

# ONS



## Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

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Editor: Mr S. Goron,

### ONS News

#### Annual General Meeting of the Society

Please note that the meeting will **not** take place at the London Coin fair on 10 June as previously notified. This is because of difficulties with room availability. Instead the meeting will be at the British Museum on Saturday 15 July 2006 at 11.00 a.m. The meeting will be during the course of a normal members' meeting with talks. A proxy voting form is included with this Journal.

**The Annual General Meeting of the Society** will be held on **15 July 2006** at 11 a.m. at the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum London Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3 DG, to transact the following business:

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

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

Paul Stevens will give the Ken Wiggins memorial lecture on "The Evolution of the Coinage of British India - A Complexity Perspective".

Nicholas Rhodes will give the Michael Broome memorial on "The coinage of Jaintiapur".

Other speakers are welcome. Please contact Joe Cribb or Peter Smith at if you would like to give a talk at the meeting.

### From the Editor

A reminder that the index to the Newsletter/Journal can be found at the Society's website [www.onsnumis.org](http://www.onsnumis.org). The index has been expanded to include a column with the page numbers of each article.

### Obituary

**Philip Grierson 15 November 1910 – 15 January 2006.**



PG on left (with glasses), with George Miles (Rome 1961)

The death of Philip Grierson has been widely reported and his unique contribution to the numismatics of medieval Europe is well known. G.'s interests were wide-ranging. His introductory book *Numismatics* (1972) scrupulously devotes as much space to 'Eastern coinage traditions' as it does to 'Western' ones. His Presidential Addresses to the RNS were ground-breaking theoretical examinations relevant to all branches of numismatics. My aim here is to consider his contribution to Oriental numismatics both as scholar and collector.

G.'s interest in Islamic numismatics was partly inspired by the historical controversy known as the Pirenne Thesis and the degree to which the Mediterranean retained its economic unity after the middle of the fifth century. Pirenne's over-emphasis of the role of gold coinage in the West was of course the classic example of how a learned historian can be badly misled by looking at catalogues rather than coins. G. drew attention to this in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Numismatics in Brussels in 1948 though other scholars had already become aware of it. The question that continued to interest him was the economic relationship between Carolingian Europe and the Caliphate. This led to three key articles: 'Carolingian Europe and the Arabs – the myth of the mancus' (1954), 'Commerce in the Dark Ages – a critique of the evidence' (1959), and 'The monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik: their metrological basis and their financial repercussions' (1960). 'Mancus' was the word most often used in the West to describe Arabic gold coins and their imitations or their equivalent as 30 silver pennies. His explanation of the word was shown to be wrong but the article remains the standard survey of the subject.

'Commerce in the Dark Ages' barely mentions Islamic matters but remains relevant to anyone interested in early relations between the Caliphate, Byzantium and the West. As an undergraduate in Cambridge in the mid-1960s I was told several times by my supervisors that this article demonstrated that numismatics was of no historical value. What it showed was that just because money and goods moved around in the Dark Ages it was not necessarily evidence of trade – a point which still seems to be lost on many people. Nonetheless it was a good example of the highly sceptical approach that earned him the Mephistophelean tag of *Der Mann der stets verneint* and of which he was well aware.

The 'Monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik' was a much more positive contribution. At the time it seemed to be a bravura display of erudition and scientific application. Much of it now seems highly questionable. The points which G. made towards the end, arguing that the reform of the gold-silver ratio by the Caliph caused the flight of silver to the West and gold to the East, are now contradicted by the evidence. Gold was disappearing from the West earlier than G. realised and the bi-metallic ratios and

weight standards in the Caliphate were too varied to generate the bullion flows that he envisaged. This criticism overlooks his main aim in writing the article which was to examine the relationship between the Islamic dinar and the Byzantine solidus to try and explain why, although they were close to each other in weight, they were not identical. The problem here was his use of the Arabic sources, particularly Balādhuri. The problems involved with these were not appreciated at the time and, although much of the discussion is interesting, it is not now considered authoritative.

An earlier, and still valid, contribution was the identification of the *oboli/denari de musc* (1951) in twelfth- and thirteenth-century English accounts as Almohade dinars and half dinars. If this seems commonplace today it is worth looking at previous explanations of the term put forward, in all seriousness, by earlier writers. More challenging was the problem of the record of purchases of gold coins weighing 10 dwt (15 grams). The problem seemed to be solved when an Almohade piece weighing 15.38 grams appeared in the Alvin van Loan Gaines sale (Glendining, 2 November 1972, lot 580). Alas the coin turned out to be a Ghoriid dinar of 605H. This led G. to the startling proposition (1974) that the coins mentioned in the accounts might indeed have come all the way from Afghanistan, though he left the question open. As far as I know no-one else has addressed it.

Although G. mentioned that the Gaines' coin was by then in the Fitzwilliam Museum he failed to say that he had bought the coin (£85) and presented it to the Museum when it turned out to have been wrongly identified. He would, surely, have been fully entitled to return it to the auctioneers but this was something which he was always very reluctant to do.

Which brings us to G. as a collector. Some commentators seem to feel that there was some contradiction in so eminent a scholar also being a collector. While many coin collectors can hardly be called scholars, in G.'s case the two were interdependent. His collecting interests, though centred on medieval Europe, ranged far beyond his published academic output. If he had not been inspired to collect he might well have remained an obscure Cambridge don. He was, of course, in the right place at the right time. At the point where he became interested in coins, much of the vast Grantley collection was sitting in the trays of the main London dealers. At a time when foreign exchange was difficult to obtain it was possible for him to buy quantities of medieval European coins and difficult for continental dealers and collectors to visit London.

Like many collector-scholars, G. was inspired by the coins he obtained to study, and in some cases write about, their history. It was his ownership of three rare Islamic gold coins that prompted him to write articles about aspects of Islamic coins that affected the West. Two of these were Arab-Byzantine dinars which he donated to the British Museum in 1956. (*BMQ* XX p.15.) Unfortunately his original tickets for these have been lost and he could only recall that he obtained one, he was not sure which, from Nadia Kapamadji in exchange for a consular solidus of Heraclius. This was presumably lot 225 in the N.K. sale (*Bourgey* 27 x.1992). It realised 58,000 FF. I leave it to the reader to decide who got the better deal. Kapamadji was also the source of a superb Sasanian gold dinar of Khusrau II (95,000 FF) purchased by him and sold to the Museum through the Friends of the Fitzwilliam in 1954.

The third piece, an altin of Muhammed the Conqueror dated 883 AH from Constantinople bought at an anonymous Glendining's sale (1.vi.1048, lot 91 £7-10-0), is a good example of a coin that could be used as a teaching aide since it was the earliest Ottoman gold coin, struck shortly after the capture of Constantinople, with a clear mint and date. G. was unenthusiastic about coins which could not be precisely attributed. Perhaps for this reason early Islamic coins were attractive. He bought every one of a series of 26 Umayyad dinars at a Christies sale (19 xi.1951, lots 60-3), 15 of which are now in the Museum, the earliest being 78 AH.

G. often told the story of how his interest in coins began by chance around Christmas 1944. This meant that he missed all but

two of the Grantley sales. He did, however, buy three lots in the final sale (26.iv.1945) which, as it happens, was chiefly Islamic. Lot 4477: Salerno Tari (*MEC* 12) £5.5.0d; lot 4478: Crusader imitations of Islamic dinars, 2 coins *fair* £7 and lot 4480: similar but with Christian legends and a cross, 3 coins *fine* £9.10. 0d.

Although Baldwins bought lot 4482 which comprised all Grantley's Arab-Byzantine coppers, G. subsequently bought most of them. Curiously, many were, according to the tickets, BM duplicates. Arab-Byzantine coins remained a long-standing interest but unfortunately many of G's tickets have been lost. He certainly bought Arab-Byzantine coins from Kapamadji, some of which must have come from Henri Longuet. An important group of Alexandrian coppers was acquired as late as 1974 from Henry Weller.

Interaction between East and West from a later period was presumably behind three purchases at the second Burn sale (Glendining's, 3 November 1949) lot 424: 75 Ayyubid and Mamluk dirhams £8; lot 425: 73 Seljuk dirhams £7.10.0; and lot 481: 60 Seljuk pictorial coppers £12.10.0. Prices were certainly cheap but the coins were not being given away. This is perhaps the place to point out that G. never learned Arabic though he knew the alphabet and the numbers. Initially he relied on Leonard Forrer for identifications. If this seems strange it is worth recalling how difficult it is to identify Arabic coins if all one has to go on is the old catalogues, which was all that was then available. Codrington's *Manuel* is as good an example of any of a beginner's guide that tells the beginner everything bar what he wants to know! The pictorial types of the Urtuqid and Zengid were a natural field of interest but these were sold (they numbered 106 pieces) to a Belgian collector in 1981 as the Fitzwilliam Museum already had a good representative collection. The Museum did, however, get a few Danishmendid coins from the Pearce (1958) and Schindler (1965) collections ticketed as 'DO rejects'. Another was bought from C&A in 1978.

Curiously G. seems to have had no great interest in Spanish Islamic though he made funds available in 2000 to fill in gaps for the forthcoming *MEC* volume. He did retain an interest in the coinages of North Africa and Sicily including Fatimid and Aghlabid gold. The most important portion is a group of twelve Arab-Byzantine gold one-third dinars: ten from North Africa plus two from al-Andalus. One came from Grantley (4294) and one was a gift (!) from Ulrich Bansa in 1949 but the remainder were acquired steadily over the years. Two important coins came from the Ct de St Leomer Collection (Peus 24.v.1971) lot 1064: the copper fals from Tanja originally published by Longpérier in *RN* 1864 p. 63 (DM 175) and lot 1031: an al-Andalus one-third dinar dated 98H (1150 DM). He also bought two Georgian coins at the sale: lots 1931 and 1932. The latter were a particular interest though he had only one example of the multi-strike copper issues: a coin of Tamar (Markov, 9.ix.1998, lot 271, \$340). The catalogue describes it as shaped like a camel but current opinion at the Fitzwilliam Coin Room favours turning it up the other way, when it looks just like a snail.

The coins of Anatolia and the Caucasus present problems for the cataloguer – are they East or West? Series such as Cilician Armenia and the Genoese at Caffa (an impressive group of 67 coins) will, I gather, be catalogued in the *MEC* Latin Orient volume, though that description scarcely applies. G.'s one contribution to Armenian numismatics: 'Kiurike I or Kiurike II of Lori-Armenia? A note on attributions' (1962), was an uncharacteristic example of him writing about a coin he did not own. The rare, signed Turkish gigliati of Aiden, Sarukhan and Mentesci, which mostly came from the division of the J.R. Stewart collection in 1976, have, rather inconsistently, been omitted from the forthcoming Catalogue of the Islamic coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum but will presumably also be included in the Latin Orient volume. It was this series that occasioned his last major Islamic purchase: the gold florin of Omar Beg in the Slocum sale (Sotheby, 6 March 1997 lot 928: £4,000).

In a note written in 1996, G. estimated that his Islamic coins had never exceeded 500 pieces and that he never wanted to do more than have a few typical specimens to tell him what they looked like and which he could show to students. He was always prone to understatement.

A bibliography of G.'s writings to 2000 is in E.A. Arslan and L. Travaini (eds) *Philip Grierson . Scritti Storici e Numismatici* (Spoleto, 2001). With the exception of the article on Kiurik I or II all the items mentioned are in the two volumes of Variorum Reprints *Dark Age Numismatics* and *Later Medieval Numismatics* (London, 1979).

I am indebted to Mark Blackburn and his colleagues in the Fitzwilliam Museum Coin Room for help in the preparation of this obituary.

Marcus Phillips

### London

A meeting took place on Saturday 1 April at the British Museum. There were four informal talks on a variety of subjects:

Joe Cribb presented some Burmese coin-like objects which were probably intended as religious symbols rather than coins;  
Vesta Curtis spoke about some Iranian gift pieces and the use of certain pre-Islamic titlature on Safavid and Afsharid coins;  
Shailendra Bhandare showed a variety of mostly modern "monkey" tokens featuring Hanuman;  
Tony Merson presented his work in progress on the Shahs of Badakhshan and their coins.

The next meetings in London are scheduled for Saturday 15 July and Saturday 21 October. Both meetings will be at the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum starting at 11.a.m. As mentioned above on page 1, the 15 July meeting will include the AGM.

### New Members

[Redacted names and addresses of new members]

### Lists Received

[Redacted list of received lists]

### New and Recent Publications

*The Alupas, Coinage and History* by Govindraya Prabhu and Nithyananda Pai Paperback edition, 2006, 500 copies, 200 pages, 40 plates. ISBN no: 81-7525-560-9

One of the authors has provided the following information. 'This book covers the coinage and history of a powerful dynastic family, the Alupas, which ruled the modern districts of Udipi and Mangalore and parts of Shimoga and Uttara Kannada districts in the state of Karanataka, India. It describes the history of the Alupas from the 5th century until the 15th century AD, based primarily on the study of over one hundred and twenty epigraphs. The book also details the only known copper plate grant of the Alupa dynasty, and publishes over 175 coins issued by the dynasty, which are mainly in gold. The book illustrates for the first time, with the help of high resolution colour scans, several silver taras and nearly 70 unpublished varieties of gold fanams. Of a total of eighty Gadyanas (so-called Pagodas), over 50 are published in this book for the first time. The book brings the collections of over 20 collectors worldwide to the limelight. Both coins and epigraphs have been brought together to support one another and the illustrations have brought the history and numismatics to life in this work. Details such as life, land, culture, art, administration, coinage, metrology etc. are discussed at length. The book also dedicates a separate plate to cover every known modern Alupa coin fake that exists in the market and a separate chapter that explains the way the fakes are fabricated.'

For orders outside India, members may contact [Redacted]

[Redacted contact information]  
or  
[Redacted contact information]

[Redacted contact information]

Website: [www.reeshabooks.com](http://www.reeshabooks.com)

Marg Publications, renowned since 1946 for their books and magazines on varied subjects of Indological interest, have announced 'Coins in India: Power and Communication', edited by Himanshu Prabha Ray, released in March 2006.

The focus of the book lies on the context of coins and coinage, rather than being a purely numismatic compilation. The book is thus of interest to historians as well as numismatists - in fact it is an attempt at highlighting the historical utility of coins in

particular ways. Most of the chapters were presented as papers in a two-day conference held last January at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawahara Lal Nehru University, New Delhi. Contents of the book and the authors are as follows:

Introduction: "Coins as political and cultural documents"

Himanshu Prabha Ray has degrees in Archaeology, Sanskrit, and Ancient Indian History and teaches at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

"Roman coins in India: A Re-evaluation"

Himanshu Prabha Ray

"A tale of two dynasties: the Kshaharatas and the Satavahanas in the Deccan"

Shailendra Bhandare, Assistant Keeper, South Asian Numismatics, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has studied Indian numismatics in relation to art, iconography, and archaeology

"Religious icons and money: Shiva images on Kushana coins"

Rita Devi Sharma, Curator, Numismatics and Epigraphs, National Museum, New Delhi and Himanshu Prabha Ray

"Coinage and gender: early medieval Kashmir"

Devika Rangachari, read History at St Stephen's College, and the Department of History, Delhi University

"Kings and coins: money as the state media in the Indian Sultanates"

Syed Ejaz Hussain, Associate Professor in History at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, has been working on Islamic coins for two decades

"Muhammad bin Tughluq: a numismatic reappraisal of an enigmatic persona"

Sanjay Garg, author of several books on Indian numismatics, works at the National Archives of India, New Delhi

"The monarch and the millennium: a new interpretation of the *alf* coins of Akbar"

Najaf Haider, Associate Professor of Medieval History at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

"A metallic mirror: changing representations of sovereignty on Indian coins during the Raj"

Shailendra Bhandare

"Conducting excavations and collecting coins: Maharaja Ranjit Singh's kingdom"

Jean-Marie Lafont researched Greek archaeology and worked on the French presence in the Punjab from 1822 to 1849

"Coins: some persistence issues"

Indira Rajaraman, PhD in Economics from Cornell University, holds the RBI Chair at the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi

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In the obituary for Ömer Diler in Newsletter 184, we mentioned that work would be continued on his manuscript dealing with Ilkhanid coins. We have heard that this work has now been completed, and publication of the book should ensue later this year. More information about this will be supplied when details are known.

Spink Numismatic Circular, April 2006, Vol. CXIV, no. 2, contains a couple of items by N de Quesne Bird: "Turkish numismatics – some recent books", which also includes some handy advice about buying books in Istanbul and "A group of Japanese coin imitations". There is also an article by B. Juel-Jensen "A new coin of Ousanas King of Aksum".

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IIRNS Publications has brought out Numismatic Digest vol. 29-30 (2005-2006), 200 pp, ISBN: 81-86786-24-4, Price: US \$ 20 + 4 (Airmail postage & Packaging). It contains the following papers:

1. Terry Hardaker: "Punchmarked" Coins with no Punchmarks? A Puzzling New Find ; 2. Sharad Sharma: A New Local Type of Silver Punchmarked Coins From Agra; 3. Shinji Hirano; A Hoard of Early Magadhan Coins from Fatuha (Bihar); 4. B.P. Verma: Coins of Navika: The First Independent King of Kausambi; 5. Devendra Handa & M.K. Gupta: Some Interesting Mitra Coins; 6. Chandrashekhar Gupta: Coins of Mitra-Bhadra Rulers from Ujjain; 7. Devendra Handa: Huvishka's Buddha Image Gold Coins; 8. R. Krishnamurthy: Late Roman Copper Coins and Imitations of c. 4th Century AD in Sri Lanka; 9. Shailendra Bhandare: Political Transition in Early 5th Century Gujarat: A Numismatic Reappraisal Based on Silver Issues of the Western Ksatrapas, the Guptas and Their Contemporaries; 10. Premalata Pokharna: two Hoards of Indo-Sasanian and Gadhैया Type Coins; 11. Prashant P. Kulkarni: A Unique Gold Coin of Pala Ruler Dharmapala; 12. B. N. Mukherjee: A Gold Coin of Samatata; 13. Michael Mitchiner: Indo-Moslem Sea Trade: Some Numismatic Evidence; 14. Sanjay Garg: Khalji Sultans and the Caliph; 15. Danish Moin & S. Sahadev: An Unpublished Seal of the Mughal Prince Jahan Shah; 16. Jan Lingen: A Hoard of Ducats from India; and 17. K.K. Maheshwari: Metallographic Study of Sri Ha Coins.

Those interested in procuring the volume should write to IIRNS Publications at [iirns@sify.com](mailto:iirns@sify.com)

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*Arab-Byzantine Coinage* by Tony Goodwin (Studies in the Khalili Collection Vol. IV) published by the Nour Foundation 2005, 168 pages, ISBN 1-87478-075-7.

The author writes: "The Nasser D. Khalili collection of Islamic Art is well known for major public exhibitions, such as the recent one at the London Hermitage rooms, but perhaps less well known is that it includes an important collection of Islamic coins. This book draws both on the Khalili Collection and on a number of museum and private collections. It opens with a survey of 7<sup>th</sup> century Syrian Arab-Byzantine coinage including a catalogue of all known mints and types. This effectively updates John Walker's 1956 British Museum catalogue by including a number of mints and types which have been discovered during the last 50 years. The main part of the book then comprises three separate studies of individual mints. The first deals with the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage of Baalbek and includes a die study which strongly suggests that the minting of Baalbek coins was eventually transferred to the Umayyad capital of Damascus. The second study deals with the Standing Caliph coins of Iliya (Jerusalem) and the third with the closely related Standing Caliph coins from nearby Yubna (modern Yavneh). These have until recently only been known from a few isolated examples, but the acquisition of around 170 examples by the Khalili Collection has enabled a proper study of the series to be undertaken for the first time. The results are somewhat surprising as it emerges that Yubna used almost as many different dies as the largest Arab-Byzantine mints, and a much wider variety of images of the caliph than any other mint. A new type of Standing Emperor coin is also identified. The author argues that there is now strong evidence that Standing Caliph coins were minted at both Iliya and Yubna several years before 74 AH. The book contains photographs and descriptions of over 300 coins.

Publications of the Nour Foundation are distributed by I. B. Tauris and the book can be bought from [www.ibtauris.com](http://www.ibtauris.com) for £35; it is also stocked by Spink and Stephen Album. A number of other Khalili collection publications may also be of interest to Islamic numismatists. At present there are no others on coins, but a general catalogue of the Islamic coin collection is scheduled for future publication".

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*Atlas of Coins of Khwarizm, AH 1337-1338/ 1918-1920 AD*, by V.N. Kleshchinov, Moscow, 2006; pp 100, in Russian and English; available via [charm@postman.ru](mailto:charm@postman.ru) for US\$33 plus postage.

This book is the result of a long-term study of the coins of Junaid Khan in various private collections, hoards and other publications. It is likely that all known types and varieties are covered. The first part of the book contains drawings of the obverses and reverses, and details of die-links. The second part is an illustrated catalogue, with colour photographs, of several hundred coins.

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### Auction News

Baldwin's auction 45 due to be held in London on 3 May 2006 includes some 430 lots of Indian coins of all periods (including the second part of the Michael Sarnefors collection) and some 200 lots of Islamic coins. Internet bidding is available for this auction via [www.sixbid.com](http://www.sixbid.com). Information is also available via [auctions@baldwin.sh](mailto:auctions@baldwin.sh)

Dr Busso Peus auction 386-387 scheduled for 26-28 April 2006 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, includes some 250 lots of Islamic coins. For more information see [www.peus-muenzen.de](http://www.peus-muenzen.de)

### Other News

The Gujarat Coin Society held the Coinex 2006 exhibition Ahmedabad on 10-12 February. It was the 4th National Level Competitive Coin Exhibition organised by the society. The Exhibition committee was chaired by Praful Thakkar, the eminent collector from Ahmedabad and Shatrughan Jain the president of the Society, was the vice-chairman. Dilip Rajgor was the advisor and the competitive entries were assessed by Shailendra Bhandare, Amiteshwar Jha and P. V. Radhakrishnan (Curator, monetary Museum of the Reserve Bank of India, Mumbai) as jurors.

The exhibition comprised over 14 categories and, in all, 17 medals were awarded, including 14 bronze, and one each of silver and gold. On 11 February, Todywalla's Auctions held their 13th numismatic auction to coincide with the exhibition. Dealers' stalls were also accommodated.

Two lectures were given:

Shailendra Bhandare talked about 'The Numismatic Art of the Imperial Mughals' and Amiteshwar Jha, Director IIRNS, Nasik talked on 'Relationships between pre-Satavahana and Satavahana coinages'.

A 176 page souvenir, with numismatic articles, was published to mark the event.

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The Royal Numismatic Society has awarded the Samir-Shamma-Prize 2005 for Islamic numismatics to Stefan Heidemann, Jena University, for his outstanding studies on history, coin circulation and coinage of al-Raqqa at the Euphrates in the period of the residence of the caliph Harun al-Rashid (reigned 786-809).

The prize was established in 1992 by the great benefactor of Islamic numismatics, the late Samir Shamma, and is awarded by the Royal Numismatic Society every two years for the best contribution to Islamic Numismatics.

Since 1989 Stefan Heidemann has been collaborating as historian and field numismatist with the mission of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Syrian Antiquity Authority in al-Raqqa, Syria. His research interest lies in the relation between urban development and economic conditions in pre-modern societies. Between 1982 and 1994 the DAI under the direction of Michael Meinecke explored the palace area, occupied by the court of Harun al-Rashid. Known as the Caliph of Baghdad in the Arabian Nights, the historical person spent most of his reign in al-Raqqa. The palace district alone covers ten square kilometers. From here, the Abbasid empire - stretching from North Africa to Central Asia - was governed. Heidemann's award-winning studies were published in 2003, in the final publication

volume of the excavation "Raqqā II - Die Islamische Stadt", edited by him and Andrea Becker.

Heidemann used the coin finds from al-Raqqa as a source for studying the circulation of small change and as a paradigm for the economic development of the region and the city. Among other achievements, the immobilised imitations of the imported copper coin type from al-Kufa, southern Iraq, were classified for the first time. They are frequent in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Heidemann brought them into a sequence and possible mints were suggested. Also the coins struck in the metropolis itself bear rich inscriptions and shed new light on the political history of the capital of the Islamic empire. The different types of sources, literary works, coins and archaeological results were combined to reconstruct paradigmatically the economic and political development of the Abbasid metropolis.

S. Heidemann - A. Becker (edd.): *Raqqā II - Die islamische Stadt*, Mainz (Philipp von Zabern) 2003. ISBN 3-8053-3153-3. Euro 68,50.



*Copper fals, hybrid; obverse: al-Raqqa, 181/797-8; reverse: immobilised type of al-Kufa. (OMJ photo-no. SB2541). This coin points to al-Raqqa as one of the mints of the copper coins of the Kufa-type.*

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Klaus Weber, Ebersberg, Germany, has donated his entire metallurgical documentation on Byzantine scyphates to the Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena, where it is now available for future research. In his recent publication, he explored the relationship between metal composition and mint technique (see ONS NL 176 [2003], p. 2-3).

K. Weber: *Erkenntnisse zur Herstellung byzantinischer Elektrum-Skyphaten*. In: *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 53-54 (2003-2004), p. 25-71.

### Reviews

ADNAN DJAROUEH, *Mausū'at al-'umlāt al-waraqīyya al-sūriyya / Encyclopedia of Syrian Paper Money*, 594 pages, numerous colour illustrations, size 28 x 32 x 4 cm. Beirut: Dar al-Mourad 2005; ISBN 9953-406-13-8; hardcover in linen slipcase, private distribution. Arabic with English foreword and preface.

For information about the project and the availability of the book: <http://www.syrianpapermoney.com>.

Reviewed by Stefan Heidemann

The *Encyclopedia of Syrian Paper Money* offers for the first time a comprehensive collection of information and material on the topic starting from the dissolution of the Ottoman empire to the present day. Significant for the state of preservation of recent Arab heritage may be an anecdote told by the author. In 1997 he was asked about his knowledge of paper money in Syria. He replied it would be a matter of a few days to know everything about it. At that point he did not realise that an eight-year long research had begun. Not even the Syrian Central Bank owns a complete run of every issue.

His efforts resulted in a search for surviving examples and a scrupulous research into the legal framework, the issues, the signatures, the artists and the motifs used. He succeeded in locating an example of almost every issue, but despite all of his

efforts, a few lacunae remain. But despite this, he provides a complete listing. Moreover, this enterprise demonstrates, on the one hand, how necessary such an encyclopaedia is for the preservation of national culture, and, on the other hand, how diligent the author has been. He opens the book with a quotation by the innovative German central banker Hjalmar Schacht (1877-1970), who after WWII advised the Syrian government: “The understanding of the money fuses with the understanding of the nation”.

After some initial sections, the author presents an informative historical introduction to the different money-issuing authorities in Syria from the end of the Ottoman empire to the present day (p. 35-56). The first attempt at a paper currency in the Ottoman empire goes back to the year 1840. After WWI with the British and French occupation forces, Ottoman banknotes ceased to be acceptable. The British made Egyptian banknotes legal tender in Syria. While in Damascus the Syrian National Congress, which later proclaimed Faisal ibn Husain as king, was still debating, the French Banque de Syrie” in Beirut began to issue the first banknotes for Greater Syria in August 1919 (ill. 1).



25 Piasters from the first issue of August 1919 issued by the 'Banque de Syrie' in Beirut and printed in London while the Syrian National Congress was meeting in Damascus (SY3).

This was established by an agreement between the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople and the French ministry of finance. In March 1920 these notes became legal tender in Syria by an order of the French high commissioner in Beirut. Twenty French francs equalled one 'lira suriyya / livre syrienne'. However it was not until July 1920 that French troops entered Damascus. In 1922 the 'League of Nations' legitimised the French mandate in Syria. In 1924 the 'Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban' was established, issuing a new 'lira / livre' which remained fixed at the same rate. This pound was legal tender in the 'Federation of Syrian States', the Druze State and Greater Lebanon. The respective issues for Lebanon and Syria for general circulation were only distinguished by the imprints “Syrie” or “Liban“. Syria and Lebanon were in monetary terms almost a province of France. At the end of the 1930s a succession of agreements gradually led to the monetary independence of Syria and Lebanon. In 1941, during WWII, French Syria changed to the Sterling-block. In 1946 Syria gained its political but still not its monetary independence. Between 1947 and 1950 Syria and Lebanon put forward different points of view for the future of their monetary systems. Syria separated from the French monetary authority. From 1947 the banknotes were again issued as “lira suriyya / livre syrienne“. In 1950 the 'Institut d'Emission de Syrie' was founded, issuing its first paper money in 1953. In 1956 it became the 'Masraf suriyya al-markazi / Banque Centrale de Syrie'. From 1958 the foreign language on the notes changed to English. The political environment remained turbulent - only to mention the unification between Syria and Egypt between 1958 and 1961 - until the “correction movement“ of Hafiz al-Asad in 1970. However, the Central Bank remained stable and independent from 1956 onwards.

The first chapter (p. 60-113) gives references to the creation of the design of Syrian paper money and the various legal and security features. This is supplemented by a chronological list of

major events in Syrian history since the end of the Egyptian occupation in 1839, a table of signatures and the identification of the signatories. A list of decrees, laws and regulations concerning every issue is added. The selection of early trial pieces is impressive for its design studies in watercolour by the initial artists. Specimen prints follow. Most interesting is the section on the system of security numbers and letters on the issues between 1925 and 1949.

The substantial catalogue of 200 issues covers more than 400 pages of the second chapter (p. 117-541). Every note of every issue and with all validating secondary imprints are described and illustrated actual size. The advanced printing technology of this book allows readers to study even minute details with a 10 x magnifier. The explanatory text covers technical data, names found on the notes, size of the issue so far known, and a description of every design and illustration. In a few cases where the author was not able to obtain any existing examples of an exceedingly rare issue, he made use of an illustration of a similar issue. This is tacitly indicated by the fact that only the reverse of an issue is illustrated and stated in the index (ill. reverse Sy12=?; Sy15=Sy4; Sy19=Sy9; Sy20=Sy10; Sy31=Sy25; Sy38=Sy33=Sy27; Sy39=Sy34=Sy28). How rare some issues are today becomes clear by the illustration of some worn and restored pieces (cp. Sy46). The denomination is invariably given as ‘lira suriyya / livre syrienne’ in the description, although the denomination changed over time. With the establishment of the ‘Banque du Syrie et du Grand-Liban’ in 1925 the name was shortened to ‘lira / livre’ (Sy22). The ‘Banque du Syrie et du Liban’ continued this name until independence. In 1947 the currency was renamed ‘lira suriyya / livre syrienne’ (Sy106).

The banknotes of Syria are not only documents of the country's changing monetary institutions; the images on the banknotes also bear witness to the architectural heritage and natural beauty of Greater Syria. Since the establishment of the “Institut d'Emission” in 1950 the motives have been restricted to those of the Republic of Syria. The traditional major monuments of Syria were illustrated first, the citadel of Aleppo, the Tekkiyye al-Sulaimaniyye and the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus as well as the colonnade of Palmyra. From 1958, the year of Egypt's unification with Syria, industrial workers and farmers were placed on the banknotes. The designs also began to depict all periods of Syrian history, thereby testifying to the continuing success of archaeological exploration and the growing awareness of the country's historical past, like the golden disc and the first cuneiform alphabet discovered in Ugarit (Sy141, 1958) and the restoration of the facade of an Umayyad castle at the National Museum in Damascus (Sy147, 1966). After a regime change in 1966, new motifs highlight the achievements in the development of industry and agriculture, like the harbour of Lattakia and the dam of Rastan near Homs (Sy148). With the new series of 1997 and 1998 the focus was put on recent cultural achievements, likewise the newly founded National Library, the 'Maktabat al-Asad' or the new Saladin monument in Damascus. The last and third chapter (p. 545-585) of the book explores watermarks and security features added to the national currency in 1997. The book concludes with indices of dates, denominations and motives as well as with a bibliography.

This magnificently printed volume is made to please the eye and at the same time provide a wealth of information not found elsewhere. Summarising, Adnan G. Djaroueh meticulously explores and illuminates an important material and visual source for the economic history and culture of Syria. The book surpasses all previous attempts to collect these documents of modern monetary history of Syria ('Attār 1988 and al-Shihābī 2000) and for paper money in its historical depth of those of any other Arab state. It is distinctive by its systematic, scholarly approach. It should be emphasised that it was written and produced not by a Syrian institution but by a private person devoted to the study of the nation's heritage.

Literature mentioned:

‘Attār, ‘Abd al-Rahmān (1988), *Qissat al-nuqūd wal-masārif fī Sūriyya 1880–1980 m*, Damascus.

al-Shihābī, Qutaiba (2000), *Nuqūd al-Shām. Dirāsa tārikhiyya lil-‘umlāt allatī kānat mutadāwila fī l-Shm*, Damascus, esp. p. 171-261.

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‘*Gold Fanams 1336 – 2000*’, by Hans Herrli, published by Reesha Books International, Mumbai, 2006, ISBN 81-89752-00-6, 182 pages, profusely illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings and 6 monotone plates, 5 appendices, hard cover, price INR 400, US\$ 35

Reviewed by Shailendra Bhandare

This latest contribution by Hans Herrli, well-known for his work ‘The Coinage of the Sikhs’, is a welcome addition to the ever-expanding genre of research on different aspects of South Indian Numismatics, a subject that traditionally has received little attention. In recent past, thanks mainly to the growth in number of enlightened collectors and also to the active support lent to them by regional and national societies like the South Indian Numismatic Society of Chennai, such studies have been able to take firm root. As a consequence, our knowledge of south Indian coins, their attribution and chronology, the currency systems they were a part of, their circulation and consumption have all grown substantially.

Gold fanams, because of their peculiar appearance, have been objects of curiosity for the past few hundred years. Their tiny size – most weigh 300 mg or fractions thereof and are barely broader than a few millimetres - attracted the attention of many foreign travellers, be it Abd ur-Razzak visiting the Vijayanagar Court in the 16<sup>th</sup> century or Alexander Hamilton, making journeys into Malabar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They left interesting information on them in their accounts. As a denomination corresponding to the tenth of a ‘Varaha’ (also known as ‘Hon’ or ‘Gadyana’, or in colonial parlance the ‘Pagoda’) their earliest issue probably dates back to the Chalukyan Kingdom of Badami in Karnataka, in the late 7<sup>th</sup> – early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. In spite of their awkward size and the resultant difficulty in use, they seem to have been an extremely popular denomination, as evident from its spread all across peninsular and south India, and a period spanning 15-odd centuries!

Herrli has, however, taken into account only those fanams which post-date the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1336 AD. Bringing the coverage up to ‘2000’ does make one wonder, as it brings the discussion very much into our own times and one would expect gold fanams to have passed long out of circulation by this date. However, the answer to this is to be found in what may be described as a principle ‘focus’ of Herrli’s discussion – that of identifying ‘fakes’ or ‘modern fabrications’ that have appeared on the market in recent times, and continue to do so. As such one could see the production of fanams as an ‘on-going’ phenomenon, and Herrli’s periodisation certainly makes sense – however, its explicit placement in the title is somewhat misleading.

The book is further divided into sections named ‘Introduction’, ‘Catalogue’, ‘Select Bibliography’, ‘Photo Tables’ and five ‘Appendices’. The ‘Introduction’ sets out the tone of the book and ‘identifying fakes’ features strongly in it. The author also sets out what terms like ‘counterfeit’, ‘fake’ and ‘fabrications’ mean to him and ponders on the use of fanams in jewellery, hoards of fanams and metallic purity as a test of their genuineness. A useful chart showing the change of names for Indian towns and cities in the post-independence period is given here, so also are charts and comments on what the different south Indian currency systems were. Most of the information in this latter category is compiled from contemporary sources like travelogues and assay reports and there is also a page about the ‘buying power of the fanam’.

The ‘Catalogue’ is further divided into 12 sub-headings, each dealing with specific types of gold fanams, namely:

1. Vira Raya Fanams
2. Ikkeri Fanams
3. Kali Fanams
4. ‘Cobra’ Fanams
5. The Tanjore Maratha Fanams
6. Kanthirava Fanam of Mysore
7. Fanams with legends in Nagari script
8. Fanams with legends in Arabic or Persian scripts
9. Fanams with pseudo-Persian legends
10. Fanams of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan
11. Various unidentified Fanams and
12. Modern fakes and fabrications

The author’s philosophy about grouping what is on offer into ‘genuine’, ‘copy’/ ‘counterfeit’, ‘fabrication’ and ‘fake’ is further expounded at the beginning of the catalogue. Judging by his description, it is evident that Herrli considers modern replicas of original coins (in varying degrees of fineness) as ‘fabrications’ while coins with designs that may not conform to anything struck in the past - one may call them ‘fantasy’ designs – are called ‘fakes’. Inferior copies of genuine coins, struck contemporaneously, are labelled ‘imitations’, although Herrli agrees that it is sometimes difficult to separate them from what he regards as ‘fabrications’. Here he also identifies a south Indian ‘workshop’ mainly responsible for flooding the European markets in the past with ‘fake’ and/or ‘fabricated’ fanams, which he calls ‘Workshop M’. The photographic plates illustrate many fake and fabricated fanams and provide useful visual analogies for those attributed as such in the catalogue section.

Each sub-heading lists coins that are given a unique trinomial number and are illustrated through excellent pen-and-ink drawings, which are Hans Herrli’s hallmark. The number itself is printed in three ways, thus identifying the coin it describes as falling into one of the three categories – official or legitimate issues (numbered in bold typeface), unidentified and/or ‘illegitimate’ issues like those struck privately by shroffs etc (numbered in ordinary type) and ‘confirmed modern fakes and fabrications’ (numbered in bold italics). However, this system seems confusing - as does much of the original categorisation of fanams that it alludes to – and furthermore, there are ostensibly some gaps seen in its implementation. For example, on p. 78, the Dutch ‘Kali’ fanam is described in good detail in order to suggest an ‘official’ issue, but then numbered in ordinary typeface, suggesting it was not. Similarly, on p. 107, some Mughal fanams (numbered 8.08.30 and 8.08.35) have been identified as ‘imitations’, but the numbers appear in bold italics, indicating they are ‘modern fakes or fabrications’.

The listings of coins have been presented in a very useful manner, typically as an enlightened collector would do for making available his expertise at classification and attribution of the coins to other collectors. The drawback of this approach, however, is that very little historicity about the coins is reflected in it and the historical element is somewhat obscured, keeping it confined to dynastic lists that help attribution but do not go anywhere beyond that. In compiling the listings, due attention to recently published specimens seems lacking – for example R. Jawahar Babu’s short but noteworthy contribution in ‘Studies in South Indian Coins’, on a type of fanam in the name of Harihara, the Tuluva Emperor of Vijayanagar, cogently demonstrating they are in fact modern fabrications, is nowhere to be found in references quoted in the bibliography section, nor the variety itself illustrated in the group of ‘modern fabrications and fakes’ listed in the catalogue. Similarly, the reviewer’s article on the coins of the Ghorpade chiefs of Gooty is referred to when discussing the ‘Cobra’ fanams, but the fact that at least one variety (numbered 4.01.15) was struck at the fort of Venkatagiri, evident from the Nagari legend on the coins and published as such in the said article, is ignored. While attributing large groups of

coins to a particular category, it would have been better if some indication had been given as to where the source of the information lay. For example, Herrli categorises a good number of ‘Vira Raya’ fanams as issues of the Nayakas of Chitradurga – but, in his text, no firm basis for this attribution is found, except a small comment, (p. 23) where he says “According to tradition the fanams of the Nayakas of Chitradurga show an inverted Nagari PRA on the reverse”. Here, it would have been better to clarify which ‘tradition’ is being quoted and its source. Such examples do somewhat compromise the comprehensiveness of the book. In some cases, past mistakes have been repeated – for instance, on page 104 a light-weight hon of Gooty (8.07.12) is listed as a fanam as was erroneously done by Ken Wiggins and K.K. Maheshwari in their monograph on Maratha coins.

The appendices provide a useful insight into elements that would have eventually provided a desirable historical and circulatory context for the fanams, but they remain restricted to pages taken out of old books ranging in dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup>, without any attempt to analyse the information or to make it more comprehensible – indeed, Appendix 3 is entirely in French and as such hardly useful for an Indian audience. Appendix 5 is titled ‘Indian Gold – Myth and Reality’ and deals with indigenous gold resources and bullion flows of gold into India from the early centuries AD.

Herrli’s assessment of the so-called fabrications and fakes is controversial to say the least. His information often gives the impression of ‘given wisdom’ rather than an attempt to explain or discuss. Varieties are listed as ‘confirmed fakes’ without quoting the basis for such confirmation. It is the reviewer’s opinion that it would have been better if Herrli had been less ‘diagnostic’ in his approach in dealing with a subject of such sensitivity. While the prevalence of modern fakes and what Herrli regards as ‘fabrications’ on the market is surely not to be doubted, he makes sweeping generalisations with respect to the occurrence of these. For example, in a footnote on page 18, he says “During the last 30 years I have seen quite a large number of *Gajapati* Fanams offered in western countries. A handful of them may or may not have been genuine, but more than 90% were definitely modern fakes. In India genuine Elephant Fanams of the Gangas and Hoysalas (sic) are still found in many places. As a group they are possibly the most common medieval fanams”. Surely, if they are indeed so numerous, judging by the manifold increase in the coin traffic between India and the West, in those very 30 years Herrli mentions, would it not be likely that a good number of genuine pieces did turn up on the Western market? If so, how would the astonishing “90%” statistic stand justified? Secondly, by entering into this contentious realm, Herrli has ostensibly committed mistakes anyone who would take this path would do – he has classified some genuine fanams as fakes and vice versa. For example, nos. 1.47.01 and 11.12.01 is a fanam depicting a running Garuda – this is in fact a genuine fanam struck by the Bana feudatories of the Vijayanagar Empire and not a modern fabrication ‘inspired by medieval coin types’ as Herrli describes it. While individual instances of this sort may still be argued over, the main drawback of many of Herrli’s arguments and attributions is that he never seems to give a proper basis to justify them, or at least such justification is not articulated well. Indeed, nearly 125 of the total c.300 ‘varieties’ he lists in the book are labelled ‘modern fabrications’, which is almost 50%! – and that is even before we get to the section on ‘Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan’ – where most of the ‘Workshop M’ creations are listed – and the last section devoted entirely to ‘Modern fakes and fabrications’! Question marks and words reflecting ambiguity indicate his doubts, but in the face of instances left without comment and ‘diagnosed’ as fakes/fabrications, these are few and far between. On the other hand, in some cases his judgement is proven right and can be evidenced through photographs seen in the plates.

Such aspects have made Herrli’s attempt into one that leaves a bit to be desired. But in spite of the criticisms offered here, it surely is a pioneering effort dealing with an interesting south

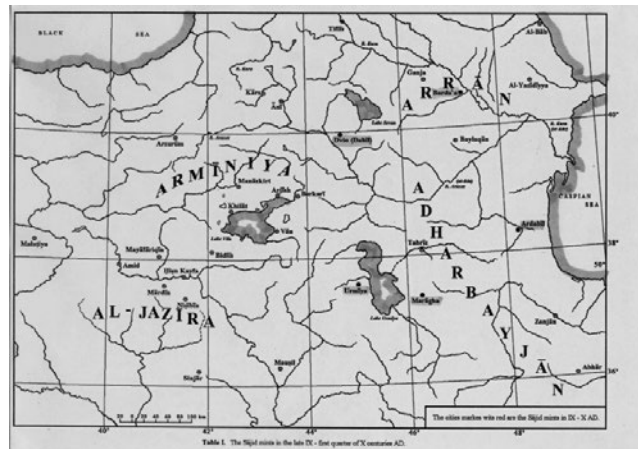
Indian denomination and that makes the publication worthwhile. Herrli’s most significant contribution is the identification of what he calls ‘Workshop M’ fakes and fabrications and, for that reason alone, the monograph should stand out. These coins had been around for a long time and had gradually seeped into a numismatic reality, following their inclusion into Michael Mitchiner’s massive volume ‘Oriental Coins and their Values: Non-Islamic and Colonial Coins’. Hans Herrli has remedied this to a great extent and deserves to be congratulated upon bringing out a user-friendly and significant publication.

## Articles

### On the attribution of dirhams of 282-288 AH from Barda‘a and “Armīniya” with letter *waw*.

by Aram Vardanyan (Tübingen, Germany)<sup>1</sup>

According to Ibn al-Athīr and at-Tabarī the caliph al-Mu‘tamid ‘ala-llah (256-279 AH) assigned Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj (276-288 AH) as governor of Armenia and Adharbayjān.<sup>2</sup> The Sājids<sup>3</sup> would have immediately undertaken their own coinage in the areas they controlled but this occurred no earlier than 280 AH and no coins from the first years of their assignment in the region are known so far. From the year 280, the minting of silver dirhams and some gold dinars<sup>4</sup> was started by the Sājids in the biggest cities of the region such as Barda‘a,<sup>5</sup> Marāgha and the mints of “Armīniya” (app. Dvin, Dabīl) and “Adharbayjān” (perhaps to be identified as Ardabīl) (see the map). No coins struck in the reign of Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj, mentioning Ardabīl as mint name are known so far. Copper coins of the Sājids of that time are also unknown.



There are no coins quoting the name of Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj himself. On a few specimens the name of Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj is replaced with “al-Afshīn” a nickname under which that Sājīd governor was hidden. The number of such coins is also limited. Apparently, the first coins of Muhammad were donative ones. In the Tübingen collection there is one dirham from Adharbayjān issued in 282 AH.<sup>6</sup> On that coin the name “[al-A]fshīn” is written without *ālif* and following *la* and cited on the obverse (Photo 1).

1 This article was prepared in the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik (Univ. of Tübingen) in 2005. I would like to give special thanks to its Director, Dr. Lutz Ilisch, for his important and valuable numismatic discussions, advice and corrections.

2 Abū-l-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, Beyrouth, 1965-1966, VII, 436. Abū Ja‘far ibn Djarīr at-Tabarī, *Tārīkh at-Tabarī*, ed. by M. Abū-l-Fadl, Lugduni Batavorum, 1879-1901, III, p.2137.

3 On the history of the Sājids, for example, see: Defremery C., “Memoire sur la famille des Sājides”, *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, Vol. IX, pp.409-46.

4 Known only for Marāgha issues of 285 AH.

5 Vasmer R., “O monetakh Sadjidov”, *Izdanie Obschestva Obsledovanija i Izuchenija Azerbaydjana*, Vol. V, 1927, p.7.

6 Ilisch L., “Ein Donativ des al-Afshīn Muhammad ibn Abī-Sāj”, *Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, Jahresbericht 2000*, Tübingen, 2001, pp.11-3. (Tübingen no.2000-11-32).

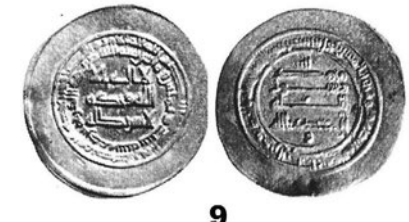




The coins with the name “al-Afshīn” will also be struck later in Barda’a (Photo 5)<sup>7</sup> and Marāgha, in 285 AH (Photo 6).<sup>8</sup> No other coins with that nickname are so far known from other mints.



All other coins issued in the period of the Sājids are typologically similar to ordinary caliphal dirhams where no other names were cited besides the caliphal one. Coins of that type were struck in Barda’a and “Armīniya” between 282-288 AH. At the same time, if one excludes the dirhams from “Armīniya” of 284-286 and some coins from Barda’a of 287 AH, all the others bear unclear signs on the reverse which very much resemble the Arabic letter *waw*. That sign is particularly to be found on the dirhams of “Armīniya” struck in 286,<sup>9</sup> 287 AH<sup>10</sup> (Photos 8, 10) as well as those issued in Barda’a in 282,<sup>11</sup> 285,<sup>12</sup> 286,<sup>13</sup> 288 AH<sup>14</sup> (Photos 2 and 3, 4, 9). On the dirhams of Barda’a struck in 287 AH, two other signs were engraved which strongly resemble the kufic letters *dal* and *ra* (Photo 7).<sup>15</sup> This was the reading offered by Pakhomov<sup>16</sup> (see appendix).



At first sight, it would appear to be rather difficult to explain the meaning of these signs and the reasons for their appearance on the coins of the caliphal type. Perhaps, the explanation of this phenomenon can be found in the historical chronicles where the detailed description of the history of the region is given. First of all, it is necessary to find out who was the ruler in the northern provinces of the Sājid state, especially in the cities of Dvin and Barda’a, two very important strategic and administrative centres of the North-Western frontier areas of the Caliphate. In the works of the geographers, Dvin was mentioned as the capital of the province of “Armīniya”<sup>17</sup>, and Barda’a the capital of Arrān.<sup>18</sup> While Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj could hardly have been a resident of one of those cities and probably stayed in

7 Wiechmann R., *Edelmetalldepots der Wikingerzeit in Schleswig-Holstein*, Kiel, 1996 p.246, no.166 (3.92g; 22m).

8 Emirates Coin Auction, I, Dubai, 1999, no.381 (3.72g).

9 *Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX-XI*, Gotland I, p.281, no.38:2141 (2.85g; 25,9m). Another specimen is in Göttingen Coll.

10 Sotheby’s *Coins, Medals and Numismatic Books*, London, 1989, p.78, no.379 (2.80g). Another specimen is in Tübingen no.98-16-44.

11 Gotlands Fornsal Collection, Wisby, Gotland, no.9371/49 (2.52g); State Historiska Museen no.10346, no.6 (Stockholm).

12 Tübingen no.91-5-20.

13 Sotheby’s, 1988, p.12, no.78 (3.05g).

14 Published first by Tornberg C., “Découvertes récentes de monnaies koufiques en Suède”, *RNB*, Vol.II, 1870, p.225, no.15.

15 Ilisch coll. (2.55g; 23m).

16 Pakhomov Ye., *Monety Azerbaydzhana*, Vol II, Baku, 1963, p.150.

17 Le Strange G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge, 1930, p.182.

18 Abū al-Qāsim ibn Hauqal, *Kitāb surat al-Ard*, *Opus Geographicum, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol.II, ed. by Kramers J., Lugduni-Batavorum, 1967, p.337.

Ardabil or Marāgha (at-Tabarī relates that Marāgha was a capital of Muhammad's in those years)<sup>19</sup> then it is interesting to consider who might have ruled during those years over Barda'a and Dvin on behalf of the Sājīd amir.

The most important source on the history of Armenia in the Sājīd period is the narration of Katolikos Hovhannes (Johannes) Draskhanakerts'i, who was a contemporary of those events. In the passage where he describes the campaign of Muhammad to Armenia, which took place around 900 AD (ca.287 AH), the following mention is found: "*When the vostikan (governor) saw that it was impossible to deceive the king [Smbat] ... he made for Dvin... . He [Afshīn] left there his son Dīwdād and the 'great commander of eunuchs' instead of him but hurried, himself, to come back to Atrpatakan (Adharbayjān)*".<sup>20</sup> Further Draskhanakerts'i writes: "*Meanwhile the king Smbat on his way back from Tayk' met the great commander of eunuchs near the fortress of Ani that is on the banks of the River Axuryan in order to conclude a peace with him. When the great commander of eunuchs saw the king, he admitted to the king, being completely content, that he had never seen anyone equal to him. And since that time the commander of eunuchs became an adherent, accomplice and ally of the King... Accepting many gifts from him [Smbat] the commander of eunuchs went to the city of P'aytakaran. But the son of Afshīn stayed in Dvin. The allowance that was prepared for him by the king Smbat was somewhat smaller than had been determined for a year*".<sup>21</sup> From these passages of Draskhanakerts'i it is becoming obvious that, apart from Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj, two other persons were also active in the northern areas of the Sājīd state. One of them was Muhammad's son Dīwdād, another - someone called the "great commander of the eunuchs". Both were left by Muhammad in Dvin some time around 287 AH. If Dīwdād was left in Dvin as its ruler then it is unclear who that great commander of the eunuchs was. Ter-Ghevondian suggests that he was a governor of Afshīn in Barda'a.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps, Ter-Ghevondian was right. Another Armenian author, T'ovma Artsruni, left interesting evidence about this commander of eunuchs. He wrote: "*A Greek named Hovsep' who served under al-Afshīn was a eunuch who changed his faith ... . That was a cruel heart, fierce and powerful man in military affairs. He inspired the people with horror and by his hands the power and might of al-Afshīn were realized*".<sup>23</sup> Later, Artsruni relates that, when Afshīn was in Marāgha, Hovsep' rebelled against him, left Barda'a and made for Syria.<sup>24</sup> Similar evidence is also found in Ibn al-Athīr's *History*: "*A khādim of Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj named Wasīf separated from Afshīn and, leaving Barda'a, went to Malatiya where he tried to get from the caliph al-Mu'tadid billāh the position of governor of the bordering region aš-Sughur. However, the caliph learned about the true plans of Wasīf, sent an army against him and defeated him near the Egyptian border*".<sup>25</sup> These events were described by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 287 AH.\* According to Draskhanakerts'i, when the great commander of eunuchs betrayed Afshīn and was on his way to get Syria, he released the imprisoned members of Smbat's family and returned them to Smbat. These had been imprisoned during another campaign by Afshīn to Armenia in

19 Tabari, III, p.2146.

20 Hovhannes Draskhanakerts'i, *The History of Armenia of Kat'olikos Hovhannes Draskhanakerts'i*, ed. by Maksoudian K., Tiflis, 1912 (repr. in NY., 1980), p.186 (in Arm.).

21 Ibid., p.187.

22 Ter-Ghevondian A., *Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, Yerevan, 1965, p.120 (in Arm.).

23 T'ovma Artsruni and Anonym, *The History of the House of Vaspurakan*, Yerevan, 1978, p.249 (in Arm.).

24 Ibid., p.249.

25 Ibn al-Athīr, VII, pp.497-8.

\* Mas'ūdī dates the campaign of al-Mu'tadid billāh against Wasīf as 288AH (Les Praries d'Or, par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1874, VIII, pp.196-8). In this connection this differs from Tabarī's and Ibn al-Athīr's dating; however the coins show that Mas'ūdī's dating is not senseless either and may be right.

896AD (ca.283AH).

Now it is necessary to find out from what time this Hovsep' (i.e. Wasīf or the great commander of eunuchs) was in power as governor in Barda'a and who had ruled over Dvin before Dīwdād was left there in 287 AH. The earliest mention about this Wasīf is found in Mas'ūdī's work. Mas'ūdī says that, after al-Muwaffaq billah died in 278 AH, Abū-l-Sāj and his slave Wasīf began to play an important role in the Caliphate.<sup>26</sup> Then the sources relate that in 281 AH Muhammad's eunuch Wasīf (his full name was Abū 'Alī Wasīf al-Khādim)<sup>27</sup> struggled against Abū-Dulāfid 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the owner of Isbahān. After Wasīf defeated him he returned to his master.<sup>28</sup> In order to continue the chronological chain of events connected with Wasīf, attention should now be paid to the evidence found in Armenian chronicles. Thus, valuable information about Wasīf is found in Movses Kałankatvats'i's work: "*When the great iṣṣan (prince) of Vaspurakan Gagik Abūmrāvān was killed by his own warriors, that same year the arrogant Tajik (Afshīn) came to Armenia and by his order the eunuch departed from the palace of Partaw (Barda'a) in order to march to Armenia*".<sup>29</sup> Kałankatvats'i adds: "*When he [eunuch] reached Armenia, the king Smbat immediately fled. [Eunuch] captured his fortress, confined the queen, wives [of noblemen] with their sons, took the holy books, holy utensils, crosses, huge treasures and took them all prisoner*".<sup>30</sup> While describing another Sājīd campaign to Armenia Draskhanakerts'i says that Afshīn undertook it immediately after hearing about the Smbat's defeat from the Shaybānid, Ahmad ibn 'Isā, near the village of T'ulx. Then Afshīn marched through the *gavař* (province, district) of Utik', entered Gugark' and then came to Vanand and besieged Kars, where the queen of Armenia with her daughter-in-law as well as the wives of the noblemen had found shelter. Soon, the commander of the garrison of Kars, Hasan Gnduni, opened the gates and Afshīn came into the city. Having captured the queen and her daughter-in-law with a huge treasure, he moved to Dvin.<sup>31</sup>

If one compares these descriptions one may definitely see that both authors were telling about the same event. In Kałankatvats'i's description we do not find any indication as to where the prisoners were taken to but that information is found in Draskhanakerts'i. As the *iṣṣan* of Vaspurakan, Gagik Abūmrāvān, was killed by his warriors in 895 AD and the campaign of Smbat against the Shaybānid, Ahmad ibn 'Isā, took place at the end of 895-beginning 896 AD then the campaign of Wasīf against Kars can be also dated around 896 AD (ca.283 AH). In turn, this shows that, in 283AH, Wasīf was already in power in Armenia.

Using all the above as a basis, one may conclude the following.

Dirhams of 282-288 AH of ordinary caliphal type from Barda'a and "Armīniya" must be considered Sājīd issues. The letter *waw* engraved on the ordinary caliphal dirhams of 282-288 AD from Barda'a and "Armīniya" should be considered as the first letter of the name of Wasīf (arab. وصيف), who was a governor of Barda'a between ca.282-288 AH.\* The beginning of his rule over Barda'a can now be observed both numismatically and historically. The valuable mention by Kałankatvats'i about the campaign of Hovsep' against Smbat in 896 AD (ca.283 AH) proves that Wasīf was already in power in 283 AH. At the same time, the earliest coin with his initial remains the dirham from 282 AH. The

26 Mas'ūdī, VIII, p.109.

27 Ibid., p.203.

28 Mas'ūdī, VIII, p.145; Tabarī, III, p.2140; Ibn al-Athīr, VII, p.467.

29 Movses Kałankatvats'i, *The History of Ałuank'*, ed. by Shahnazarian K., Paris, 1860, p.168.

30 Ibid., p.168.

31 Draskhanakerts'i, pp.179-80.

\* The beginning of Wasīf's rule can be counted from 278 AH if based on the earliest mention about him in historical sources (Mas'ūdī, VIII, p.109), although numismatically the beginning of his rule over Barda'a seems to have started not later than 282 AH when the first coins with the letter *waw* were first struck in Barda'a.

other issues of Barda'a with the initial of Wasīf appeared in 285, 286 and 288 AH. In 285 AH Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj was appointed governor of Armenia and Adharbayjān for a second time. In commemoration of that event, in that same year he also issued some coins in Barda'a. The initials of Wasīf were also engraved on those coins.

The letter *waw* also exists on the dirhams of 286AH issued both in Barda'a and "Armīniya", which can prove that in that year Hovsep' was still governing Barda'a and in that same year also became the ruler of Dvin. As there are some dirhams of "Armīniya" issued in 284, 285 and 286 AH<sup>32</sup> without any signs on them, one may suppose that Dvin was not within Wasīf's power before 286 AH and the passing of Dvin to him took place some time in 286 AH (ca.899 AD). Three different types of coins issued in 287 AH in "Armīniya" are known. On one of them the letter *waw* is still present. This is the last time Wasīf's initial appears on the dirhams of "Armīniya".

Nor does Wasīf's initial any longer appear on the dirhams of Barda'a struck in 287 AH, which can be explained by the assignment of Dīwdād ibn Abū-l-Sāj as ruler of Dvin and, obviously, Barda'a, the same year. Clearly, Dīwdād started producing coins with his own initial on them. On the dirhams of Barda'a of 287 AH the letters *dal* and *ra* are engraved.<sup>33</sup> While comparing the way in which the letter *dal* is engraved in the name *al-Mu'tadid* on the same coin, one may definitely conclude that the sign placed below the name of the caliph is nothing other than the letter *dal*, which, in this connection, can be determined as Dīwdād's initial. As far as the letter *ra* is concerned, no explanation can be offered as yet.

Dīwdād's initial appears only on the dirhams of 287 AH. This, on the one hand, confirms the historical sources stating that Dīwdād became ruler of Dvin in 287 AH and, on the other hand, proves the same historical sources that he was in power only a

year. On the dirhams struck in the following year both in "Armīniya" and Barda'a, his initials do not appear any more.

The letter *waw* disappears from the dirhams of Armīniya of 288 AH<sup>34</sup> but is still present on the dirhams of Barda'a issued that same year. The appearance of the initial on coins after Wasīf had been defeated in 287AH proves that an output of coins with his initial was nevertheless continued for a while by the rulers whom Wasīf was able to leave in Barda'a after he had separated from Afshīn and gone to Syria. This is indirectly proved by the evidence available from other sources. According to Tabarī, Wasīf died at the end of the month Dhū'l-Hijja of 288AH.<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Athīr confirms this comment.<sup>36</sup> However, Mas'ūdī states that the battle between Khāqān al-Mufliḥī and Wasīf took place in 288 AH and Wasīf died only in the month of Muharram of 289 AH.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, it is quite possible that the coins of this type were struck during 288 AH by Wasīf's governors as long as he was still alive. As Mas'ūdī states, Wasīf was brought in chains to Baghdād in the month of Safar of 288 AH. In the next month of Rabi'a, Muhammad Abū-l-Sāj died. However, between the death of Afshīn and Wasīf's execution there was an interval of nine months. Thus, chronologically, the approximate time of issue of such coins might have coincided with the time when Dīwdād had already left Dvin for Ardabīl after his father's death in Rabi'a of 288AH, and Wasīf's death in the beginning of the following year.

32 Zeno. ru no.1803 (2.98g; 23,4m).

33 Pakhomov, II, p.150.

34 Tübingen no.99-30-50 (3.01g; 27m).

35 Tabarī, III, p.2205.

36 Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p.510.

37 Mas'ūdī, VIII, pp.197-8, 202.

#### Appendix I. The signs and letters on Sājid coins during 282-323 AH.

DATE AH	Adharbayjān	Armīniya	Barda'a	Marāgha
282	الإلفشينا		و	
283				
284		○		
285		○	و الإلفشينا with و	الإلفشينا
286		○ و	و	
287		○ و	○ د and د	
288		د	و	

○ = coins struck without any signs and letters on them.

#### Muhammad ibn Ahmad – A New Governor on a Dirham Minted in Armīniya in 331 AH

by Alexander Akopyan (Moscow) & Aram Vardanyan (Tübingen)



In summer 2005, during the examination of a collection of early Islamic coins, a hitherto unpublished silver dirham minted in Armīniya and dated 331 AH (AD 942/3) was discovered. This coin (3.41 g; 25 mm)\* has the following legends:

#### Obverse

٥  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 محمد بن احمد

\* Today in the private collection of Alexander Akopyan (Moscow, Russia).

lā ʾilāh illā  
Allah waḥdahū  
lā sharīk lahu  
Muḥammad bin Aḥmad

*inner margin:*

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرَبَ هٰذَا الدِّرْهَمَ فِي بَارْمِيْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ اَحَدَى و ثَلٰثِيْنَ و ثَلٰث مِئَةَ  
*bismillah ḡuriba hadha al-dirham fī bi-Armīniya sanat ihda wa  
thalathīn wa thalath mi'at (331)*

*outer margin:* Qur'an XXX, 3-4

**Reverse**

. لله .  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
المقتي لله  
..  
lillah  
Muḥammad  
rasūl  
Allah  
al-Muttaqī lillah

*margin:* Qur'an IX, 33

The Bismillah legend states that the coin was struck in the mint of Armīniya (obviously in Dvin, arab. Dabīl) in the year 331 AH. The reverse bears the name of the contemporary caliph al-Muttaqī lillah (329-333 AH), while on the obverse the name of a certain Muhammad ibn Ahmad is found. Apparently, this is the name of the person who was governor of Dvin or, possibly, the whole province of Armīniya, although he is not mentioned in any of the sources for this period. Miskawayh,<sup>1</sup> our most important source for the history of the northern provinces of the Caliphate in the first half of the fourth century AH, tells us that Daysam ibn Ibrahīm al-Kurdī (325-341 AH)<sup>2</sup> captured Adharbayjān<sup>3</sup> and Armenia<sup>4</sup> in 326 AH. He thus took under his control the biggest cities of the region such as Ardabīl, Barda'a, Marāgha and later Dvin. The numismatic material confirms this account. Starting from 325 AH Daysam began minting his own coins in those mints which had formerly served the 'Abbāsids and Sājids. All his coins were struck according to one simple type: the obverse field contained the Kalima alone, while the reverse cited Daysam ibn Ibrahīm on the reverse under the name of the caliph. While Daysam did employ secretaries and viziers their names were not mentioned on his coinage.

Our first step in trying to identify Muhammad ibn Ahmad was to establish who had served Daysam as viziers. Miskawayh first mentions Daysam's viziers when describing the events of 330 AH. In that year Daysam had to defend his realm from new invaders: the Sallārids, who already possessed Daylam and aspired to establish their control over Adharbayjān and Armenia. At that time Daysam had a secretary named Abū-l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Ja'far Sulī who was a clerk in Adharbayjān. However, as soon as the Sallārids appeared in the region 'Alī ibn Ja'far betrayed

Daysam and came into the service of the Sallārid Marzubān ibn Muhammad (330-346 AH). Very soon Daysam was defeated and had to flee to Vaspurakan Armenia. All his lands were captured by the Sallārids. Nevertheless, within the same year Daysam undertook an attempt to take his principality back and attacked Ardabīl. Miskawayh says that by that time Daysam had appointed as his secretary a certain Abū 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī.<sup>5</sup> While Miskawayh gives no further information on Muhammad ibn Ahmad and his career, history shows that this person was a great diplomat of his time. He could serve two different masters even when they were strongly engaged in warfare with each other. Thus at various times Muhammad ibn Ahmad served both Daysam (330, 337-8, c. 341AH) and Marzubān (330 AH onwards). Later, he also spent a few years (346 - c.349 AH) as vizier for the eldest son of Marzubān Justān ibn Marzubān (346-349 AH) until the latter arrested him<sup>6</sup>. Thus the career of Muhammad ibn Ahmad as vizier was quite lengthy, lasting roughly 20 years from 330 till c.349 AH.

Daysam surrendered to Marzubān in 330 AH, bringing the siege of Ardabīl to an end. Marzubān arrested Daysam and sent him into exile to his domain in Tarm (Tarum), but appointed the same Abū 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī his vizier.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, Miskawayh tells us nothing further about the history of the region until 337/8AH, and we have no way of knowing how long Muhammad ibn Ahmad served as vizier for Marzubān. In the absence of any other information, however, it is entirely possible that he might have held the post for several years, in which case we may cautiously accept the possibility that the vizier Abū 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī could be the Muhammad ibn Ahmad cited on our coin. Indeed, as there is no other Muhammad ibn Ahmad mentioned in the Arabic or Armenian historical chronicles of that period<sup>8</sup> the ex-vizier of Daysam Abū 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī appears to be the only potential candidate.

In addition to the historical sources cited above one should also pay an attention to what the contemporary coins say. The numismatic material from 330-333 AH is not rich. The earliest known Sallārid coins are from Urmiya and dated 333 AH, citing Muhammad ibn Musāfir and his son Marzubān ibn Muhammad. No Sallārid coins are known so far issued between 330-332 AH. However, dirhams struck in Armīniya in 331 and 332 AH are also known. They were first published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but left only half-identified because of their bad state. The dirham of Armīniya 331 AH was first published by Bartholomaei in 1859. This coin had a part of the Kalima on its obverse and the name of the caliph al-Muttaqī lillah on the reverse. There was something else placed under the name of the caliph but the author could not read it properly and left it unidentified.<sup>9</sup> Another dirham of Armīniya struck in 332 AH was mentioned by Markov in 1896.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the date it was apparently identical to the piece discussed by Bartholomaei. Finally, an interesting dirham is kept in the State Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, an image of which was kindly sent to us last year by the late Dr. Dobrovolsky. The coin was struck in Barda'a in 330 AH.<sup>11</sup> Both sides of the coin were struck by using the same obverse die. It has a part of the Kalima in the centre and an unclear name beneath the obverse area. Dr. Dobrovolsky nevertheless suggested that the coin should be attributed to the

1 Ahmād ibn Muhammad ibn Miskawayh, *Eclipse of the Abbāsīd Caliphate Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, ed. & trans. by H. F. Amedroz. Vol.V.

2 This Daysam was a son of the Kharijite leader in Mawsil and one of the commanders of the Sājīd Yūsuf b. Dīwdād (289-315 AH).

3 It is important to note that at this period the province of Adharbayjān was located to the south of the Araxes river. It did not cover the same territory as the current Azerbaijan Republic, located north of the Araxes.

4 From the existence of a dirham of Barda'a 325 AH, first published by Bykov in 1971 (Bykov A.A. *Dva novykh dirkhema Daysama ibn Ibrakhima al-Kurdī* // Epigrafika Vostoka, XX (1971), p. 74) one can now state that Daysam captured Adharbayjān in that year.

5 Miskawayh, II, pp.34-40.

6 Ibid., pp.34-40, 157-8, 179 and 192.

7 Ibid., p.40.

8 Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Kāmil fī-at-Tā'rikh* under the year 331 AH mentions one Nūh Muhammad ibn Ahmād but in our opinion this person can be hardly considered as the issuer of our dirham (Vol.VIII, p.404).

9 Bartholomaei, J. *Description d'une trouvaille de 200 dirhems koufiques, faite aux environs de Tiflis, en 1857* // Bull. Acad. Imp. des sciences de St. Petersburg, № 3 (1859), p.237, no.105.

10 Markov, A. *Inventarnyj katalog musulmanskikh monet iz sobranija Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*. St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 56, no. 1083 (2.88 g).

11 State Hermitage, inv. no. 6579 (3.51g, 26.5mm).

Sallārīds. From what was written under the Kalima only المع...له can be read. It does not look like as a part of the name of the contemporary caliph al-Muttaqī lillah.

The discussed dirhams of 330-332 AH from Armīniya and Barda'a unfortunately do not help much for attributing our coin. It is still unclear whether these coins are regular 'Abbāsīd issues or should be classified as Sallārīd. That is why this dirham of 331 AH from Armīniya is of special interest, since it provides the name of a completely new ruler who established his power in the northern parts of the Sallārīd principality. The coin is also unique in that it does not bear the name of any dynastic ruler. We do not find the name of Marzubān or his father on the coin, although it is widely accepted that after 330 AH the Sallārīds exercised undisputed control in the region. We therefore do not know whether this Muhammad ibn Ahmad was a Sallārīd governor, or perhaps one of the followers of Daysam who did not accept Sallārīd authority. But in either case it still remains unclear why he did not engrave the name of his lord while striking his coins.

This paper of course does not give an answer to the question of who struck coins on his own name in Armīniya. However, it is an occasion to bring to your attention a new coin type among the others which appeared in the northern parts of the newly-created Sallārīd state in the early 330s. We do not of course exclude other interpretations and hope that further discoveries will shed further light on the question of who Muhammad ibn Ahmad was. Irrespective of his precise identity, however, there is one obvious fact that should be noted. The coin issues of the 330s show that after Daysam was defeated and sent to Tarm in 330 AH Sallārīd control over the northern lands was nevertheless weak. According to numismatic data, at least in Armenia and neighbouring Arrān the power of the Sallārīds was not stable. This is demonstrated by the fact that that coins were minted by local governors or viziers who did not even mention the names of their overlords. The coin we have described in this paper may serve as proof for such a statement.

### The Bactrian 'Pedigree' Coinage and Epithets

By L.M.Wilson

Three Bactrian kings issued so-called pedigree coinage: Agathokles, Antimachos and Eukratides. The issues of Agathokles and Antimachos are closely related (in type and style), while the pedigree coinage of Eukratides is different in type and appearance. The similarity of the issues of Agathokles (ΔΙΚΑΟΥ) and Antimachos (ΘΕΟΥ) suggests they could have

been joint issues, minted simultaneously, towards the end of the reign of Agathokles, when he had adopted his later ΔΙΚΑΟΥ epithet, as has been suggested previously<sup>1,2</sup>. In fact Agathokles and Antimachos share one of the main Bactrian mint monograms (⌘) on their silver tetradrachms (whatever these monograms actually signify, be they moneyers or mint marks etc.) and so appear to share either a mint or a moneyer.

There is still the question of the pedigree coinage of Eukratides I, featuring his parents (Heliokles and Laodike) and with ΜΕΓΑΣ epithet. There seem to be several possibilities:

- 1 - it was minted significantly earlier than the pedigree issues of Agathokles and Antimachos;
- 2 - it was minted at the same time or
- 3 - it was minted significantly later.

All possibilities must of course occur when Eukratides had already taken the ΜΕΓΑΣ epithet.

This pedigree issue of Eukratides could not have been earlier than any of the issues (early, late or the pedigree coinage) of Agathokles, because Agathokles uses two of the main Bactrian mint monograms (⌘ and ⌚) throughout his coinage, while these same monograms are found on the 'early' issues of Eukratides (without epithet). Thus possibility 1 above seems very unlikely, unless one is prepared to accept that they shared the mint or the monograms or it changed hands, being first under Eukratides, then captured by Agathokles for all his issues and then recaptured by Eukratides. A similar argument applies to 2 above, since the pedigree issues of Eukratides and Agathokles both use the same (⌚) monogram, it is unlikely that they used the same monogram at the same time. It is not the only monogram used by Eukratides on his pedigree issues, so it could be proposed that the series was initiated at another mint and then later continued with this (⌚) monogram, but in the light of the comments on 1 this seems to be spurious. Option 3 seems to fit the monogram sequence, so it appears most likely that the pedigree issues of Eukratides I were later than those of Agathokles and Antimachos. Perhaps they were issued after Eukratides had captured the mints of Agathokles (one of which, the ⌘ monogram mint, possibly being shared by Agathokles with Antimachos. In fact Antimachos also uses the ⌚ monogram, but this is rare on his coinage and only seems to be found on his obols). There seems little possibility of sharing monograms or mints between Eukratides I and Agathokles (or Antimachos) as they are generally accepted as being enemies

Table 1. The Main Monograms (on silver issues).

Demetrios I	⌘	⌚	⌘	⌘
Agathokles	⌘	⌚		⌘
Antimachos I	⌘	⌚	⌚	⌘
Eukratides I (Early)	⌘	⌚		⌘ ⌘ ⌘

The sequence that fits these main monograms (⌘ and ⌚) would seem to be as follows: first come the early issues of Agathokles (without epithet), then the later issues (with ΔΙΚΑΟΥ epithet) and the pedigree issues, perhaps as joint issues with Antimachos, then (more of) the early coinage of Eukratides I and finally the later coinage and pedigree issues (with ΜΕΓΑΣ epithet) of Eukratides. Therefore, it appears that Eukratides I took his

ΜΕΓΑΣ epithet after Agathokles and Antimachos. The historical and political sequence of events, as far as can be guessed, would seem to be as follows: after the death of Demetrios I, Agathokles and Antimachos resisted the rise of Eukratides I in Bactria. Then towards the end of this resistance period, Agathokles adopted his epithet and struck the pedigree issues with Antimachos, who already had an epithet. Meanwhile,

Eukratides is issuing his early coinage without epithet in Bactria, which continued after the capture of the mints of Agathokles. Then at some later time, after the death of Agathokles, Eukratides issues his coinage with epithet. At this point it is useful to re-consider the epithets on the Bactrian coinage.

If all kings adopted an epithet at the same time then there is an epithet timeline that could be used to order the sequence of kings, giving a dating for Antimachos I and the epithet coinage of Agathokles as well as Eukratides I and II after this timeline. If this is true then Eukratides I was clearly not yet the sole master of Bactria when he adopted his title of 'Great king', although this is an often quoted reason for his adoption of this epithet. What date could be put on this timeline? As has been shown previously, the adoption of an epithet by Eukratides I is most likely to be tied up with his invasion of 'Indian' territories south of the Hindu Kush under the control of King Menander<sup>3,1</sup>, which can possibly be dated to around 165 BC and was in any case before 162 BC. (Most likely after 170 and before 162<sup>4</sup>).

If such an epithet timeline is postulated, one problem seems to be the re-dating of Antimachos to extend his reign after this line, in 165 BC or 170 BC or whatever date is chosen for the adoption of the epithet. This seems very unlikely unless Antimachos was contemporary with Menander, because (whichever date is chosen) it would mean that the epithets were adopted, and hence the reign of Antimachos I began, in the early reign of Menander. It does seem unlikely they were contemporary, as Menander (on his early coinage) uses one of the main monograms of Antimachos I and several more of Antimachos II. In fact c.165 seems to be the latest possible terminal date for both Agathokles and Antimachos I (if indeed Antimachos II is identified with Antimachos I, otherwise Antimachos I must be earlier to allow some time for his successor, Antimachos II). There seems to be no compelling reason to change the current dating of Antimachos I, c.174 – 166 BC<sup>5</sup>, although it is not based on firm evidence and all dates remain speculative. As noted above, a terminal date for Antimachos could be 165 (because of the reign of Menander) and a start date could be taken around the beginning of the reign of Eukratides (or death of Demetrios I), hence giving c.175 – 165 BC, virtually the same as above (note that this terminal date does also depend on the Timarchos coinage).

According to this epithet timeline, Agathokles would also have to be re-dated slightly, but a more serious problem would be re-dating Demetrios II<sup>6</sup> to before 165 (or 170), despite evidence from the Qunduz hoard, style<sup>7</sup>, monograms, diadems<sup>8</sup>, absence from Ai Khanoum<sup>9</sup> and the lack of epithets for the joint kings on the Bactrian tax receipt<sup>5</sup>. The fall of Ai Khanoum could have occurred in c.160 if the 'year 24' inscription is dated<sup>6</sup> in the Greek era, or in c.145 if the 'year 24' inscription is a regnal year of Eukratides I, but no coins of Demetrios II have been found at Ai Khanoum and only one (*possible*) coin of Eukratides II has been found, without the ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ epithet<sup>10</sup>. Hence Demetrios II appears to come after c. 145 or c. 160, with Eukratides II possibly appearing at around 160 BC (before 145). The one piece of epigraphic evidence we have from Bactria that directly relates to 'joint' or 'sub' kings at this time is the tax receipt document<sup>5</sup>. This names Antimachos I Theos, but neither of the other two 'joint' kings named in the document have epithets (although partly illegible, the second Antimachos appears not to have an epithet and Eumenes certainly does not). This suggests that only the main king took an official epithet while the subordinate kings did not take one, possibly until they succeeded on the death of the main king. It has been suggested before that Demetrios II and Eukratides II were such 'joint' kings. If they issued any coinage while 'joint' kings it may also have been without an epithet (see ref.11 for another discussion of these epithets).

While it is naturally true that the coinage without epithets would in general tend to be earlier than the coinage with epithets<sup>6</sup>, an actual fixed timeline seems elusive as the main kings appear to have taken epithets at different times, and in the case of 'joint' or

'sub' kings it could be inappropriate at this time period. The Bactrian king sequence appears to be as shown in Table 2, but of course without firm evidence, all these dates remain approximate and in most cases uncertain until new evidence can be found.

Table 2. Kings in Bactria with approximate dates of reigns (BC)

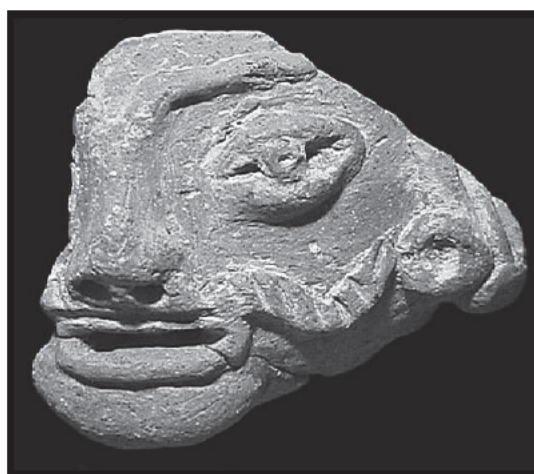
Demetrios I	c.186 – 175/1 BC
Agathokles	c. 180/175-170
Antimachos I/ II	c. 174-165
Eukratides I	c.175/1 – c.145/39
Demetrios II	c.145/0
Eukratides II	c.160/150 – 140/38

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## Treasures of Kashmir Smast

By Waleed Ziad



Alxon Hunnic clay portrait found in Swat. NWFP, Pakistan

'...The mere sight or mention of a Hephthalite terrified everybody, and there was no question of going to war openly against one, for everybody remembered all too clearly the calamities and defeats inflicted by the Hephthalites on the king of the Aryans and on the Persians.'

-Lazar of P'arp<sup>1</sup>

1 Litvinsky, 139.

This series of articles on the unpublished Hunnic bronzes of Kashmir Smast, is part of a continuing project to document more than 150 hitherto unpublished varieties of coins and artifacts acquired by the author dating from the Kushano-Sasanian (circa 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) to the Hindu Shahi period (circa 9-10<sup>th</sup> century AD). I would like to extend special thanks to Mobin Ahmad, Mirza Rafi Ahmad Baig, Ijaz Khan, Raushan Khan, and Bob Reis.

### Kashmir Smast

Kashmir Smast is a series of natural limestone caves, artificially expanded from the Kushan to the Shahi periods, situated in the Babozai mountains in the Mardan Valley in Northern Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> A number of the cells have wooden interiors, carved with elaborate Hindu and Buddhist iconography.<sup>3</sup> Remarkably, excavations at the Kashmir Smast site have not only brought forth artifacts of extreme historical importance but have also uncovered one of the most well organized town-planning systems in ancient Gandhara.<sup>4</sup> The Gazetteer of the Peshawar district 1897-1898 explains that “the name [Kashmir Smast] may be derived from the fact that the gorge here is fairly and picturesquely wooded, and this may have suggested Kashmir.” ‘Smast’, or ‘Smats’ as it was referred to by colonial sources, is the Pushtu word for ‘cave’. Another explanation is that, according to legend, the network of caves was so vast that it stretched from Gandhara to the kingdom of Kashmir.

General Cunningham in “The Ancient Geography of India” and in the “Archaeological Survey Reports”, outlines the principal ancient sites in Gandhara, which at that time was part of the Yusufzai subdivision. Among the sites covered is Kashmir Smast.

Kashmir Smast is described by Cunningham as cave temples situated near the summit of the Sakri ridge of Pajja, and approached from the village of Babozai in the tappah Baezai. Cunningham associated Kashmir Smast with the cave of Prince Sudana in Mount Dantalok, described by the contemporary Chinese Traveller Hsuan-tsang.

A detailed discussion of the site in the Gazetteer of the Peshawar district 1897-1898 states the following<sup>5</sup>:

“This cave has not been thoroughly explored yet.<sup>6</sup> A little way below the level of the cave, and opposite, there are the ruins of a small city, the walls of which still stand and are in good preservation...”

“The cave is situated on a cliff looking towards the south-west below the ridge on which the Kashmir Burj stands. A road from Pirsai crosses the ridge, which is practicable for most of the distance for a good hill pony. Another footpath leads to Babozai direct from the cave...”

It goes on to describe the layout of the caves:

“There are three chambers in the limestone rock, of which the first two open into each other, and the third is reached by a winding flight of steps. The length of the first two chambers from the entrance is 322 feet, and the height of the first about 60, and of the second about 100 feet. The width of the first cave is 81 feet and of the second 90 feet, and fully between them about 40 feet. The third cave is 80 feet high, and above 80 feet in

2 Ziad AEI, 20.

3 BMC.

4 Khan, Shaivite Temple at Kashmir Smast.

5 Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98, Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government.

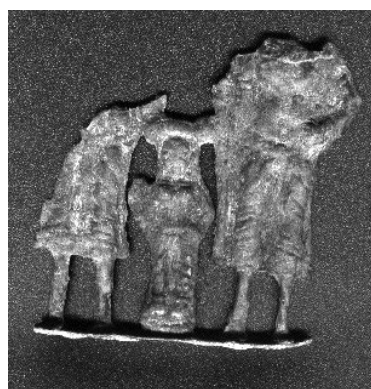
6 One of the reasons for the lack of exploration was the fact that it was located on the Ashuzai border, and therefore conflict and local territorial issues would have prevented access.

diameter, which an opening in the roof which admits light and air, so that the air throughout is pure...”

“In the third cave there is a square temple built on a domeshaped rock of stalagmite, which was evidently the holiest shrine. In the first cave there is an octagonal shrine just inside the entrance which contained a large wooden coffin, and in a similar shrine near the right wall some carved wooden plaques with figures of a fakir dancing and woman giving flowers to the fakir, and portions of a wooden box were found. In the center room there is a large square shrine, and a water tank 13 feet wide, 20 feet long, and 10 feet deep. About 100 feet below the cave towards Babazai on a plateau there are remains of a considerable fort... The Kashmir Burj and another on a western spur of Pajja were also evidently outposts to guard this shrine. The entrance to the cave is difficult as the old masonry steps have fallen down and the cliff is very precipitous...”

“There are well-built stone castles dating back to Buddhist times all along the northern hills. One near Saughar in Baezai is specially interesting, as the care taken to bring down in a small stone duct that scanty supply of water from a spring, which still exists in the hill above the castle or monastery, would seem to show that the water supply was not much more plentiful then than it is at present.”

What is being described here is an enclosed and fortified complex comprising a city and temples built into natural caves. The presence of walls and a water system serving the area would indicate a degree of economic independence exerted by in region.



Bronze Statuettes from Kashmir Smast

### The Numismatic Discoveries

Given the fact that exact find data is not available for the coins and seals of Kashmir Smast, and that numerous symbols, legends, and images on the coins have come to light which have never before been encountered in 150 years of Hunnic numismatic study, the attribution and dating of these specimens becomes an arduous task. As we study the varieties of coins found in Kashmir Smast, it becomes apparent that during the period of the Kidara, the Alchon, the Nazek, the Turk Shahis, and the Hindu Shahis, a minor kingdom based in this region maintained some level of autonomy from the greater Hunnic hordes which ruled Gandhara. This is evidenced by the use of hithertofore unrecorded images, stylistic peculiarities, and *tamghas*.

Kashmir Smast finds in the author’s possession can be divided into seven groups:

- 1) **Kushan** and Kushan imitations. The finds contain Kushan bronzes from the period of Wima Kadphises to

the later Kushana tribal chieftains, as well as reduced imitations of Kujula Kadphises.

- 2) **Kushano-Sasanian.** The finds include numerous Kushano-Sasanian bronzes of dumpy fabric, including mostly known varieties in addition to unpublished fractionals, and a number of anonymous Hunnic imitations minted in the dumpy Kushano-Sasanian fabric.
- 3) **Kidarite.** Kidarite coins comprise the majority of unpublished specimens. The obverse of some varieties closely resemble, or are crudely rendered versions of, known Kidarite drachms. The busts portrayed on these coins are depicted wearing headdresses associated with particular Kidarite princes, often in turn borrowed from contemporary Sasanian / Kushano-Sasanian monarchs. This group also includes thin AE units featuring bearded busts occasionally with Brahmi legends. As they are notably different from other recorded Kushano-Sasanian bronzes, they may be attributed to local Kidarite governors or princes under Kushano-Sasanian or Sasanian sovereignty.
- 4) **Alchon Huns.** The finds include a number of coins which are stylistically similar to the Alchon Hunnic series. Some feature the royal Hunnic *tamgha* (Göbl *Hunnen* Symbole 1, the Lunar Bull *tamgha*<sup>7</sup>) most often associated with Khingila and his immediate successors.
- 5) **Nazek.** Common, published Nazek bronzes abound. In addition to these, a number of unpublished varieties with stylistic similarities to Nazek bronzes have also been discovered.
- 6) **Turko-Hephthalite.** These include small AE units, mostly imitating larger Turko-Hephthalite drachms. They are either anepigraphic or feature Bactrian Greek legends.
- 7) **The Shahi Kings of Kabul and Gandhara.** This category includes coins stylistically similar to the coins of Samanta Deva and Spalapati Deva, characterized by linear, stylized, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations.
- 8) **Anonymous coins** which cannot be stylistically attributed to any particular Hunnic dynasty or clan.

Wilfried Pieper discussed this find in his article entitled 'A New Find of Small Copper Coins of Late 4<sup>th</sup> century Gandhara' (ONS)<sup>8</sup> in which he introduced a lot of bronze coins from the late Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite periods. Hunnic imitations of Menander's drachms from the same hoard were discussed in the author's article entitled 'AE Imitations of Indo-Greek Drachms from the Swat Valley' (ONS).<sup>9</sup>



*An uncleaned hoard of bronzes from the cave*

7 Göbl, 207.

8 Pieper.

9 Ziad AEI, 20-21.

It is my contention that the bronzes introduced in these chapters were issued by local, independent governors, or *Tegins*, in the Kashmir Smast valley, paying allegiance to the greater Hunnic *Tegins* of Gandhara and Bactria. The feudal and tribal nature of the ancient Central Asian states<sup>10</sup> allowed for substantial independence to be exercised by local governors.<sup>11</sup> It is worth noting that all the new varieties found in this area are small bronze pieces, varying in weight between 0.5 and 1.1 g. (henceforth referred to as the *Kashmir Smast standard*). They are occasionally small versions of more common drachms circulating in the region, or feature entirely new portraits / images with some or no resemblance to commonly circulating coins of the period. Given the fact that these pieces have not been found elsewhere in Hunnic domains, we can infer that they were not considered acceptable currency outside the Kashmir Smast region. However, imitating the coins of the contemporary rulers of Gandhara, and employing certain of their dynastic symbols and portraits, alongside a totally new set of portraits, names / titles, and symbols, may indicate that, while they were issued independently for use in the local kingdom, the local rulers must have paid homage to and acknowledged their Hunnic overlords. The fact that they were allowed to use some of their own *tamghas* and titles and that the greater chiefs gave them the privilege of minting their own currency strengthens this argument. The minting of coins was a prerogative of the rulers, and carried with it a certain degree of governing authority. Numismatically speaking, this can be likened to the period of Hephthalite and Turk Shahi sovereignty over Sogdiana, during which civic bronze coinage circulated along with silver drachms referencing a Hunnic or Turkic overlord (the *Bukharkhoda*).<sup>12</sup> The fact that such independent issues continued throughout five separate dynasties, until the Hindu Shahi period, means that, to a degree, this principality maintained its status for perhaps as long as three to four hundred years. This theory will be explored further in later chapters.

### The Treasures of Kashmir Smast: Interview with Ijaz Khan

By Waleed Ziad

Ijaz Khan, an antiquarian and numismatist from the city of Swat in the heartland of Gandhara, hails from a family of well known antiquities dealers in the North-West Frontier. Ijaz Khan is more familiar with the finds of Kashmir Smast than perhaps any other local treasure hunter, and has a wealth of knowledge of early medieval Gandharan numismatics. Although he is in his early 30s, the story of his life and his archaeological discoveries could be the subject of a novel. He began collecting stone and terracotta artifacts from his home town at a very early age for his personal collection, and by his teens had already established himself as a dealer and an authority especially on Hunnic coins and antiquities. Having visited hundreds of sites in ancient Gandhara, he believes Kashmir Smast to be the most remarkable site he has ever encountered. As the bronzes of Kashmir Smast have all but dried out, dispersed around the world and mostly unrecorded, site information at the source provides vital clues in piecing together a historical picture of the region.

Mr Khan's experience supports the assertion that Kashmir Smast was a monetarily independent and politically semi-independent principality for over 4 centuries, producing its own bronze civic currency which did not circulate outside the caves and the adjacent valley. We also learn that the Smast moneyers did not generally mint indigenous silver and gold currency.

In 1992, some acquaintances from the village of Babozai had informed Ijaz Khan that a lot of interesting coins had been discovered in the site traditionally known as Kashmir Smast. He

10 Litvinsky, 146.

11 Biswas, 52.

12 Mitchiner ACW, 240.

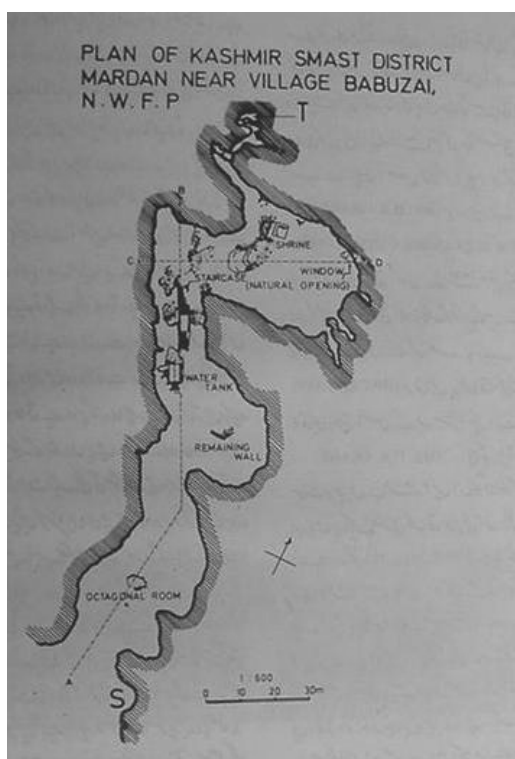


decided to embark upon his first journey to the legendary cave. Since the first trip, Mr Khan has spent over 90 days in the cave and surrounding regions.

Ijaz Khan informs us that Kashmir Smast has been known to be a source of antiquities for over one hundred years. However, in the past, colonial and local treasure hunters would make forays into the network of caves, and focus on recovering only marketable silver and large gold coins, and wooden, bronze, and stone statuettes. The silver and gold coinage, as is typical of the region, consisted of scarce but mostly published specimens which would have circulated in the entire North-West Frontier Province from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. They were imperial Kushan, Sasanian, Gupta, and Hunnic issues. Official excavations of the region have been conducted intermittently, but after most of the large statuettes were removed to the European and South Asian museums, interest in the site waned. Ironically, the bronze coins from the cave were almost entirely ignored, being regarded by untrained official excavators and treasure hunters as scrap, and were by and large left behind. Ijaz Khan, during his first trip, realised that the *actual* treasures of the Smast were these seemingly unimpressive bronze coins, which, unlike the other specimens from the cave region, were purely local productions, meant for circulation only within the cave and parts of the adjacent valley. They were the only artifacts which bore the names and images of the long forgotten local dynasts, and provided clues regarding the political, economic, and cultural history of the region.

The settlements built inside the cave are mostly ruined, and official and local treasure hunters had overturned many of the structures in the hope of locating rare antiquities. Mr Khan believes that it is essential to conduct even unofficial excavations without disturbing the ruins, and takes care to record the location of pieces of note.

#### a. Site description



Ijaz Khan describes the site:

*“The locals call it ‘Kashmir’ Smast, as they used to believe that the cave extends all the way to Kashmir. The distance to the cave by foot from the neighbouring village of Babozai is approximately 2 hours. From the valley, there is an ancient staircase which leads up to*

*the mouth of the cave. It is a hazardous journey, although the steps have been partially restored by local officials. When you finally approach the mouth of the cave, at over 3000 feet above sea level, the sight is unbelievable.”*

“Your hat will fly off your head”, Mr Khan explains in jest, “when you realise how massive the cave is from within”. The mouth of the cave is about 60 feet wide, and 60 feet high. Mr Khan explains that there is virtually a village built inside the cave, complete with ruins and walls and interior chambers. He goes on to describe the three levels discussed by Cunningham.

*“The first settlement is built on the first level, and is illuminated from the light entering the mouth of the cave. Concentrations of Nazek and Alchon Hunnic coins have been found on this level. After traversing the first level, you reach a wall, and a series of stairs leads up into the second settlement, approximately 60 feet above. The second level is completely dark and impossible to navigate without an external light source. You hear the faint sound of flowing water, and there is a slight dampness in the air. Beyond the second settlement is a second flight of stairs leading up to the third and final layer. When you enter the third settlement you realise that the sound you heard earlier is actually the shrieking of hundreds of bats which inhabit the inner cave. There is a natural opening approximately 700 to 1000 feet above in the top of the cave wall allowing light in, which illuminates the entire third level. The first and third levels are the larger settlements.”*

At the third level, another narrow cave emerges from the side. Mr Khan explains: “When I first entered this narrow cave, we were quite afraid, as no light can enter, and if we had lost our gas lamp, we would have been stranded.” At the end of this tunnel, there is a large bowl carved out of stone which resembles a cooking pot. Mr Khan describes that it is “as smooth as soap and large enough for an individual to sit inside.”

He estimates that the cave would probably have been large enough to house up to 100 permanent settlers, and as a temple could have housed up to 2000 worshippers.

*“In the facing valley are the ruins of two large fortresses, separated by 200 feet. A water system runs under one of the forts, originating from a spring under one of the castles. There is a small, carved chamber built around the spring, with a shelf carved into the rock for a lamp to be placed. Next to the first fort is another interesting little chamber carved out of the rock, 4.5 feet high, 5 foot wide. The walls are entirely smooth. In addition, there are ruins of a castle on the top of the mountain within which the cave is situated. It is a two 2 hour journey on foot to this fort.”*

Ijaz Khan believes that the cave temples would have acted as a focus of cultural and economic life, given the concentrated nature of the finds, while the two large fortresses would have served as administrative headquarters, and the fortress atop the mountain as a military watchtower. The peasantry would have inhabited the settlements beneath the stairs leading up to the cave, where one can still see the ruined foundations of extensive settlements. He explains that, up to the last century, this cave would have been a very safe place to settle, as it is difficult to reach and can be easily defended in times of war. It was not uncommon for people of the region to seek refuge in caves for reasons of safety. “In addition, the area is extremely beautiful and it is a lush valley, with deer and monkeys. In the old days, it was not uncommon for the people of the Frontier to come to Kashmir Smast for health

reasons. The sick would spend extended amounts of time here, as the water and air is known to have healing properties.”

#### **b. Description of finds**

It is extremely important to note that 50 percent of the unpublished bronzes are found physically within the cave complex. Half of the cave finds are within the first settlement, and a quarter each on the second and third settlements. The remaining fifty percent of the bronzes are found in the valley directly facing the cave, with only a meagre 5 percent in and around the two ancient fortified complexes in the valley which were clearly part of the Kashmir Smast settlement. In addition, a small number of bronzes have been found in the mountain fort. The unpublished varieties have not been found anywhere else in all of the North-West Frontier Province.

Probably due to atmospheric conditions, the bronzes found inside the cave tend to be in noticeably poorer condition than those found outside. The dampness of the second settlement affects most of the artifacts found there.

Mr Khan states that it is difficult to gauge exactly where in the cave certain varieties were found, as earlier excavations had scattered the unwanted bronze along the floor of the cave. Occasionally, bronze, silver and gold coins are found imbedded in the walls of structures built inside the cave, mixed into the stucco cement. Mr Khan recalls seeing only one hoard of 75 unpublished early Kidara period bronzes found inside a closed vessel, found in the valley.

#### **c. Hoard Composition**

The first bronze lot which was discovered was not a cohesive hoard, but rather individual finds on the surface of the cave, mostly left over from earlier excavations. It yielded approximately 500 coins, mostly small bronze varieties, as well as 5 silver coins, of the Napki Malka Nazek Hun variety, and three tall-bust Alchon Khingila drachms. In addition, it included 10 to 15 large, bronze Napki Malka drachms.

#### ***AE Units***

The earliest coins found in the cave are individual Kushan bronzes, from Vima Taktu (a.k.a. *Sotermegas*) to Vasudeva, with the majority being crude Vasudeva standing king / Siva and bull varieties, commonly found across the Northwest Frontier. They are exactly the same as normal Kushan currency, and tend to be in fairly poor condition, indicating that they were in circulation for a while perhaps before being used in Kashmir Smast. While coins of Huvishka and Kanishka I abound, no bronzes of Kujula Kadphises (a.k.a. *Heraios*) have been found. Interestingly, there are a fair number of reduced-weight Kujula imitations with partially or entirely corrupted legends found in the Hunnic hoards, approximately 0.8 to 2 grams in weight, generally smaller than the Kujula imitations found elsewhere in the Frontier Province. These imitations, with their unique fabric and style, are particular to Kashmir Smast.

Approximately 70 percent of bronzes from Kashmir Smast and the adjacent valley are Kushano-Sasanian, spanning all known Kushanshah rulers. Within this group are a number of crudely rendered Kushano-Sasanian fractionals, which Ijaz Khan believes are also indigenous to the Smast and probably minted during the Kidara period. According to him, similar fractional Kushano-Sasanian AE units have been found in the villages of Barikot, Batkhela, and Nallo. Sasanian bronzes have also been found.

Approximately 1 to 2 percent of bronzes are of a large size (3 to 4 grams), mostly known Napki varieties, with additional extremely rare 4 to 7 gram unpublished bronzes featuring designs such as flowers or geometric shapes, occasionally with Bactrian Greek legends. The remaining 30 percent are small bronzes of Kidara, Alchon, and Nazek types which are the subject of this study.

A number of bronze Hindu Shahi varieties have been discovered in Kashmir Smast, primarily in the cave emanating from the third settlement, and a smaller amount were found directly outside the mouth of the cave. 80 percent are fractional elephant / lion Spalapati Deva types, ranging from 0.4 to 1 gm., which are also entirely indigenous to Kashmir Smast. Twenty percent of the Hindu Shahi types are larger, common Spalapati Deva bronzes found across Zabul and Gandhara.

No Indo-Scythian and Indo-Greek coins have been found, although a substantial number of bronze Menander imitations (refer to the ONS article, “AE Imitations of Indo Greek drachms-4 – 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD” by Waleed Ziad) were minted in Kashmir Smast. Mr Khan mentions that a villager found a solitary Menander drachm on top of one of the two fortresses, which seemed as if it had been burnt. It is not unlikely that this coin was used as a prototype for the Hunnic Menander imitations of the Smast.

A small number of cast coins has also been discovered, featuring animals such as lions, swans, etc. They are stylistically different from any other coins of the Smast, and resemble the cast civic bronzes of Sogdiana.

A very small number of Islamic coins have been found. It is worth noting that there are a handful of small unpublished Islamic pre-Ghaznavid bronzes which were found in the cave.

#### ***AR Drachms and AV dinars***

The silver and gold coins found within the cave are generally in remarkably good condition, indicating low circulation.

#### ***AR***

Of the AR drachms found in the Smast, 50 percent have been tall-bust Khingila varieties from major Gandharan mints. Approximately 20 percent are Sasanian royal issues, of Shapur I, II, and III, Khusru I or II, and a large number of Peroz drachms. Twenty percent are Napki types, and 15 percent are ¾-facing or right-facing Kidara drachms.

While unpublished AR drachms are few and far between in the Smast, one find of interest was a reduced 3 gram drachm featuring a front-facing bearded bust wearing a two-horned headdress. This is no doubt a Kidara drachm. Another unpublished AR features a bust facing right with a feather in its headdress.

#### ***AV***

Among the AV coins found in the cave, 30 percent are Kushana, including a few Huvishka and Kanishka dinars. About 50 percent are Kushano-Sasanian and Kidara scyphate dinars and the remaining 20 percent are Gupta dinars, similar to those found in the Swat and Malakand agencies. Some half-body Sasanian dinars have also been discovered. In the third settlement, a hoard of 20 to 25 gold dinars was discovered in the 1990s from the Kidara and Gupta periods.

#### ***Seals and artifacts***

A number of seals featuring mostly Brahmi characters have been found in the cave. Mr Khan mentions that there is a particular style of execution of seals which distinguishes Kashmir Smast seals from others. They are generally well executed, featuring popular religious symbols such as the sun-wheel, and local flora and fauna. Ijaz Khan recalls one bronze seal of particular interest found within the cave. It was a square-shaped seal, featuring a swastika on one side, a lion on one side, beside a *khurna* tree. He mentions that there are an abundance of *khurna* trees in the Kashmir Smast valley, one of the only places in the region where one can find this particular kind of tree.

A large quantity of jewelry has also been found, in gold, silver, and copper. Ijaz Khan recalls one particular pendant with a number of semi-precious stones imbedded in a gold frame.

Perhaps the most exciting artifact that Ijaz Khan has encountered was an 8-inch tall bronze lion which a local villager discovered in Kashmir Smast in the mid-1990s.

**A Queen Consort of the early Kidarite Principality of Kashmir Smast**

By Waleed Ziad



*Detail of the portrait of the Queen Consort*

This article presents three unpublished bronze varieties discovered in Kashmir Smast, hailing from the early Kidarite period. It seeks to place chronologically a very historical discovery of the portrait of a queen consort on one such coin.

- 1. AE Broad Unit  
0.74 g. / 14.0 x 12.9 mm.



*Obv.:* Bearded Kidarite style bust facing right; two-akshara legend  
*Rev.:* Compound tamgha, with one akshara on each side

- 2. AE Unit
- a. 0.59 g. / 10.0 x 10.8 mm.



- b. 0.64 g. / 12.3 x 11.1 mm.



- c. 0.43 g. / 9.6 x 9.2 mm.



- d. 0.58 g. / 12.8 x 10.8 mm.



- e. 0.65 g. / 12.3 x 10.7 mm.



*Obv.:* Bearded Kidarite style bust facing right; two-akshara legend  
*Rev.:* Compound tamgha, with one akshara on each side

- 3. AE Unit



- a. 0.59 g. / 11.0 x 11.9 mm.



- b. 0.50 g. / 11.5 x 11.5 mm.



- c. 0.46 g. / 10.8 x 10.0 mm.



*Obv.:* Bearded Kidarite-style bust facing right; two-aksharalegend  
*Rev.:* Bare headed Female bust right, with hair tied back into a knot, and elongated earlobes, holding a flower in front of the bust

### Introduction

Three years ago (2003), a numismatist from the Punjab, Mobin Ahmad, contacted me, extremely thrilled by a Kashmir Smast discovery, a small AE unit minted on the Kashmir Smast standard depicting a bearded bust on one side, and a distinctly female bust on the other. This was described by him and in the North-West Frontier antique bazaars as the rare “Queen of Kashmir” variety. This and another specimen were acquired by me, and Ijaz Khan later supplied me with details of another specimen, currently in the collection of Robert W. Schaaf, who has kindly provided the image (Em. 3 b).

In order to place the queen consort variety historically, it is essential first to describe Em. 1 and 2, which present vital clues in this regard. The obverse of Em. 1, the queen consort issues, and Em. 2 are identical, and feature identical two-akshara legends.

### Em. 1

The obverse of Em. 1 depicts a bearded Kidarite bust, wearing a flat-topped, Kidarite crown topped with a poppy / artichoke ornament, surrounded by two royal streamers. The crown is derivative of the Sasanian crown of Shahpur III, which was adopted in AV Kushano-Sasanian dinars minted under the name Varahran (identified by Mitchiner as Varahran III) and subsequent dinars issued by Kidara and other Kidarite emperors, similar to that of Göbl *Hunnen* Em. XII and XIII. It is likely that all of these issues were minted under Kidara sovereignty.

Like the AR drachms of Varahran III, the poppy surmounting the crown is aligned with the beading on the border, and the streamers on each side of the pomegranate extend beyond the beading into the outer flan.

The obverse features two Brahmi aksharas which read as follows:

Ja Ha

This legend, which designates either the name of the ruler, an abbreviated version thereof, or a title, has never been encountered before.

The reverse features the compound tamgha listed by Göbl as Symbole 82.

During the 5 year reign of Shapur III (383-388 AD), the Kushano-Sasanian governors of Gandhara had invited the Kidarite tribes into the state to provide protection against other nomadic invaders. The Kidara soon occupied the Kushano-Sasanian domains of Northern Gandhara and Kashmir. During this period, Kushano-Sasanian AV staters were replaced by identical dinars featuring this new tamgha, presumably introduced by the Kidarite tribes. Göbl speculates that this tamgha is a combination of tamghas of various tribes of Kidara and Hunnic origin who may have comprised the armies which conquered Gandhara at this time, a concession allowed by the now subservient Kushano-Sasanian governors. The lower portion of the tamgha may be associated with the lower portion of the Alchon lunar bull tamgha, representing the body and legs of a bull. It is worth noting that the tamgha was employed on the AV staters but not on any other Kidarite currency. This is first time this tamgha has been identified on AE currency.

Assuming this piece was issued by a local ruler, it is likely that the ruler may have been part of this coalition of Kidara and other Hunnic tribes, or would have associated himself with the alliance.

On each side of the tamgha is an akshara. The two aksharas read as follows:

Kha and Ka

While this legend has never before been encountered, it is worth noting that Kidara AV dinars of Jammu and Kashmir often feature an isolated *ka* akshara.

### Em. 2

Em. 2 is identical to Em. 1, except for a different legend. The flan of this variety is narrower, and the weight is significantly less.

The obverse features the following Brahmi legend:

Pa Ha

This legend has not been encountered before either. The reverse tamgha and legend are identical to Em. 2

### Em. 3

Em. 3 is noticeably smaller than other Kashmir Smast varieties, but the artistic execution is quite superb for the series and the strike is sharp.

The obverse image is identical to that of Em. 1, however the two aksharas, rather than facing upwards, are facing left. The artichoke ornament is located below the beading. Given the similarity, we can deduce that both issues were uttered under the same sovereign.

The reverse depicts a large (relative to flan) female bust, with long hair tied back into a knot. To date, there have been no depictions of females found on Kidara or Alchon currency, characterized by this unique hair style and lack of facial hair. The queen has large, almond-shaped eyes and has noticeably elongated earlobes with atypical, long hoop earrings, as opposed to beaded earrings more commonly depicted on Hunnic coins.

The figure is depicted holding a flower in front of the bust, similar to Alchon drachms of Toramana. No Kidarite AE or AR specimens are known with the image of a ruler holding a flower or other regal object. The only prior depictions of a ruler holding a flower are the AV dinars issued by the Kushan king, Huvishka, over 200 years earlier.

### Conclusion

These three issues were minted during the early years of the Kidarite occupation of Gandhara in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, as evidenced by the presence of the compound tamgha. The identity of the king and queen consort cannot be determined without further epigraphic evidence. It has been related by local historians that the female depicted on this coin is a Kushano-Sasanian queen who, in solidifying the alliance between the Kidara and the Kushano-Sasanian governor, was wedded to the Kidara sovereign. In the absence of further evidence, it is difficult to speculate any further with regards this theory.

## Unpublished Bronzes of the Alchon Hunnic Period from Kashmir Smast

By Waleed Ziad



*Alchon Hunnic drachm of Khingila, Göbl Hunnen Em. 74; Swat, NWFP, Pakistan*

This article introduces a number of coins which may be attributed to the Alchon period. These coins are either stylistically connected to known Alchon coins, or feature symbols (e.g. the Lunar Bull *tamgha*, the *dharmachakra*, etc.) more commonly employed by the Alchon Huns. It is my contention that the bronzes introduced in this chapter were issued by local, semi-independent governors, or *Tegins*, in the Kashmir Smast valley, paying allegiance to the greater Alchon *Tegins* of Hindustan. I would like to thank Ijaz Khan and Wilfried Pieper for images of some of the additional specimens catalogued below

### The Alchon Huns in Gandhara

In order to provide a chronological perspective on the coins discussed herein, the general history of the Alchon Huns in the Subcontinent is outlined below, focusing on their arrival and incursions into Gandhara. The historical sources in general are vague, and are confined to a handful of Chinese, Greek, and Persian travelogues and histories, and a small number of inscriptions found in the lands occupied by the Huns. The major primary source accounts include, among others, a) the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, a Kashmiri Brahmin chronicler of the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century, b) the writings of Sun-Yun, a Chinese pilgrim traveling to the court of Mihirakula between 515-520 AD, c) the *Book of Liang*, a history of Liang dynasty and surrounding lands compiled by Yao Silian in 635 AD, and d) the writings of Hsuan-tsang, a Buddhist pilgrim who traveled through Central and South Asia in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The numismatic evidence collected in the last 150 years remains a vital primary source of Hunnic political history.

The Hephthalites were referred to in Sanskrit as the Hunas. The Hunas who invaded South Asia were most likely an amalgam of tribes based in the Oxus region, ruled by their respective governors (Göbl's *Anonymer Clanchef*).<sup>14</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, we find them embroiled in conflict on the borders of Persia with the Sasanians under Shapur III, Varahran IV, and Yazdgerd I.<sup>15</sup> The tribe of Huns who invaded the Subcontinent subsequent to the Kidara invasions are known as the Alchon Huns due to the Bactrian inscription *Alchono* found on their early coins.<sup>16</sup> By about 400-420 AD, the conflict between the Sasanians and the various Hunnic clans seems to have subsided and a central Hunnic ruler by the name of Khingila ('Shengil' according to Firdausi) emerges.<sup>17</sup> Biswas refers to this ruler as 'Thujina', or 'Tegin', (Sung-Yun referred to him as 'Lae-Lih') the first *Ye-tha*, or

13 Biswas, 53.

14 Göbl, 57.

15 Mitchiner ACW, 222.

16 Akram HCD, 131.

17 Göbl, 59.

Hephthalite chief to establish himself permanently in Gandhara and possibly Kashmir.<sup>18</sup>



*'Tall Bust' drachm of Khingila, Göbl Hunnen Em. 57*

Göbl dates the long reign of Khingila as ca. 430/440 to ca. 490.<sup>19</sup> According to Kalhana, it seems that, upon their arrival in South Asia, the Huns adopted local religious practices and symbols, and Brahmi as their royal script. Göbl points out that the kingdom of Kabul, well into early Islamic times was known as *Xingil*, implying that the king's name may have eventually become a title. He also suggests that coins minted under Khingila's name and bearing his portrait may be attributed to a number of rulers.

It is very important to note that, upon arrival in India, the Hunnic lords are not depicted on their currency wearing crowns — rather, plain diadems, helmets, or diadems surmounted by a crescent. This, postulates Biswas, means that the chiefs striking the coins were simply governors and had no real royal status.<sup>20</sup> In the Chinese Book of Liang, Gandhara is described as a subordinate province under the supreme Hephthalites of the Oxus. This would confer the status of *Tegin*, or provincial governor, on Khingila.

The Alchon coinage after the unification of the tribes under Khingila is perhaps one of the most fascinating series in early medieval / late ancient history, where the ruler often intended to depict himself as a fearsome king. The artistry, while crude at times, often vividly captures facial expressions. The problems we run into in terms of dating the coins according to portraiture are attributable to the fact that the mints were decentralised and the quality of workmanship varied considerably.<sup>21</sup> It is during the reign of Khingila that Alchon coinage, previously comprising mainly Sasanian imitations, took on the *tall bust* form, portraying elongated scalps (from the practice of head-binding at birth), moustaches, heavy jewelry, Hindu symbols, and other ethnic Hunnic features.



*'Tall bust' drachm of Khingila - Göbl Hunnen Em. 81*

According to Litvinsky, the initial Hephthalite or Alchon raids on Gandhara took place in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, upon the death of the Gupta ruler, Skandagupta (455-470), presumably led by the *Tegin* Khingila. M. Chakravarty,<sup>22</sup> on the basis of Chinese and Persian histories, believes that the Hunas conquered Gandhara from the Ki-to-lo (Kidarites) in ca. 475 AD. Gandhara had been occupied by various Kidarite principalities from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>23</sup>, but it is still a subject of debate as

18 Biswas, 53-54.

19 Göbl, 59.

20 Biswas, 53.

21 Choudhary, 172-173.

22 Litvinsky, 141.

23 Biswas, 46

to whether rule was transferred from the Kidarites directly to the Hephthalites.<sup>24</sup> It is known that the Huns invaded Gandhara and the Punjab from the Kabul valley after vanquishing the Kidarite principalities<sup>25</sup>, culminating in the sack of Putaliputra.<sup>26</sup>

Circa 500-510 AD, Khingila was succeeded by a ruler by the name of Toramana.<sup>27</sup> Under Toramana, the Hephthalites, already established in Gandhara, Punjab, and Kashmir, extended their domain over north-western India as far as Malwa by ca. 510 AD.<sup>28</sup> According to Kalhana, Toramana conquered Kashmir, and 'collected the old coins called *Balahats* and recoined them as *Dinaras* in his own name'. According to Biswas, the *Balahats* may refer to *Hats*, small copper coins minted and used in Kashmir. While this reference is rather vague, it is one of the few primary source references describing the commonly accepted local currency of this monetarily conservative region.

Toramana was succeeded in ca. 515 (according to Biswas, between 510 and 515 AD, according to Göbl, 515) by his son, Mihirakula (or Mihiragula, meaning *sunflower*), a devotee of Siva, whose ferocity and cruelty, and a terrible 700 elephant army, became legendary.<sup>29</sup> According to a legend first recounted by Kalhana, in one instance he was marching with his army along the side of a cliff when an elephant accidentally fell off the edge. He was so delighted by the sound of the screaming elephant that he ordered 100 elephants to be thrown off the cliff.

Sakala (now Sialkot city in central Punjab, Pakistan) became the capital of the Huna domains under Mihirakula. Mihirakula is remembered in contemporary Indian and Chinese sources for his persecution of Buddhism. His troops supposedly destroyed fourteen hundred monasteries, primarily in central Gandhara, Kashmir, and north-western India / Pakistan, the seats of his power. More remote areas of his empire, such as Mardan and Swat, were spared, and allowed a certain degree of autonomy.



*AR Alchon drachm featuring a front-facing portrait with a two-horned headdress, Göbl Supplementa Orientalia II Em. 306.*

The Guptas meanwhile persisted in their struggle against the Hunas, and forged alliances with the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms. Based on inscriptions at Mandasor, we learn that Mihirakula was defeated and captured by a ruler named Yasodharman of Malwa<sup>30</sup> (Baladitya according to Hsuan-tsang, and possibly the king of Ujjain Vikramaditya, or Harsha) in ca. 528 AD.<sup>31</sup> The date 528 gives us what Alram refers to as the 'first terminus post quem' for the retreat of the Alchon back to Afghanistan.<sup>32</sup> According to Hsuan-tsang this occurred during Mihirakula's campaign to conquer Magadha. During his captivity, his domains fell to a ruler by the name of Hiranayakula, who may have been Mihirakula's uncle or brother (most likely his brother).<sup>33</sup> Mihirakula, after his release, then fled to Kashmir where he was received by the local rulers, in particular a benevolent raja by the name of Matrgupta. Eventually, he fomented a rebellion and had the ruler of Kashmir killed,

assuming the throne for himself. From his new base in Kashmir he attacked Gandhara again, and had the royal family and ministers put to death. He destroyed Buddhist temples and stupas and killed more than half of the people on account of their Buddhist faith. He died during his Gandhara campaign, and according to Hsuan-tsang, 'was said to have fallen into the hell of incessant suffering.'<sup>34</sup>

We know very little about the period which followed, which was marked by the emergence of the Nazek Hunnic tribes in Bactria and Gandhara. From numismatic sources and the *Rajatarangina*, the names of other rulers of the dynasty come to light. In the *Rajatarangina*, Toramana is succeeded by Pravarasena, Yudisthira, Narendraditya Lakhana (Narendra of the coins), Ranaditya Tunjina, Vikramaditya, and Baladitya. Based on coins, we know the names of some additional rulers, namely Jara (Jarana or Jariva), Purvaditya, Purmmaditya, Maboma sahi, Baysara, and others.<sup>35</sup> Göbl dates Narendra (also referred to as 'Narana' on coins) at ca. 570/580 to 600 AD or later, at about the time the Nazek Huns of Zabul established themselves in the political arena. According to Göbl, the withdrawal of the Alchon Hunas back into Ghazni occurred during the reign of Narendra. They supposedly retreated from Gandhara to Peshawar, through the Khyber Pass or Khuram Valley, to Gardez, and finally to Ghazni.<sup>36</sup> The latest Hunnic king (d. ca. 600 AD) is known only by his honorific title, Purvaditya. Dani outlines the chronology alternatively as follows: Mihirakula, Pravarasena (interregnum), Gokarna, Narendraditya Khinkhila, and Yudhishtira.<sup>37</sup>

### Religion and Symbols

In reference to the religious symbols found on Hephthalite coins, it is worth including a short discussion on religion in the Alchon domains of Gandhara. We know that Khingila, Toramana, and Mihirakula had adopted Hindu practices. The Hunas of the Oxus, according to Sung Yun, worshipped 'foreign gods' and their counterparts in Gandhara honored *kui-shen* (demons).<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, Cunningham asserted that Toramana may have been a Sun-worshipper, as his title is Jaubl / Javula / Javubl / Jabul (meaning prince), which may associate him with a king 'Jabun' who erected a temple to the Sun in Multan.<sup>39</sup> Mihirakula, before his persecution of Buddhists<sup>40</sup>, is said to have taken interest in Buddhism and patronised certain monastic establishments.<sup>41</sup> The population of Gandhara during the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD was predominantly Buddhist, with a Hindu and Zoroastrian population, as well as followers of middle Persian deities, e.g. Mithra, Ardoksho, and others, oft depicted on classical Kushan currency. According to Sung-Yun, 'the people of the country [Gandhara] belonged entirely to the Brahmin caste (i.e., Aryan race); they had great respect for the law of the Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books when suddenly this king [Lae-lih, or Khingila] came into power, who was strongly opposed to Buddhism.'<sup>42</sup>

Archaeological evidence reveals that the Kashmir Smast area in particular was home to a plethora of different religious traditions which seemed to coexist during the early medieval / late ancient period. Recently archeologists in Pakistan have uncovered an early Shaivite monastic establishment in the Kashmir Smast caves dating back to between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>43</sup>

On the Alchon coins of Kashmir Smast, we find mainly Hindu symbols, in particular those associated with Siva (also

24 Göbl, 69.  
25 Litvinsky, 141.  
26 Silk Road.  
27 Göbl, 53.  
28 Biswas, 65.  
29 Biswas, 72.  
30 Litvinsky, 141.  
31 Biswas, 71.  
32 Alram HCD, 131.  
33 Biswas, 70.

34 Soka Gakkai.  
35 Biswas, 113.  
36 Göbl, 71.  
37 Litvinsky, 169.  
38 Litvinsky, 147.  
39 Qureshi, 159.  
40 Litvinsky, 147.  
41 Göbl, 254-255.  
42 Qureshi, 158.  
43 Khan, Shaivite Temple at Kashmir Smast.

adopted by Buddhists of the region), including the *dharmachakra*, the mirror, the *trishula*, sceptre, and others. Persian symbols such as the pomegranate and *Senmurv* are also featured. The only depiction of a deity is that of Ardoksho, the Persian deity, which will be described in detail below. Ardoksho has often been associated with the Goddess Lakshmi.

While adopting the local religious practices and symbols, the Hunas brought with them their tribal *tamghas*, the most prevalent being the Lunar Bull *tamgha*, described below, which seems to be the overarching symbol of the dynasty. A group of new *tamghas* appear along side the Lunar Bull *tamgha* on the Kashmir Smast issues. It is important to take note of these *tamghas* as they are most likely the local dynastic symbols of the Kashmir Smast principality.

## PRESENTATION

*Note: Robert Göbl's* *Dokumente Zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien (hereinafter referred to as Hunnen)* volumes have been employed as the primary reference. 'Em.' will generally refer to issues listed in *Göbl Hunnen*, or to the issues introduced herein.

### Part I: The Hephthalite Lunar Bull *tamgha*: The Alchon Investiture *Senmurv* AE and related coins

The first part of this article focuses on five (and one additional AE from Bannu) unpublished varieties of Hephthalite coins from the Kashmir Smast horde, which feature the Alchon Lunar Bull *tamgha*, and which therefore may be attributed to the Alchon period, during which time the *tamgha* was commonly used on AR and AE coinage. (The *tamgha* is found on certain Nazek issues, but according to Alram, may have been adopted by the Nazek Huns from the coinage of Narendra in Kabul).<sup>44</sup>

The Hephthalite Lunar Bull *tamgha*, discussed by Göbl, (he refers to it as the S1 in Volume IV of *Hunnen*), represents the frontal view of a bull.<sup>45</sup> Its horns form the top *crescent* portion of the *tamgha*, implying links between early medieval lunar symbolism and the sacred bull. The lower part of the *tamgha*, the legs and body of the cow, is supposedly Indian in origin, being derived from the *Nandipada-triratna*.<sup>46</sup>

In Göbl *Hunnen*, the first appearance of the Lunar Bull *tamgha* is during what he refers to as the period of the *Alchon Anonymer Clanchef*. Given the fact that the first coinage of the early clan-chiefs closely imitated Sasanian prototypes, it is likely that the varieties presented in this article were issued after this period, perhaps during the reign of Khingila or later by which time Alchon Hunnic coinage had assumed particular features, characterized by a unique artistic style and the presence of certain symbols.

The weight and fabric of all five varieties conforms to the Kashmir Smast standard, small crudely struck coins generally ranging from 0.5 to 1.3 grams, similar to what Mitchiner refers to as the Hunnic ¼ drachm.<sup>47</sup>

#### 1. The Alchon 'Duck' (*Senmurv*)



44 Alram HCD, 133.

45 Göbl, 206.

46 Göbl, 207.

47 Mitchiner ACW, 232.

- a. AE Unit  
1.17 g. / 14.1 x 13.9 mm.



Enlargement of Em. 1a

- b. AE Unit  
1.13 g. / 14.7 x 15.3 mm.



- c. AE Unit  
0.84 g. / 1.30 x 1.22 mm.



- d. AE Unit  
0.87 g. / 1.89 x 1.30 mm.



- e. AE Unit  
0.94 g. / 1.94 x 1.23 mm.



Obv.: *Senmurv* right holding pearls and streamers  
Rev.: Six-akshara Brahmi legend

The author's collection contains five specimens of a small, round, AE coin originally referred to in the Peshawar bazaars as the 'duck' coin. The symbolism and artistry on this rare investiture piece make it a historically significant and artistically unusual find.

The obverse depicts a duck-like bird holding a string of pearls in its beak, attached to two royal ribbons / bands. The *Senmurv*, a mythical bird often depicted on Hunnic coins and found on a series of Hunnic countermarks (KM 1-12 / c in Göbl *Hunnen*), is often pictured carrying a string of pearls in its beak (KM 11 a, for example), or a string of pearls attached to two royal bands. The string of pearls and attached bands were the two prime symbols of investiture during the late Sasanian and Hunnic periods.<sup>48</sup> According to Persianate / Hunnic mythology, the *Senmurv* is the carrier of the investiture symbols, which it bestows upon each ruler.<sup>49</sup>

The bands, a device originally found on Sasanian coins, were adopted by various Hunnic dynasties in their silver drachms as well as in their AE coinage, including the Alchon, Kidara, Nezak, and Turk Shahi. In late Sasanian coinage, prior to the Hunnic invasions into Eastern Iran, we find depictions of kings on silver drachms wearing necklaces (strings of pearls) to which are attached two striped flowing bands. Such bands also form part of many Hunnic crowns, affixed to the rear portion of the diadem.

The *Senmurv*, or *Simurgh*, in ancient Persia is normally depicted as a griffin-like creature, part mammal and part bird, with a curved beak, protruding tongue, and two arms in addition to wings, or as a winged dog with fish scales. It is said to be the union of the earth, sea, and sky. Later, in Islamic mythology, it features in Firdausi's *Shahnameh*, composed for the Ghaznavid court in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The *Simurgh* takes on great metaphysical connotations in Farid al-Din Attar's classic, *The Conference of the Birds* where it represents the divine form.

Here it takes the form of a simple duck-like bird, with a straight beak and small rounded body. This is an unusual and perhaps unique style of representing this mythical creature.

In the upper left field of the obverse is the Hephthalite Lunar Bull symbol.

The reverse legend contains six Brahmi *aksharas* in two lines, in an early medieval Kushano-Sasanian / Kidarite style of Brahmi. The two line legend reads:<sup>50</sup>

*Ja Ya Ti  
Dha Rma H*

The legend reads *Jayati Dharma*, meaning 'the victorious law'. This particular legend also appears on a Hunnic AR drachm in the Ashmolean published by Göbl.

The title *Jayati* or *Jayatu* is found generally on Peshawar minted issues of Toramana (Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 108-109), Mihirakula (Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 134-136), and Narendra (Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 138, 174, 176). Two of Khingila's coins (Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 77 and 82) may potentially read *Jayati* but this is not conclusive.

Toramana is referred to by the title, *Jayatu Bayasa* (or *Vayasa*). Mihirakula is referred to both as *Jayatu Mihirakula* or *Jayatu Vrsadhvaja*. On Narendra's coins *Jayatu* is followed by the emperor's name Narendra or Narana.<sup>51</sup>

The use of the title *Jayati*, therefore, suggests that the coin may have been struck during the reign of Toramana or Mihirakula.

An alternative reading suggests that the '*rma*' on the second line is instead a '*kla*', in which case the legend would read:

*Dha Kla H*

with *Dhakla* being the name of a potential ruler or clan.

48 Göbl, 219.

49 Göbl, 175-176.

50 Readings by Harry Falk, Dilip Rajgor, and Waleed Ziad.

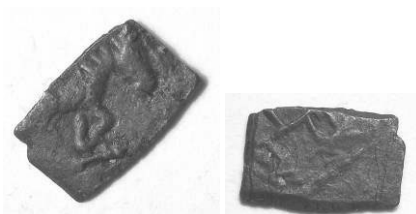
51 Göbl, Tafel 22-48.

The legend '*Dha Rma*' or '*Dha Kla*' also appears on the reverse of a number of Kidarite-style AE units from the Kashmir Smast hoard, to be presented in a forthcoming article.

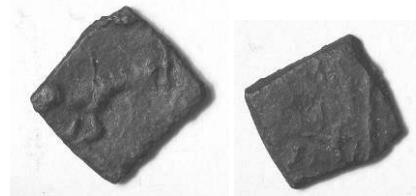
## 2. The Alchon Running Horse



a. AE Unit  
0.46 g. / 14.4 x 6.4 mm.



b. AE Unit  
0.54 g. / 10.1 x 9.2 mm.



Obv.: Horse galloping right

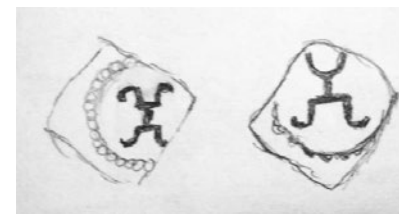
Rev.: Lunar Bull *Tamgha*

Two specimens of an unpublished, anepigraphic AE unit were found in the hoard. These small rectangular coins feature a highly stylised, crudely rendered galloping horse on the obverse. Since both specimens are not centered on the flan, only the forepart of the horse is visible. The legs of the horse are bent unnaturally three times, with the foot pointing upward, in a running motion.

The reverse depicts the Alchon Lunar Bull *tamgha* within a square border.

This particular type of horse image has never been recorded on any Hunnic coins, and does not resemble any horse images found on coins of the period from neighbouring kingdoms. Without additional historical evidence, it is difficult to speculate further on the nature of the piece.

## 3. Two *tamghas*: Lunar Bull *Tamgha* and Double 'Bull legs' *Tamgha* AE Unit



a. 0.61 g. / 10.3 x 10.0 mm.





b. 0.65 g. / 11.8 x 12.2 mm.



c. 0.59 g. / 11.9 x 11.0 mm.



Obv.: Double 'Bull's Legs' tamgha  
Rev.: Lunar Bull tamgha

Three specimens of a small round AE, were found in the hoard. The obverse features an Alchon Lunar Bull tamgha in a circular beaded border.

The reverse features a hitherto unpublished tamgha in a circular beaded border, which appears to be a derivation of the Hephthalite Lunar Bull tamgha. The bottom portion is identical to the Lunar Bull tamgha, but the top portion is a mirror image of the bottom portion.

We may assume in this case, following Göbl's lead, that the double-crescent tamgha is a local tamgha of the principality, while the Lunar Tamgha represents allegiance to an Alchon overlord. The presence of a number of coins in the hoard with different busts on the obverse and on the reverse may signify a similar relationship.

4. Double-Crescent Tamgha (from Bannu hoard) AE Unit  
1.94 g. / 1.70 x 1.68 mm.



Obv.: Bust of king facing right or 2/3 right, with a crescent in front of the bust, and a headdress (?) resembling a rectangle. The bust resembles those of Em. 27 in Göbl Hunnun.  
Rev.: Double-Crescent tamgha surrounded by round, beaded border.

While not related to the Kashmir Smast hoard, I am presenting a coin acquired in 1998 in Bannu (NWFP, Pakistan) from a hoard of small Kidarite and related AE coins. It is a larger coin, weighing 1.94 grams, the only one of this size / style found in the hoard. The other coins in the hoard were varieties of Göbl Hunnen Em.

25-27. While the previous issue presented above features a tamgha formed of two lower portions of the Lunar Bull tamgha, this coin features a tamgha made up of two top portions of the Lunar Bull tamgha, i.e. two crescents facing different directions connected by a line.

Whether there is indeed a connection between the two tamghas is a matter of speculation in the absence of further information. The tamgha also resembles the tamgha used in the civic AEs of the principality of Benaken in 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century Sogdiana.<sup>52</sup> (The Benaken tamgha is composed of two crescents connected by two lines rather than one line.) Sogd was occupied by the Huns during the early medieval period, and the classic tamgha of Sogd appeared in Alchon Hunnic coinage (listed by Göbl as Tamgha 2, on Em. 33-34, and on drachms of the successors of Shahi Goboziko in Kabul).<sup>53</sup> Again, any connection is purely speculative.

The lower part of the reverse indicates that this coin is overstruck, or that a weak counterstamp has been applied.

5. Two Lunar Bull Tamghas AE Unit  
0.59 g. / 11.0 x 10.6 mm.

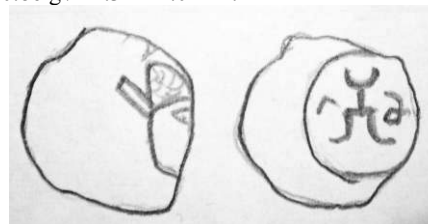


Obv.: Alchon Lunar Bull tamgha in a square beaded border.  
Rev.: Alchon Lunar Bull tamgha. There are two undecipherable, crudely rendered aksharas, one on each side of the tamgha, both of which resemble inverted 'U's.

One specimen, a small thin square AE, was found in the hoard. A potential reading is as follows. This reading must be substantiated with a better specimen, and it is also likely the legend is corrupt:

Ga Ga or Ga Ta

6. AE Unit  
0.86 g. / 11.3 x 11.0 mm.



Obv.: Off-center crowned bust left (?)  
Rev.: Lunar Bull Tamgha, two undecipherable aksharas one each side

A better specimen is required to determine the true nature of the obverse design.

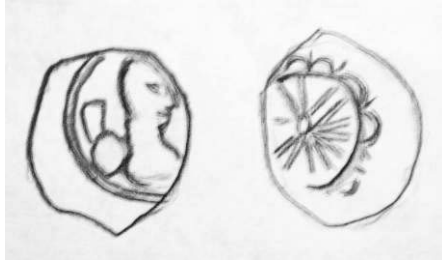
52 Rtveldze, 168.  
53 Göbl IHM, Em. 32A.

**Part II: The Solar Wheel**

In India, the wheel symbol is used to connote the solar wheel, or *dharmacakra* (the wheel of life). The solar wheel image has been employed in Alchon, Nazek, and Turk Shahi coins. With time, suggests Göbl, the wheel in the Alchon series becomes closer to a flower or star.<sup>54</sup>

Stylistically, Em. 7 below can without doubt be attributed to the Alchon period. Em. 8 and 9, however, are rendered in slightly different style. However, among Hunnic coins the solar wheel symbols below are found primarily in Alchon coinage. In various Hunnic dynasties, the solar wheel is pictured in a variety of contexts, as part of a crown, and with other symbols such as vases and banners, but a reverse design comprising solely a solar wheel is only found in Alchon coins, based on Göbl and Mitchiner attributions.<sup>55</sup>

7. Narendra AE Unit  
1.02 g. / 14.2 x 12.0 mm.



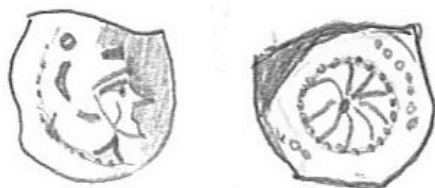
Obv.: Narendra or Khingila style 'tall bust' bare-headed king facing right. Royal band emanating from neck area.  
Rev.: Flower-like solar wheel, a version of Symbole 93 in Göbl *Hunnen* (with one circle surrounding the wheel rather than two).

This crudely struck bronze can clearly be dated to the Alchon period.

The Göbl *Hunnen* Symbole 93-style solar wheel is found in silver and debased varieties of coins issued by Narendra featuring the legend *jayatu* (Göbl *Hunnen* 171-173). Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 171-173, according to Göbl, were issued during the Alchon retreat from Gandhara toward the Khyber Pass or the Kurram Valley toward Ghazni. Issues 171 to 173 supposedly originate from Peshawar, during the early portion of the retreat.

Also, if Göbl is correct in assuming that the more stylised flower-like wheels are a later variation of the simple wheel, a Narendra or later Hunnic attribution may be appropriate.

8. AE Unit



54 Göbl, 214-215.  
55 Mitchiner ACW, 496, 599, 610.

- a. 0.55 g. / 13.2 x 11.9 mm.



- b. 0.57 g. / 13.7 x 11.6 mm.



- c. 0.70 g. / 12 x 12 mm.



(Photo, courtesy Wilfried Pieper)

Obv.: Beardless bust wearing headdress facing right.  
Rev.: Alternative version of solar wheel with ten curved spokes inside single circle.

The bust on this and the following coin, due to the crude nature of execution, cannot be stylistically linked to any particular period. The headdress appears similar to the cap-like headdress on Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 139, from the second reign of Mihirakula, but more closely resembles Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 134-136, Em. 151-153, and 158-159, issued in Mihirakula's capital of Sakala (Sialkot).<sup>56</sup>

While a wheel of this exact type is not listed by Göbl, a similar wheel (Symbole 44) is found on Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 127 and Em. 128 (issued by Toramana in the vicinity of Sakala, before it became the Alchon capital), and on Em. 177 and Em. 178 (attributed to Toramana and Mihirakula).

The striking of this coin may fall between the early and mid-part of Mihirakula's reign.

9. AE Unit  
0.72 g. / 13.2 x 13.2 mm



Obv.: Very crudely rendered beardless bust wearing headdress (?) with pointed features, wearing what appears to be a turreted headdress.

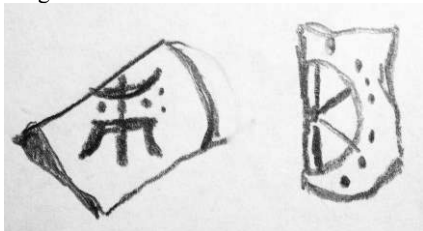
Rev.: Alternative flower-type version of solar wheel with seven straight spokes between two circles.

56 Göbl, 68-70

This coin is stylistically different from the preceding wheel type. The headdress appears to be turreted, which would be unusual for a coin from Toramana or Mihirakula's reign, but a better specimen would be required to ascertain the exact nature of the headdress.

The solar wheel, again most similar to Symbole 44, is more like the flower, which may mean that this was struck toward the end of Mihirakula's reign or during Narendra's reign.

10. AE Unit  
1.20 g. / 14.2 x 9.0 mm



*Obv.:* Trident with a dot on either side

*Rev.:* Solar wheel with six straight spokes between, surrounded by beading

This coin is not minted on the Kashmir Smast standard, and is of a thick, dumpy fabric. A small number of unpublished coins in this fabric were found at the cave.

The obverse features a trident (trishula)-type tamgha. The trident or trishula, a symbol of Lord Shiva, is the second most important emblem of Shaivites after *nandi*. It signifies the three fundamental *shaktis* or powers - *icha* (desire, will, love), *kriya* (action) and *jnana* (wisdom). It features on numerous Hunnic coins, generally those of Toramana and Mihirakula. The trident featured on this piece resembles Göbl's Symbole 16, found on Em. 99, a drachm of Toramana, in which it appears in front of the ruler's bust.

The solar wheel depicted on the reverse, surrounded by a beaded circle, is most similar to Göbl's Symbole 44, found on Göbl Em. 120-125, 127-132, and 154-155, all bronzes of Mihirakula and Toramana from the central Punjab, in particular from the capital at Sakala.

This issue may then be attributed to either of the two rulers.

### **Part III: Stylistic Similarities to Alchon Portraits**

In addition to the coins above, there are a handful of other anepigraphic varieties in the hoard which can be stylistically linked to the Alchon period. The link is based primarily on the style of the bust of each ruler pictured, and is detailed below.

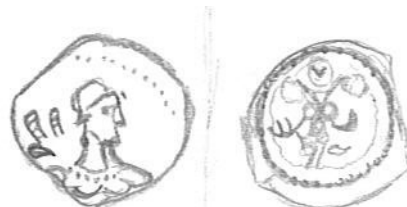
#### ***Group I: The Seated Ardoksho Coins***

Four varieties feature the goddess Ardoksho on the reverse. Ardoksho, often associated with Lakshmi, is the Persian / Indic goddess of plenty and fortune. She is depicted in early Kushan coinage standing, holding cornucopiae and a bow representing the harvest and the hunt. In later Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins (AE and AR), Ardoksho is depicted nimbate, seated on a throne cross-legged.

While I plan to delve deeper into this issue, it appears that a disproportionate number of the unpublished Kashmir Smast coins feature Ardoksho on the reverse. In fact, apart from the fire altar, a depiction of Ardoksho seated on a lion or a throne is the most common reverse image. While a number of Kushano-Sasanian / Kushan imitation dumpy coins found in Kashmir Smast feature Ardoksho, there are additional gods and goddesses found on these including Shiva, Ahuramazd (above altars), and others. Kidarite and Alchon imitations, as well as unpublished dumpy Kushano-Sasanian imitation coins, of Kashmir Smast feature Ardoksho. It is possible that Ardoksho was a preferred deity in the Kashmir Smast principality.

It is also worth noting that this particular Kushan-style depiction of Ardoksho does not appear on any Alchon coins recorded by Göbl, Mitchiner, or Alram, but does appear on earlier Kidara and Kushano-Sasanian pieces from Kashmir Smast.

- 11.



- a. AE Unit  
0.60 g. / 15.0 x 13.2 mm



- b. AE Unit  
0.94 g. / 14.2 x 13.2 mm.



- c. AE Unit  
0.94 g. / 14.2 x 13.2 mm.



*Obv.:* Bare-headed bust of beardless ruler facing right with unkempt short hair, wearing a diadem surmounted by a crescent; two streamers behind bust

*Rev.:* Ardoksho seated facing

Three pieces of this type are depicted above. The reasons for the attribution to the Alchon period are as follows:

a) The diadem and crescent are most often associated with the Kidara and Alchon, originating with Yezdgard I, and;

b) The artistic style / certain portrait features, with a combination of short hair and lack of facial hair are similar to the portraits on a number of Alchon seals (e.g. Seals 30 and 31 in Göbl *Hunnen*).

Small Kidarite bronzes from Gandhara (Bannu) picturing busts with crescent headdresses tend to depict kings with long hair. The execution of this piece, for the Kashmir Smast hoard, is of a high quality.

12.



a. AE Unit  
0.64 g. / 12.3 x 11.9 mm.



b. AE Unit  
0.71 g. / 12.7 x 10.8 mm.

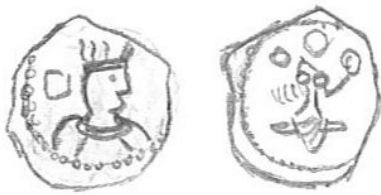


*Obv.*: Bare-headed bust of beardless ruler facing right with close cut hair, wearing diadem.  
*Rev.*: Ardoksho seated facing

Two pieces of this type have been found in the hoard. Again, like Em. 11, the link to the Alchon period is stylistic. The rendition of seated Ardoksho is superb for the series, and finer than most Kushano-Sasanian and Kushan prototypes.

The portrait on issue 11b. appears to be nimbate.

13. 'Rma' or 'Kla' AE Unit  
0.51 g / 12.9 x 12.0 mm.



*Obv.*: Bare-headed bust of beardless ruler right wearing diadem (stylistically different from above and crudely rendered). Brahmi *akshara* behind bust

*Rev.*: Ardoksho seated facing

The flan is thinner than the previous varieties. The *akshara* on the obverse may be read as:

*Rma* or *Kla*

14. 'Ha Ra' AE Unit  
0.60 g / 11.9 x 11.0 mm.



*Obv.*: Two Brahmi *aksharas*  
*Rev.*: Crude Ardoksho seated facing

The legend on this coin most probably reads: *Ha Ra*

This legend appears again in Em. 18 below. The legend may be either a royal name / clan name, or a reference to Lord Shiva, who was the patron deity of a number of Hunnic Alchon rulers.

**Group II: Other Varieties**

15. AE Unit  
0.52 g. / 12.2 x 12.0 mm.



*Obv.*: Tall bust, beardless, close cut hair, facing right, wearing diadem; crude indecipherable legend in front of bust reduced to dashes.

*Rev.*: Stylised fire altar with protruding flames.

We may speculate on the religious inclinations of the issuing ruler as a new variety of fire altar is depicted on this issue, distinct from those portrayed on other Sasanian coins, and the Hunnic coins of Siva worshippers who simply imitated the device. This novel form of altar may indicate that the issuer of the coin held Zoroastrian beliefs.

16. AE Unit  
0.68 g. / 14.7 x 12.9 mm.





Enlargement of Em. 16

*Obv.*: Tall bust of Khingila variety, moustached, with mirror in front.

*Rev.*: Ghosting of obverse and traces of reverse design.

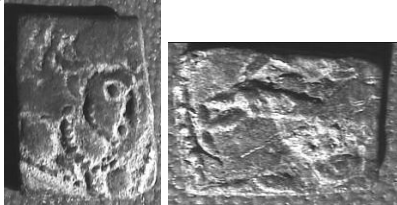
The obverse design of this piece is identical to Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 70, attributed to Khingila during the first phase after his assumption to the crown. We can clearly see signs of cranial deformation. This issue can therefore be attributed to the reign of Khingila.

Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 70 is the only Alchon coin featuring a mirror. The mirror symbol, which originates in Hinduism and takes on further connotations with the advent of Buddhism, signifies right thought. It represents the *dharmakaya*, having the aspects of purity, wisdom, and the ability to reflect perfectly without distinction.

17. AE Unit  
a. 0.69 g. / 11.1 x 10.1 mm.



- b. Approx. 0.6 g. / 10x7 mm.



(Photo, courtesy Wilfried Pieper)

*Obv.*: Crowned, bearded Alchon-style bust right, wearing earring and necklace. Streamer to the left.

*Rev.*: Unidentifiable zoomorphic figure.

Specimen b has been kindly provided by Wilfried Pieper. Stylistically, based on the elongated scalp, we may tentatively attribute this piece to the Alchon period. However, the presence of a thin beard may challenge this attribution.

The crown/headdress on this issue is worth noting. While the upper portion of the headdress is not visible, there is a two-pronged protrusion emanating from the left portion. A better specimen will be required to determine the exact nature of the crown.

18. 'Ha Ra' AE Unit  
0.41 g. / 10.7 x 9.7 mm.



*Obv.*: Bust facing right. Degenerate legend in front of bust, comprising three dashes.

*Rev.*: Two *akshara* legend

The weak strike on the obverse makes this piece difficult to attribute stylistically. The bust is clearly beardless, and appears to be without any pronounced headdress. The presence of a Brahmi legend narrows the possible time frame to the Kidarite and Alchon periods. The reverse legend clearly reads:

*Ha Ra*

Again, this may signify a title or an abbreviated form of the ruler's name, or a reference to Lord Shiva, the patron deity of the Alchon rulers in India. This is identical to legend on Em. 14 above. If the legend is indeed the name or title of the ruler, we could assume that Em. 14 belongs to the same ruler / period as Em. 18. The question arises as to whether the other Alchon pieces depicting Ardoksho are at all related to Em. 14. This naturally is a difficult assumption to make given the fact that Ardoksho appears on both Kidarite and Alchon coins from Kashmir Smast. It is noteworthy that the two-word legend 'Ha Ra' does not appear in any of the issues in Göbl *Hunnen*.

### Group III: Seated Lion Variety

In addition, there are four varieties of rectangular coins featuring a distinctive seated lion on the obverse / reverse, distantly linked to the lion bronzes of the Scythian ruler, Azes II.<sup>57</sup> The reason for attributing these to the Alchon period is indirect, and based on stylistic elements. One of three varieties (Em. 20 below) features a seated lion on the reverse and a beardless Alchon bust stylistically similar to the coins of Khingila or Dhala / Dhali.<sup>58</sup> It is a beardless bust with large almond-shaped eyes characteristic of the Alchon drachms portraits, and long earrings.

19. AE Unit  
a. 0.82 g. / 13.1 x 11.0 mm



Enlargement of Em. 19a

<sup>57</sup> Mitchiner ACW, 334-335.  
<sup>58</sup> CNG, Auction 45, Lot 738.

b. 0.87 g. / 14.1 x 11.0 mm

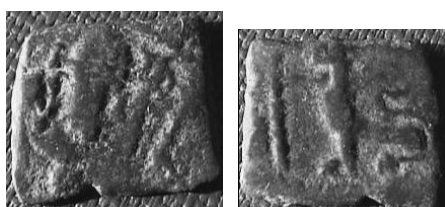


c. approx. 1 g. / 14 x 12 mm.



(Photo, courtesy Ijaz Khan)

d. 0.66 g. / 13.0 x 10.0 mm.



(Photo, courtesy Wilfried Pieper)

*Obv.*: Tall beardless bust, diademed, with short hair facing right. Two *aksharas* in top right and top left corner.

(While the specimens in the author's collection have a clear image of the lower part of the obverse, a similar variety sold by CNG in Auction 61, Lot 925, has a clear upper portion.)<sup>59</sup>

*Rev.*: Seated lion with open jaw facing left, tail curled upwards.

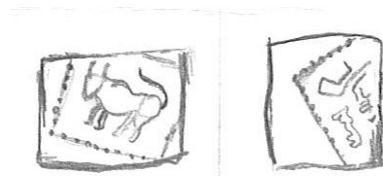
*Ma / Rma Ha / Pa*

The first *akshara* is most probably a 'Ma' ('*rma*' has also been suggested while less likely), while the second has been read as 'Ha' or 'Pa'. Note the similarities in the facial features of the bust featured in this coin and that of Em. 17 above.

Four different, seated-lion varieties have been discovered by the author, some featuring unique sets of Brahmi *aksharas*. The seated-lion series will be addressed in detail in a subsequent article.

**Group IV: Miscellaneous**

20.



a. AE Unit  
0.93 g. / 11.2 x 11.0 mm



59 CNG, Auction 61, Lot 925.

b. AE Unit  
0.70 g. / 10.9 x 9.4 mm



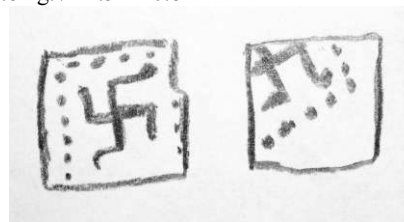
*Obv.*: Standing bull facing left  
*Rev.*: Blank

All known specimens of this issue have no visible reverse designs. This is corroborated by Ijaz Khan, who has seen a number of specimens. The strike is not strong enough to obliterate a reverse image; we, therefore, assume that this is a uniface issue. The reason for including this coin in the Alchon group is that, like the above, they are struck on rectangular flans and the image is surrounded by a beaded border. In the absence of further evidence, it is difficult to speculate further on the nature of these pieces.

While the *nandi* bull is depicted alongside standing Siva in Kidara and Kushano-Sasanian coins, a lone standing bull, features in the AE issues minted by Mihirakula (Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 151-159) in and around the capital city of Sakala.<sup>60</sup>

These coins can be tentatively attributed to Mihirakula's reign.

21. AE Unit  
0.82 g. / 11.5 x 10.8 mm



*Obv.*: Swastika with two curled ends  
*Rev.*: Swastika with one visible curled end

The swastika, another early Indic symbol, is not commonly found in Hunnic coinage. It appeared as a countermark on Göbl *Hunnen* 295, a Peroz imitation of the Alchon "Genuine Hephthalites" series. A derivation with a crescent at one end features on Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 108, a drachm of Toramana.

Given the fact that the reverse is partially off-flan it is difficult to determine whether the swastika on the reverse is of a similar nature.

22. AE Unit  
0.54 g. / 9.5 x 5.4 mm



*Obv.*: Female deity standing facing right  
*Rev.*: Two Kobadian-style tamghas within beaded border

60 Narain, 6.

The female deity on the obverse resembles Symbols 22 and 87, featured on Göbl *Hunnen* Em. 91 and 149, more closely resembling the latter. According to Göbl, this figure represents Lakshmi, standing on a lotus flower (the area below the legs in the above example is off the flan) and is derived from the “standing queen” image on the Asvamehda (horse sacrifice) dinars of Samudragupta. Given the frequency of Ardoksho / Lakshmi portrayals on Kashmir Smast bronzes, it is likely that this too represents Lakshmi. In both issues, the figures appear in front of the ruler’s bust. Em. 91 is attributed to the later period of Khingila, while 149 is a later coin of Narendra, associated with the retreat from Gandhara into Bactria, and Göbl explains that it was possibly minted in Ghazni (post c. 570 AD). This was the period of Alchon decline and tribal warfare, when according to Göbl, they suffered at the hands of the Nazek, the Western Turks, and what he describes as the “Genuine Hephthalites”. Mitchiner places the Genuine Hephthalites as part of the Alchon group due to the Bactrian inscription “Alchon” on their Sasanian derivative drachms.

The symbol on the left portion of the reverse (and possibly the right symbol as well) appears to be Göbl’s tamgha 59. The tamgha features on the right field of Göbl Em. 289, the Peroz imitation drachms of the Kobadian principality in Bactria. Mitchiner describes these as derivatives of the Alchon drachms issued after the captivity of the Sasanian emperor Peroz by the Hephthalites in the latter half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup> The Kobadian drachms have been attributed to a Turko-Hephthalite (Western Turk) kingdom of the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. Since the entire flan is not visible, it is difficult to gauge the exact nature of the central tamgha.

Therefore, it is possible to attribute this issue to the period of warfare between the Western Turks and the Alchon in the Ghazni area in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, possibly to Narendra or later rulers.

#### **Part IV: Alchon Seals and Plaques**

- S1. An Alchon Trident Seal AE  
30.1 x 22.7 mm



The following Alchon seals and seal impressions were discovered in Kashmir Smast and other parts of Gandhara. The above bears the name:

*Sri Randrokshi*

This name has not been encountered before in any Hunnic literature. Given the fineness of execution and the use of Brahmi calligraphic script, we can assume that this belonged to either a member of the royal family or to Hunnic aristocracy. It features a trident found on silver drachms of Toramana.

- S2. Clay  
Swat/Bunair  
49 x 38 mm (object), 25 x 18.5 mm (seal impression)

<sup>61</sup> Mitchiner ACW, 228.



- S3. Clay  
Shah Pur/Sargodha  
24 mm (object), 18 mm (seal impression)



- S4. Clay  
Taxila  
21 x 23 mm (clay), 16 x 13 mm (seal impression)



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### A Kidarite period AE unit featuring an Elephant and a Royal Globe from Kashmir Smast

By Waleed Ziad

1. AE Unit  
a. 0.92 g / 12.8 x 12.3 mm



- b. 2.06 g / 15 x 14 mm



(Photo, courtesy Wilfried Pieper)

Obv.: Standing elephant facing right; two aksharas above  
Rev.: Poppy-head / artichoke globe

The elephant image, especially one of such fineness of execution, is unknown in any Hunnic issues. It may be derived from Indo-Scythian or Indo-Greek AE units circulating in Gandhara at the time. It is noteworthy that the author has found in a Hunnic Kashmir Smast hoard, a bisected Indo-Scythian AE unit of Azes II. The Alchon lion series of Kashmir Smast also feature an image derived from Scythian bronzes. The aksharas on the top left read as follows (the second akshara is difficult to decipher):

*La Ga*

The symbol on the reverse is a poppy-head / artichoke royal globe found on most Kidara crowns, a symbol of sovereignty borrowed from the Sasanian and Kushano-Sasanian rulers. It features on all Kidara gold staters and on virtually all Kidara and Kushano-Sasanian silver drachms. It is often also associated with the pomegranate. Göbl lists the crown varieties featuring this symbol from Kronen 1 to 6 and Krone 71. The Kidara attribution is fairly certain, as all Kidara crowns are modeled after Sasanian and Kushano-Sasanian prototypes, with royal symbols atop ridges and bands. The Alchon Huns did not borrow Sasanian crown imagery mainly because they never served as vassals to either of the kingdoms.

### A Turko-Hephthalite AE depicting a Senmurv (Simurgh) from Kashmir Smast

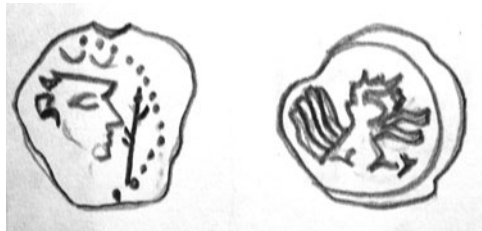
By Waleed Ziad



*Forepart of a Senmurv*



1. AE Thin Unit



a. 0.35 g. / 12.5x12.3 mm.



a. 0.38 g. / 12.1x12.3 mm.



*Obv.:* Beardless bust right, wearing crown composed of two crescents. Streamer to the left.

*Rev.:* Forepart of *Senmurv*.

Two specimens of this variety were discovered in separate Kashmir Smast finds. A close examination of this variety suggests an attribution to the Turko-Hephthalite or Western Turk period. An earlier Alchon attribution is based on the depiction on the obverse of a double crescent crown. A simplified version of the double crescent crown appears in the following Alchon series presented in Göbl *Hunnen*:

- 1) Conical crown - Khingila, Toramana, Mihirakula: Kronen 14, 17, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, etc.
- 2) Flat diadem - Narendra: Kronen 35, 64, 73, 74, etc.

However, the style of bust which appears on Narendra's coinage (entire bust from arms up) is distinct from this example, which depicts only the head of the ruler without shoulders visible.

Two crescent crowns, surmounted by a wolf head, a bull's head, a lion's head, and / or wings are commonly found in Turko-Hephthalite coins, of Sahi Tegin and other rulers. (Göbl *Hunnen* Kronen 40, 42, 47, 51-54, 64, etc.) Further, the wafer thin, brittle fabric of this coin is more similar to the known Turko-Hephthalite period AEs of Kashmir Smast. (Kidara and Alchon Kashmir Smast varieties tend to have slightly thicker flans).

The zoomorphic figure on the reverse is the forepart of a *Senmurv* of the type seen on countermarks on Sasanian drachms of Khusru II and Yezdgerd III, as well as Arab-Sasanian drachms (Göbl *Hunnen* KM 1, 3, 7, 10, 11A – 11K). These are believed to have been applied by later Turk Shahi rulers during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

This issue may likely be connected to the investiture piece, Göbl Em. 255, which depicts the King of Zabul wearing a two-crescent headdress with a *Senmurv* beside the bust and was issued at Ghazni. This piece corresponds with the official investiture of the Turko-Hephthalite King of Zabul by the Chinese court.

However, the staff in front of the bust is quite similar to that of Göbl Em. 252 and 253, Nazek drachms and AE units respectively minted in Gandhara. A number of varieties of Em.

253 have been discovered in Kashmir Smast and will be discussed in later chapters. The combining of Turko-Hephthalite and Nazek images may simply reflect the eclectic choice of symbols chosen by the Kashmir Smast moneyors, and may perhaps have no political meaning, especially since Turko-Hephthalite drachms are rarely found in Gandhara per se.

### A Malwa Mule

By Bernard Millancourt



I am publishing here an unusual muled falus, struck in Malwa in the name of the Gujarat Sultan, Mahmud III. The coin weighs 10.3 g and has a diameter of 18 mm. The obverse bears the legend: *qutb al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l fadl* and the date 946, and thus corresponds to type G&G M221, which is noted for years 945 and 946. The reverse has *al-sultān bin al-sultān* and the digits 54, which probably represent the date 945 retrograde, and corresponds to type G&G M222.

### “Between Attock and Jhelum, Muqarrab is king”

By Haroon Tareen

The Gakhar (also known as Khokhar in central and southern Punjab) tribe is settled in the Potohar region, between the rivers Jhelum and Indus. They claim Persian descent from families of some royal courtiers of the Sasanian king, Peroz II, who fled to China, thence to Tibet, Kashmir and ultimately to Kabul. Their descendants later on accompanied Subuktigin in his conquests of India. They settled in Potohar<sup>1</sup>.

This account is similar to other legends which say that they converted to Islam prior to joining Subuktigin in his campaigns in India<sup>2</sup>. There are flaws in this legend. Peroz II (and not Peroz I) was the 3<sup>rd</sup> last Sasanian monarch. He was on the throne for a brief period during 631 or 632 AD. He was not the last Sasanian monarch. The last one was Yezdegerd III, whose rule ended in September 651 AD<sup>3</sup>. Yet it is possible that, due to the internal civil war and tussle for the throne, Peroz II had fled not from advancing Arabs, but from his own Sasanian people and those who had espoused his cause had fled along with him. They could not have gone west to the advancing Arabs but had gone east towards their Central Asian allies, the Turk Khans, who were Chinese protégés.

In 651 AD, the Buddhist Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang, visited what was ancient Gandhara recording that the city of Taxila and the Salt Range were vassals of the kingdom of Kashmir. Taxila had been under Hephthalite occupation, but they (the Huns) themselves had been defeated in 565 AD by Khusraw I in coalition with the Western (Oghuz) Turks, who maintained weak control over the area until the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The Gakhars, therefore, probably either arrived in the Potohar region as Persian settlers after the invasion of Sasanians in 565 AD or they arrived with the fleeing Sasanians after the Arab invasion in 651 AD.

Mulla Muhammad Qasim Fareshta (born Astarabad 1552 AD), the author of “*Tarikh Fareshta*”, mentions the Gakhars for the first time by the name of “*Khakhars*”<sup>4</sup>

*“In 682 AD some disputes arising between the Khakhars and the Raja of Lahore, caused this race to make a treaty of alliance... with the Afghans, who compelled the Raja of Lahore to submit to terms from the Khakhars, to whom he could otherwise himself have dictated conditions.*”

*This treaty included the cession of certain territories in perpetuity to the Gakhars”.*

They are next mentioned when Mahmud of Ghazna attacked Peshawar in 399 AH (1008 AD) to avenge the collaboration and assistance provided by Anand Pal of Lahore to Abu'l Fateh Daud bin Nasr, the Qarmatid ruler of Multan. The Gakhars had joined other warlike tribes of the region to obstruct the invader. A narrative of the battle reports the presence of 30,000 bare-headed and bare-foot<sup>5</sup> Gakhars. The battle resulted in total victory for Mahmud and the annihilation of the allied army of Indians. The Ghaznavid Empire ended in 1149 AD with the capture of Ghazna by the Ghorid sultan, Muiz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam. Ghaznavid power in northern India continued until the conquest of Lahore in 1187 AD. Ferishta describes the Gakhars as wild barbarians involved in infanticide and indulging in polyandry before their conversion to Islam.

*“In 1204-5 AD they (Gakhars) rose up against the rule of Muhammad Ghori (Sultan Muiz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam), who took strong measures against them and quelled the rebellion with an iron hand. After this crushing defeat they were so demoralised that their chief, simply because a Muslim captive had initiated him into the tenants of Islam, willingly became a convert, followed by his tribe en masse.”<sup>6</sup>*

They murdered Sultan Muiz al-din Muhammad bin Sam on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1206 AD at Dhamik near Jhelum, while he was passing through their territory. Later on they collaborated with the Mongols when they proceeded towards Lahore in November 1241 AD (639 AH). After the Mongols had withdrawn, Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud of Delhi inflicted severe punishment upon the Gakhars for their cooperation with the Mongols. In 743 AH (AD 1342) (during the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq, 725-752 AH), Malik Haider, a Gakhar chief, invaded the Punjab, and slew Tartar Khan, the viceroy of Lahore. Khwaja Jehan was sent to Lahore and he reduced the enemy. Again in 796 AH, (1394 AD) one, Sheikha Gakhar, occupied Lahore. That was during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad (795-815 AH). Sarang Khan, governor of Deerpapur, confronted the Gakhars at Ajudhan (Modern name, Pakpattan). The Gakhars were defeated and their chief, Sheikha, took refuge in the mountains of Jammu.

Sheikha Gakhar was ultimately beheaded by Timur in 1397 AD, but, after Timur's death in 1405 AD, Gakhar power gradually increased due to the absence of a strong central government at Delhi. So much so that Gakhars were involved in the selection of a new ruler (Sultan Zain al-'Abidin 1420-1470 AD) at Kashmir, after defeating the Kashmiri army around 1420 AD.

An important feat in Gakhar history is the establishment of a new city called Rawalpindi in the Potohar region, in 1493 AD by Gakhar chief, Jhanda Khan. In the next thirty years or so the Gakhars faced the Mughals under Babar in several of his incursions into their area, particularly an attempt by Babar to capture Pharwala fort in 1519 AD. Ultimately they relented and joined the Mughals and participated in the invasion of 1526 AD.

During the reign of Humayun, Sultan Sarang Khan Gakhar gained much prominence. He ignored the imperial authority and is said to have struck coins in his own name and included his name in the Khutba. He refused to acknowledge Sher Shah Suri, on the defeat and exile of Humayun in 1540 AD. The headquarters of the Gakhars was the fort of Sultanpur situated eight kilometers from Mangla. Sher Shah personally led an expedition against the Gakhars, which resulted in the defeat of Gakhars and the capture and subsequent execution of Sultan Sarang.

He was succeeded by his brother, Sultan Adam (1545-1555 AD), who had several skirmishes with the troops of Islam Shah Suri. Adam was so powerful that in 1552, Prince Kamran, the rebel brother of Humayun, who had been refused shelter by Islam Shah, sought refuge with him. He was however betrayed and given up to Humayun on his return from exile and who had Kamran blinded. Sultan Adam Gakhar was rewarded with robes

of honour, kettle drums and other insignia of nobility. From that time Pharwala Fort was the headquarters of the turbulent Gakhars of the Potohar Plateau. Adam struck coins in his own name.<sup>7</sup>

Emperor Akbar, in accordance with his well-known policy, contracted matrimonial alliances with them. Prince Salim was married to a daughter of Sayd Khan, a prominent Gakhar chief. Sayd Khan had fought under the Mughal general, Zayn Khan, against the Afghans in Swat and Bajaur in Hashtnagar. Later Aurangzeb also honoured the Gakhar chief, Allah Kuli Khan (1681-1705), by marrying one of his daughters to his son, prince Muhammad Akbar. The Mughal policy of pacification and reconciliation had its desired effect and the Gakhars led a peaceful and uneventful existence during the major part of Mughal rule.

As the Mughals grew weak, however, they switched loyalties and a new invader appeared on the horizon. A celebrated Gakhar warrior-chief, Muqarrab Khan, joined Nadir Shah Afshar and took part in the battle of Karnal in 1152 AH (1739 AD), which resulted in a crushing defeat for the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah. As a reward for his services, Muqarrab Gakhar was confirmed in his possession of the fort of Pharwala and, on his return to Kabul, Nadir Shah conferred upon him, as a mark of further favour, the title of Nawab. Muqarrab Khan defeated the Yusufzai Afghans and Jang Kuli Khan of Khattak, and captured Gujrat, overrunning the Chib country as far north as Bhimber. He was finally defeated by the Sikhs at Gujrat in 1765 AD (1179 AH) and had to surrender the whole of his possessions up to Jhelum. Four years later in 1769 AD (1183 AH) he was treacherously captured and put to death by a rival chief, Himmat Khan.

Copper coins of Adam Khan Gakhar with mint-name Pharwala were published by Stan Goron in “The Coins of The Indian Sultanates”; however no coins of any subsequent or earlier ruler from this dynasty were previously known. The coin displayed here is an unpublished copper half falus of Sultan Muqarrab Khan. It weighs 5.6 grams and the diameter is 26 mms. Goron mentioned the weight of a falus as 12 grams and listed two specimens of Gakhar coins. One of those is a falus of Sultan Adam Khan weighing 12 grams and the other a half falus (of the same king) weighing 6 grams. If that weight standard was still in vogue after almost three hundred years, then this copper coin of Muqarrab Khan should be a half falus. The weights of contemporary copper coins including those of the Mughals, Nadir Shah and the Sikhs varied. Its denomination (not inscribed on the coin) was probably a Falus as was in vogue at that time.

King	Denomination	Weight in Grams
Nadir Shah Afshar 1735-1747 AD <sup>8</sup>	Falus	12.4 – 18.8
Muhammad Shah 1719-1748 AD	Falus	17.4 – 19.3
Ahmad Shah Bahadur 1748-1754 AD	Falus	12.3 – 13.4
Azizuddin Alamgir-II 1754-1759 AD	Falus	11 – 14.9
Sikh coinage before Ranjit Singh's accession in 1799 AD <sup>9</sup>	Paisa	11.5 – 12



Reconstruction of date

بمحمد	درمیان اٹک وجہلم
ضرب	شد مقرب بادشاہ
پروالہ	۱۱۶۸

Obv: *Bey hamdey'hee Zarb Pharwāla.*

Tr: By His (God's) grace, struck at Pharwala.

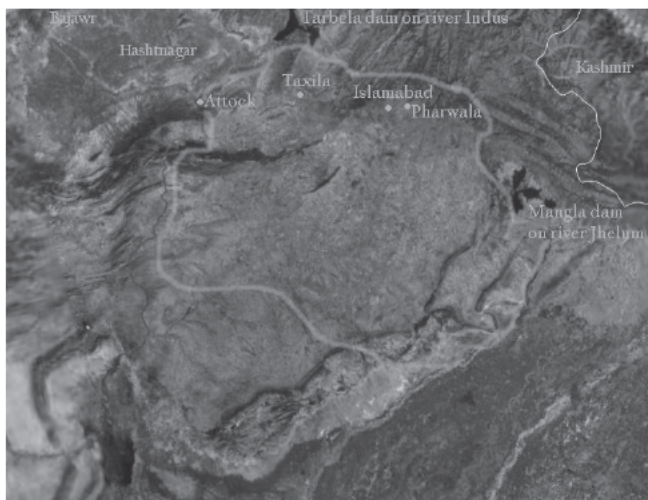
Rev: *Darmiyān Attock wa Jehlum shud Muqarab Bādshāh, 11?8 (AH)*

Tr: Between Attock (River Indus) and Jhelum (River Jhelum), Muqarrab is king.

The date on the coin is partially off-flan. We can presume that Muqarrab Khan started minting his own coinage after Nadir Shah had died in 1747 AD (1160 AH). The coinage would probably have ceased after 1179 AH. The digits that can be made out clearly on this coin are 11X8 AH. That missing digit appears to be 6 and, therefore, the date is probably 1168 AH. It is not known if coins were minted in silver and gold also, but that appears unlikely. Muqarrab was only a local chieftain. The territory under his control was barren and unproductive. There was not much trade or commerce either. The legend on the coin is rather unusual as it specifies the territory where Muqarrab held sway as king as: "Between Attock and Jhelum, Muqarrab is king".

#### Notes

1 The region in Northern Punjab, between Gandhara (up to the River Indus) on the west and the banks of the River Jhelum is known as Potohar. See the map below:



- 2 Encyclopedia of Islam;
- 3 Furdoonjee D.I. Paruck "Sassanian Coins";
- 4 Mulla Muhammad Qasim Fareshta "Tarikh Fareshta" (Tr. By Abdul Hayee);
- 5 Stan Goron and JP Goenka "Coins of the Indian Sultanates";
- 6 Encyclopedia of Islam;
- 7 A reference to display of chivalry and courage of the tribe in the Encyclopedia of Islam;
- 8 Stephen Album "A Checklist of Islamic coins". Sr. No. D2756;
- 9 Hans Herli "Coins of the Sikhs".

### An Enigmatic Sikh Rupee

By Hans Herli

The court of Ranjit Singh, the Maharaja of the Sikh State, celebrated on the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1837 in Lahore and on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> at Atari the marriage of Prince Nau Nihal Singh, the only legitimate grandson of the ruler. We have two reports of the festivities that are of numismatic interest:

Gholam Muhayy-ad-din, alias Bute Shah, who worked for the British at Ludhiana, wrote in 1848 a history of the Punjab from the earliest times to the end of the Sikh State. His report about the marriage of Nau Nihal Singh was written more than a decade after the event and it is based on hearsay:

"After the marriage, silver coins were thrown over the heads of the bride and bride-groom by Nau Nihal Singh's father, Kharak Singh. Money was lavishly distributed amongst the poor. Beli Ram, who was in charge of the treasury, told the Maharaja that 7 lakhs of rupees had been distributed and he asked for another 2 lakhs of rupees."<sup>1</sup>

The amount of 700,000 or 900,000 rupees mentioned by the chronicler looks exaggerated and seems to include all the expenses related to the festivities.

A much more interesting and precise account of the marriage was published by Godfrey Thomas Vigne, the scion of a wealthy Essex family, who left England in 1832 for India, where he spent the next seven years travelling in the Panjab, Kashmir, Ladakh and eastern Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup>

"On the afternoon of the same day [7th of March, 1837], the commander in chief<sup>3</sup> was again invited to the residence of the young and royal bridegroom. The interview was enlivened by the performances of the dancing girls. The Maharajah, and No Nehal Sing, who was half covered with a golden veil, were seated under a tree, loaded with artificial oranges. Presents of money, to the amount, I think, of eleven thousand rupees, (eleven hundred pound)<sup>4</sup> were presented to the commander-in-chief. ...

"On the eighth [of March, 1837] the camp moved to Atari, the residence of the brides father. ... Thousands of natives were threading their way through the crowded elephants; and ran the greatest risk of being trampled upon, in the attempt to pick up the rupees which were distributed, right and left, from those in advance. ...

On the ninth commenced the most extraordinary part of the scene. In honour of his distinguished guest<sup>5</sup>, Runjit had ordered a small rupee (about one shilling and six-pence) to be given to those who would receive it; and in order to prevent any one from asking for it a second time, he had directed a large space of ground to be enclosed, whose circumference could not have been less than between two and three miles. There were eight doorways or openings in the enclosure; and at each of them, was stationed an officer, to superintend the distribution of the money. There could not have been less than four laks, i.e. four hundred thousand persons collected together; and many of these were the venders of water, salt, flour, firewood and other necessaries of life. In the three days that elapsed in liberating such a crowd, Runjit must have paid away upwards of thirty thousand pounds in this manner."<sup>6</sup>

From Vigne's conversion rates it follows that the coins distributed during the marriage proper were the standard Sikh Nanakshahi rupees of Amritsar and Lahore whereas the coins later distributed in Honor of Sir Henry Fane were of a different type.

The custom of distributing coins on occasion of a royal marriage, an accession to the throne or a similar dynastic event can be traced back to the Roman emperors. As in later times the nisars<sup>7</sup> often represented unusual nominal values they did not easily circulate and most of them soon found their way to the shroffs and ultimately into the melting pot. Many kinds of nisars are therefore rare, but this possible rarity is not a satisfactory explanation for the fact that not a single public collection or private collector anywhere claims to own one of the elusive rupees minted by Ranjit Singh in honour of Sir Henry Frane.

As we learn from Vigne, Ranjit Singh had taken elaborate precautions to guarantee a wide distribution of his special rupees and considering that Lahore and Amritsar, the major Sikh cities of the Panjab, had only about 75,000 and 60,000 inhabitants, the number of coins struck and distributed – estimated at 400,000 by Vigne – was large. It is therefore highly improbable that not a single one of the rupees should have survived until today and as we have not yet found them, we must examine the possibility that we do actually know Ranjit Singh's special rupees, but that we do simply not recognise them.

The fact that Vigne called Ranjit Singh's special coin a "small rupee" might at first glance seem to offer a lead for a search for the elusive coin, but unfortunately this is not the case. When Vigne travelled in Kashmir he came across the local "chota rupiya", a coin that the Sikh governor Hari Singh Nalwa had introduced in AD 1820.

In his travel report Vigne gave for "chota rupiya" the literal translation "small rupee" and he used this name whenever he quoted the prices of goods, wages or tax re-turns in Kashmir<sup>8</sup>.

The "small" or Hari Singhi rupee of Kashmir was in reality neither smaller nor lighter than its direct predecessors; its name did not refer to its size or weight, but to its reduced silver content and value which – according to Vigne – was equal to 2/3 of a sicca rupee of Calcutta or 1sh 4d of the British coinage. When Vigne later met with an Amritsar rupee of a similar value he just transferred the name of the Kashmiri coin to it.

Sikh rupees of a reduced size issued in the Panjab are unknown and it seems highly probable that the "small rupee" distributed at Atari was a rupee of the normal diameter and weight of the Sikh Nanakshahi, but that it contained only 75% of the silver of an ordinary Sikh rupee. As such a coin of inferior value would still look and feel like a Nanakshahi, it had to bear a special mark in order to be easily recognisable and we do in fact know a fitting candidate.

The rush order of a rather large number of special rupees was probably not only produced by the mint of Lahore, but in part also by the much more productive Sikh mint at Amritsar, the commercial center of Ranjit Singh's state, which is only 50 km distant from Lahore.

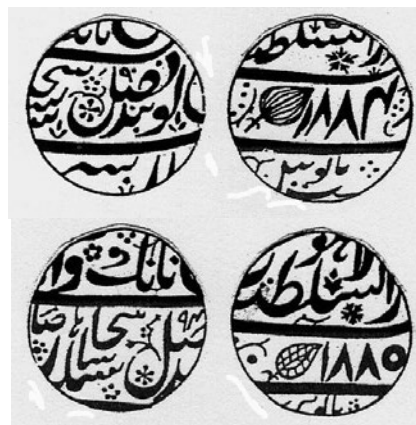
According to Vigne the distribution of the "small rupees" began on the 9th of March 1837 and went on for 3 days. On their obverse the "small rupees" should therefore bear the year VS (18)93 which ran from the 17th of March AD 1836 to the 4th of April 1837.

Nanakshahi rupees of Amritsar bore since VS 1885 on the reverse the frozen year VS 1884 and on the obverse the last two figures of the year in which the coins were actually minted, e.g. VS 1884 / 85. At Lahore the same dating system was introduced 2 years later, with the date VS 1884 / 87.

Sometime in VS 1893 the mints at Amritsar and Lahore changed their dating system, i.e. the frozen year became VS 1885 instead of 1884, but up to now a plausible reason for this change has never been offered. Today we have from both mints rupees dated 1884 / 93 and 1885 / 93 and I think it stands to reason that the rupees dated 1885 / 93 are Vigne's "small rupees" and that the new frozen year 1885 is their distinguishing mark. An assay of one or several of the coins would prove or disprove my hypothesis.

After VS 1893 the frozen 1885 remained on the Nanakshahis of Amritsar and Lahore until the annexation of the Panjab by the

British and the end of the Sikh coinage in VS 1905, but from 1885 / 94 on the Nanakshahis went back to the silver content of earlier Sikh rupees<sup>9</sup>.



Two Nanakshahi rupees struck at Dar as-Sultanat Lahore dated 1884 / (18)90 and 1885 / (18)94



Two Nanakshahi rupees minted at Amritsar and dated 1884 / (18)92 and 1885 / (18)93<sup>10</sup>

We know another enigmatic Sikh rupee dated VS 1885 / 93, minted at Lahore and showing on its obverse Ranjit Singh kneeling in front of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.<sup>11</sup> In a pioneering paper<sup>12</sup> Stan Goron and Ken Wiggins conjectured that these rupees – the only silver pictorial coins ever struck by the Sikhs – might have been distributed on the occasion of Nau Nihal Singh's marriage. Eight years later, in 1990, Surinder Singh published a paper<sup>13</sup> with an excerpt of the chronicle of Sohan Lal Suri, Ranjit Singh's court historian: "Right in the presence of Doctor Sahib<sup>14</sup> the closing up of the mint and the preparation of the new dies was mentioned<sup>15</sup>. Doctor Sahib said that 'the legend should be on one side and that the other side should bear the effigies of the Maharaja and of Baba Nanak in such a way that the Sarkar be presented with folded hands before the Guru Sahib' The Maharaja approved of this suggestion which was considered proper and auspicious."<sup>16</sup>

In his report of the conversation, which took place on 13 January 1836, Sohan Lal Suri undoubtedly describes the project of a coin identical with the pictorial rupees of Lahore. It has generally be surmised that these rupees were struck shortly after the conversation and – as they are extremely rare – that they are rejected patterns for a new Nanakshahi rupee.<sup>17</sup> If my assumption concerning Ranjit Singh's "small rupee" is correct, the pictorial rupees would not have been minted in AD 1836, but only after the introduction of the 1885 / 93 date, i.e. late in VS 1893 (respectively early in AD 1837), about a year after the conversation between Ranjit Singh and von Hügel. Although their extreme rarity renders the pictorial rupees improbable candidates for Vigne's "small rupee", I now tend to believe that the actual coins do not represent patterns, but a medallion issue distributed to special guests at Nau Nihal Singh's marriage and / or the

festivities in honour of Sir Henry Fane. This does not exclude the possibility that the design and the dies were originally meant for patterns for a new rupee type and later recycled for medals<sup>18</sup>.



The 2 varieties of the pictorial rupees showing Ranjit Singh and Guru Nanak.

#### Notes

1. Bute Shah: *Tawarikh-i-Punjab, Daftar V*, 372
2. Vigne left an account of his travels in South and Central Asia in 2 books:
  - *A Personal Narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan, and of a Residence at the Court of Dost Mohamed; with Notices of Runjit Singh, Khiva, and the Russian Expedition*, London, 1840.
  - *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo ...* 2 vols, London, 1842.
3. From 1835 to 1839 the general Sir Henry Fane was the commander-in-chief of the British and EIC troops in India.
4. As the British currency was based on a gold standard and the sikka rupee of Bengal on a silver standard the exchange rate shilling / sikka rupee varied constantly according to the market price of the two metals. As at the time of Vigne's stay in India the fluctuations of the exchange rate were usually rather small a fixed conversion rate of 1 sikka rupee (or 1 Nanakshahi rupee of Amritsar) = 2 British shilling was generally used when no actual large payments were involved.
5. Sir Henry Fane.
6. G.T. Vigne: *A Personal Narrative*, p. 282-285.
7. Nisar or nithar is the name of the gold and silver coins which, in Muslim countries and in India, were distributed to the people on the occasion of festivities.
8. G.T. Vigne: *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo ...* 2 vols, London, 1842.
9. We do know Nanakshahi rupees of Amritsar dated 1884 / 94 (rare) and 1884 / 95 (scarce). This coins are probably mules between an new obverse and an old reverse die. Other instances of these kind of mules are known from Amritsar.
10. The basic design and the weight and diameter of the coins with the frozen years 1884 and 1885 are identical. The secondary marks on the obverse (here face and flower), and on the reverse (moon and star) of the coins of Amritsar followed a system that is still not understood, but in almost every year we find a set of different marks that went on for several years. The secondary marks clearly do not define coin types but probably served administrative purposes within the mint.
11. Two varieties of this rupee are known, both bear the frozen year 1885, but one lacks the year (18)93.
12. S. Goron & K. Wiggins: "The Sikh coins of Lahore and Multan", ONS Information Sheet 24, January 1982.
13. Surinder Singh: "Ranjit Singh's Effigy on Sikh Coins", ONS Newsletter 123, (April 1990).
14. Doctor Sahib was the Bavarian baron Karl Alexander Anselm von Hügel (1796-1870), who between 1830 and 1836 travelled in India, Australia, the Philippines and India again. Von Hügel, who knew G.T. Vigne well, wrote: *Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek*, 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1840-1848. An English translation: *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the government and character of the Sikhs* was published in 1845.
15. During the reign of Ranjit Singh the production of the Lahore mint was always much smaller than at Amritsar and rupees of Lahore are therefore definitely rarer than Amritsar Nanakshahis. It is possible that the Lahore mint was closed in parts of VS 1893. In the collection of Dr. Becker, perhaps the most comprehensive collection of Sikh coins, we

do not find a single Lahore rupee dated 1884 / 93, but 3 pieces dated 1885 / 93!

16. Lala Sohan Lal Suri: *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 5 vols. Lahore 1887-1889. Of an English translation by V.S. Suri only the daftars (volumes) III and IV have yet been published. Daftar III, which covers the years AD 1831-1839, was published in Delhi in 1961. Sohan Lal Suri was Ranjit Singh's court historian.
17. For example, in: Hans Herrli: *The Coins of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 180.
18. Medals with the size and weight of silver rupees or gold mohurs are common in India.

## Copper Pice of the Bombay Presidency – 1791 to 1794

By Dr. Paul Stevens

Up until very late in the eighteenth century, the copper coins of the Bombay Presidency were poorly manufactured and very crude although they do appear to have circulated quite widely in India<sup>1</sup>. In 1790, steps were initiated to correct this sorry state of affairs, and the Bombay authorities were informed that the existing circulating copper coins were to be replaced by a new coinage sent out from England. The initial idea was that this would be a gradual process, but by 1791 a decision was taken to replace all circulating copper coins in one go with 100 tons of new coins. Accordingly, 35 tons of coins were sent from England to Bombay aboard the 'Essex' with instructions not to open the casks until the rest of the shipment arrived. A further 65 tons was duly received aboard the 'Rockingham' with instructions on how to issue them. The total quantity shipped was 660 casks weighing 100 tons 14 cwt 2 qtrs 13½ lbs.<sup>2</sup>, broken down as follows:

Casks	Tons	Hundred weight	Quarters	Pounds
99	15	1	3	22
159	25	11		9 ½
234	34	18		6
168	25	3	2	4

From these numbers, together with the known weight of each piece, the approximate number of each denomination delivered to India can be calculated and compared to the number known to have been produced<sup>3</sup>. These numbers match extremely closely.

Weight of each piece (grains)	Calculated number delivered	Number given by Doty
200	1,183,630	1,174,630
150	2,671,270	2,690,351
100	5,472,740	5,472,740
50	7,895,440	7,903,280

The coins were to be issued at the rate of:

- 200s @ 50 to a rupee
- 150s @ 66 ⅔ to a rupee
- 100s @ 100 to a rupee
- 50s @ 200 to a rupee

The intention of this rate was to make one rupee worth 10,000 grains avoirdupois weight of copper (e.g. 200\*50) compared to the then existing rate of 7314 grains i.e. the coins contained less than their intrinsic value of copper. This, combined with the greatly increased quality of the design, would reduce the amount of forgery that was obviously worrying the authorities at the time.

Major Pridmore makes a rather ambiguous comment about the fact that the Company had established a mint at French Ordinary Court in London, and that this may have played a part in the decision to manufacture the coins in England, rather than locally in Bombay. This might imply that the coins were struck at a mint in London. Doty has examined the records of the Soho mint in some detail, and his work confirms that these coins were

indeed struck there. This is also supported by the minutes of the meetings of the Court of Directors, who, on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1791, agreed that Boulton would be employed to undertake the coinage. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February a Mr Williams was instructed to deliver 100 tons of copper to Mr Boulton at Soho, Nr. Birmingham. In fact, Mr Williams didn't think that he could deliver the copper before the middle of March, and it presumably took some time to complete the coinage, because on 24<sup>th</sup> August the Court agreed to advance Boulton £6000 for the work that he was then carrying out<sup>4</sup>.

Pridmore records that further deliveries occurred in 1792, 1793 and 1794. I have not been able to confirm the deliveries for 1792 and 1793, and am doubtful that they occurred. However, a second coinage was undertaken in 1793 and shipped to India in 1794 (Doty). The coinage consisted of double pice, pice and half pice. The coins were dated 1794. The 1½ denomination was discontinued, presumably because it caused confusion with the double pice.

**Rarity<sup>5</sup>**

The rarest of the 1791/94 copper pice, apart from the pattern double pice, appears to be the 1794 gilt proof half pice. One was sold in the Pridmore sale and another exists in the British Museum. The author knows of one more but there are probably a few others.

**Privy Marks**

On some coins, dots appear in the centre of the flan on either obverse or reverse or both. These may have been privy marks

deliberately added in the mint but more likely they reflect the way in which the matrix dies were produced (i.e. some kind of compass device use to mark out the circle). If this assumption is correct then these dots are mistakes and should have been removed before dies were produced.

**Varieties**

The catalogue below shows that some parts of the design vary more than others, e.g. particularly the pivot on the reverse. This observation reveals something about the way that the dies were produced. It seems likely that the majority of the design was put onto some master punch and other features, such as the pivot, were added later in the multiplication process.

**References**

1. Pridmore p124-125
2. IOR. Dispatches to Bombay. E/4/1006, p393-394  
Ibid. E/4/1007, p549-551  
Ibid. E/4/1008, p60-64
3. Doty R. (1998), The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money, Spink & BNS, London. pp305-306, 310
4. IOR. Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Directors. B/112, p764  
Ibid. B/112, p825  
Ibid. B/112, p877  
Ibid. B113, p374
5. Snartt P. (1978). The rarity of the East India Company Coins, SCMB. April 1978, p112-114.

**Catalogue**

**Pattern Double Pice – 1794**

The Persian inscription on the reverse of this coin occurs on a number of patterns prepared for the dub coinage of the Northern Circars struck at Soho.



Balemark with date below. All within a tooth-bordered rim.



Persian inscription within a raised toothed rim. The inscription reads: - *Sikka Kampani 'Isavi 1793* = Money of the Company. Christian year 1793

**Actual Weight (g)** 14.02  
**Actual Diameter (mm)** 30.8  
**Composition** Copper  
**Edge** ENGLISH . UNITED . EAST . INDIA . COMPANY &.. (incuse)

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Axes	Comments	Rarity
1	Bengal 372	↑←	Ref: BM	RRR

**Type for all Currency Coins**



عدل

Balemark with date below (1791 or 1794). All within a tooth-bordered rim.

Balanced scales with Persian inscription between the pans. All within a raised, toothed border. The inscription reads: - *Adil* (Just or fair)

**Double Pice - 1791 to 1794**

Official Weight (g) 12.95  
 Actual Weight (g) 12.13-13.45  
 Actual Diameter (mm) 29.5-31.6  
 Composition Copper  
 Edge Grained Right

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Date	Status	Obv	Rev	Axes	Comments	Rarity	Mintage (Doty)
2	118	1791	Currency	A	II	↑↓		N	1,174,630
3	119	"	Proof	A	II	"		S	
4	119	"	Proof	A	I	"		S	
5	120	"	Gilt Proof	A	I	"		R	
6	118	"	Currency	B	III	"		N	
7	121	1794	Currency	B	I	↑↓		N	
8	122	"	Proof	B	I	"		S	1,569,330
9	-	"	Currency	B	III	↑↑	NB Die axes. Edge Plain. This coin is heavier than average (13.20g) and slightly mis-struck.	RRR	
10	122	"	Proof	B	III	↑↓		S	
11	122	"	Proof	B	II	"		S	
12	123	"	Gilt Proof	B	I	"		R	

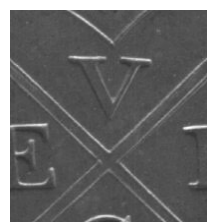
**Obverse Varieties**

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Privy Mark	There may or may not be a tiny dot below the letter V in the shield.

	A	B
Privy Mark	Dot present	No Dot



Dot below V



No Dot Below V

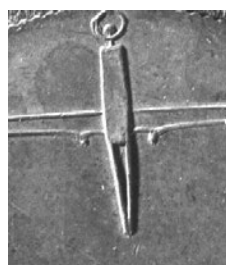
**Reverse Varieties**

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Pivot	The length and style of the pivot varies.

	I	II	III
Pivot	Medium length and fairly sharp point	Longer and blunter point	Short and sharp point



Medium Length and Fairly Sharp



Longer and Blunter



Short and Sharp

## One & a Half Pice - 1791 to 1794

Official Weight (g)	9.71
Actual Weight (g)	8.74-10.48
Actual Diameter (mm)	27.4-28.8
Composition	Copper
Edge	Grained Right

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Date	Status	Obv	Rev	Axes	Comments	Rarity	Mintage (Doty)
13	124	1791	Pattern	-	-	?	Edge straight grained. Rev has small scales	RRR	2,690,351
14	-	None	White Metal Trial	Blank	Too weakly struck to be sure	-	Wt. =9.06g. Diam=31.3-31.8mm. Edge Plain. Uniface trial striking.	RRR	
15	125	1791	Currency	A	I	↑↓		C	
16	126	"	Proof	A	I	"		S	
17	126	"	Proof	A	II	"		S	
18	126	"	Proof	B	I	"	Ref: BM	R	
19	127	"	Gilt Proof	A	II	"		RR	
20	128	1794	Proof	A	I	"		RR	?



White Metal Trial

### Obverse Varieties

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Privy Mark	There may or may not be a tiny dot below the letter V in the shield

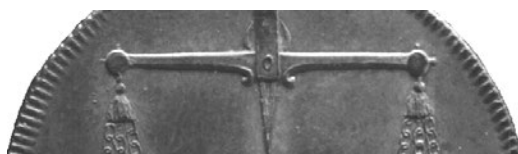
	A	B
Privy Mark	No Dot	Dot Present

See double pice for picture

### Reverse Varieties

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Chain Holder	The holders (looking like tassels), from which the chains are suspended, vary in size.

	I	II
Chain Holder	Narrow	Wide



Narrow Holders



Wide Holders



**Single Pice - 1791 to 1794**

**Official Weight (g)** 6.47  
**Actual Weight (g)** 5.95-6.85  
**Actual Diameter (mm)** 24.8-25.9  
**Composition** Copper  
**Edge** Grained Right

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Date	Status	Rev	Axes	Comments	Rarity	Mintage (Doty)
21	129	1791	Currency	I	↑↓		N	5,472,740
22	129	"	Currency	IV	"		N	
23	129	"	Currency	V	"		N	
24	129	"	Currency	VI	"		N	
25	129	"	Currency	VII	"		RRR	
26	130	"	Proof	I	"		S	
27	130	"	Proof	III	"		S	
28	131	"	Gilt Proof	III	"		RR	
29	-	"	Silver Proof	I	"		RRR	
30	132	1794	Currency	II	"		N	2,371,779
31	133	"	Proof	III	"		R	
32	134	"	Gilt Proof	III	"		RR	

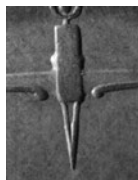
**Reverse Varieties**

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Pivot	The shape of the pivot varies. One specimen has no pivot (Photo from Mr Morris).
Dots	There may be three dot privy marks: one immediately below the pivot, one next to the top of the last Arabic letter, and the third between the first two chains of the left pan. The one below the pivot is probably the real mark and the others die flaws.
Hanging Loop	There may be just one loop at the top of the scales, or this may be linked to another. Single loops may be round or flattened.
Pans	The depth of the pans can vary

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Pivot	Long	Medium	Medium	Short	Short	Fat	None
Dots	Yes	None	None	None	None	None	None
Hanging Loop	One	One	One	Two	Slightly flattened	Slightly flattened	Two?
Pans	Deep	Deep	Shallow	Deep	Deep	Deep	Deep



**Long Pivot**



**Medium Pivot**



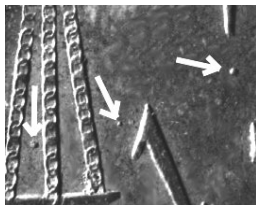
**Short Pivot**



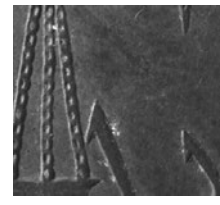
**Fat Pivot**



**No Pivot**



**Dots**



**No Dots**



**One Loop**



**Two Loops**



**Flattened Loop**



Deep Pans



Shallow Pans

**Half Pice - 1791 to 1794**

Official Weight (g) 3.23  
 Actual Weight (g) 2.92-3.47  
 Actual Diameter (mm) 19.8-21.0  
 Composition Copper  
 Edge Grained Right

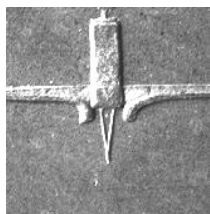
Cat No.	Pr. No.	Date	Status	Rev	Axes	Comments	Rarity	Mintage (Doty)	
33	135	1791	Currency	IV	↑↓		C	7,903,280	
34	135	"	Currency	V	"		C		
35	135	"	Currency	VI	"		C		
36	135	"	Currency	VI	↑↑		C		
37	135	"	Currency	VII	↑↓		C		
38	135	"	Currency	VIII	"		C		
39	135	"	Currency	IX	"		C		
40	136	"	Proof	I	"		R		
41	136	"	Proof	II	"		R		
42	136	"	Proof	III	"		R		
43	136	"	Proof	IV	"		R		
44	137	"	Gilt Proof	I	"	Wt. = 3.45g	RRR		
45	138	1794	Currency	X	"		C		4,711,998
46	138	"	Currency	XI	"		C		
47	138	"	Currency	XII	"		C		
48	138	"	Currency	XIII	"		C		
49	139	"	Proof	I	"		R		
50	136	"	Proof	III	"	Heavy weight 3.64g	RRR		
51	140	"	Gilt Proof	I	"		RRR		

**Reverse Varieties**

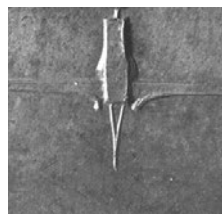
Variety Heading	Variety Text
Pivot	The shape of the pivot varies
Hanging loop	The hanging loop may be slightly distorted
Privy Mark	There may be a dot privy mark below the pivot.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Pivot	Short and delicate	Delicate & long	Delicate & long	Coarse & narrow	Coarse & narrow	Coarse & fat	Open & fairly delicate. Tapering
Hanging loop	Round	Round	Round	Elongated	Round	Round	Round
Privy Mark	None	Yes	None	None	None	None	None

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Pivot	Wide and pointed	Coarse & narrow	Fairly delicate. Pointed	Coarse narrow & blunt	Open & fairly delicate. Stubby.	Coarse narrow & sharp.
Hanging loop	Elongated	Round	Filled	Round	Round	Round
Privy Mark	None	None	None	None	None	None



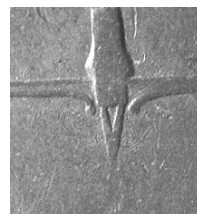
Short and delicate



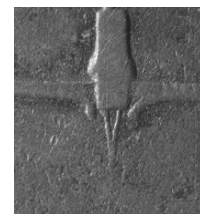
Delicate & long



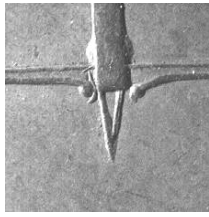
Coarse & narrow



Coarse & fat



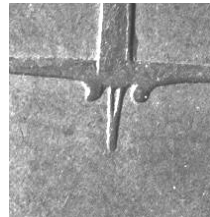
Open & fairly delicate. Tapering



Wide and pointed



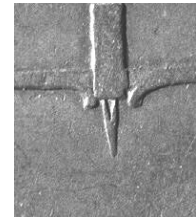
Fairly delicate.  
Pointed



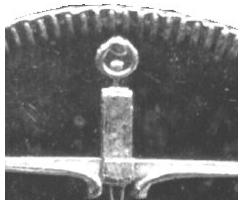
Coarse narrow & blunt



Open & fairly delicate.  
Stubby



Coarse narrow &  
sharp.



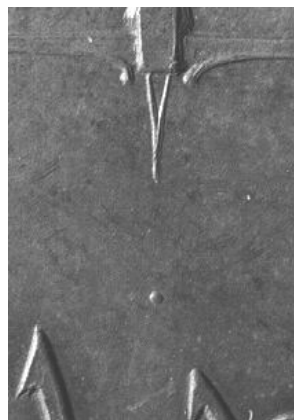
Round Loop



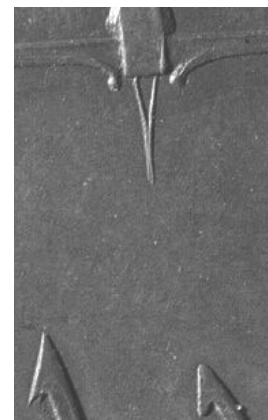
Elongated Loop



Filled Loop



Privy Mark



No Privy Mark

### Discovery of a Double Kupang

By Peter H. de Vries

In my coin collection I have, amongst others, some tiny gold coins from medieval North Sumatra (Indonesia) viz. Samudra/Pasai and Aceh Dar al-Salam. These coins are called kupangs or ¼ mas pieces. They have an average weight of 0.6 g. (The word “mas” means gold in the Malay and Indonesian languages and for medieval gold coins in SE Asia, “mas” is - with it's fractions - also a denomination indication for a unit of 2.4 g)

With a new acquisition of kupang coins I found one piece to have a different weight, viz. 1.2 g, but at first sight it had an identical appearance as the others. I had never come across a “double kupang”; this coin could be one as the double weight fitted the logic of the earlier mentioned mas series of denominations - as a ½ mas piece.



Aceh AV 1/2 mas, Sultan 'Alau al-Din Riayat Shah al-Qahhar (1537-1571)

(diam. 14 mm, weight 1.2 g)

The dealer was not really interested in the weight anomaly so I decided to put the coin on the site of Zeno Oriental Coins Database, hoping that someone with knowledge would make expert observations.

To my pleasant surprise, in only a few days I received a number of observations on the ZENO website, of which I mention the following two:

Mr Vasilij Mihailovs wrote:

*“there is a one mas coin of Aceh known to exist – I don't have it in my collection, but I know a person in Singapore who has it. Therefore, I would not be surprised if this is a half-mas (same as a double kupang coin). There is not that much dirt on the coin to form 0.6 g overweight. If it were a coated forgery, it would more probably be 0.2 g underweight rather than 0.6 g overweight. Besides, the coin looks well-made, and I don't think that this is a forgery.”*

I had taken the liberty of calling Jan Lingen, whose telephone number and address I found on the ONS website. He was kind enough to receive me in his residence and he had a close look at the double kupang. He subsequently wrote on the Zeno site:

*“Today I was very fortunate to be able to verify the coin concerned myself. It confirms the earlier observations mentioned above. The coin looks perfectly genuine and weighs between 1.20 and 1.21g and therefore must be regarded as a new denomination for this series. A great discovery. The coin is an issue of Sultan 'Alau al-Din Riayat Shah al-Qahhar (1537-1571) and not of Buyung Shah. The legend on the coin is similar to that on the ¼ mas or kupang issues of this ruler and reads 'Al-Sultan al-Adil/Alau al-Din bin Ali Malik al-Zahir'.”*

In my opinion the conclusion is, therefore, justified that a double kupang (half-mas) was issued at least during the reign of Sultan 'Alau al-Din Riayat Shah al-Qahhar who ruled Aceh Dar al-Salam for a longish period from 1537-1571 AD.

#### *Historical context*

The sea route from across the Indian Ocean (Arabian Sea, Indian Sub-continent, Gujarat) to China passes through the Strait between Sumatra and the peninsula of Malacca. The north of Sumatra (current Province of Aceh) came into contact with the outside world in early centuries through Indian, Arab and Chinese traders. Exchange of goods and ideas took place and it is assumed that, as in other places in the archipelago, the first religion to be adopted was Hinduism, followed by Buddhism. After that, from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards Islam became predominant.

Settlements were established on the north-east coast of Sumatra and subsequently developed into kingdoms. The products they had available for export and trading were agricultural products (e.g. pepper and betel nut), fish products, gold, tin and later also silk.

One relatively important kingdom was the sultanate of Samudra/Pasai (which gave its name to Sumatra) with the first documented Islamic king, Sultan Malik al-Saleh (tombstone, 1297-1326). World travellers like the Venetian, Marco Polo (visited Samudra in 1292), and the Moroccan, Ibn Battuta (visited in 1345), describe the existence of Muslim kingdoms and prosperous trading harbours (Perlak, Pasai, Samudra, Indragiri and Lamuri).

Towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Pasai was quite a large city. It consisted of a commercial centre where some 20,000 people lived. The residential city, where the royal palace was also located, was situated at a distance of about 2 kilometres from there. The residential areas in the city were strictly meant for the indigenous population.

From approximately 1490 to 1520 there was a turbulent war of succession in Pasai in the scheming plots of which the Portuguese, too, played a role. The Portuguese built a fortress for protecting their interests (mainly pepper) in Pasai. This must also be seen in the light of the rapidly declining political stability. Shortly thereafter, in 1523, Pasai fell to the Acehese under Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (founder of Aceh Dar al-Salam).

On the Malaccan peninsula, the city of Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1511 and, in 1518, its Sultan Mahmud fled from Malacca to continue his dynastic line in Johore. Various battles with the Portuguese took place and resulted in a heavy defeat for Mahmud in 1536, upon which he was forced to make compromises with them. These troubles on the peninsula favoured the continuing expansion policy of Aceh Dar al-Salam towards the north with its rich pepper and gold-producing regions.

Acheh, which before 1500 was not very significant and was almost never heard of, had risen to importance in the course of the sixteenth century. The Acehese were to stay in that position for the next few centuries.

Sultan 'Alau ad-Din Riayat Shah al Qahhar (1537-1571) sought and obtained from the Turks not only religious support but also technological help, e.g. the fabrication of artillery canons. He is often referred to as a son of Sultan 'Ali. The suffix "al Qahhar" was given to him because of his merits: it means tyrant or conqueror. During his reign, the sultan successfully continued the defence against Portuguese and Malayan invasions, often with Turkish assistance.

It is the opinion of many that, without any doubt, Sultan 'Alau al-Din Riayat al-Qahhar entered into Aceh's history as the most successful warrior-sultan.

#### *Sources:*

Interesting general reading is the booklet *L'histoire des rois de Pasey*" a translation of the Malay anonymous 14<sup>th</sup> century epic chronicle, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, which describes the birth, rise and disappearance of the first Indonesian Muslim sultanate. This

translation from the Malay was done by Aristide Marre (1874) and recently presented and commented on by Monique Zaini-Lajoubert in 2004, Anacharsis Editions, 2004, ISBN 2-914777-15-9.

*Recherches sur les monnaies des indigènes de l'archipel indien et de la péninsule malaie*, H.C. Millies, La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1871

A study of the events in Pasai at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> into the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Jorge M. dos Santos Alves "Princes contre marchands au crépuscule de Pasai (c.1494-1521)", *Association Archipel*, Livre 47, 1994, p. 124-145, IO ISSN 0044-8613, Bureau 732, EHESS, 54 Bd. Raspail, 75270 Paris

A review-cum-extract of a doctoral thesis by Jorge M. dos Santos Alves (given as a reference below): Borschberg, Peter, *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, 6/1/2003, National University of Singapore

Thesis by Jorge Manuel Dos Santos Alves, *O Dominio do Norte de Samatra. A historia dos sultanatos de Samudra-Pacem e de Achem e das suas relações com os Portugueses (1500-1580)*, Sociedade Historica da Independencia de Portugal, 1999. Pp. 301. DOI: S0022463403210304

#### **Attic Coinage and the Reign of King Menander**

By L.M.Wilson

The beginning of the reign of Menander can be dated to c.165 BC, but the terminal date or actual length of Menander's reign remains a crucial problem, as it affects the dating of the succeeding Indo-Greek kings. Unfortunately there are no literature references to it or the date of his death and the coinage remains the only clue. Even the origins of Menander are a mystery. The names of his sons (probably<sup>1</sup> Thrason and Nikias but not Strato I) do not help us in placing his father, as they are not recognisable in the previous royal families of Bactria. There is a passing reference to Menander's origin<sup>2</sup> in the Indian 'Milindapanha', in the form of a question and answer. It only states that Menander comes from 'a line of kings' and this is then questioned, 'But did those rulers of old exist, who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come?', to which Menander replies 'Certainly, Sir. How can there be any doubt about that?' This seems a little ambiguous and it is curious that his origins should be questioned. We can not be sure, but if he was directly descended from the kings of Bactria or even from the Seleucids perhaps his origin would not have been questioned, as it would have been well known. It may be that he was not directly related to the previous Bactrian kings, but perhaps claimed to be more distantly related to some other and older ruling family.

In the Chinese version of the Milindapanha, the additional sentence 'The king, the father of Menander, died at an advanced age and Menander ascended the throne' is given, but this sounds rather formulaic and the name of the 'father of Menander' is unfortunately not given. Therefore it is uncertain if this can be taken literally. His own name does not seem to appear on the tax receipt parchment<sup>3</sup> and thus he may not be a younger son of Antimachos I, although that can not be ruled out and he could have been another younger son of Antimachos I who was not associated with his father's rule at the time of that document. This could be more likely because he originated from Begram (Alexandria in the Caucasus), an important centre of Antimachos' kingdom. Or he could have been a relative of Apollodotos I, perhaps a son, or neither of these. Although Menander's wife was probably not Agathokleia<sup>1</sup>, perhaps there was a connection to Agathokles. We know that Agathokles ruled in the eastern Indian areas, followed by Apollodotos I and Antimachos (I/II) and then Menander. Menander may not have been the son of Antimachos or Apollodotos, but have married into the royal house and taken

the throne on the demise of Antimachos II (or I, as it seems less certain now that these were distinct kings). Menander's western capital was probably Alexandria in the 'Caucasus', modern Begram near Kabul, which had also probably been the capital of Antimachos I/II. Much of the Attic tetradrachm coinage of Antimachos I, and even the rare tetradrachms of Apollodotos I, were issued from a mint in this area, with the  $\Phi$  monogram. Menander would also have issued Attic weight tetradrachms (particularly to pay his Greek troops) and these initially have the same legend arrangement as the coinage of Antimachos and Apollodotos (shown in Table 1). These are thus expected to be the earlier Attic issues of Menander.

One other Indian reference to Menander occurs in a play by Kalidasi, in which Vasumitra, a grandson of Pusyamitra (c.184-148 BC) fights a skirmish with some Greek cavalry<sup>2,4,5</sup> on the southern bank of the Sindhu river. This places the event around 150 BC or possibly a little earlier and the most likely 'Yavana' cavalry in this part of India were those of Menander (although troops of another king such as Eukratides I may just be possible). This does not help in dating the beginning or end of Menander, but does seem to show that he had control of this area in c.150, which may or may not have been at the time of his expedition to Pataliputra (there seems to be no reason why this event could not have taken place before or after the famous expedition). So far, unfortunately, other epigraphic evidence is lacking, inscriptions being incomplete or undated.

In the absence of other evidence, we must therefore turn again to the coins to date Menander's reign. The beginning of his reign has previously been put at c.165 BC by a comparison with the coinage of Eukratides I and Timarchos<sup>6</sup>, due to the change in the legend arrangement in this period<sup>2,7</sup> associated with the move of Eukratides I into the southern (i.e. south of Hindu Kush) territory of Menander. Eukratides I moved south and east, to conquer most of the territory of Menander, pushing him further to the east into the Punjab, to the region around Sacala (modern Sialkot), perhaps his new capital. Eukratides I took Menander's monograms as well as his territory and then ruled the Indian areas of Arachosia, Paropamisadae including Begram, Gandhara and possibly some of the western Punjab (Taxila). Perhaps Menander was involved in campaigns in India, including the raid on Pataliputra (modern Patna), when he lost most of these territories<sup>2,4,5</sup>, but presumably Menander would have made efforts to regain his lost kingdom and when he regained his mints he issued his coinage with the newly modified inscriptions and types<sup>2</sup> (copied from Eukratides I) on his Indian weight standard coinage. No Attic standard coinage of Menander has yet been found with this same legend arrangement  $\Rightarrow$ , shown for Eukratides I in the table. We do not know how long Eukratides controlled these new areas, particularly the eastern areas, and since his 'Indian' silver bilingual series of coins are very scarce, it may not have been very long and his territory may have been shrinking. But it is also possible that Menander withdrew or overstruck his rival's (silver) coinage making it appear scarce, as he seems to have done in the case of Zoilos I (and particularly as the bronze coinage is much less scarce).

Table 1. Attic Silver Coinage South of the Hindu Kush.

King (date)	Rev. Legend Arrangement	Obverse Monogram(s) Types
Apollodotos I	$\Downarrow$	$\Phi$ Kausia
Antimachos I	$\Downarrow$	$\Phi$ Kausia
Menander (c.165-)	$\Downarrow$	$\Phi$ , $\Sigma$ Diadem


Eukratides I	$\Rightarrow$	$\Phi$ , $\Sigma$	Helmet
Zoilos I	$\Rightarrow$	$\Uparrow$	Diadem
Plato	$\Rightarrow$	$\Sigma$	Diadem or
Plato (139/8)	$\Rightarrow$	$\Sigma$	Helmet
Menander	$\Rightarrow$	$\Sigma$	Helmet - Heroic




The monograms found on the Indian weight standard coinage of this period include  $\Phi$ ,  $\Sigma$  and  $\Sigma$  which are three of the most important monograms and also three of the main monograms found on the Attic coinage, as shown in Table 1. Apart from these three monograms, the only others to appear (so far) on the Attic coins are  $\Sigma$  on the coins of Menander (possibly another monogram from his principal mint) which is also common on his Indian coinage and the  $\Uparrow$  monogram on the coinage of Zoilos I which also appears on his Indian coinage. This serves to reinforce the idea that the Attic pieces were minted south of the Hindu Kush.

Although it is tempting from the vast numbers of his coinage to give Menander a very long reign, we have no written evidence for its dates or duration and particular caution may be required for three reasons. Firstly, the coins do not show Menander aging significantly. During a long reign this could of course be due to a political policy of idealisation of the portrait or to a degeneration of craftsmanship, although the style of the tetradrachms is usually good. Secondly, there could have been an unusually high output of coinage due to the needs and spoils of war, produced by coining the great booty from the Indian campaigns. Thirdly, on his death he apparently left only young sons to take over the throne, who seem to have been hardly old enough to rule on their own (Thrason<sup>1</sup> and Nicias); in fact his death seems to have caused chaos and the break-up of his kingdom. So we should be cautious about assigning Menander a very long reign. We can again turn to the coinage; in particular, an examination of the recently discovered Attic helmeted 'heroic' spearthrunder type of Menander may suggest another chronological marker.

This new and so far unique Attic-weight coin type (apparently from the huge Mir Zakah II hoard<sup>8</sup> discovered in 1992) has the same 'heroic' spearthrunder obverse design used by Menander on his earliest Indian weight drachms. The early (Indian drachm) design was probably meant to celebrate the conquest of new Indian 'spear-won' territories by Menander at the beginning of his reign. The same obverse design was then used by Eukratides I on his later Attic-weight coinage (with epithet), this time of course it was probably meant to advertise the conquest of Menander's Indian territories by Eukratides. The reverse of the new Attic coin of Menander has an interesting new legend arrangement, running clockwise in a two-thirds circle from about 8 o'clock to 4 o'clock, shown as  $\curvearrowright$  in Table 1. This arrangement is also found on some of the Attic-weight coins of Eukratides II, Plato and Antialkidas and on the Attic coins of Lysias. The most important in this discussion are the coins of Plato, since some of them appear to be dated. If these dates are in the 'Greek' era then they are dated<sup>1</sup> to 139 and 138 BC. This Attic coinage of Plato has generally been assumed to be purely Bactrian in origin, i.e. from north of the Hindu Kush, but the (only) mint monogram on his issues is the same as one of the main monograms from south of the Hindu Kush,  $\Sigma$ . Thus Plato could have been the king of a very limited region in the southern 'Indian' territory<sup>9,10</sup> of Menander, perhaps close to Bactria. The reasons for assuming he

was purely Bactrian are based on the presence of his Attic coins in the north (mainly in the Qunduz hoard) and on the absence of Indian type coinage, but the Attic coins of other Indo-Greek kings were also found in the Qunduz hoard. The slightly crude style of his coinage is similar to the late Eukratides I, Eukratides II and Heliokles I (and Demetrios II) coinage but this alone cannot be decisive in placing him north of the Hindu Kush and Plato's coinage is also similar to some coinage of Eukratides I with his two southern monograms. So we will assume that the monogram has not 'migrated' north and that these issues are indeed from the south (although this is not crucial to the proposed order based on the reverse legend arrangement).

The coins of Plato show two different legend arrangements, as shown in Table 1. The first arrangement is the same as found on the (later) coinage of Eukratides I while the second is the same as found on the new Menander coin and there may have been a change from the first arrangement to the circular arrangement. The 'dates' appear on the coins with this circular arrangement, which are thus dated to 139/8 BC. The purely Bactrian coinage of Eukratides II also shows a change to the circular legend arrangement, associated with his adoption of an epithet. This has been discussed previously<sup>9</sup> and based on different arguments could be related to the death of Eukratides I in c.140 BC. This also gives a connection to the new Attic Menander type. It therefore seems likely that the new Menander Attic coin could be dated to around 139/8 BC by a comparison with the Plato (and Eukratides II) coins, although it is of course not known who copied whom. Table 1 shows the kings from south of the Hindu Kush in their chronological order and a clear progression of the legend arrangement on the Attic issues can be seen, with Menander first using the same parallel arrangement as Antimachos and then changing to the circular arrangement. This places the new coin of Menander with the circular arrangement  after his other Attic issues, in the period 139/8 BC and we now have another chronological marker for his reign. The date of Menander's reign can now be estimated again; he must begin a short time before 162 BC and end some time after 139/8 BC. Thus c.165 to 135 BC seems reasonable, giving a reign of around 30 years. This would be consistent with his enormous output of coinage.

The obverse of the new Menander coin could celebrate the re-conquest of 'spear-won' lands from his enemies late in his reign. One of these was probably Eukratides I, who had used some of Menander's main monograms, as mentioned above. But Menander also seems to have had some trouble during his reign with Zoilos I, who also uses several of Menander's monograms. We could guess that the rise of Zoilos occurred after the decline of Eukratides in the region, perhaps around 150/145 BC. If Plato was indeed in the Indo-Greek territories, then Plato was possibly another king who seized territory from Menander and used one of his main monograms, in the later part of Menander's reign (or possibly just after his death). The order of these kings is the same as the sequence of reverse legend arrangements in Table 1. Antialkidas and Lysias also seem to appear at around the end of Menander's reign and also inherit some of Menander's main monograms. We have an approximate date from the Besnagar inscription which refers to king Antialkidas<sup>2,4,5</sup>. This can be dated by the reference to the Indian king Bhagabadra, but only approximately, to 100 or 125 BC. Perhaps the higher date seems more reasonable if Antialkidas appeared c.135. Lysias uses only the circular arrangement on his Attic coinage (thus placing him c.135), while Antialkidas uses both  and the circular arrangement  on his Attic coins, but all the subsequent kings use only the  arrangement. This seems to show that the later kings went back to the old legend arrangement of Eukratides I and places Lysias and Antialkidas closer to Menander, with Antialkidas having a longer reign. The longer reign of Antialkidas is also attested by his more abundant coinage. A consequence of this dating of the end of Menander's reign is that he probably died after Eukratides I (died c.140/145), during the reign of Heliokles

in Bactria. With this dating for the end of his reign, the instability in his kingdom may have been caused by a flood of Greeks coming out of Bactria into the southern lands of Menander, due to the nomad invasion of Bactria.

Table 2. Kings in the *Indian areas* (south and south-east of Bactria) with approximate dates

Apollodotos I	c.175 - 166 BC
Antimachos I/II	c.174 - 165
Menander	c.165 - c.135
Eukratides I	c.165 - 150/145
Plato	c.140/138
Lysias/Antialkidas	c.135 - c.120

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#### A New Type of Seventh Century Syrian Pseudo-Byzantine Coin

By Tony Goodwin

The first phase of Arab-Byzantine coinage, following the Arab conquests of the 630s AD, comprises crude coins which are, sometimes loosely, based on Byzantine prototypes and lack meaningful legends. They were struck at a number of mints in Syria and Palestine, perhaps as early as the 640s but the bulk of them were probably produced during the period 650-670. In SICA Vol. 1 I proposed that they could usefully be classified into 9 different Types (A to I) based on the obverse image. Inevitably it is now necessary to extend the series with Type J.



The coin illustrated above has an obverse showing two bearded imperial busts, with a cross between their crowns and a pellet between their heads. The larger right-hand bust wears a chlamys with a prominent fibula at his right shoulder, whilst the smaller left-hand figure wears an odd, stylised garment with no obvious Byzantine prototype and holds a cruciform sceptre. The reverse has a capital **M** with a monogram above and a retrograde **Γ** officina letter. The letters either side of the **M** are almost certainly meaningless, but appear to be **NV** downwards to the left, and **Δ** (inverted) **N** downwards to the right. The coin measures approximately 20 mm across its longest diameter, weighs 3.98g. and has a 1h. die-axis. It was said to have been found in Lebanon. By the low standards of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage it is reasonably well engraved and carefully struck.

The reverse is the normal generalised imitation of the reverse of a Byzantine follis, but the obverse has no obvious numismatic prototype. Whilst it is just possible that the prototype was a non-numismatic image from, for example, a seal, I think it more likely that the die engraver loosely copied a gold solidus with busts of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine and added some modifications of his own. Innovations of this sort, which often display an ignorance of Byzantine imperial regalia, are quite common in Pseudo-Byzantine coinage.

I have seen two other examples of this new type, one of which was much cruder in style. Whilst I briefly noted their existence in SICA, I was then inclined to regard them as merely a variant of the single-bust Type G. However, this rather better-preserved example clearly shows that the image is essentially different to a mere “doubling” of the single-bust type.

### Unread or Misread Legends on Some coins

By Haroon Tareen

Sometimes certain coins’ legends are misread by numismatists or remain unread by experts due to oversight, weak condition of the specimen under consideration or cursive script. Some examples are given below:

1. In the book “The Coins of the Sikhs”, Hans Herrli was unable to decipher an incomplete inscription on the obverse of a copper Paisa struck by the Nawab of Dera Ismail Khan as a feudatory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is displayed on page 160.



Herrli expressed his inability to offer an explanation for the incomplete word “Alw” or “Alu”. While “Ra’ij” is often seen on various contemporary coins as a Durrani countermark, this incomplete word is actually **Alwaqt** and the complete legend is :



*Ra'ij ul Waqt*  
“Current at the time”

This term is frequently used in Urdu in legal language requiring payment of an amount in coinage which is current at the time of the transaction. In fact the complete term used in Urdu (And Persian on older documents) is:



*Sikkah Ra'ij ul Waqt*  
“Coinage current at the time”

At present the term is commonly applied in the drafting of marriage documents specifying payment of dowry money.

An anonymous copper falus [probably] from Multan [and probably from the Sikh period also] illustrated here also has the same legend:



This conclusively explains the undeciphered legend on page 160 of “The coins of the Sikhs” by Hans Herrli.

2. There has been a debate about the Khanda monogram of the Sikhs or the Nishan Sahib being inscribed on a coin of Shah Alam Bahadur from the mint of Lahore, 1122 AH. This also refers to an article by Saran Singh, published in ONS Newsletter 144 (Spring 1995). Though it was held in that article that the monogram on that coin of Shah Alam Bahadur (Mint of Lahore 1022 AH) was not applied by Baba Banda Singh, as Lahore was in the possession of the Mughals at that time, the motif was taken to be a Khanda and the cause of its occurrence on that coin was left undetermined.

It appears that this monogram is not the Nishan Sahib or Khanda emblem of the Sikhs but only a mint-mark and is distinct to Lahore. It is actually a cursive drawing of a flower and had been appearing on Mughal coins since the times of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir.



Similar mint-mark appears on silver Rupees of Jahangir, Aurangzeb Alamgir and Alamgir-II from Lahore mint, depicted here:



Shah Alam Bahadur



Jahangir      Jahangir      Aurangzeb      Alamgir-II

A comparison of the mint marks reveals slight differences in style but the basic motif remains the same. It can be safely assumed that the purported Sikh emblem or the Khanda motif on Mughal coins is actually a mark from the mint of Lahore.

An e-mail dated 19 March 2006, from Kulwant, a member of the Sikh Coins Group on the internet, on this subject to the Sikh Coins Group is reproduced here. This corroborates the fact that the motif appearing on the aforementioned coins is not the Nishan Sahib or Khanda emblem but only a mint mark:

*“As a student of Sikh Art and Historical Manuscripts I have yet to come across the Khanda symbol. I had a rare opportunity to view the awesome and magnificent silk Sikh standards carried by the Sikh Army against the British where one would have thought*

*the symbol may have been used. No. The nearest I came across to the Khanda symbol was worn by Sir Raghbir Singh Maharao of Bundi, (ca.1900 photograph by G A Kale) on his biceps. "Wahe Guru" in Gurmukhi does appear on many weapons and swords. Kulwant".*

An exchange of views followed this message and different opinions were expressed by various collectors and numismatists. The final conclusion was to wait till definite evidence of the evolution of the Khanda emblem or the Nishan Sahib in Sikh history/theology is found. One important point being that this emblem was too sacred to be carried on silk standards on the battle field lest those be defiled by the enemy. Not to mention the

fact that the Sikh army under Ranjit Singh had numerous non-Sikh mercenaries, whose presence would probably be sacrilegious to the Nishan Sahib.

In the same way, this very argument confirms that this holy sign or emblem would never be used on coinage that would be handled by persons of all religions and casts.

Moreover, if the Nishan Sahib were to be used on coins then surely it would have been used on all the coinage of the Sikh empire starting from Banda Singh Bahadur till the later Maharajas and even on coins of those Princely States where Sikh Princes were ruling under British control.

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