,000 men[53], practically the only full-time troops who were paid regular stipends[54]. Whether the Arabs achieved an unchallenged and permanent occupation or not is uncertain. Lilie[55] thinks so, but other authors[56] are more cautious. During the following years, Cyprus was no longer a 'pure' Byzantine province; the Arabs could now use the strategic importance of the island.

After the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (674 – 678) Muawiya (from 661, the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus) and Constantine IV signed a peace-treaty in 679 for 30 years. In 681 the Arab garrison in Paphos was disbanded.[57] In 688, during the second Arab civil war, another treaty was made: the tax receipts of Cyprus were to be divided. Cyprus had to pay (as it had since 649/50) 7,200 gold pieces annually to both sides. This is the beginning of the so called 'condominium', a sort of domination in common. Cyprus remained a neutral no-man's-land up to 961. During these approximately 300 years the Arabs never made new attempts to conquer the island, but raided it at least twenty times.[58]

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[48] The Byzantine and Arab sources concerning this part of the history of Cyprus are very sparse.

[49] Metcalf, D. M., Coinage as evidence for the changing prosperity of Cyprus in Byzantine and Medieval times, Nicosia 2003, 31, 34.

[50] The two raids of 649 and 650 are reported on an inscription, discovered 1974 in the area of the basilica of Soloi. Cf. Chrysos, Evangelos, Cyprus in early Byzantine times, in: The Sweet Land of Cyprus, Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991, Nicosia 1993, 10

[51] Mansouri, M. Tahar, Chypre dans les sources médiévales, Nicosie 2001, 17 ff. (several Arabic sources).

[52] Kyrris, C. P., History of Cyprus, Nicosia 1985, 185; Metcalf, D. M., Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus, Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Sudies of the History of Cyprus, Nicosia 2004, 74 f.

[53] Hill, George, A History of Cyprus, Vol. I, Cambridge 1940, 285; Papageorghiou, A., Cities and countryside at the end of antiquity and the beginning of the middle ages in Cyprus, in: The Sweet Land of Cyprus, Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991, Nicosia 1993, 35.

[54] Shaban, M. A., Islamic History A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), Cambridge 1971, 99

[55] Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Zypern zwischen Byzanz und Kalifat, paper given at the Institut für interdisziplinäre Zypern-Studien in Münster, 3.7.2003.

[56] e. g. Hill, op. cit., 285; Parthog, Gwynneth der, Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, New Barnet 1995, 16.

[57] Papageorghiou op. cit., 35

[58] Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Demetra, Byzantine medieval Cyprus – Image and character, in: Byzantine Medieval Cyprus, Nicosia 1998, 13.

Reading, dating and purpose of the countermarks

There are three obvious ways to read the KωT countermark: Constans II, Constantine IV or Constantia, capital of Cyprus. The last of these would not appear to be very plausible because there is no historical parallel to support such an interpretation[59]. Apart from this it is highly improbable that a city would have used the imperial monogram, appearing on the coins of both emperors, as its own.

The generally accepted meaning in the numismatic literature follows Grierson, who sees the terminus post quem in the countermarked coins of Constantine IV and assigns the countermarks to this emperor. Grierson writes:[60]

'The Cypriot countermarks seem to have an economic motive, for they were imposed on light folles of Constans II at a time when Constantine IV was in process of introducing a much heavier coin. Since the countermark of Constantine includes a conspicuous K, which could double as a mark of value, it seems reasonable to suppose that the countermarking was intended to devalue the copper, making half folles out of the folles of Constans II. Such an interpretation is born out by the fact that the new Constantinopolitan half folles and decanummia bear the old marks of value as well as the new ones, coins with K having to one side a small M and coins with I a small K, and that when the countermark was inadvertently stamped on a coin of Constantine IV, it was on a half follis and not on a follis that this was done (W. 319, No. 36).'

This reading and interpretation is not convincing and has to be questioned. We know of three coins of Constantine IV with the KωT countermark:

Countermarks on coins of Constantine IV
(all of type 7a)

DOC	on a half follis Class 3 = no. 37.6 (Pl. XXIV) c/m on obv. Provenance: Swiss collection 1956
BMC	on a half follis Class 3 = no. 36 (Pl. XXXVII.2) c/m on obv. Provenance: British Museum = MIB Km 1.[3] (same specimen) = Grierson, Byzantine Coins (1982) pl. 24 no. 427 (same specimen)
MIB	on a follis of Carthage = Km 1.[4] (Pl. 36) c/m on obv. Provenance: Rome (Nat.Mus.)

Especially with regard to the countermarked Carthage follis[61] of Constantine IV, which is very much larger than any Constans II follis, it seems doubtful that the countermark was applied inadvertently. This casts considerable doubts on the devaluation theory. Furthermore it is surprising that this devaluation by countermarking should have happened only in Cyprus. A similar phenomenon is not known from other Byzantine provinces. Finally Grierson's t. p. q. is not compelling: There is also the possibility that the countermarking had begun during the reign of Constans II and was *still* continuing after the accession to the throne by Constantine IV.

Bearing these factors in mind, the questions of the dating and the meaning of the KωT countermark needs to be reconsidered.

If we take into consideration that countermarking could already have begun during the reign of Constans II we can get an approximate t. p. q. from the so-called 'Kharcha hoard', published in 1956 by A. I. Dikigoropoulos[62]. This Cypriot hoard contains 169 Byzantine folles, 80 of Heraclius and 89 of Constans II. Not a single coin was countermarked. The latest coin of the hoard is from the 7th year of Constans II (i. e. 648/49) and seems to have been buried after the first Arab raids 649/50. But in view of the condition of the coins, Dikigoropoulos supposes that the coins were in circulation for some time after the Arab raid of 653. Following this assumption, we would have as result a burial date of perhaps around 660. But it seems difficult, with badly struck copper coins, to distinguish between wear in circulation and the effects of being in the soil. If we make a judgement relying mainly on the age structure of the hoard, the t. p. q. may well be 649/50, but 653 is also possible.[63]

In contrast to this, the 'Soli hoard' with a total of 74 coins includes 46 countermarked items. The latest one is from years 19 – 23 of Constans II's reign (i. e. 659/60 – 663/64. So it is possible that countermarking began in the short period between

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[59] Iacovou, Maria – Pitsillides, Andreas, Cypriot Coinage from Evelthon to Marc Antonio Bragadino, Nicosia 1994, 57 with caution: "The countermark...is believed to be the mint mark of Constantia in Cyprus". Similar: Museum of the History of Cypriot Coinage, Coin Catalogue, Nicosia 1996, 24 - Coin Catalogue (New Acquisitions), Nicosia 1999, 5 - Historical Text for the Museum's twenty cases, Nicosia 1997, Window 18. Rejecting this idea: Grierson DOC II, 41.

[60] DOC II, 58; similar Hahn in MIB III, 159 f. and Pitsillides, A. G. – Metcalf, D. M., Islamic and Byzantine Coins in Cyprus during the Condominium Centuries, Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Ereunon 21 (1995), 2

[61] which was not known to Grierson

[62] Dikigoropoulos, A. I., A Byzantine Hoard from Kharcha, Cyprus, Numismatic Chronicle 1956, 255-265

[63] I'm very grateful to D. Michael Metcalf for this hint.

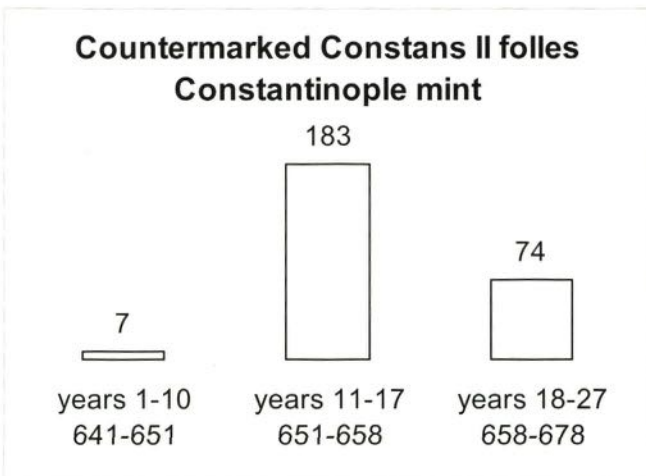
the burial of the 'Kharcha hoard' and the hiding of the 'Soli hoard'. If we do not start from the idea that countermarking began immediately after the hiding of the 'Kharcha hoard', we can cautiously assume some years before or around 660 as starting point.

The 'Cyprus find' with a total of 512 coins, of which 511 are countermarked, seems to have been buried some time later. The latest coins are 18 Constans II folles MIB 177/DOC Class 5 dating from the years 26/27 = 666-668.[64]

The 'Pano Kyrenia hoard' with a total of 73 coins of which 20 are countermarked is very interesting because it includes as its latest coins four decanummia from the reign of Constantine IV (MIB 88/DOC Class 1) which are to be dated between 668 and 673. Here we have the latest t. p. q. of 673. This could possibly be the proof that countermarking was still in use during the reign of Constantine IV. On the other hand, only 20 (= 27.39%) of the coins in the 'Kharcha hoard' are countermarked. It could well be that countermarking had finished before 673 and the countermarked, uncountermarked folles of Constans II and the decanummia of Constantine IV were circulating indiscriminately later on. In this case the latest t. p. q. for countermarking is to be taken from the 'Cyprus find', namely 668, the last regnal year of Constans II. But all this is a little bit speculative. Taking into consideration too that we have countermarked coins of Constantine IV and judging from the coin hoards discussed here, we can for the moment circumscribe countermarking in Cyprus between around 660 and ca. 673.[65]

The numismatic evidence of all the coins listed above does fit into this framework. The following tables, restricted to the classified folles of Constans II, show that the majority of the host coins are from years 11 – 17 (i. e. 651/52 – 657/58) and could have formed the greatest mass of circulating coins when countermarking started.

Constans II	**year**	**Cyprus find**	**Soli hoard**	**Pano Kyrenia hoard**	**Curium**	**Paphos Odeion**	**Pahos Sar.Col.**	**Priv.**	total
MIB 162 ff.	**1-7**	4	1						5
MIB 166	**3**	1						1	2
MIB 169	**11**	1	1						2
MIB 170 f.	**11-14**	20	28	8	3	6	6	30	101
MIb 172	**15-16**	13	4	5				10	32
MIB 173	**15-17**	6	1			3		1	11
MIB 174	**15-17**	17	4	2	4	2		8	37
MIB 175	**19-23**	30	6		2	1		11	50
MIB 176	**25**	4							4
MIB 177	**26-27**	18			2				20
total		114	45	15	11	12	6	61	264



But what could have been the reason for countermarking during this time?

As already mentioned above, an Arab garrison with 12,000 men was in Paphos between 653 and 681. We do not know what happened in Cyprus during this time. But it seems unquestionable that Cyprus, if not 'officially' conquered, was to all intents and purposes an Arab province. Therefore the numismatic evidence should be the same as in the neighbouring Syria

[64] This date should not extended too far, because Warren (NC 1861, 46) suggested that, in view of the fresh character of the coins, a great portion of them had never been in circulation.

[65] We know of another hoard from around Kyrenia with 89 Byzantine coins (Megaw, A.H.S., A Seventh Century Byzantine Hoard, Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 1938-39, Nicosia 1951, 210 f.), three of them countermarked. The composition of the hoard is described as 1 half follis of Mauricius Tiberius, 44 folles and 1 half follis of Heraclius and 41 folles and 2 half folles of Constans II. The identification of the countermarks is not clear. One countermark is on the reverse of a Heraclian follis of Thessalonika (MIB 122) year 20 and is described by Megaw as circular and 'undecipherable'. Two others are on the reverses of Heraclian folles of Constantinople (MIB 164, DOC Class 5), each showing 'a monogram, which is clear in neither case but is apparently similar to that of Constans II or Constantine IV'. Because of these indistinct descriptions there is the possibility that the countermarks are of another type (e.g. Class 1). The latest coins of this hoard seem to be two half folles of Constans II (MIB 183, DOC Class 4) from 655/56.

where countermarking happened at the same time. Stefan Heidemann has studied the monetary situation in Syria on the basis of contemporary coin hoards and writes[66]:

'For the first two decades (of Arab rule – note of the author) we can assume for Syria and Northern Mesopotamia a dependence on coin supplies from Byzantium, despite the defence line at the Taurus mountains. This means that the Byzantine treasury was still able to sell coppers in some way to the Arab-occupied territories. ... We do not know how this trade was facilitated and who were the intermediaries, whether money changers, merchants or surviving local Byzantine institutions. We only observe the fact that it happened. ... On the basis of the numismatic material it is reasonable to posit the final end of the Byzantine copper supply ... between the years 655 to 658. ... The final date of 655-8 coincides with a peace treaty in the year 39/659-60, the beginning of Umayyad rule in Syria and the increasing importance of Syria within the Arab Islamic empire. ...
'Abd al-Malik did not reform the copper coinage until the 690s. During the first thirty-five years of Umayyad rule, the lack of Byzantine copper coins produced a shortage of small coinage. How was this shortage met? As the local authorities had done in the difficult times of the Persian occupation, some of them tried to regulate the copper circulation by validating circulating Byzantine coppers, mostly dating from the reign of Constans II, with Arabic and perhaps also with Greek countermarks instead of the previously-used Byzantine marks.'[67]

Transferring these observations to Cyprus because of the similar political situation there at that time we will see that the numismatic, especially the described find evidence, and the historical facts fit together like the parts of a jigsaw.

The suggestion above that countermarking in Cyprus could have taken place within the period between around 660 and 673 coincides with the probable time of countermarking in Syria. Around 660 there was a lack of cash on the island, which could have had several reasons: either the economic collapse after the Arab raids, or the tributes to the Byzantines and to the Arabs, or – very probably – the end of the Byzantine copper supply at the end of the 650s. Countermarking in Cyprus would have had the same aim as in Syria: to regulate the copper circulation and to revalue Byzantine copper coins – and, as an additional effect, to keep them on the island[68].

The question remains: who was doing the countermarking? This we do not know, but some speculation may be allowed. There is the possibility that the countermarks were applied in a military mint. Starting from the premise that countermarking began around 660 it is doubtful whether there were any Byzantine troops in Cyprus. At that time the island was out of the focus of Constantinople after Constans II had transferred the seat of government to Italy in 661. And in the following years Byzantium was occupied to prevent the Arabs invading to the West. Thus it seems rather unlikely that there was a military mint in Cyprus at that time.

More probable is the assumption that it was the Byzantine civil authority[69], which countermarked the still circulating coins to double their worth to compensate for the missing copper supply from Constantinople. The Cyprus countermarks are incomparably more plentiful than the other 'Byzantine' countermarks discussed here. "They seem to reflect an attempt by the authorities to countermark *all* the Cypriot currency that passed through their hands, perhaps even the stated intention would have been to countermark *all* the coinage comprehensively."[70]

The countermarks on coins of Constantine IV

As described above we know of only three countermarked host coins from the time of Constantine IV. It is interesting to note that all the three coins share some unusual features:

All countermarks
– are to be found on the *obverse* of the host coin.
– are placed centrally on the lower part of the bust
– have an unusual great diameter of about *11 mm* (judging from the published illustrations).

As we have seen above, countermarking of the obverse was not the rule and an exact placing of the countermark is not found on Constans II folles. Furthermore, on all three specimens the countermark is applied with considerable care with all parts of the monogram clearly visible, in marked contrast to most countermarks on Constans II coins.[71] And we have to note that a countermarked Constantine IV coin has never yet been found together with a countermarked Constans II coin.

All this leads to some new questions: Was there a second 'wave' of countermarking or a separate period of countermarking during the reign of Constantine IV? With another objective? If yes, why was the same monogram used as before? In view of the small number of three countermarked Constantine IV coins at present it is too early to come to any conclusion. The rarity of Constantine IV coins found in Cyprus is another barrier[72]. So we have to look for further examples

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[66] Heidemann, Stefan, The merger of two curreny zones in early Islam. The Byzantine and Sasanian impact on the circulation in former Byzantine Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, Iran XXXVI, 1998, 95-112 (98)
[67] That the large scale imports into Syria of regular Byzantine coins came to an end around 660 was suggested too by Ilisch, Lutz, Die umayyadischen und 'abbāsidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims – Versuch einer Chronologie, Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung X, 3 (August 1980), 23-30, 23 and Phillips, Marcus – Goodwin, Tony, A Seventh-Century Syrian Hoard of Byzantine and Imitative Copper Coins, The Numismatic Chronicle 157 (1997), 61-78, 65 ff.
[68] Suggestion of Cox, op. cit., 124
[69] In spite of the Arab garrison at Paphos, we can assume that the existing administrative structure was not destroyed.
[70] D. Michel Metcalf, letter from 19 October 2004
[71] There are some Constans II coins with similar looking countermarks, but without the other unusual features.
[72] Dikigoropoulos, A. I., Cyprus 'betwixt Greeks and Saracens' A.D. 647 – 695, (DPhil thesis, Oxford), 1961, 285 lists only seven coins of Constantine IV in the Cyprus Museum, three folles of Sicily, one half follis of Constantinople and three decanummia of Constantinople.

of countermarked Constantine IV coins and never give up the hope that a new coin hoard will be found, the content of which will bring some new light into this rather murky area.

Class 8

'eagle'

The round countermark shows a standing bird ('eagle') with wings curved upwards and a pellet above. It has a diameter of approximately 8 millimetres and is placed exclusively on the reverse of the host coins, which are usually much worn.

1	Rev.	Bendall NC 1976, pl.36, B 1	Byz	Justinian I follis, Antiochia (MIB 126)
2	Rev.	Bendall NC 1976, pl. 36, B 2	Byz	Justin I follis, Constantinople. Ashmolean Museum
3	Rev.	Bendall NC 1976, pl. 36, B 3	Byz	Justin I or Justinian I follis. Obtained in Egypt
4	Rev.	Hahn NC 1978, pl. 36 C 1	Byz	Follis before 538. ANS collection. Same coin as MIB 3, pl. 15, Km.3[2]
5	Rev.	MIB 3, pl. 15, Km.3[1]	Byz	Justinian I follis, Constantinople (MIB 85). Copenhagen collection
6	Rev.	Goehring NC 1983, pl. 43, B 1	Byz	Follis probably Justin I, Constantinople. Excavated in Egypt
7	Rev.	Goehring NC 1983, pl. 43, B 2	Byz	Follis probably Justinian I. Excavated in Egypt
8	Rev.	DeRose Evans AJN 1993-94, no. 1	Byz	Justin I follis, Constantinople, Ceasarea excavations 80.C.26.136.16
9	Rev.	DeRose Evans AJN 1993-94, no. 2	Byz	Justin I – Justinian I follis, Constantinople, Ceasarea excavations 71.B.1.130.23
10	Rev.	DeRose Evans AJN 1993-94, no. 3	Byz	Justinian I follis, uncertain mint, Ceasarea excavations 80.G.10.153.16
11	Rev.	DeRose Evans AJN 1993-94, no. 4	Byz	Justinian I follis, Antioch, Ceasarea excavations 84.C.5.152.1
12	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Justin I follis (MIB 11). 17.03 g. Obtained in Jordan
13	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Justinian I follis, Constantinople. 16.11 g. Obtained in Jerusalem
14	Rev.	Goussous 2004[73], p. 52	Byz	Justinian I follis

The provenance of this countermark is supposed to be Egypt. But only three of the 14 listed specimens were found or obtained there. On the other hand it is to be said that it is known from Israel too[74]. This is confirmed by the four specimens found in Caesarea[75], one obtained in Jerusalem and complemented by the one obtained in Jordan.

All the host coins are from the reign of Justin I (518-527) or Justinian I (527-565). Simon Bendall, who was the first to publish this type of countermark in 1976[76], believed that they are contemporary with the host coins because 'the designs of the countermarks are as worn as the coins'. In the meantime, this argument has weakened for, today, we know of some fresher countermarks.

In an article of 1978[77] Wolfgang Hahn put forward the possibility that the eagle countermark might have some connejction to a hitherto unpublished Alexandrian 3-nummi piece, which has a similar eagle on the obverse. After discussing this host coin and dating it to c. 613-617 he is convinced that the eagle countermark was in use shortly before Egypt was occupied by the Persians (618-628) and argues that it was applied in Alexandria.

In 1983 James E. Goehring published two further specimens of the eagle countermark, found during a controlled excavation in Upper Egypt among a total of 56 coins from Anastasius I (491-518) to Constans II (641-668)[78]. Like Hahn, he argues for a date for the countermark in the reign of Heraclius.

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[73] Goussous, Nayef G., Rare and Inedited Umayyad Copper Coins, The Goussous collection in the Jordan National Bank Numismatic Museum, Amman 2004

[74] Information kindly supplied by Shraga Qedar

[75] DeRose Evans, Jane, Heraclian countermarks on coins found in Caesarea, American Journal of Numismatics 5-6 (1993-94), 97.104, table 4

[76] Bendall, Simon, An 'Eagle' Countermark on Sixth-century Byzantine Coins, Numismatic Chronicle 136 (1976), 230

[77] Hahn, W. R. O., Alexandrian 3-nummi and 1-nummi types under Heraclius, Numismatic Chronicle 138 (1978), 181-183

[78] Goehring, James E., Two New Examples of the Byzantine 'Eagle' countermark, Numismatic Chronicle 143 (1983), 218-220

At present there are a lot of question marks, beginning with the provenance (Egypt or Palestine?) and ending with the meaning of the eagle countermark. The dating too remains questionable. On the one hand it is remarkable that the host coins are exclusively from the reigns of Justin I and Justinian I which speaks for the 6th century. On the other hand we have to take into account that the host coins are very worn and must have circulated for a long time whereas the countermarks seem to have been applied later. With this in mind and considering Hahn's theory, the dating to the 7th century seems probable too. But countermarks are sometimes very deceptive. If they are deeply struck they can be almost completely protected from wear. This could explain the 'fresh' countermarks on worn coins.

For the time being we cannot be certain when exactly the countermark was in use – under Persian, Byzantine or even Arab rule? Only further finds will provide more information.

Class 1 type 1d

Class 2 type 2a

Class 1 type 3a

Class 2 type b

Class 4

Class 5

Class 7a

Class 8

Illustrtions of some of the countermarked coins

Part II: Countermarks from after the Arab Conquest

By Tony Goodwin

Introduction

This article expands and updates my article in ONS Newsletter 162 (2000) and is based on a detailed study of 374 coins with reasonably clear countermarks dating from the early years of Arab rule.[79] It includes a number of revisions to the forms of individual countermarks and also a number of new types. The total number of types has now grown to 40 and there are undoubtedly more to be discovered. I have not included a handful of coins with enigmatic, but incompletely visible countermarks, which appear to be new types but are not sufficiently clear to draw accurately. The broad, and somewhat arbitrary classification of the 2000 article is retained with a simple division into:-

Class A: Byzantine-style monograms and geometric designs.

Class B: Arabic words.

Class C: Animal or human forms.

Although it would now be possible to devise a slightly more logical order of countermarks within each Class, I have also retained the numbering system from the 2000 article so as to avoid any confusion between two different numbering systems.

Following a brief discussion of the host coins the main part of the article is a description of the countermarks themselves, followed by some conclusions on the purpose of the countermarking. The article concludes with a catalogue of countermarked coins. Two small groups of countermarks, which appear to be unrelated to those described in the main part of the article, are dealt with in Appendices and a third Appendix gives an update on forgeries.

Before considering the coins and their countermarks it is worth saying a few words about the problems of provenance. With a single exception none of the coins in the corpus was recovered in a controlled excavation,[80] but for about one third of the coins there is at least some indication of provenance. A few coins are in the Israel Museum and were probably found in Israel. A number of coins were also bought some years ago in cities such as Aleppo or Jerusalem at a time when such coins might reasonably be expected to be local finds and in any case there was less collector interest in countermarked coins. The largest group comprises coins bought in recent years from Israeli dealers. However, in recent years collector, and consequently dealer interest has increased and the market has become much more complex. Coins certainly sometimes now travel from Jordan to Israel, Syria to Lebanon, Israel to Cyprus etc. before they are offered for sale on eBay or bought by European dealers. Middle Eastern dealers have also been known to buy coins in London or from eBay. I have therefore been cautious in drawing conclusions about provenance, but in some cases the evidence is sufficiently strong for such conclusions to be drawn.

The host coins

The population of 374 host coins consists of:-

111 Byzantine coins (29.7%), mostly of Constans II (641-668), but including a few of Heraclius (610-641) issued after the reduction in module which took place in year 21, and a single example of Justin I (518-527).[81]

237 Pseudo-Byzantine coins (63.4%), the vast majority of which are of the standing emperor type (Type E).[82]

25 Umayyad Imperial Image coins (6.7%), mostly of Emesa, but including 4 of Damascus and 3 of the "Al-wafa lillah" mint.83

One standing caliph coin of Yubna (0.3%), but in this case the countermark had almost certainly been applied to the undertype.[84]

Compared with random finds from the same area the Pseudo-Byzantine coins are significantly over-represented, as they would normally be outnumbered by regular coins of Constans II by a factor of perhaps 2:1. As we shall see, there is some evidence to suggest that this was because there was a preference for countermarking Pseudo-Byzantine coins. In theory it

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[79] The large increase from the 103 coins on which the 2000 article was based would not have been possible without the diligence of Wolfgang and Ingrid Schulze in examining coins in a number of European public and private collections. I am very grateful to them, to the private collectors and also to the curators of Museum collections who gave us every assistance, particularly Lutz Ilisch at the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Tübingen and Haim Gitler at the Israel Museum Jerusalem, Michael Bates at the American Numismatic Society New York, François Thierry at the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Eurydice Georganteli at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts Birmingham and Stefan Heidemann at the Orientalisches Münzkabinett Jena. The remaining coins come either from published specimens (Album 1998, Gromotka 1988, Metcalf 2003, Phillips and Goodwin 1997, Qedar 1984 and 1991, Schindel 2000) or from one of 18 different private collections or were seen in trade. I would also like to thank the American Numismatic Society and the Forschungsstelle fur Islamische Numismatik for permission to publish photographs of their coins.

[80] The single exception is a Damascus Umayyad Imperial Image coin with countermark B3 excavated at Paphos, Cyprus, see Metcalf 2003.

[81] Four of the recorded examples of countermark B3 are struck on flans made by cutting a Heraclius follis into three parts. None of these have recognisable overstrikes and therefore strictly should perhaps still be classified as Byzantine coins, but as they were clearly intended to be re-struck as Pseudo-Byzantine coins. I have classified them as such.

[82] The classification of Pseudo-Byzantine coins used in this article is as Album and Goodwin 2002 pp. 78-79. The other Types encountered in this article are F - standing emperor with capital M reverse, G - facing bust and I - facing bust imitating a Constantine IV follis of Syracuse (MIB 104).

[83] These coins have no mint name, but always include the legend *al-wafa lillah* (loyalty to God) in the reverse exergue. The location of the mint is uncertain, but they seem to occur most commonly in Israel and hardly at all in Northern Syria.

[84] On most countermarked coins the countermark is impressed more deeply than any part of the original design. This means that, if the coin is subsequently overstruck, the countermark may be the only part of the original to survive. This needs to be borne in mind when countermarks are found on unexpected host coins, and occasionally it is impossible to decide whether the countermark was applied before or after the overstrike. Cat. 37 is an example of this where the Heraclian countermark looks as if it has been applied to a Constans II follis - in fact the countermark is from the undertype.

could also be due to the countermarks having been in use at a time when Pseudo-Byzantine coins had largely replaced regular Byzantine coins in circulation, but there is absolutely no evidence to suggest that such wholesale replacement ever took place.

The Pseudo-Byzantine coins include a few unusual and interesting examples, most notably a rather crude standing emperor type, with countermark B9, which has the legend EMH - CI..., either side of the standing figure (Cat 23). The reverse has the usual cursive m with a heavily blundered legend around. The obverse legend is exactly the same as that on the reverse of the Umayyad Imperial Image standing emperor coins of Emesa, and so the coin could conceivably be a new type of Umayyad Imperial Image coin from that city. However, given the very crude reverse, it seems much more likely that it is a late Pseudo-Byzantine coin which copied the legend of the regular Emesa type. Secondly there are two examples of a very unusual standing emperor coin with a long and very neatly written obverse Greek legend, which is so far unread, and what appears to be an Antioch mint signature on the reverse.[85] These are stamped with countermarks B3 and B12 (Cat. 25). Another distinctive group of three Pseudo-Byzantine coins all share the same obverse die; two are stamped with countermark B9 and the third with A1. Finally one poorly preserved standing emperor coin, struck on a square flan and bearing countermark B12 (Cat. 26), appears to have an Arabic legend in the reverse exergue, perhaps *bism allah* (in the name of God). If this proves to be the case when a better example comes to light, the coin will have to be re-classified as Umayyad Imperial Image.

The Umayyad Imperial Image coins are also of considerable interest because they are presumably all relatively early types.

The countermarks

40 different countermarks have been identified with a reasonable degree of certainty, although some of these are almost certainly merely variants. In general they were fairly consistently applied to the reverse of the coin, although for a few individual countermarks (A2, A3, A6, A10, A15, A17 and C5) the preference was for the obverse. They are all circular and range in size from about 4 to 7mm in diameter, i.e. slightly smaller than most of the Byzantine countermarks dealt with in Part I.

The Byzantine-style monograms and Arabic words are of particular interest because they may hold some clues to the administration system at this very early date. Unfortunately only a few of them can be read with certainty and further work is necessary to test the suggestions made in the next section. In theory it is possible that some of the unread "Arabic" countermarks could in fact be Syriac, but none of those discovered to date can be read as a meaningful Syriac word.[86]

The countermarks are illustrated in Fig.1 and these drawings may generally be regarded as accurate, although some doubt must remain about countermarks known only from single examples. Many of the countermarks are also illustrated in the catalogue, but in some cases it was not possible to obtain satisfactory photographs. The numbers of each countermark recorded and a summary of the coins countermarked are given in table 1 below. Coins with two different countermarks are listed twice, once under each countermark.

Fig. 1

[85] This coin (without a countermark) was first published in Goodwin 1996. Since then a number of other specimens have come to light, all struck from the same pair of dies, plus a single specimen with a much cruder reverse. The obverse legend can now be read in full, but still makes no sense. If it could be demonstrated that this type really was minted in Antioch, it would need to be re-classified as an Umayyad Imperial Image coin.

[86] I am very grateful to David Taylor for checking whether any countermarks could be read as Syriac. Although the language was in common use in Syria in the 7th century, there are as yet no known instances of it being used on coins.

C/m	No. recorded	Obv/Rev	Host Coins (UII = Umayyad Imperial Image)
A1	19	Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 166/7, 1 x Heraclius (Thessalonika) MIB 221, 1 x Constans II MIB 162
			15 x Ps.Byz Type E
			1 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff
A2	6	Obv	1 x Constans II MIB 162, 2 x Constans II MIB 166
			2 x Ps. Byz Type E, 1x Ps.Byz Type F
A3	17	Obv	1 x Constans II (Syracuse) MIB 207
			5 x Ps.Byz Type E
			1 x UII (Damascus) Walker 7, 6 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff , 4 x UII (Emesa) Walker -, Ilisch 2.2
A4a	40	Rev	1 x Justin I MIB 11
			2 x Heraclius MIB 164 4 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 164, 2 x Constans II MIB 170, 1x Constans II MIB 173, 4 x Constans II Class 1-4
			1 x Ps.Byz Type B, 21 x Ps.Byz Type E, 3 x Ps.Byz Type F
A4b	2	50% Rev	1 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff, 1 x UII (Emesa) Walker -, Ilisch 2.2
A5	3	Rev	2 x Ps.Byz Type E
			1 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff
A6	2	Obv	2 x Ps.Byz Type E
A7	3	66% Rev	1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			2 x Ps.Byz Type E
A8	3	Rev	3 x Ps.Byz Type E
A9	45	98% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 162, 3 x Constans II MIB 164, 2 x Constans II Class 1 - 4
			36 x Ps.Byz Type E
			2 x UII ("Al-wafa lillah" mint) Walker ANS 9
			1 x Standing Caliph (Yubna), Walker - (c/m presumably from undertype)
A10	15	80% Obv	1 x Constans II MIB 163, 1 x Constans II MIB 164, 1 x Constans II MIB 170, 1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			6 x Ps.Byz Type E
			3 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff, 2 x UII (Emesa) Walker - , Ilisch 2.2
A11	19	95% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 164, 1 x Constans II MIB175, 2 x Constans II Class 1-4
			15 x Ps.Byz Type E
A13	4	Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 164, 1 x Constans II MIB 170
			2 x Ps.Byz Type E
A14	5	60% Obv	1 x Constans II MIB 167/168
			4 x Ps.Byz Type E
A15	4	Obv	4 x Ps.Byz Type E
A16	6	67% Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 164, 1 x Heraclius MIB 171
			4 x Ps.Byz Type E

A17	2	Obv	1 x Ps.Byz Type E
			1 x UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff
B1a	5	80% Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 164 1 x Constans II MIB 164, 1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			2 x Ps.Byz. Type E
B1b	13	Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 167/8 1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			9 x Ps.Byz Type E, 1 x Ps.Byz Type F
B1c	31	94% Rev	2 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 170, 1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			27 x Ps.Byz Type E
B2	16	Rev	3 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 164, 3 x Constans II MIB 170, 1 x Constans II MIB 174 1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			1 x Ps.Byz Type B, 6 x Ps.Byz Type E
B3	21	57% Rev	4 x one third of a Heraclius follis without identifiable overstrike 1 x Heraclius MIB 166/167, 1 x Constans II MIB 163, 1 x Constans II MIB 169(?)
			12 x Ps.Byz type E, 1 x Ps.Byz. Type G
			2 x UII (Damascus) Walker 7
B4	16	50% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 166 1 x Constans II MIB 167, 1 x Constans II MIB 170
			10 x Ps.Byz Type E, 1 x Ps.Byz Type G
			1 x UII ("AL-wafa lillah" mint) Walker ANS 9
B5	18	83% Rev	1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			15 x Ps.Byz Type E, 1 x Ps.Byz Type G, 1 x Ps.Byz Type I
B6	7	57% Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 164, 2 x Heraclius MIB 166
			3 x Ps.Byz Type E
			1 x UII (Damascus) Walker 7ff.
B7	20	85% Rev	3 x Heraclius MIB 164, 1 x Heraclius MIB 186 5 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 163, 1 x Constans II MIB 164, 1 x Constans II MIB 166, 2 x Constans II MIB 187, 2 x Constans II MIB167/168, 1 x Constans II MIB 170
			1 x Ps.Byz Type C, 1 x Ps.Byz type E, 1 x Ps.Byz Type G
B8	3	67% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 162
			2 x Ps.Byz Type E
B9	3	67% Obv	3 x Ps.Byz Type E
B10	1	Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 162
B11	1	Obv	1 x Ps.Byz Type E
B12	6	83% Rev	6 x Ps.Byz Type E
B13	4	75% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 162, 1 x Constans II MIB 170 (?) 1 x Constans II MIB 170(?)
			1 x Ps.Byz Type E
B14	1	Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 164

B15	2	Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 164, 1 x Heraclius half follis MIB 171
C1	4	Rev	4 x Ps.Byz Type E
C2	2	Rev	1 x Ps.Byz Type B, 1 x Ps.Byz Type H
C3	3	Rev	1 x Constans II Class 1-4
			2 x Ps.Byz Type E
C4	4	50% Rev	1 x Constans II MIB 163, 1 x Constans II MIB 170 1 x Constans II MIB 172
			1 x Ps.Byz Type E
C5	12	92% Rev	1 x Heraclius MIB 160, 4 x Heraclius MIB 164 1 x Constans II MIB 166, 1 x Constans II MIB 167, 3 x Constans II Class 1 -4
			1 x Ps.Byz Type E, 1 x Ps.Byz Class F
C6	1	Obv	1 x Ps.Byz Type E

Table 1

Remarks on individual countermarks

A1: This Byzantine-style monogram occurs in two forms, but the variant (**A1 var)** is probably the result of a defective die, as the horizontal extension from the top right of the **N** is thicker than the rest of the monogram and seems to extend to the very edge of the die. It is therefore probably a die crack. The monogram clearly contains the letters **ANT**, with others such as **Λ** or **I** also possible. An attractive possibility is therefore that the monogram is an abbreviation for Antarados (Tartus), a minor mint for Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. Unfortunately there is no very clear evidence of provenance with recorded specimens obtained in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel, but the occurrence of the countermark on a coin of nearby Emesa is consistent with it originating from Tartus.

The other noticeable feature of the coins bearing this countermark is that they include only one follis of Constans II, suggesting that it was not normally considered necessary to countermark these.

A2: In 2000 I drew this countermark with a semicircular die, but examination of other specimens has shown that the die is of normal circular form, but that the design extends to the circle around the edge of the die. It is therefore not quite clear whether or not this outer circle should be considered as part of the design. On three specimens there is a hint of one or two dots below the baseline of the design. Although classified as a geometric design, it is just possible that this design is based on an Arabic word, perhaps *tayyib* (good).

Four out of six specimens of A2 came from Israel, whilst the provenance of the other two are unknown, and so a Palestinian origin seems very likely.

A3: The letters **KWN** are perhaps an abbreviation for ΚΑΛΩΝ, a variant spelling of ΚΑΛΟΝ, which occurs on some Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Tartus. Another possibility is that they represent the personal name of an official, Constantine or Constans. Although none of the recorded specimens have any reliable provenance, the significant number of Emesa host coins and the fact that none of them have come from Israeli dealers both suggest a Syrian origin.

A3 is the only common countermark for which the majority of host coins are Umayyad Imperial Image types, mostly standing emperor coins of Emesa. With the exception of a single Sicilian follis of Constans II, the remaining host coins are Pseudo-Byzantine.

A4a: The Israel Museum has six examples of A4a and about one third of the remaining examples were obtained from Israeli dealers. A Palestinian origin is therefore very likely.

A4b: The two recorded examples are both slightly smaller than the A4a countermarks and both are struck on Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Emesa. Therefore, despite the superficial resemblance between A4a and b, there is probably no connection between the two. It could possibly be a debased version of A10, which is of similar size and also found on Emesa coins.

A5: Only two well-preserved examples of this countermark have been recorded. These confirm that A5 is not an incomplete version of A4b, but a distinct type.

A6: Only two examples have been recorded: one in the Israel Museum and one illustrated in Album 1988 p. 1 fig. 1.

A7 and A8: The first monogram ΘE could well be an abbreviation for the personal name Theodore. The second ΘB could possibly apply to the same official, but with the **B** standing for the first letter of his title or family name. An interesting coin in Tuebingen has two A7 countermarks, clearly stamped from two different dies (Cat. 7).

A9 and A11: The cruciform monogram A9 has so far not been read, but it clearly contains the letters ΠΛΑΡΚΧ, whilst other letters such as **I**,**V** and **T** can be inferred. I cannot suggest any Greek name that would contain all these letters, and it is perhaps more likely that the monogram represents both the name and title of an official. A possibility is ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙ(ΟC) ΧΑΡΤ(Ο)VΛΑΡΙ(ΟC) (Patrikios Chartoularios). This is not quite a perfect fit to the monogram and so the identification must be regarded as tentative, but a Chartoularios was the type of junior Byzantine official who might very well have taken responsibility for monetary or fiscal affairs in a town, and there is no reason why the title should not have been used after the Arab conquest.[87]

The majority of examples of A9 are from Israel with no other provenances recorded, so a Palestinian origin is virtually certain. Most examples are quite lightly struck from rather delicately engraved dies.
80% of the host coins for A9 are Pseudo-Byzantine, and the other examples, with one exception, are on coins which do not look like "normal" Constans II folles. Three of these are a rather scarce Constans follis of year 3 (MIB 164) where the date numeral is placed, between two crosses, to the left of the **m** on the reverse. One is on an apparently normal Constans follis, but with a small flan and signs of an undertype, so that hardly any obverse legend is visible. Two are on Umayyad Imperial Image coins of the Al-wafa lillah mint, and the single example found on a Yubna standing caliph fals is almost certainly from the undertype, probably a Pseudo-Byzantine coin.

A11 is also of Palestinian origin and comprises a cruciform monogram with the letters Π Λ and **A** in the same position as A9 and the **X** moved to the centre of the cross. The **P** of A9 is missing, but the **K** could be regarded as present. The top of the monogram has the normal ligatured **OV** (genitive) and there are two small circles either side, which could represent the letter **O** or could be decorative. The number of letters common to both monograms A9 and A11 seems too great for coincidence and it is quite possible that the two were for the same official. Alternatively it could be for a different Chartoularios with a name beginning with Π, perhaps Paul, in which case the monogram could be read as **ΠΑVΛΟV ΧΑ(P)ΤΟVΛΑ(P)ΙΟV** (of Paul the Chartoularios). In either case the similarity of the two monograms is sufficient to suggest that they may have been used in the same town.

Like A9 this countermark is usually lightly struck from rather delicately engraved dies and I have been unable to find an example for the catalogue which clearly shows the whole countermark. The resemblance between the two countermarks also extends to the host coins. 79% are Pseudo-Byzantine, but all four regular Constans II coins are of abnormal appearance. One is MIB 164, one is struck on a very small flan with no obverse legends visible, and one is an unusual type (MIB 175) which has three standing figures on the reverse. This coin, which appears to have two obverses, obviously puzzled the countermarking official because it is the only example of A11 recorded on the obverse (Cat. 11). A final coin is struck on an unusual rectangular flan, and also bears another (unidentified) countermark, which, if already present would have added to its abnormal appearance.

A10: This symbol, which resembles a small "matchstick man" is almost identical to the fravahr symbol found on some Sasanian coins.[88] This might be pure coincidence, but it is also possible that the symbol was adopted by an official who had seen service in the eastern provinces.
A10 is slightly smaller than the majority of countermarks and was applied to a wide variety of coins. It is normally applied to the obverse and in a number of cases appears to be carefully positioned over the lower part of the emperor's robe.

A12: This countermark comprising a letter A was included in my earlier article (Goodwin 2000), but clearly belongs to the group of single letter countermarks usually found on post-reform fulus. It has therefore been transferred to Part III.

A13: The m with two dots between the uprights bears a strong resemblance to the reverse of some coins issued by the "Al-wafa lillah" mint, which was probably situated somewhere within the boundaries of modern Israel. It is therefore tempting to suggest that this rather rare countermark originates in the same locality, but unfortunately there is no good evidence of provenance.

A14: This simple countermark is little more than a circular punch, applied twice on one host coin.

A15: The exact form of this rather large and damaging countermark is slightly uncertain as all four examples have somewhat vague outlines and the edge of the countermark die is not visible. Three of the examples have the countermark covering the emperor's face, and as all host coins are rather crude in style, it may be that this countermark was intended to put a coin out of circulation rather than to validate it.

A16: Three out of five specimens of this countermark occur on Heraclius folles also countermarked with Byzantine Class 1 countermarks, but the two specimens on Pseudo-Byzantine coins show that A16 must have been applied later. A16 also appears in Part I of this article as Class 1 Type 3a.

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[87] Cruciform monograms combining a personal name and the title Chartoularios are known from 7th century lead seals, see for example Zacos and Veglery, 1972, Plate 240 monogram 396.

[88] See Goebl 1971 pp. 15, 21 and 48, or for a fuller discussion of the symbol Alram and Gyselen 2003 pp. 256-258. It occurs on both the obverse and reverse of drachms from Shapur I (241-272) onwards.

A17: Both recorded examples are rather smaller than average and are applied to the obverse.

B1a, B1b and B1c: When I listed these three countermarks in 2000 it seemed almost certain that B1a should be read as *Ludd* (Diospolis, modern Lod in Israel) and both B1b and B1c should be read as bi-Ludd (in Ludd). In fact B1b is identical to the mint signature on the Ludd standing caliph coins. However, in 2002 Shraga Qedar suggested an alternative reading for B1c, namely *jund (jīm - nūn - dāl*, a military province). The main reason for his conclusion was that the initial letter is clearly written both above and below the baseline of the word. This is unknown for *bā'*, but would be acceptable for *jīm*. If we take B1c in isolation this does seem to be a better reading, although it is difficult to understand the motive for countermarking a coin "province". However, B1b and B1c are otherwise very similar looking countermarks, struck on a similar population of host coins, both with firm Palestinian provenances. Furthermore both sometimes occur in pairs, two examples are recorded with both B1b and B1c and single examples are recorded with three and four B1c countermarks.[89] It is significant that no other countermark is commonly applied more than once. It is therefore highly probable that these two countermarks were applied by the same authority at roughly the same time and are merely slightly variant renderings of the same word. Having reached this conclusion I then re-examined as many of the B1 countermarks as possible and the results were somewhat disturbing. Firstly, on all five of the B1a countermarks recorded the impression is either affected by patina, corrosion or undertype, or the countermark is on the edge of the coin. In each case it is conceivable that the letter baa' or jiim was originally present on the die, but is not now visible.[90] B1a must therefore be regarded as slightly uncertain and what appears to be the most convincing specimen is illustrated as Cat. 13. Secondly it is not always absolutely clear whether a particular countermark is really B1c; so it is possible that a few B1bs should really be classified as B1c.

Another interesting feature of B1c is the common occurrence of two dots below the word. One and possibly two dots also sometimes occur under B1b. These are presumably an early form of vocalisation[91].

In conclusion therefore it is highly probable that B1b and B1c are merely variants of the same countermark and, if B1a can be confirmed, *bi-Ludd* seems the most likely reading. *Jund* is a possibility, but I think that *jayyid (jīm - yā' - dāl*, good), which has an identical Kufic spelling is a better alternative.

B2: Despite quite a lot of variation in letter shape there can be no doubt that B2 reads *lillah* (for God). Some examples have a single dot below the word and one example is recorded with a dot over the final letter. Apart from B1 this is the only other example of "vocalisation" found among the Arabic countermarks. Alternatively the dot placed centrally below lillah could possibly be just a way of emphasising the name of God, as on some examples of post-reform mintless fulus where the word allah has a dot on either side. Just under half the recorded specimens originated from Israeli dealers.

B3, B4, B5 and B6: This group of countermarks is something of a puzzle because none of them is an accurate rendering of a plausible Arabic word. Each comprises a three letter word with the same two initial letters, but the final letter looks different for each countermark. Furthermore none of the final letters is of a form which is found on other Umayyad coins, the backward sloping final letter of B5 being particularly unusual. However, the final letters of B3, B4 and B6 would make a plausible *dāl*, and I would therefore tentatively suggest that all four are intended as *jayyid* (good)[92]. Whilst one or two of the variations in letter forms may reflect lack of competence on the part of the die engraver, it is likely that at least some of the unusual letter forms come from local, more cursive, scripts used for everyday documents on perishable materials, which have not survived.

All four countermarks occur on a wide variety of coin types, and, although there is a preference for the reverse, a significant proportion are struck on the obverse. Very few examples have any reliable provenance, but the general absence of these coins among the offerings of Israeli dealers is a slight indication of a Syrian or Lebanese origin.

B7: There is no doubt that this countermark reads *tayyib* (good), a word which occurs on all the Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Jund Hims. There are some slightly variant forms, most commonly a long extension in the final vertical or sloping stroke of the letter *Tā'*, but almost all the recorded examples are accurately written. Most of the examples recorded were obtained from Israeli dealers, but one has a reasonably firm Syrian provenance (Phillips and Goodwin 1997, Cat.113).
The population of host coins is a marked contrast to most of the other common countermarks with 85% on regular Byzantine coins.

B8: Only three examples of B8 have been recorded, but all are reasonably clear. It is just conceivable that it is a very blundered *lillah*.

B9: When I first saw this countermark I assumed it should be read as *lillah* with the first letter not visible, but since then two other examples have been recorded, struck from at least two dies, which confirm the odd form of the word. The reading must therefore remain uncertain, although a blundered *lillah* is still a possibility.

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[89] Both in Tuebingen, nos. 93-10-9 and 93-10-10.

[90] Three of these are only known from published photographs and the coins themselves have not been examined. The first two are Sotheby's 24/4/98 lot 209 i) and ii) and the third is Schindel 2000 no.7. None of these are totally convincing. The other two coins are in private collections and in one case the two countermarks present are both significantly distorted by the undertype, whilst in the other case (Cat.13) the countermark is on the edge of the coin.

[91] It would be tempting to regard the two dots below the word as a very early example of pointing below the letter *yaa'* in *jayyid*, but I have been unable to find any evidence of this at such an early date.

[92] I am very grateful to Luke Treadwell for some helpful suggestions on readings for the Arabic countermarks.

The three host coins are all rather unusual Pseudo-Byzantine types; two share an obverse die and, as already noted, the third has an inscription reading EMH - CI... on the obverse.

B10: Only a single specimen of this countermark has been recorded (Tuebingen 93-10-6) and Lutz Ilisch has suggested that it may possibly read Harran, which was a minor mint for Standing Caliph coins.

B11: This countermark is very clear on the only known specimen (Cat. 24), but completely defies any reading.

B12: The final backwards sloping letter somewhat resembles that on B5 and B6, but the first letter is very clearly *ayn* or *ghayn* so a reading as *jayyid* is unlikely. B12 is unusual in being usually very deeply impressed with no circular border visible around the edge of the countermark, suggesting that the face of the die was dome shaped.

B13: This may be a blundered tayyib, but the initial letter looks very much like a *fā'*, *qāf* or *mīm*.

B14: This countermark, known only from a single example in Tuebingen, may possibly be a be another blundered jayyid.

B15: The most likely reading of this countermark is a blundered *lillah*. However, at present we cannot be absolutely certain that it is a post-conquest countermark as the only examples recorded are on two Heraclius folles, both with Class 1 Byzantine countermarks. B15 therefore also appears in Part I as Class 1 Type 3b.

C1: The image appears to be an insect although it is possible some other animal is intended. The four known examples occur on Pseudo-Byzantine coins.

C2, C3 and C4: These three countermarks are all probably intended as bull's heads and may be merely variant forms of the same countermark.

C5: This image is clearly a bird, probably an eagle. 83% of the recorded specimens occur on regular Byzantine coins mainly of Heraclius, and, were it not for two examples on Pseudo-Byzantine coins, it might be assumed that this was a Byzantine countermark. One specimen struck on a Heraclius follis (Cat. 32) is larger and more detailed than the others and it is possible that this is not related. In fact it may be a so far unique example of a new Byzantine countermark.

C6: This extraordinary countermark is only known from a single well-preserved example in a private collection, but it appears to be a right facing bust, possibly with an Arabic inscription above and to the right.

Coins with more then one countermark

Fifteen coins were recorded which had two different identifiable countermarks and these are listed in Table 2 below:-

Table 2

(coins marked * are illustrated in the catalogue. Unless otherwise stated all coins are from private collections)

No	c/m 1	c/m 2	Host Coin
1	A1 Rev	A3 Obv	UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff. (Barber Institute Birmingham AB15)
2	A1 Rev	B3 Obv	Heraclius MIB 166/7. 5.12g.
3*	A4a Rev	A15 Obv	Ps.Byz Type E. 3.76g. (Cat.4)
4	A5 Rev	A10 Obv	UII (Emesa) Walker 27ff. 3.76g.
5*	2xA7 Obv	A16? Obv	Ps.Byz Type E. 2.79g. (Tuebingen 93-10-12, Cat.7)
6	A8 Rev	B4 Obv	Ps.Byz Type E
7	A10 Obv	A13 Rev	Constans II MIB 170. (Tuebingen)
8	A10 Obv	A13 Rev	Constans II MIB 164. 4.44g.
9*	A10 Obv	A13 Rev	Ps.Byz Type E. 3.35g. (Cat.10)
10	A10 Obv	B3 Rev	Ps.Byz Type E. 4.07g.
11	B1b Rev	B1c Rev	Ps.Byz Type E. 2.89g.
12	B1b Rev	B1c Rev	Constans II Class 1 or 4, or possibly a good imitation
13	B1c Rev	C1 Obv	Ps.Byz Type E. 2.95g.
14*	B3 Rev	B4 Obv	Ps.Byz Type G. (Cat.17)
15*	C3 Rev	C5 Rev	Constans II Class 1 or 4. 3.47g. (Cat.30)

In addition to the coins in the table, eleven examples were recorded with one or more additional unidentifiable countermarks.[93] Also as mentioned above countermarks A16 and B15 occur on Heraclius folles along with Class 1 Byzantine countermarks.

It is only to be expected that a few coins, already countermarked in one city, would have subsequently travelled to another city and met the criteria for countermarking there. This probably explains the majority of instances recorded above, but in the case of A10 we have no less than five coins with a second identifiable countermark out of a total of 15 recorded, to which should be added four more with unidentifiable second countermarks. This must be of some significance, but the mechanism at work is not clear. Three of the second countermarks are A13, out of a total of only four examples of A13 recorded. A possible explanation is that A10 and A13 were used in the same city, but this does not explain why A10 should be so frequently paired with other countermarks.

As has been mentioned in the last section multiple countermarking with the three varieties of B1 occurs frequently. In a few cases it appears that the countermarks on a single coin were struck from different dies, suggesting that they were applied at different times. Although it is difficult to be certain, but it also looks as if the same dies were used in a few cases. Individual examples were also found of two A1, two A7 and two A14 countermarks having been applied to the same coin.

Purpose and dating of the Countermarks

In Part I Wolfgang Schulze has concluded that the majority of countermarks from the pre-conquest period were probably applied by the Byzantine army in order to revalue coins during a period of currency scarcity. If this were the case for the post-conquest period we might expect the majority of countermarked coins to be found in the area of maximum military activity near the frontier regions in the north of Syria. However, the evidence points in exactly the opposite direction with most of the countermarks coming from Palestine. I therefore believe that we can rule out Muslim armies in the field as the source of the countermarks, although the evidence does not preclude a static military source such as a local military governor. This leaves two possible purposes for the countermarks:-

1. to validate coins for circulation in a particular region or town.
2. for some purpose associated with the fiscal system, for example to validate copper coins so that they could be used to pay taxes, normally payable in gold.[94]

There is, I believe, quite persuasive evidence in support of the first explanation for the four Byzantine-style monograms A1, A3, A9 and A11. The population of 99 coins bearing these countermarks is mainly Pseudo-Byzantine, but includes significant numbers of Byzantine coins and a few Umayyad Imperial Image. However, there are only two coins present that could be described as "normal" Constans II standing emperor types, that is Class 1 and 4 with the **ANA - NEOS** reverse legend. Given that these were by far the most common type of coin in circulation in Syria at the time, the almost inevitable conclusion is that normal looking Constans II folles were not being countermarked. The countermarks were therefore presumably used in a region which regarded the normal Constans II folles as official currency and where other "foreign" or otherwise suspect coins needed to be countermarked (presumably for a small fee) before they could be used. This explains why there are no less than four examples of MIB 164 among the 64 coins with countermarks A9 and A11. It is a rather scarce type, but it has an unusual arrangement of reverse legends, which could easily give the impression of a Pseudo-Byzantine coin.[95] It is also interesting that a number of early Umayyad Imperial Image coins were countermarked, indicating that these were regarded as "foreign" coins in the regions concerned.

The situation is similar, but not quite so clear cut, for the common Arabic countermarks B1, B3, B4, B5 and B6. For these there is certainly a surprising preponderance of Pseudo-Byzantine coins, but there are a few normal looking Constans II folles, albeit far fewer than would have been expected.

The population of host coins for B2, B7 and C5 is significantly different, with a majority of Byzantine and fewer Pseudo-Byzantine coins. This is much closer to the expected population of coinage shortly before the introduction of the Umayyad Imperial Image types. It is what we might expect if the countermarks were applied in a region which had just issued its first Umayyad Imperial Image coins and required all others to be countermarked.

The population of host coins for A10 is different again with roughly equal proportions of Byzantine, Pseudo-Byzantine and Umayyad Imperial Image. Again this could be the result of a region protecting its own coinage by requiring "foreign" coins to be validated, but at a slightly later period when Umayyad Imperial Image coins from other cities had started to circulate.

For these common countermarks therefore the evidence is consistent with local authorities using countermarks to validate foreign or suspect coins. The general preponderance of Pseudo-Byzantine coins fits less well with a fiscal explanation of countermarking, as it is hard to see these coins being favoured by the authorities for payment of taxes. However, a fiscal explanation could be valid for countermarks B2, B7, C5. Certainly the use of the word *lillah* (B2) is suggestive of a special purpose, and Nicholas Lowick's suggestion that it may indicate a coin that was used to pay the *jizyah*, or poll tax, may be equally valid for the 7th century as for the much later period which he was discussing.[96] The remaining

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[93] The examples with additional unidentifiable countermarks were countermarked with A4a (2 examples), A7, A10 (4 examples), B1c, B5, B8, B9 and C4.

[94] In this context countermarking can perhaps be regarded as a cheap alternative to overstriking, which was a common Byzantine practice particularly during the first few years of Constans II. The precise reason why folles were taken back into the mint and re-struck so frequently is something of a mystery, but it must have had something to do with the fiscal system.

[95] The question remains of why two apparently normal Constans II folles were countermarked. One of these is a rather worn and heavily patinated example with not all the detail now visible, so there could easily have been something unusual about it which is no longer apparent. The other one had no peculiarity noted when catalogued, but unfortunately is not currently available for re-examination.

[96] See Lowick, Bendall and Whiting 1977, pp. 53-54. Lowick was discussing the Mardin Hoard of Byzantine folles which was probably countermarked in the 12th c. AD. A very similar *lillah* countermark appears on many of these coins.

countermarks have only been recorded on small numbers of coins and it would therefore be unwise to draw any conclusions about them individually, but taken together they show a similar pattern to the majority of common ones with mainly Pseudo-Byzantine coins being countermarked.

As mentioned above it is just possible that A15 was intended to mark a coin as unsatisfactory, but I cannot find any evidence to suggest that this was the case for any other countermarks.

The number of different countermarks and the fact that they only occur on a small proportion of coins strongly suggests that the authorities which applied them were locally based in a number of different towns. We can be reasonably sure that some of them were Greek speaking Christian officials, although, apart from A17 and perhaps the two cruciform monograms, there is no overt Christian symbolism in any of the countermarks. Also it is certain that Muslim officials were responsible for countermark B2 *lillah,* and perhaps for some of the other Arabic countermarks.

So far as dating the countermarks is concerned we have three useful pieces of evidence:-

- The hoard said to have been found near Hama in Syria which comprised 73 Pseudo-Byzantine and 225 Byzantine coins, the latest of which was dated 656/7 (see Phillips and Goodwin 1997). One of the Constans II folles bore a B7 *tayyib* countermark. The hoard was probably deposited in the early 660s.
- The occurrence of a single example of a B5 countermark on a Pseudo-Byzantine Type I coin. As this copies a follis of Constantine IV (668-685), the copy must be later than 668 and probably a few years later.
- Countermarks occur on only three types of Umayyad Imperial Image coins; standing emperor types from Emesa (most commonly), Damascus and the Al-wafa lillah mint. There are good reasons for believing that the first of these is one of the earliest Imperial Image coins and that the second is one of the earliest varieties from Damascus. No countermarks have so far been found on any other Imperial Image coins (with the exception of the clearly separate series of *tayyib* countermarks on coins of Gerasa - see Appendix 2).

The first two pieces of evidence suggest that the countermarking had begun, but perhaps only just begun, by the early 660s and carried on into the 670s. However, the fact that only one Byzantine or Pseudo-Byzantine host coin can be firmly dated to later than 668 suggests that it did not last long beyond the 670s. The dating of the first Umayyad Imperial Image coinage is uncertain, but I have suggested elsewhere c. 675.[97] The Emesa standing emperor type is very probably the first to be issued from a major mint, and the Damascus standing emperor with Graeco-Latin reverse legends is certainly among the first of many varieties of Damascus. The *al-wafa lillah* coins are difficult to date, but there is no reason why they should not be among the earliest Umayyad Imperial image coins.[98] No countermarks have yet been found on coins which are likely to be later in the series, such as the very common facing bust type of Emesa, so it is probable that the countermarks ceased to be applied shortly after the first Umayyad Imperial coins were issued. We can therefore provisionally date at least the majority of countermarks to the period 660 to 680.

Catalogue

(All coins are illustrated on pages 30 – 32, approx. x 1.25. In the case of relatively familiar coins of standard type, only the countermarked side is illustrated. Both obverse and reverse are illustrated for more unusual coins or those with countermarks on both sides. With the exception of Cats. 7, 8 and 28 all coins are from private collections)

1. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 7h. 2.91g. A1var. on reverse.
2. Byzantine, Constans II follis (MIB 166). 6h. 4.51g. A2 on obverse.
3. Umayyad Imperial Image, Emesa (Walker 27ff). 12h. 4.26g. A3 on obverse.
4. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 6h. 3.76g. A15 on obverse and A4a on reverse.
5. Umayyad Imperial Image, Emesa (Ilisch 2.2). 6h. A4b on obverse.
6. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 7h. 3.14g. A5 on reverse.
7. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 2.79g. 2 x A7 and 1 x A16 (?) on obverse. Tuebingen 93-10-12.
8. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 8h. 4.16g. A8 on obverse. ANS 1967.110.7 (photo courtesy of ANS)
9. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 7h. 3.88g. A9 on reverse.
10. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 2h. 3.35g. A10 on obverse, stamped on the lower part of the emperor's robe, and A13 on reverse.
11. Byzantine, Constans II follis (MIB 175). 6h. 3.45g. A11 on obverse.
12. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 6h. 2.93g. Two A14 countermarks on obverse.
13. Pseudo-Byzantine type E. 4.01g. B1a on reverse.
14. Byzantine, Constans II follis (MIB 167 or 168). 3.98g. B1b, with one dot below, on reverse.
15. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 2.93g. B1c, with two dots below, on reverse.
16. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 8h. 3.20g. B2, with dot below, on reverse.
17. Pseudo-Byzantine Type G (?). 6h. 2.91g. B4 on obverse and B3 on reverse.
18. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E? (obverse unclear). 2.79g. B5 on reverse.
19. Pseudo-Byzantine Type I (copying Constantine IV, 668-685). 6h. 3.06g. B5, or possibly B6 on obverse. This coin is in worn condition and could possibly be a regular Sicilian follis (MIB 104), but the style of the obverse and, the few traces of obverse legend suggest an imitation (MIB 104).
20. Byzantine, Heraclius follis, year 30 (MIB 166). 12h. 4.73g. B6 on reverse.
21. Byzantine, Constans II follis (Class 1 or 4). 4h. 4.39g. B7 on reverse.
22. Byzantine, Constans II follis (Class 1 or 4) or possibly a good imitation. 8h. 2.60g. B8 on reverse.

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[97] For a discussion of the dating evidence see Album and Goodwin 2002, pp.100-106.

[98] The fact that only these Umayyad Imperial Image types are found countermarked is also a useful confirmation that they are indeed among the earliest of that series, although clearly there is a need to beware of circular arguments.

23. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 11h. 2.87g. B9 on obverse. Obverse has **EMH - CI...** either side of standing figure.
24. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E, unusual obverse style similar to some coins of the Al-wafa lillah mint. 2h. 3.59g. B11 on obverse.
25. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E, unusual type with blundered Antioch mint name on reverse (same dies as Goodwin 1996). 12h. 2.63g. B12 on reverse.
26. Pseudo-Byzantine (?) Type E. 10h. 2.94g. B12 on reverse. Arabic legend (*bism allah*?) in reverse exergue.
27. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 6h. 2.50g. B13 on reverse.
28. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 2.70g. C1 on reverse. Tuebingen.
29. Pseudo-Byzantine Type B. C2 on reverse.
30. Byzantine, Constans II follis (Class 1 or 4). 6h. 3.47g. C3 and C5 on reverse.
31. Byzantine, Constans II follis (MIB 170). 6h. 3.05g. C4 on reverse.
32. Byzantine, Heraclius follis (MIB 160). 6h. 8.44g. C5 on obverse, variant with larger and more detailed image.
33. Pseudo-Byzantine Type E. 6h. 3.04g. C6 on obverse.
34. Umayyad Imperial Image, Emesa (Walker 57ff). 6h. 3.37g. Five-pointed star punchmark on face of emperor.
35. Umayyad Imperial Image, Emesa (Walker 57ff). 6h. 3.73g. Crescent punchmark on cross of emperor's crown.
36. Umayyad Imperial Image, Gerasa (Walker A7, but not identified as Gerasa). 3h. 6.86g. *Tayyib* countermark on obverse.
37. Byzantine, Constans II follis (Class 1 or 4). 12h. 3.13g., overstruck on a Class 5 follis of Heraclius. Heraclius type 1 countermark on reverse, presumably from undertype.

Appendix 1: miniature punch marks on the coins of Hims

This series of very small (1-2mm in diameter) countermarks was discussed in Goodwin 1993. They present something of a puzzle as they are so small as to be not immediately noticeable unless filled with patination or surface deposit of a contrasting colour. It is therefore hard to see how they could be of much use for validating coins for circulation. They therefore presumably served some internal purpose either in the mint or in the fiscal administration, but I cannot think of a very convincing suggestion as to precisely what purpose. They occur quite frequently on both types of standing emperor coins of Emesa and less commonly on the imperial bust type.[99]

Four or possibly five different punch marks are known:- a triangle, a five-pointed star (Cat. 34), a cross, a circle and a crescent (Cat. 35), the last of which may be merely a circle applied obliquely. In contrast to all the full-sized countermarks the punch marks all have incuse designs.

Appendix 2: *Tayyib* countermarks on the coins of Jerash

When Walker first published the Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Scythopolis in 1935 he included one very similar, but rather barbarous, coin with an obverse countermark reading *tayyib*. In 1980 Shamma identified this coin as being from the mint of Jerash (Gerasa) and since then the Jerash coins have been quite extensively published.[100] Just over half of the published specimens bear this same countermark, which is similar to B7 but always has a die of rectangular shape with rounded corners, measuring about 12mm along its longer axis. It is always applied on the obverse across the feet and lower legs of the two enthroned figures. The countermark is not usually found on Scythopolis coins, but an example was published by Oddy (1994 Cat. 5) on a Scythopolis coin which is of normal appearance, except for a blundered reverse mint mark. A second example in the Israel Museum has blundered Scythopolis legends (Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999, Cat. A9a). However, this coin has a blundered reverse which looks more typical of Jerash.

It seems very likely that the countermark was used to validate the Jerash coins in a locality which used the more regular looking Scythopolis coins as its official currency. The obvious location would be Scythopolis itself, but a majority of coins actually excavated at Jerash are countermarked, and Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar make the interesting observation that the two Jerash coins found at the Beth Shean (Scythopolis) excavations are not countermarked (op. cit. p.139). It may therefore be that the countermarks were applied at Jerash itself, probably at a slightly later date than the other countermarks described in this article.

Appendix 3: Modern forgeries

Unfortunately a number of modern fake countermarks on genuine ancient coins have recently appeared on the market. These are believed to originate in Lebanon, or possibly Syria, and were first published by Schulze in 2004. Since then three examples of additional forged countermarks have been seen, which are sketched in Fig. 2, along with the three examples published by Schulze which read 1. *filasti(n)*, 2. *tabariyya* and 3. *'akka*:-

Fig. 2. Modern forgeries

[99] A sample of 88 standing emperor coins contained 12 coins with punchmarks (13.6%) and a sample of 124 imperial bust coins contained 3 (2.4%). In both cases these are probably underestimates as it is easy to miss the punchmarks.

[100] Countermarked Jerash and Scythopolis coins appear in Walker 1935 Pl. IX, no. 6 (same coin in Walker 1956 Pl. IX, no. A.7); Bellinger 1938 Pl. VII, no. 508 and VIII, no. 509 (excavation coins from Jerash); Shamma 1980 nos. 3 and 4; Oddy 1994 p. 416 Cat. 5 (Scythopolis); Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999 Pl. 18 A9a (Scythopolis), Pl. 20 C1, C2, C3, C4, C6 and C7a, Pl. 21 D5; Marot 1998 pp. 512-513, 1439 and 1443 (excavation coins from Jerash); Goussous 2004 p.392, Cat. 468 and 469, Baldwin's Islamic Auction 9, 12/10/04 lot 3139.

The new forgeries appear to read 4. *ba'albakk,* 5. *al-ludd?* and 6. *al-raqqa?* All the forgeries are clearly from the same workshop. They are of slightly larger size than normal and have an abnormally neat look to them, but they are quite convincingly patinated.

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Cat. 1 obv. and rev.

Cat. 2

Cat. 3

Cat. 4 obv. and rev.

Cat. 5

Cat. 6

Cat. 7

Cat. 8 obv. and rev.

Cat. 9 obv. and rev.

Cat. 10 obv. and rev.

Cat. 11

Cat. 12

Cat. 13

Cat. 14

Cat. 15

Cat. 16

Cat. 17 obv. and rev.

Cat. 18

Cat. 19 obv. and rev.

Cat. 20

Cat. 21

Cat. 22

Cat. 23 obv. and rev.

Cat. 24 obv. and rev.

Cat. 25 obv. and rev.

Cat. 26 obv. and rev.

Cat. 27

Cat. 28

Cat. 29

Cat. 30

Cat. 31

Cat. 32

Cat. 33 obv. and rev.

Cat. 34

Cat. 35

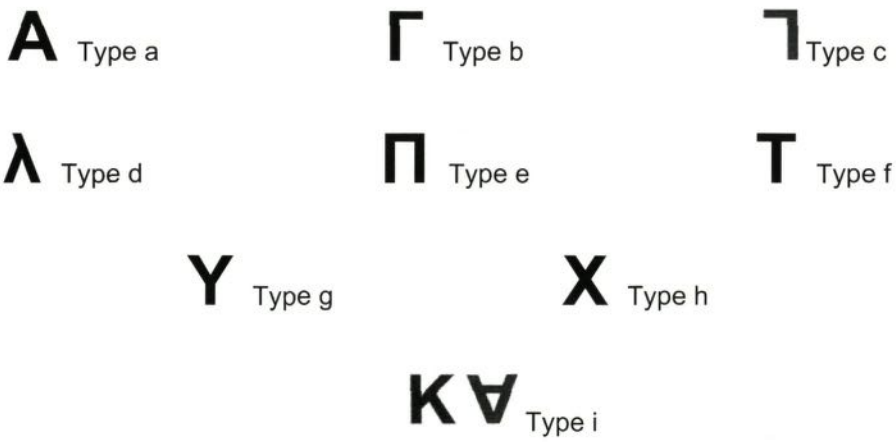
Cat. 36 obv. and rev.

Cat. 37

Part III: Greek letter countermarks

By Wolfgang Schulze

There is an interesting series (types a-h) of small round countermarks with a diameter of 6-7 millimetres showing Greek letters. The countermarks are usually applied near the edges of the host coins.



Type i does not fit into this series. It is a singular countermark of oval shape, which has been stamped three times on a Byzantine or Pseudo-Byzantine host coin. The diameter of this countermark seems to be greater than those of types a-h.

Type a

1	Rev.	Tüb.[101]	Byz	Constans II follis (MIB 163)
2	Rev.	Israel Museum 12308	Ps.Byz	Type E
3	Rev.	Sotheby 14/10/99	UII	Standing emperor of Emesa without *bism allah* (Walker -). Part of lot 226 (Slocum collection)
4	Rev.	Walker[102] 619	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals (cf. Ilisch 1979, 3)
5	Rev.	Coll. Samir Shamma	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals, Harran (cf. Ilisch 1979,3)
6	Obv.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals. Combined with a small punchmark **o** on obv. Obtained in Jordan
7	Obv.	Tüb. AD 10 D1	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals
8	Obv.	Tüb. AD 10 D2	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals
9	Rev.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals
10	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals. 2.90 g

Type b

1	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Constans II follis. 2.89 g. Obtained in Israel
2	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	UII	Standing emperor of Emesa (Walker 27 ff). 3.27 g
3	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	UII	Standing emperor of Emesa (Walker 27 ff). Unusual rev. with **A** officina and retrograde **EMHCIC**
4	Rev.	Donald, NumCirc 1987, p.151	Byz	Constans II follis (MIB 170). Obtained in Cyprus

Type c

1	Obv.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals (cf. Ilisch 1979, 5). Obtained in Syria
2	Obv.	Tüb. AD 10 D3	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals
3	Obv.	Tüb. AD 10 D4	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals

Type d

1	Rev.	Tüb.	Byz	Constans II follis (MIB 167/168)
2	Obv.	Tüb. AD 10 D5	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals
3	Rev.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals. Obtained in Jordan
4	Rev.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals. Obtained in Jordan
5	Rev.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals

Type e

1	Rev.	Tüb.	Byz	Constans II follis year 15 (MIB 174). Obtained in Jordan
2	Obv.	Tüb.	Ps.Byz	Type E. Obtained in Jordan

Type f

1	Obv.	Tüb.	Post Ref.	Anonymous copper fals, Tiberias. Obtained in Jordan
2	Obv.	Priv. Coll.	Post.Ref.	Anonymous copper fals. 2.74 g. Northern Syria patina

Type g

1	Rev.	In trade 2002	Ps.Byz	Type E

Type h

1	Rev.	Priv. Coll.	Byz	Constans II follis
2	Obv.	Priv. Coll.	Ps.Byz	Type E. With 2nd Cypriot c/m class 6b on obv. Obtained in Israel

[101] Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik der Universität Tübingen, Germany
[102] Walker, John, A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins, London 1956

Type i

1	Rev.	Gromotka 1988, no. 6	?	Type E or regular Constans II follis. Oval c/m threefold on rev. Ex Sternberg, Zürich, auction XI, 1981, no. 6

Provenance

Lutz Ilisch was the first to publish Greek letter countermarks, in 1979.[103] He presented five countermarked mintless fulus from the time after the monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik (697-702)[104]. In the meantime, some more specimens have come to light. We now know of seven types of countermarks and have found that, besides the post-reform fulus, Byzantine, Pseudo-Byzantine and Umayyad Imperial Image coins were also countermarked. It is remarkable that no countermarks on Standing Caliph copper coins have been found up to now. The Standing Caliph coins are usually dated to the time between the Umayyad Imperial coins and the post reform fulus.[105]

We have no exact find evidence for these countermarks. Looking at the places where the coins were obtained and regarding the mint places of his specimens Ilisch supposes the provenance of the countermarks to be Northern Syria, near or not far from the Byzantine-Arab frontier. We know where 10 of the coins listed above were acquired: Syria (1), Cyprus (1), Israel (2), and Jordan (6). Thus we have a widespread 'provenance' without any definite clue about their place of origin, although, judging by the numbers, Palestine does not seem improbable.

Dating

From a careful analysis Ilisch supposes that countermarking happened during the second quarter of the 8th century. He demonstrates that even in this time Greek was still the language of administration and was in use among the non-Arabic population. Moreover, Greek inscriptions are found on paintings in Umayyad castles. Ilisch started from the premise that only post-reform fulus were countermarked, but, as we now also know of host coins from earlier times, his results have become questionable. Excluding type i, among the 28 specimens listed above are 13 pre-reform and 15 post-reform coins. Now two possibilities arise: countermarking began after the monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik and the copper coins in circulation were countermarked at the same time in the same way. Or: countermarking began earlier (perhaps in the 4th quarter of the 7th century) and was continued into the beginning of the 8th century. The relatively high proportion of post-reform folles adds weight to the first alternative.

We are, however, justified in continuing with the idea that the 'old money' circulated for only a short time after the monetary reforms. We can, therefore, cautiously date countermarking – if not to the end of the 7th century – at least to the very early years of the 8th century.

Purpose

If countermarking took place in Arab occupied Syria it is hardly understandable that it happened shortly after the drastic monetary reforms which introduced purely epigraphic copper coinage. Moreover, it is astonishing, that countermarks were applied on both coin types. This phenomenon could be explained if it was the Byzantines who countermarked some of their own but mainly foreign coins, especially in times when Byzantine coin production was relative small. But for such an assumption there is no single concrete clue. The facts currently suggest all this happened in Syria under Arab rule.

In view of the open questions concerning the provenances and the dating we must postpone for the moment any attempt to explain the purpose of this last series of countermarks.

Type i

Coin type i is an individual specimen and was published by Günther Gromotka in 1988[106]. The countermark, struck three times on a Byzantine or Pseudo-Byzantine host coin shows a **K** besides an inverted **A**. As mentioned above it does not fit into the series a-h. Because of missing information about the provenance and the lack of comparable coins it is impossible at present to find out anything about the dating and purpose of this countermark.

Type b

Type f

[103] Ilisch, Lutz, Griechische Buchstabengegenstempel auf umayyadischen Kupfermünzen, Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung IX (August 1979), 36 f.

[104] A sixth specimen described erroneously does not fit into this series and has to be disregarded – courtesy of Lutz Ilisch, May 2004.

[105] The rival chronologies of the pre-reform coinage of Bilād al-Shām is comprehensively discussed by Tony Goodwin in the Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 1, Oxford 2002, 99 ff.

[106] Gromotka, Günther E., Einige Anmerkungen zu Gegenstempeln auf Münzen des syro-palästinensischen Raums aus der 2. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, Westfalia Numismatica, Minden 1988, 14-19