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ONS News

From the Editor

A reminder to members in continental Europe that Jan Lingens, the Regional Secretary, has a new address. This can be found on the back page.

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Review

The Ghaghara – Gandak River Region: Archaic Silver Punchmarked Coinage c 600-300 BC by Shinji Hirano, IIRNS Publications, Nashik/Mumbai, India, 2007. Soft cover, 158 pp, 215 x 280 mm (8½" x 11") , illustrated throughout, ISBN 81-86786-25-2. Price: IRs 700, US \$25.

After Paul Murphy's study of the Kosala PMCs and Pieter Anne van't Haaff's study of the PMC series of Saurashtra and Surasena a third publication has now been published as part of the AHATA project which aims at a classification of India's archaic PMCs. With 'The Ghaghara-Gandak River Region, c.600-300 BC, Archaic Silver Punchmarked Coinage' Shinji Hirano comes out with a thorough study of the archaic 'Narhan' punchmarked series.

Although the first coin type of this series was reported as early as 1934, these coins did not become better known until the last two decades, when such important hoard finds as those from Narhan, Gorakhpur, Muzaffarpur (Lumbini), Katra, Uziarghat and Ayodhya turned up. Hirano examined more than 400 such coins and cites 346 of them in his book. The main text part comprises 36 pages starting with a general introduction and a chapter about the early history of the Ganges valley before entering into a careful, enlightening discussion of the specific coin series. The catalogue part lists 81 different types, if available accompanied by a representative photo, together with neatly drawn illustrations of the main symbol and of secondary marks and banker's marks in those cases where such marks occur. A separate data section presents valuable hoard information and technical details about the 340 specimens which are illustrated on the nine photo plates. A useful addition are the symbol tables compiled by Paul Murphy. The symbols were recorded from various types of local PMCs in the AHATA project and since the same numbering is maintained in all publications of the project, it will greatly help towards easier communication among scholars. One table illustrates official marks, whereas a separate table is reserved for the banker's marks. The general distribution and the common occurrence of such marks on different series of PMCs might add to a better understanding of their function in the future. Hirano's book has the same attractive letter-size (ANSI A) soft cover format as its two predecessors. I would recommend it highly to all scholars, collectors and anyone with an interest in ancient Indian coins and history. Potential buyers can get the book for \$25 from numismatic book dealers or by contacting IRNS Publications (info@iirns.org) or the author himself (fushigiso2001@yahoo.com).

In 2001 Dilip Rajgor presented a survey of the then known types of the series in his catalogue of local PMCs. As the most important hoards of 'Narhan' coins had surfaced in the Indo-Nepal borderlands, Rajgor regarded them as issues of the ancient Shakyas Janapada (Rajgor types 522-539). A series of related coins from a hoard found near Ayodhya was listed by Rajgor separately under the heading 'Ayodhya coins' (Rajgor types 1232-1245). Emphasizing that both the Narhan hoard types and the Ayodhya hoard types are closely related by fabric, typology and metrology, Hirano treats them as belonging to one group of 'Narhan series' coins. Relating the findspots of the coins to the ancient Janapadas which flourished in these territories north of the middle Ganges before Magadha's predominance, Hirano refers to the Sakyas north of Kosala with their capital at Kapilavastu; the Licchavis, east of the Gandak river, who built the 'Vrji' confederation of eight tribes; Malla, east of Kosala and west of the Gandak river, a confederation of nine tribes; the Koliyas, north of the Mallas.

Archaic appearance, an irregular rectangular shape and the presence of a large main symbol deeply impressed on a thick piece of cut silver is common to all specimens of the series. The force with which the main symbol was punched into the silver frequently resulted in a bent or scyphate form of the planchet, a phenomenon that can also be observed on other archaic PMCs like the Taxila bent-bars or the Wai 'pulley' coins.

Taking into account minor varieties as well, Hirano records 81 coin types, making the series much more complex than previously thought. Among the most characteristic main symbols is a pentagon of which Hirano lists as many as 16 different varieties and a 'crescent derivative' curvilinear symbol with two dots between. Another important main symbol depicts crescents arranged around a round or squarish centre with additional lines and dots in a number of variations. Closely related to these 'crescents around a centre' types are the main symbols on the Ayodhya hoard coins which have been catalogued by Hirano as Narhan series IV coins. In addition to these, there are some additional, rarely seen types such as a cross-like device, a four-petaled flower which could also be interpreted as a four-spoked wheel design, various numbers of dots around a centre, a six-armed symbol and its derivatives, a sun symbol, a whorl and some other geometric designs.

The Narhan coins were struck on two different weight standards: the Karshapana and the Satamana standard. A noticeable feature of these coins, hardly ever seen on other series of ancient Indian coins, is that frequently small pieces of silver were attached to the planchets obviously in order to adjust the coin to the desired weight. Weight and the presence or absence of a secondary mark is the decisive criterion for Hirano to classify the coins into four series. Series I comprises double Karshapanas of mostly 7g weight, series II coins with an average weight of 5.5g correspond to a half Satamana whereas the weight of series III and IV coins (4.8 – 5.3g) is somewhat below the expected weight of a half Satamana. Attempts to attribute these coins to specific issuers have been made in the past: Hardaker thought that these coins represented the early phase of Kosala coinage (Hardaker 1992). Gupta speculated that the Karshapana series belonged to the Vajjis (Licchavis) whereas the Satamana series was issued by the Mallas (Gupta 1996). Rajgor attributed the Karshapana series to the Sakyas and the Satamana series to the Mallas. (Rajgor 2001). Whoever may have been the issuer of these coins, their findspots suggest that the 7g double karshapana coins circulated somewhat east and the half Satamana specimens somewhat west of the Ghaghara river.

Apart from the main symbol applied officially at the coin's 'birth' and the banker's marks applied privately during the coin's circulation, the Narhan coins occasionally show a secondary mark which, according to Hirano's observations, was possibly also an official mark. For example, a symbol like a wavy line with a dot on each side is frequently associated with a pentagon symbol "often seen on rather new coins (less banker's marks), suggesting they were stamped immediately after the main symbol types...". Whereas a secondary mark is only occasionally found on coins of the first series and no such secondary marks appear on the coins of series II, they are constantly found on series III and IV. So at least on series III and IV coins these secondary marks seem to have been official marks. As already mentioned, series IV comprises the Ayodhya hoard types and, despite its close links to the specimens of the other series, especially to those from series III, there are some differences in technique and execution, such as the slightly larger size of the main symbol and a rougher surface and smoother edge probably due to slightly different techniques of manufacture.

Besides the archaic features of the Narhan PMCs (irregularly cut planchets; occurrence of a main symbol deeply pressed into the metal; frequently bent or scyphate flans; heavy weights) their hoard association with the earliest coins of Magadha provides the most valuable hint with regard to their chronology. The Narhan hoard coins, found at Narhan on the Ghaghara river in the district of Gorakhpur (U.P.) in 1985, were associated with a few of the first coins of Magadha, heavy 5.5g specimens. The Katra hoard, which surfaced in the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar, was composed of double karshapanas associated with some of Magadha's early 5.5g coins. Other Narhan coins which turned up at Uziarghat and Vaishali were associated with Magadha GH series I coins and with Kosala coins. The study by Gupta and Hardaker showed that the earliest coins of Magadha were issued as local Janapada coins before Magadha's expansion, which

occurred during the 4th century BC. Its earliest coins, i.e. such types as were associated with Narhan-type coins, have therefore to be placed considerably earlier.

Such considerations and observations cause Hirano to hypothesise that the “Narhan hoard-type coins circulated from around 600 to 450 BC when Magadha was still a local power. In the early stage, series I of the Narhan hoard-type coins circulated in the territory of tribes of the Vrtji (Vajji) confederation such as the Licchavis, Videha and Jnatrkas, and series II was issued in the territory of the Mallas. At a later stage, series I coins continued to be issued whereas the Satamana series split into series III and series IV as this currency spread among other tribes or local powers around the Ghaghava river. Narhan-type coins ceased after the Magadha invasion in this region (after GH series I).” According to one’s preference of the first occurrence of Magadha’s coins one could perhaps consider 600 BC as a bit too early for the proposed date of the first Narhan coins. But as the Narhan coinage seems to have already been well developed when Magadha’s first coin series appeared, Hirano’s general time frame seems to be well reasoned and one may not be wrong in regarding the first Narhan coins as having been issued sometime during the 6th century BC. As the author emphasizes, more hoard evidence is needed to determine with a higher degree of reliability the correct attribution and chronology of this coin series. In any case, this fine book reveals in a scientific and very readable way the complex monetary system in the Ghaghara-Gandak river region.

Wilfried Pieper

Articles

THE DOUBLE-SIDED TRIDENT TAMGHA ON A TIFLIS FALS OF MÖNGKE QAAN

By Irakli Paghava

The purpose of this article is to publish a previously unknown, unique variety of fals of Möngke Qaan, struck in Tiflis, Georgia, and bearing a remarkable and previously unnoted sign: Möngke’s double-sided trident tamgha.

The first Mongol incursion into the territory of the Georgian Kingdom dates back to 1220 [4, p. 4], but the conquest proper started much later, in 1235-1236 [4, pp. 17-23] and resulted in the more or less effective and prolonged subjugation of the Georgian state [4, pp. 24, 43-46], with the sole exception of western Georgia, which had always been apparently less accessible to the Mongols and attained more or less secure independence from them under the leadership of King Davit VI Narin after his revolt in 1259 [4, pp. 69, 87-95].

The historical peripeteias of the political and economic situation in the region were well reflected by the monetary series issued in eastern, western and south-western Georgia and in the southern Armenian provinces of the Georgian kingdom [3; 5, pp. 86-107; 6, pp. 34-80; 8, pp. 118-193], but all these coins are beyond the scope of this paper, except for the copper, and to some extent, the silver currency minted in Tiflis in 652-659 AH (1254-1261), perhaps already from 650 AH (1252/53) [7, p. 55, #22], in the name of the great Qaan Möngke [3, pp. 42-47, ##27-30; 6, pp. 39-41, #17; 8, pp. 137-147].

The design of Möngke’s fals (*Figs. 2-4*) minted in Tiflis is as follows:



Fig. 2

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, Æ “Big fals”, [Tiflis], probably [652AH] (1254/55) as there are no countermarks [3, pp. 46-47; 8, p. 139]. Vignette and stars. Weight: 4.42 g; diameter: 27 mm; die axis: 13:00 o’clock.



Fig. 3

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, Æ “Big fals”? Tiflis, probably 6[52] or 6[53]AH (1254/55 or 1255/56) due to the presence of the countermarks [3, pp. 46-47; 8, p. 139]. Vignettes on both sides. Weight: 3.20 g; diameter: 25-26 mm; die axis: 20:00 o’clock.



Fig. 4

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, Æ “Small fals”, [Tiflis], 652AH (1254/55) Jumada al-akhir. Without ornaments (?). Weight: 2.24 g; diameter: 22.5-23 mm; die axis: 16:00 o’clock.

Obv. Area, within square of dots:

مونگکا قا
ان الاعظم
[ال]لعادل

“Mungka [Möngke] Qā-
ān, the Supreme,
The Just”

The margin, in segments between the square and circle of dots, contains the date formula.

Rev. Area, within square of dots:

لا اله الا
الله و حده
لا شريك له

“There is no god but
Allāh alone.
He has no associate.”

The margin, in segments between the square and circle of dots, contains the mint formula [3, pp. 45-46]/mint place and date [8, p. 138].

[1, p. 98, #1978; 3, pp. 45-46, ##28-29; 6, pp. 39-40; 8, pp. 138-139]

The principal design of Möngke’s Tiflis dirhams (*figs. 5-6*) is pretty much the same, the major difference being the location of the mint and date formulae, being the opposite to the fulus: on dirhams the mint formula is on the obverse, and the date formula is on the reverse [1, p. 98, #1977; 3, p. 42, ##27-28; 6, pp. 39-40; #17; 8, p. 138].

Various ornaments such as stars (see *fig. 2*, reverse) or vignettes (see *fig. 2*, obverse; *fig. 3*) or circles were sometimes present on Möngke’s Tiflis copper coins [3, p. 45; 8, pp. 138-139], but Möngke’s tamgha was never seen on his Tiflis fulus before [3, p. 45; 8, pp. 138-139]: “the tamgha is absent, but sometimes some minor ornaments are to be noted” [3, p. 45].

The tamgha of Möngke or of “the clan of Munghe Khagan” may be defined as a “serec” tamgha pointed in two different

directions" [2, p. 62]. "Seree" means "trident" in Mongolian [2, p. 14] and this word may conventionally be used to identify the tamgha with the shape of a "trident". Sometimes there is a shorter, curved line intersecting the main line of Möngke's tamgha and the proportions and interrelation of different parts of the whole sign may vary [2, pp. 59, 62], but usually, and definitely so in the case of Möngke's Tiflis coins, it is basically a line which is tridental at both ends and therefore can be called the double-sided trident.

In contrast to the fulus, on Möngke's Tiflis dirhams the double-sided trident tamgha is present quite frequently, though not always: "many examples of this series have a damghah in the centre of either obverse or reverse, or both" [6, p. 40]; "the tamgha of the Qaan ... , or a rosette or some other ornament are placed between the first and the second lines [on the obverse]... The above-mentioned tamgha of the Qaan is always (there are hardly any exceptions) placed in the middle of the second line [on the reverse]" [3, pp. 42-43, #27]. Please refer to Fig. 5 for the dirham with Möngke's tamgha and to Fig. 6 for a rare variety without it.



Fig. 5

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, AR dirham, Tiflis, 654?AH (1256/57?). Solomon's seal and double-sided trident tamgha. Double strike. Weight: 2.69 g; diameter: 22-23 mm; die axis: 10:30 o'clock.



Fig. 6

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, AR dirham, Tiflis, [6]53AH (1255/56) Rajab. Vignette and star, no tamgha. (Zeno Oriental Coins Database, #38493.)

Reverting to the copper issues, we are delighted to be able to publish here a unique Tiflis (Tiflis type) fals with Möngke's tamgha: the design of the copper coin, which we discovered in a private collection in Georgia some time ago, is like the one above except for the presence of the double-sided trident, i.e. Möngke's tamgha, on both sides, and the contents of the segments:

Obv.

Upper segment: ضرب "Struck"

The contents of the other three segments are effaced, but the mint formula is on the obverse on this fals.

Rev.

Right segment: ستمانة "600"

Bottom segment: خمسين 50"

The contents of the other two segments are unfortunately effaced, but clearly the date formula is on the reverse on this fals.

Æ, Weight: 4.08 g; diameter: 26-27 mm; die axis: 5:45 o'clock.

Great Qaan Möngke, Georgian Kingdom, Æ "Big fals", [Tiflis], probably 65[2]AH (1254/55) as there are no countermarks [3, pp. 46-47; 8, p. 139]. Double-sided trident tamgha on both sides.

Weight: 4.08 g; diameter: 26-27 mm; die axis: 5:45 o'clock



The mintname should be on the obverse, but is effaced; despite this, we have virtually no doubts that this fals was minted in Georgia: Möngke's copper and silver coins of this type (a square in a circle and no mention of Muhammad in the pious formula, making it acceptable for Christian population of Georgia) are known only for Tiflis mint [1, p. 98, #1978; 3, p. 44; 8, pp. 137-138].

Unfortunately, the coin is badly worn, but to our satisfaction the tamghas were not effaced like the major part of the rest of the design. Only the lower part of Möngke's tamgha is visible in the centre of the reverse (shown by an arrow, Fig. 1), but close in-hand examination proves that this element is truly a double-sided trident, whereas the one on the obverse arouses no doubts at all.

Möngke's Tiflis fulus are of different sizes and weights [3, pp. 45, 93-95; 8, pp. 139-140], and a number of scholars has even suggested that two denominations could exist [3, p. 45; 8, p. 140]: "big fals" and "small fals" [3, p. 45; 8, pp. 138-139], with the ratio between them being close to 1:1.5 [8, p. 140]. The diameter of the "big fals" is about 28 mm [8, p. 138], and the average weight is 4.75 g (with the range of 4.29-5.20 g) [8, p. 139] or 4.58 g (with the range of 3.29-6.46 g) [3, p. 45], please see Fig. 2; the diameter of the "small fals" is about 23 mm [8, p. 139], and the average weight is 3.00-3.10 g [8, p. 139] or 2.06 (with the range of 2.05-2.90, only 5 specimens available for Jalaghania, hence the information is of only limited value) [3, p. 45], please see Fig. 4. At the moment, we feel that the scientific evidence available is not enough to come to a firm conclusion regarding the existence or absence of different denominations, and we would prefer to limit ourselves to noting that, metrologically, this copper coin with Möngke's tamghas belongs to the group of the so-called "big fulus" rather than that of the "small fulus".

Bearing in mind that none of Möngke's Tiflis fulus were previously known bearing his tamgha, it is necessary to exclude the possibility that the coin in question was a product of medieval forgers, being silver-washed to pass for a dirham but having obtained its original copper appearance over the centuries; hence the double-sided tamgha normal for dirhams. The possible existence of such forgeries of Möngke's Tiflis dirhams has already been conjectured [5, p. 93]. That could perhaps be the issue, particularly taking into account that the distribution of the legends in the segments on different sides of the coin is of the so-called "dirham" type, i.e. the mint formula is apparently on the obverse, and the date is on the reverse, and not vice versa, as normally on Möngke's Tiflis fulus. But being quite big in size/diameter (26-27 mm) and quite heavy (4.08 g), this worn copper coin with Möngke's tamghas on both sides could not be a contemporary forgery due to the fact that the latter had to be of dirham size and weight to pass for it, i.e. be much smaller and much lighter. Möngke's Tiflis dirhams were normally only about 22 mm. in size [8, p. 138] with an average weight of 2.70 g (with the range of 2.54-2.80 g for the specimens "with excellent preservation") [8, p.139] or 2.62 g (with the range of 2.17-2.84 g) [3, p. 43].

For the moment, the following AH dates are known for Möngke's Tiflis fulus: 652, 653 and 654 (1254-1257) [3, p. 46; 8,

139-142]. It is worth noting that the issue of Möngke's Tiflis dirhams of the type more or less similar to that of the fulus continued till 659 AH (1260/61) [3, p. 43; 8, pp. 140-146]. It is unclear why the minting of copper coins ceased after 654 AH (1256/57) (Pakhomov noted that the issue of coins as big as these fulus apparently proved to be "impractical" [8, p. 142]). Whatever the fact of the matter, we may conclude that the fals with Möngke's tamgha being published in this paper probably dates back to the period 652-654 AH. Moreover, as this copper coin lacks the standard countermarks, which are characteristic for the years 654, 653 and the end of 652 AH [3, pp. 46-47; 8, p. 139], we may guess that it could have been minted in 652 AH (1254/55).

In our opinion it is possible to conclude that Möngke's double-sided tamgha was placed on some of his Tiflis fulus as well as on the Tiflis dirhams, though it was clearly not a mandatory requirement as the majority of copper coins minted in Tiflis in Möngke's name lack this element. For the time being, it is still unclear, why Möngke's tamgha was almost always or at least so often represented on his silver Tiflis coins, but almost never on his copper Tiflis coins. This may have occurred in 652 AH, i.e. 1254/55. It is also clear that the mint formula on Möngke's Tiflis fulus could be placed not only on the reverse, but sometimes also on the obverse, similarly to Möngke's Tiflis dirhams.

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JALAL AL-DIN MANGUBARNI'S COPPER COIN MINTED IN THE KINGDOM OF GEORGIA AND WITHOUT MARGINAL LEGEND

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia, Giorgi Lobzhanidze

The primary aim of this paper is to publish a previously unknown variety of Jalal al-Din Mangubarni's copper currency issued in the Kingdom of Georgia and which is remarkable for the absence of any marginal legend.

Jalal al-Din was a son of 'Ala al-Din Muhammad Khwarezmshah who, already by the end of the 1210s had been planning to attack and conquer the Kingdom of Georgia [4, p. 185]. Those plans, however, were not put into effect; the Khwarezmian state was invaded by the Mongols in 1219, and Jalal al-Din, who was fleeing from them, eventually attempted to build up a new realm in western Iran, Azerbaijan, the southern Caucasus and Armenia.

Initially, he enjoyed the support or at least the neutrality of Moslem political entities neighbouring the Christian Kingdom of Georgia and sometimes suffering from Georgian incursions, as well as the assistance of the Muslim subjects of Georgian rule. The religious confrontation during the period of the Crusades contributed to Jalal al-Din's initial successes and isolated Christian Georgia both politically and militarily [4, pp. 186-190].

While the Georgian Queen Rusudan "was contemplating participation in the Crusade of the Emperor Frederick II" [2, p. 111], Jalal al-Din annexed the Ildegizid state [4, p. 186] and in 1225, "in the middle of a desperate effort to restore the power of his house" [2, p. 111], invaded first the southern Armenian provinces of the Georgian Kingdom, defeated the Georgian army at the battle of Garni and captured Tiflis, the capital, in 1226, due to the betrayal of some of the Muslim residents of the city [5, p. 11]. The Georgians managed to liberate the city by the end of 1226, but had to burn it down themselves and cede it at some point in 1227¹ [5, p. 14]. Tiflis was held by the Khwarezmians till after Jalal al-Din's defeat² by the Seljuks of Rum and the Ayyubids at the battle of Yassi Chemen in 1230 [4, p. 191].

Jalal al-Din probably plundered the royal treasury or at least took plenty of booty in the Georgian capital in 1226, obtaining large quantities of regular and irregular copper coins³ of the Georgian kings [7, pp. 79-80; 8, p. 28; 11, p. 104]; he commemorated this conquest by executing the right of *sikka* [11, p. 104]: overstriking⁴ Georgian copper coins, mainly the irregular ones⁵, and transforming them into his own currency [7, p. 80; 8, p. 28].

Jalal al-Din's copper coins minted in the Kingdom of Georgia are as follows:

Obverse⁶.

جلال الدنيا
و الدين

*Jalāl al-Dunyā
wa'l-Dīn.*

Between two linear borders the marginal legend:

ضاعف الله جلاله و مد ظلاله و ايد اقباله

¹ Lang was mistaken in writing that "In the following year [1126] he [Jalal al-Din] took Tiflis ... The city remained in Khwarezmian hands until 1230." [8, p. 28]. Besides being a factual mistake, this statement obscures the circumstances in which the coinage of this conqueror could be minted and makes it more difficult to elucidate the chronology and geography of the mintage.

² It is a disputable whether Jalal al-Din's efforts to gain a foothold in the west were doomed to failure inasmuch as his policy of expansion in that direction was alienating local political forces and multiplying his enemies, making his initial successes illusory and even harmful, as they distracted him from the Mongol threat from the east [5, pp. 15-16]. On the other hand, Jalal al-Din's intention to extend his resources by capturing the territories which might show less resistance looks fairly logical and expedient on the eve of a resumption of hostilities with the Mongols. Yet, it would be difficult to doubt the fact that Jalal al-Din's activities resulted in the opposite of what he was probably seeking to achieve: by weakening the local political entities, both Christian and Moslem, his operations left a form of political and military vacuum which the Mongols successfully filled [5, p. 16].

³ These terms reflect not only the shape of coins, i.e. regular-shaped and irregular-shaped, but their value as well, each piece having a pre-defined value in the case of regular coins [7, pp. 73-74; 11, p. 85] or being valued in accordance with its weight in the case of irregular coins [7, p. 71; 11, p. 85].

⁴ Possibly Jalal al-Din's administration did not just overstrike already existing Georgian copper coins, but also struck coins directly from metal obtained from some other source.

⁵ Evidently, in exceptional cases the regular Georgian coins were overstruck as well; there are known coins of Jalal al-Din restruct from regular coins of Queen Rusudan (Georgian State Museum, #3272) and her predecessors: Queen Tamar and Davit Soslan, Tamar's second husband (Georgian State Museum, #2873), and Giorgi III (Georgian State Museum, ##2871-2872) [3, p. 110; 7, p. 80; 6, p. 301: commentary on p. 104].

⁶ In contrast to other authors [7, p. 80, #76; 8, p. 28, #12; 11, pp. 102-103, table IX, ##151-154] we consider the side bearing Jalal al-Din's name, i.e. جلال الدنيا و الدين, the obverse. Our understanding of this side as the obverse, or, in other words, as the main side, seems to be supported by the distribution of the marginal legends: normally, the date formula, in our opinion being a secondary element compared to the marginal legend praising the ruler (ضاعف الله جلاله و مد ظلاله و ايد اقباله), is presented on another side of the coin, which we consider to be the reverse.

May God increase his glory and lengthen his shadow and
strengthen his beneficence!⁷

Reverse.

السلطان
المعظم
The Sultan
Supreme.

Between two linear borders the marginal legend:

ضرب هذا الدرهم بتاريخ ثلث و عشرين و ستمائة
This dirham⁸ was struck in the time of 623.

Some decoration is usually placed above the top line of the central legend on both sides.

[1, p. 88, ##1751-1752; 7, p. 80, #76; 8, p. 28, #12; 11, pp. 102-103, table IX, ##151-154; Figs. 2-3].



Fig. 2

Jalal al-Din. *Æ*, irregular copper. [623AH (1226)], [NM, Tiflis?]. Restruck from irregular copper coin of Queen Tamar. Traces of the countermark "Asomtavruli D" on the obverse, applied before Jalal al-Din's overstrike; traces of the original Arabic legends on the reverse. Weight: 4.88 g; diameter: 18.5-20 mm; die axis: 20:00 o'clock.



Fig. 3

Jalal al-Din. *Æ*, irregular copper. [623AH (1226)], [NM, Tiflis?]. Restruck from Georgian irregular copper coin? "Rusudan's small countermark" on the obverse applied on top of Jalal al-Din's overstrike [Lang, p. 29]. Weight: 10.79 g; diameter: 24 mm; die axis: 10:00 o'clock.

⁷ It is remarkable that the irregular copper coins of Queen Tamar, whose coins were overstruck by Jalal al-Din in large quantities, set a pattern in terms of certain legends present on the coins of the latter: "the marginal legend [of the obverse] was borrowed from the coins of Tamar, changing the female endings with the male ones, though the craftsman sometimes forgot to do that and then the specimens with اقبالها و جلالها instead of اقباله and جلاله showed up." [11, p. 103, footnote 1]; it is noteworthy that, on the coins of Queen Tamar, the female endings in this very phrase were commonly replaced with the male ones [8, p. 24, footnote 1; 11, p. 91, #56, p. 93, Exception #11] (Lang provides a logical explanation for this: "This may either be a grammatical oversight, or refer back to the preceding line [of the Arabic legend], where the Queen is given the masculine title of Champion. This confusion is hardly surprising, especially when it is remembered that T'amar bore the Georgian title of Mep'e, which means King" [8, p. 24, footnote 1]), so that the craftsman probably did not even have to change the endings. Moreover, the central legend of the obverse (جلال الدنيا و الدين) also reiterates the fragment of the Arabic legend on Queen Tamar's coin eulogizing her [8, p. 24, #10; 11, p. 91, #56] (We would like to express our gratitude to Mr Goga Gabashvili for drawing our attention to this fact; please also cf. [4, p. 246]), though, on the other hand, the جلال الدنيا و الدين formula was used on Jalal al-Din's coins minted outside the Kingdom of Georgia too (cf. Zeno Oriental Coins Database, www.zeno.ru, ##4023, 43681).

⁸ While considering the consequences of the "silver crisis", Pakhomov specifies that the word "fals" was replaced with the word "dirham" and concludes that "evidently, by new copper "dirhams" we have a token currency, circulating at a price far exceeding the actual value of the metal, and which must have replaced the silver currency which had disappeared" [11, pp. 73-74].

The AH year indicated on these coins, i.e. 623, started and ended in the first and last months of 1226, but it could be a "frozen"⁹ date and Jalal al-Din's copper currency could have been minted later on as well, possibly until his defeat and death in 1230-1231 [11, p. 104]. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the existence of the regular copper of Queen Rusudan restruck into Jalal al-Din's coin¹⁰ [3, p. 110; 6, p. 301: commentary on p. 104, Georgian State Museum, #3272]: all the copper coins of Rusudan bear the "frozen" date 447 of the Georgian Koronikon, which is equal to 1227; they simply did not exist in 1226¹¹ and could have been overstruck only later on (of course, there remains a minute chance that both authors were mistaken and that, on the contrary, #3272 of Georgian State Museum is actually a Jalal al-Din coin restruck into Queen Rusudan's regular copper).

In contrast to the date, there is no mint place indicated on these coins. Though the majority, if not all, of Jalal al-Din's Georgian issues were probably produced in Tiflis, a mint could have been operated by the Khwarezmians somewhere else as well during the last restless years of Jalal al-Din's rule. These were full of military operations, which, no doubt, gave rise to significant expenditure, the more so, as Tiflis was lost by Jalal al-Din for a certain period of time in 1226-1227, and the minting operations seemingly were not limited to 1226 only.

It is of particular interest, that according to preliminary data, Jalal al-Din's "Georgian" currency widely circulated in eastern Georgia, also permeating into Shirvan and Derbend, but not apparently into the southern provinces of the kingdom [3, p. 111], though solitary finds of Jalal al-Din's coins are known from there [10, p. 31].

As to the coinage itself, it is more or less uniform; however, in addition to the variety with the words of the marginal legend of the obverse having female endings (see Footnote 7), there also exists a rare variety with transposed marginal legends: here the date formula is placed on the obverse instead of the reverse and, vice versa, the glorifying formula is found on the reverse instead of the obverse [7, p. 80, table VII, #77, ##2874, 4193 of Georgian State Museum; 11, p. 103, table IX, #155].

The coin we are publishing here (*Æ*, Weight: 3.57 g; diameter: 16.5-17 mm; die axis: 20:15 o'clock. Fig. 1¹²) enables us to state that there existed yet another variety, distinguishable by the absence of a marginal legend, at least on the obverse.



Fig. 1

Jalal al-Din. *Æ*, irregular copper. Marginal legend of the obverse missing. Marginal legend of the reverse off-flan or missing, ND? [NM, Tiflis?]. Overstrike (restruck from Georgian irregular copper coin?). Traces of the original Arabic legends on the reverse. Weight: 3.57 g; diameter: 16.5-17 mm; die axis: 20:15 o'clock.

⁹ It was common in Georgia and in the neighbouring Muslim states to sink a new date on the dies only occasionally, usually when changing the design of the currency [11, p. 85].

¹⁰ Langlois wrote about this already in 1860, though without substantiating his assertion [9, p. 74].

¹¹ Pakhomov made the logical assumption that Queen Rusudan's monetary reform of 1227 (cessation of minting irregular coins and commencement of issuing only regular ones of a new design) was predetermined directly by the Khwarezmian invasion and mintage activities and by the need to resist them, outlawing Jalal al-Din's irregular coppers and satiating the monetary circulation with visually different and thus easily distinguishable Georgian regular coins of a new type [11, pp. 104-105].

¹² This coin as well as the other ones illustrating the paper is preserved in private collections in Georgia.

The design of this coin is identical to the others, except for lacking the typical marginal legend on the obverse: there is a sufficiently wide (3 mm) fragment of the coin left intact by the die applied to the flan. Comparing this with other specimens (Figs. 2-3), where the distance between the inward linear border and the marginal legend is equal to 1 mm or even much less, permits us to exclude the possibility that the marginal legend had been engraved on the die, but is simply off-flan: we have no doubt, that the die had only the central legends engraved on it. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain about the marginal legend of the reverse: the flan of the coin is much smaller than the diameter of the working surface of the dies, but in contrast to the obverse, the reverse die was applied in a better-centered strike, imprinting only the central fragment of the legends on the reverse of the coin, the outer part of the die being applied off the flan.

It may be noted that the absence of the marginal legends, while definitely uncommon, is not absolutely unknown for Georgian coins of the first decades of the 13th century. There exist extremely rare irregular copper coins of the Georgian King, Giorgi IV Lasha (1207/1210/1213-1223) missing either the marginal legend in Persian on the reverse [11, pp. 98-99, #64, table IX, #148; 6, p. 300: commentary on p. 99, #3296 of Georgian State Museum] or both the marginal legend in Georgian on the obverse and the marginal legend in Persian on the reverse [6, p. 300: commentary on p. 99, #9816 of Georgian State Museum; 7, #73; cf. Fig. 4 for yet another specimen] (please see Fig. 5 for a coin with marginal legends).



Fig. 4

Giorgi IV Lasha. *Æ*, irregular copper. Marginal legend of the obverse missing, Marginal legend of the reverse missing? ND? NM. Weight: 6.16 g; diameter: 17-20.5 mm; die axis: 18:30 o'clock.



Fig. 5

Giorgi IV Lasha. *Æ*, irregular copper. 430 of Georgian Koronikon (1210), NM. Weight: 8.89 g; diameter: 8-27 mm; die axis: 12:15 o'clock.

It might be interesting to attempt to deduce how and why the coins missing one or both marginal legends could have been minted: was it negligence on the part of the artisan or maybe on the part of the mint administration, which did not care about finishing the engraving of the die? Or were they perhaps mint trials, struck from the incomplete die with only the central legends engraved,? The latter hypothesis is less probable in our opinion; the opposite one, i.e. the idea that some deviations from the principal design were tolerated or at least failed to be attended to, looks in our opinion quite probable, particularly taking into account the fragility and even the discontinuity of Jalal al-Din's power over the subjugated territories, including Tiflis and other areas of the Georgian Kingdom. It is quite likely that control over

the mint production may not have been very intensive; the mint administration, charged with producing a significant amount of currency within a limited time (for instance, after the seizure of Tiflis or during the military operations), may even have intentionally allowed the use of unfinished dies to save some time.

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**TWO COPPER COINS MINTED IN
TRANSCAUCASIA
(16th Century Armenia and
19th Century Qarabagh)**

by Alexander Akopyan

Two copper coins minted in Īrawān (Erevan) and Panāhābād (now Shusha) were acquired last year by the author¹³. Unfortunately, no comprehensive study exists on the coin issues of late medieval Armenia and modern Qarābāgh. I also could not come across any mention of such coins in all available publications related to the copper coinage of either Ottoman Turkey or Persia¹⁴.

¹³ Both ex Dr. V. Nastich's collection (Moscow), to whom and to A. Vardanyan (Tübingen-Yerevan) I would like to express my gratitude for their assistance in this study.

¹⁴ Poole R. *Standard Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887; Naguevsky D. *Obozrenie persidskikh monet, khраниashchikhsya v numizmaticheskome muzee Kazanskogo Universiteta*, Kazan' 1892; Markov A. *Inventarnyi katalog musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg 1896; Valentine W. *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, London 1911; Pakhomov Ye. A. *Monetye klady Azerbaidzhana i Zakavkaz'ya*, issue I, Baku 1926; idem. *Klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza*, issue II, Baku 1938; idem. *Monetye klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastei Kavkaza*, issues III-IX, Baku 1940-1966; Rabino di Borgomale H. *Album of Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1948)*, Oxford 1951; Radzhabli A. *O mednom*

I. Copper Ghāzī of Īrawān, AH 988

Obverse: lion walking right within an oblong cartouche, below and above — ايروان / ٩٨٨ / ضرب *ḍarb 988 / Īrawān* (Naskh style). All in a plain outer rim.

Reverse: Shī'ite symbol of faith in a fancy cartouche with the names of the 12 Imāms around. All in a plain outer rim. The monetary value of this copper coin¹⁵, according to its weight (9.20 g), must be a *ghāzī* or 5 dinars¹⁶.



Fig.1 – Copper ghāzī of Īrawān, AH 988 (1580 AD)

The reverse of this copper coin is similar to silver coins struck under Shāh Muḥammad I Khudābandah Ṣafawī (985–995/1578–1588). The appearance of date and “cyclic” animal on the same side of a coin is rather unusual for the Caucasian copper coinage. A similar design is common for early Tabrīz coppers dated AH 913, 914 and 924, but these coins have animals and dates engraved on different sides. This specimen proves that the copper coinage in Īrawān started at least sixteen years before the first hitherto noted Persian copper coins appeared in AH 1004¹⁷.

II. Copper coin of the Qarābāgh Khānate, AH 1235 with an imitation of the Ottoman tughra

This coin-type is little known and has not been properly described anywhere.

Obverse: illegible imitation of Ottoman tughra with four groups of dots within a plain circle rim.

Reverse: پناه اباد / ضرب / فلوس / =٢٣٥ (date restored as ١٢٣٥) *fulūs ḍarb Panāhābād 1235*¹⁸. Double rim (linear and beaded) on both sides. The 4 coins of this type known to me are listed in a table below.

| No. | Date | Weight | Diameter | Reference |
|-----|---------------------|---------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | unknown | unknown | unknown | Pakhomov, No.914 |
| 2 | unknown | 1.92 g | 18–19 mm | Pakhomov, No.1659 |
| 3 | AH ×××5 | 4.38 g | 20 mm | Jena Sylloge, No.1290 ¹⁹ |
| 4 | AH ×××5 | 3.90 g | 19.5 mm | www.zeno.ru, No.22753 |
| 5 | AH [1]235 (1820 AD) | 3.15 g | 20.0 mm | author's collection |

chekane v Sefevidskom gosudarstve (XVI – nachalo XVIII vv.), in *Materialy po istorii Azerbaidzhana*, vol. VI, Baku 1962; Pere N. *Osmanlılarda Madenî Paralar*, İstanbul 1968; Ölçer C. *Nakışlı Osmanlı Mangırları*, İstanbul 1975; Kutelia T. *Catalogue of the Iranian Copper Coins in the State Museum of Georgia*, Tbilisi 1990; Radzhabli A. *Numizmatika Azerbaidzhana*, Baku 1997; Kabaklarlı N. “Mangır” *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Bakır Paraları 1299–1808*, İstanbul 1998; Krause Ch., Mischler C. *Standard Catalog of World Coins* (17th, 18th and 19th centuries), Iola 1999–2003.

¹⁵ Presently in the author's collection; reading of legends by Dr. V.N. Nastich.

¹⁶ Stephen Album calls this coin value a *ghaz*; see Album St. *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa 1998, p. 147.

¹⁷ Markov A., *op. cit.*, p. 764.

¹⁸ It is rather difficult to read the date on the photo due to the worn condition of the coin. Most of the year digits can be more or less clearly seen only if the coin is observed at a sharper side angle.

¹⁹ Mayer T., Heidemann S., Rispling G. *Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena*. Wiesbaden, 2005

Two coins of this type were first mentioned by Ye. A. Pakhomov as finds No.914 from Ganja obtained in 1905–06²⁰ and No.1659 from Mingechaur unearthed in 1950²¹. The coins were dated roughly as late 18th – early 19th centuries²². Pakhomov wrote that other similar coins were also known to him; nevertheless, I could not find any reference pointing to those additional specimens. It is not unlikely, however, that just one of them, undated or with lost date, was published in 1958²³. Another similar specimen, reportedly from a private collection in St. Petersburg, was posted in the Internet database *Zeno.ru* and discussed in the mailing list *Ru-Islamic*²⁴. One more piece of the same kind was published in the Jena Sylloge (No.1290) and another one recently obtained by the author.

Three specimens, struck with different pairs of dies, are illustrated below (fig. 2, 3 and 4). The coins show a considerable variation in weight, which is typical for the copper coinage of the XVII–XIX centuries. It is worth noting that neither meaningful Ottoman tughras nor their imitations were ever used for copper coins minted in Persia or its dependencies. The reason for the present case, when a composition resembling the Ottoman official sign is placed on the coins, may probably be explained by the political conditions obtaining in the region by that period.



Fig.2 – Coin no.3



Fig.3 – Coin no.4



Fig.4 – Coin no.5



Fig.5 – Fragment of coin No.5 (enlarged). Figures 2, 3 and 5 can be seen, hence the mint date is determined as AH [1]235.

²⁰ Pakhomov Ye. A., *op. cit.*, issue III, Baku 1940, p. 63.

²¹ *Ibid.*, issue VI, Baku 1954, p. 68.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See *Istoriya Azerbayjana*, ed. by Guseinov I.A., Sumbat-zade A.S., Guliev A.N., Tokarzhovsky E.A., Baku 1958, vol. I, p. 369. The image shown in this book is rather obscure; many important features cannot be discerned with enough confidence.

²⁴ Dr. V.N. Nastich attributed the coin as minted in Panāhābād (a castle near the modern town of Shushi in Qarābāgh).

The Qarābāgh Khānate was established by Panāh Khān ‘Alī Bek (originated from Otuzik family of the Saricalli tribe)²⁵ after the death of Nādir Shāh in 1747. In 1751 Panāh Khān founded his capital, Panāhābād, and started subduing the five local Armenian princely houses (so-called *Maliks of Khamsa*). In the 18th century his successors expanded the borders of the Khānate, which gradually turned into one of the most powerful states of southern Transcaucasia. The history of the Khānate before its annexation by Russia in 1822 witnessed a few political events of local importance that may be worthy of the reader’s attention. Namely, in 1816 General A. P. Yermolov was ordered to establish Russian rule in the Khānate. In 1819 Ismā’il Khān of the neighbouring Shekī Khānate died. The following year, Muṣṭafā Khān of Shirwān fled to Iran. AH 1235/1820 AD was the last year of the rule of Mahdī Qūlī Khān Muzaffar (AH 1221–35/1806–20 AD) in Qarābāgh. During the next two years his power remained purely nominal, and in 1822 AD he also was forced to leave Qarābāgh for Iran. It seems that the events cited could explain the evident rarity of the coins in question. In this case, the tughra design would probably indicate the “last hope” of the Qarābāgh Khāns to get assistance from the Ottomans. However, no direct information about any negotiations between the Qarābāgh Khāns and Ottoman Turkey can be traced in the written sources, however scanty, relating to the period²⁶.

On the other hand, the appearance of a tughra on the coins of the smallest denomination could be rather formal. The contemporary silver coins of Panāhābād continued to be issued according to the common Persian style until AH 1235/1820 AD. Silver coin issues lasted in the Qarābāgh Khānate as late as AH 1237/1822 AD, thus continuing for a certain time under Russian administration as well.

MONEY CIRCULATION IN CHACH DURING THE ANCIENT PERIOD

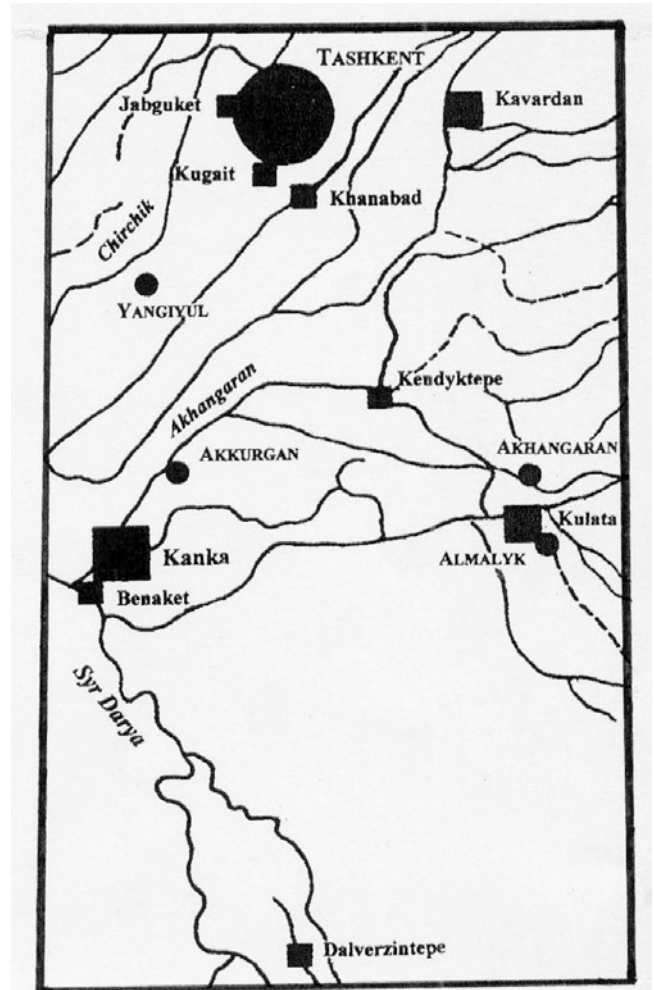
By Michael Fedorov

Introduction

Chach (the ancient Tashkent oasis) comprised the valleys of Chirchik, Akhangaran (Angren) and the adjacent spurs of the Chatkal and Kurama mountains. Its western border was the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), its southern and eastern borders were the Chatkal and Kurama ridges, from which originated the eastern tributary of the Syr Darya, the Chirchik, with its inflows. The Chirchik watered the greater part of the Chach oasis, which opened at the north onto the Keles steppe. The Chirchik and Akhangaran valleys and lower foothills were areas of developed agriculture based on a ramified system of irrigation canals. The higher foot-hills, mountains, Keles steppe and some arid zones along the right bank of the Syr Daria, in the western part of Chach, were populated by nomads.

Of the history of Chach there is next to nothing in the ancient chronicles. Chinese chronicles mentioned Chach as one among five sedentary kingdoms, vassals of the K’ang-Kiu (Kangui) nomad state, which in the first century BC had 120,000 warriors (Gafurov 1972, 138). Chach was mentioned in the inscription made by the Sasanian ruler, Shapur I in 262 AD (Lukonin 1969, 30, 62) who wrote that rulers of many lands as far as Sogd and the

frontiers of Chach, were subject to him or paid tribute. From this one may infer that Chach did was not subject to the Sasanians (even in name, as was the case with Sogd). So for the main source for the history of ancient Chach we have to look to archaeological data.



The period under examination here coincides with the existence in Chach of the *Kaunchi* archaeological culture: *Kaunchi I* (second century BC - first century AD), *Kaunchi II* (second - fourth century AD.), *Kaunchi III* (fourth - first half of the sixth century), preceded by the *Bürgülik* culture (ninth - third century BC). The transition from the *Bürgülik* to the *Kaunchi* period coincided with the invasion of Central Asia by nomads from the East. In the *Kaunchi I* period the oasis spread to the east (owing to the growth of the irrigation system) and urbanisation started. The first towns appeared along the eastern bank of the Syr Darya and the lower basin of its tributaries, the Chirchik and Angren. Then urbanisation spread to the east. New towns sprang up in the central part of the oasis and in the lower foothills. This stage coincided with the *Kaunchi II* period. The towns were of geometrical plan (rectangular with a rectangular citadel adjacent to the city wall) or amorphous. Their walls and towers made of *pakhsa* (hard-beaten clay) or adobe bricks, were defended by a moat. The first type of towns predominated along the Syr Darya. In the central part of oasis prevailed amorphous towns with an oval or round citadel, since natural heights were used for them. In the lower foothills towns sprang up connected with mining and metallurgy (the adjacent mountains were rich in silver, gold, copper and iron). Towns on the border with the steppe were fortresses and trade centres. A ramified irrigation system was created. In the first centuries AD, canals were built such as the Zakh (20 km long) and Khanaryq canals. Riverbeds of some streams, such as the Salar, Dzhün, and Kürküldük, were improved and turned into irrigation canals.

Recently V. Shagalov and A. Kuznetsov published Каталог монет Чача III-VIII вв. /Catalogue of coins of Chach III-VIII AD

²⁵ The nomad Saricalli tribe inhabited the Jevanshir region on the banks of the Araxes.

²⁶ Archbishop Jalaleanc S. *Tchanaparhorduthiwn i metz Hayastan*, Tphghis (Tiflis) 1858; Barkhudaryants M. *Artsakh*, Baku 1895; Ahmed-Bek Jevanshir. *O politicheskome sushchestvovanii Karabakhskogo Khanstva (s 1747 po 1805 g.)*, Shusha 1901; Ter-Mkrtychyan K. *Hay melik'ut'ean verabereal nyut'er*, vols. I-II, Etchmiadzin 1913-1914; Adigezal-Bek Mirza. *Karabakh-name*, Baku 1950; Mirza Jemal Jevanshir Karabakhi. *Istoriya Karabakha*, Baku, no date; Fadeyev A. *Rossiya i Kavkaz v pervoy treti XIX v.*, Moscow 1960; Abbas-Kuli Bakikhanov. *Gulistan-i Iram*, Baku 1991; Raffi (A. Melik'-Hakobyan). *Melikstva Khamsy*, Yerevan 1991.

(Tashkent, 2006). [Ed: see review in JONS 191] This is an important event in the ancient and early-mediaeval numismatics of Chach as it is the first (and best) catalogue of Chach coins accessible both to Russian- and English-speaking scholars, written in both Russian and English. It appeared as a result of the examination of more than 2000 coins and provides (unfortunately scarce) data from the ancient chronicles and a short summary of numismatic and historical investigations by modern scholars. One of the most important achievements of the book are accurate graphic descriptions of the coin legends, accompanied by phonetic transliterations and variants of the readings of such legends made by different scholars and sometimes by Kuznetsov. This catalogue has laid a solid foundation for further study of the ancient and early-mediaeval numismatics of Chach but there are, in my view, some shortcomings and methodological mistakes that need to be corrected.

Shagalov and Kuznetsov missed the fact that a gradual (and continuing) reduction of the coin weight was a common trend with ancient and early-mediaeval Central Asian coins. There were exceptions to the rule, but these are quite rare. This means that the heavier coins were earlier and preceded the lighter coins, which helps us to establish a relative chronology, because the ancient and early-mediaeval coins of Central Asia did not bear any dates. Thus in their catalogue coins of "Group I, Period 1, Version 1" (henceforth: I/1/1 etc.) and coins I/1/2-3 (average weight 3.7-3.8g) were followed by coins I/1/4 (3.4 g). Then again were heavier coins I/1/5 (3.7 g), then coins I/1/8 (5.6 g), then coins 2/1/1 (4.1 g) etc. Coins (no. 16, 17) with tamghas oriented differently (one to the right, the other to the left, but with the legend written correctly, which excludes the possibility that the tamgha was engraved retrograde), or coins with and without a dot in the upper part of the tamgha (no. 18, 19) were included in the same groups (I/2/1, I/2/2), which is methodologically incorrect. That is why the relative chronology offered by Shagalov and Kuznetsov and the typological classification of the coins needs some correcting, as does the reading of some of the Sogdian legends. This is the task that the present writer has set himself.

The Coinage

In 1930 near Dalverzin tepe (9 km east of the Syr Darya, 9 km north of the town of Bekabad) was found hoard of 15 copper coins with a specific tamgha. Later, one more coin was found at Kanka hillfort, 35 km north of Dalverzin tepe and 10 km east of the Syr Darya. M. E. Masson (1933, 9; 1953, 113) attributed such coins to the "Kangui mintage" and dated them to the third-fourth centuries AD. He wrote that on a Sasanian plate with the image of Varahran I (in the Hermitage Museum) was a Sogdian inscription and tamgha like the ones on the Dalverzin coins. He pointed out the similarity between the tamghas on the Dalverzin coins and those of ancient Khwarezmian coins (fig. 1/1-16).



Fig. 1. Comparative table of the swan-shaped tamghas on coins of Chach, Khwarezm and Bukhara oasis.

1. Imitation of Euthydemus tetradrachm. Bukhara. 2. Imitation of Eucratides tetradrachm. Khwarezm. 3. "King in kulah". Khwarezm. 4. "Nameless King A". Khwarezm. 5-6. "Nameless King B". Khwarezm. 7. Tamgha on greater part of Khwarezmian coins (up to the VIII c. AD). 8. Chach. Tamgha turned right. No dots. 9. Chach. Tamgha turned right. 1 dot. 10. Chach. Tamgha

turned right. 2 dots. 11. Chach. Tamgha turned right. 3 dots. 12. Chach. "Swan looking back" tamgha. 2 dots. 13. Chach. Tamgha turned left. 1 dot. 14. Chach. Tamgha turned left. 2 dots. 15. Chach. Tamgha turned left. 3 dots. 16. Chach. "Swan looking back" tamgha. No dots.

Iu. Buriakov (1975, 36, 189) and T. Ernazarova (1978, 123, 147) published such coins found at Benaket, Kendyk tepe, Kanka and dated them to the third - fourth centuries. E. Novgorodova and B. Vainberg (1976, 70) dated the tamgha placed on such coins to the third - fourth centuries and wrote that, in those centuries, Chach was ruled by a dynasty stemming from the *Yueji of the house of Jaovu*. There was a similarity between such tamghas and those of the Sarmatian rulers of the Bosphorus (on the northern shore of the Black Sea) which suggested an affinity between the *Yueji of the house of Jaovu* and the Sarmatians, who originally resided south of the Urals. V. Masson (1966, 80) dated such coins to the third-fourth centuries but wrote that some coins could have been struck earlier. He connected them with *Kangui* realm *Yuni*. K. Abdullaev (1975, 135, 151) wrote that tamghas of this type were to be seen on Khwarezmian coins of the first century BC - first century AD and thought that this could indicate contemporaneous mintages. G. Koshelenko and Buriakov (1985, 302) dated the beginning of the mintage of such coins to the third century AD. E. Rtveladze (1987, 136; 2000, 148) dated such coins to the third - fourth centuries and read one legend as **xwB č'č'n n'p'č d/n wwnn/d**, i.e. "ruler of the people of Chachan **δ/n wwnn/δ**".

A. Musakaeva (2004, 110-115) was the first to give a picture of money circulation in Ancient Chach. She wrote that unlike the southern and central parts of Central Asia (where money circulation started in the third - second centuries BC) Chach had a monetary economy (and the first Chach coins appeared) about five centuries later (i.e. in the second - third centuries AD) and singled out three periods:

i. First period.

"Coins of the first two types with readable legends". She dated these to the first - second (probably third) centuries AD. But on p. 110 she dated the appearance of Chach coins to the second - third centuries. The first two types (actually two coins) show portraits of two different kings and two different tamgha variants (with and without a dot in the upper part). This would mean each king for one or one and a half centuries, so to say two Methusilahs. Such early dates are unacceptable. Rtveladze (2006, 13) dated the same two coins (and rulers) to the second half of the third century AD. I think they can be dated to the first half of the 3rd century or even to the end of the second century but hardly earlier.

ii. Second period.

The legend degradation is accompanied by a reduction in the coins' weight and size. The kings' portraits "are still recognisable". Musakaeva dated the second period to the third - fifth centuries.

iii. Third period.

Fifth - sixth or even the beginning of the seventh century AD. Such a late date is totally unacceptable. Rtveladze (2006, 31) wrote that such coins were struck and circulated for about 250 years till the beginning of the sixth century. I think that mintage of such coins may have ceased earlier than the beginning of the sixth century.

Musakaeva described 18 types (or rather, 18 coins). At least 14 of them had variants of the swan-shaped tamgha. The quality of the illustrations is bad, so that it is impossible to determine the type of tamgha on some coins. The written description of the tamghas is inadequate and does not help. But, what is important, as is the case in Khwarezm, there are swan-shaped tamghas turned not only to right but also to the left and tamghas with dots in the upper (swan-shaped) part. Also there is a tamgha with the upper part resembling a swan looking back.

In 2006, Rtveladze published a monograph *Istoriia i numizmatika Chacha (vtoraita polovina III-seredina VIII v. n. e.) / The history and numismatics of Chach (second half III-mid VIII AD)*. One would have expected it to be a new important step forward. But it proved to be merely a compilation of old articles published by him since 1975. He did not even bother to update the articles nor to correct his mistakes noticed by other scholars.

In his book, Rtveladze described 5 types of Chach coins with a swan-shaped tamgha, although Musakaeva in 2004 published coins with at least 14 types of the swan-shaped tamgha. Could it be that he did not know this article? Moreover, the description of those 5 types is methodologically incorrect. Type 1 includes 2 different coins with different rulers' portraits and different tamghas (with and without a dot in the upper part). On p.14 he illustrates a coin with the caption "Ancient Chachian coin. IV c. AD. Second type". On p.21 he illustrates a coin with the caption "Ancient Chachian coin. Second type". But apart from having the portraits of different kings, the coins have their tamghas oriented in different directions. One tamgha (p. 14) has the "swan head" turned to the left, the other tamgha (p. 21) has the "swan head" turned to the right. In 2005 (Fedorov 2005, 175-178, 186-188, 196-197) I corrected some of his mistakes. I showed (p. 201, figs 4, 5) that the reading of the mintname as **twnwkwand** (Tunukand = Tunket) is unacceptable because the letter (after the **t**) which he read as **w** is quite distinctly a **p**. I also showed (p.175-178) that the Tiurgesh never minted coins in Chach and that there was no Tiurgesh qagan with the name Tiurkesh. But totally unperturbed, Rtveladze repeated these mistakes in his book published in 2006. And he could not have missed my article because I sent it him in 2005!

If coins with differently oriented tamghas were minted in the same realm it meant a change of power, i.e. that another branch of the ruling dynasty came to power. Nomad tribes were divided according to their place in battle formation: head (centre) and two wings (left and right). The different orientation of the tamgha could signify the left and right wing of the tribe (or left and right branch of the dynasty).

Rtveladze (2006, 15) wrote that coins of the *Wanwan* (or Swan-shaped tamgha) dynasty were found mainly at Kanka. We should not dismiss the fact that Kanka had been excavated for several decades. But even at Kanka itself such coins are not numerous. During the excavations of 1969-1972 there were found 33 Chach coins (Abdullaev 1975, 151-154). 51.5% of them had the Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha. Coins with two emblems (Chach trident - Otrarian lion) which I (Fedorov 2003, 13) identified with Mohedo Tutun (712-740) - 20.6%. Chach coins with variants of the Lyre-, Trident- and X-shaped tamgha - from 2.9 to 5.9%. A different picture was given by the Kendyk tepe hillfort (Drevnosti 1978, 123-127). During excavations of 1971-1973 41 Chach coins were found. Only 7.3% had the Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha. Mohedo Tutun's coins - 39%, coins with other variants of the trident-shaped tamgha - 46.3%, coins with the royal couple - 7.3%.

Buriakov (1975, 35) located the kingdom of *Yuni*, which according to the *Han* (206 BC-252 AD) chronicle was a vassal of *Kanguï*, in the Chach oasis. He proved it by means of a citation from the *Tang* (618-906 AD) chronicle describing *Shi/Chjeshi/Chjehji* (Chach): "the ruler called Shi resides in Chjeshi. This place belonged (in the ancient period - M. F.) to the town of Yuni of the Small Kanguï ruler". Proceeding from the fact that other big towns of the Chach oasis sprang up later than Kanka (where he found archaeological strata dating to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC) Buriakov identified *Yuni* with the *Kanka* hillfort. All that leaves no doubt that the *Wanwan* dynasty coins were minted at *Kanka* (ancient *Yuni*). They were struck for at least some 250 years, starting with a weight of about 3.7-3.9 g (D. 21-23 mm) and ending with a weight less than 1g (D. 8-12 mm).

I analysed the topography of the *Wanwan* dynasty coin finds. They were all (with the exception of the latest coins) found in the Angren valley the distance between the Kendyk (northernmost) and Dalverzin (southernmost) finds is 46 km. Benaket is 33, Kanka 35 km north of Dalverzin. All of them are situated on the

eastern bank of the Syr Darya. Kendyktepe is the easternmost (about 25 km east of the Syr Darya). Benaket was on the bank of the Syr Darya near its confluence with the Angren. Dalverzin and Kanka are about 8-9 km east of the Syr Darya. So we have a compact zone (lower Angren valley and eastern bank of the Syr Darya). Among five vassals of *Kanguï*, were *Yuni* (5266 li west of *Yan-Gunan*, westernmost Chinese provincial capital) and *Susei* (5576 li west of *Yan-Gunan*). So *Yuni* was east of *Susei* and the distance between *Yuni* and *Susei*, or rather their capitals, was (5576-5266) 310 li or 155 km. I identified *Susei* with the Chirchik valley (Chach proper) and *Yuni* with the Angren valley (Ilāq of the Arab geographers of the 10th century). In early-mediaeval times, when Chach comprised both the Angren and Chirchik valleys, the ruler of Chach resided in *Chjeshi* which place "belonged (in the ancient period) to the town of *Yuni*" (i.e. *Kanka*).

Thus, the area of circulation of such coins in the ancient period was mostly the Angren valley or *Yuni* of the Chinese chronicle. And they were minted in the ancient capital of Chach (*Kanka* hillfort). Only the latest coins with the swan-shaped tamgha were found in Tashkent and some other parts of the Chirchik valley, i.e. in Chach proper. Hence, at Shash tepe hillfort (12 km west of Tashkent) a hoard of 27 coins of the latest period was found (Musakaeva 2004, 115; Rtveladze 2006, 11).

Like other ancient and early-mediaeval coins of Central Asia, the coins of Chach had no date (and mostly no mint name). But it is possible to establish a relative chronology (i.e. succession of different coin types). As mentioned above, the gradual reduction of the coin weight was a common trend with the ancient coins of Central Asia. There were exceptions from the rule but these are quite rare. So heavier coins usually were earlier than the lighter ones. Unfortunately, metrological data regarding these coins are rather scarce, but, taken together with other parameters (such as the degradation of legends and images etc.) they allow us to trace the succession of coin types and hence the relative chronology. The faces of the kings (sometimes distinctly differing from one another) and the contents of the legend, taken together with the aforementioned parameters, allow us to distinguish the coin types as well.

Comparative chronology and coin types

The numeration and classification of coins given by Shagalov and Kuznetsov are used, the latter abbreviated thus: Group I, Period 1, Version 1 = I/1/1. Sometimes, however, their classification is methodologically incorrect because they unite within the same "Version" coins with different tamghas (oriented left and right, or with and without dots in the upper part, or with portraits of different kings). Sometimes in the plates, with drawings of coins, reverses with different tamghas are linked to one obverse (pp. 304, 306) whereas on the *photos* of the obverses there are portraits of different kings.

In my article I propose a typology based on legends, variants of tamgha, kings' portraits (if they differ from one another) and the coins' metrology, since heavier coins as a rule chronologically preceded the lighter ones.

Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha oriented right. Coins heavier than 3 g

Type 1.



W. 3.7, 3.7, 3.7, 3.1 g. D. 22, 22, 22.7, 22.8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 1-5, I/1/1). Tb. 1.

Obv. Within a circle: bust of moustached and bearded king (shoulders facing, head turned left) with diadem, tied at occiput with pleated ribbons hanging downwards. Above his forehead the diadem is decorated with a crescent (horns upward). He has a neck-ring with a round medallion. His hair falls down in strands with a lock at the end. He has a pronounced annular artificial (macrocephalic) deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.

Rev. Within a circle: a large tamga with the upper part resembling a floating swan with a slender neck raised (hence the name “swan-shaped tamgha”), placed on a pedestal resembling two Arab letters \cup turned back-to-back. The tamgha is oriented to the right. Around it there is a Sogdian legend engraved retrograde. Rtveldadze read it as $\check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'pn'\check{c}\ xw\beta w\ MR'Y\ wnw n$ Chachian people's (country's) ruler-sovereign Wanwan. But there is not anything even remotely resembling $MR'Y$.

The graphic descriptions of legends by Kuznetsov are very accurate when he copies the letters. But sometimes he places them in the wrong order (Shagalov, Kuznetsov 2006, 31). He starts with the isolated letter k/r (in the Sogdian alphabet some letters annoyingly were written the same or almost the same way). Here, though, it looks more like an r . This r must be transferred to the end of the legend's graphic description, where it belongs. Then comes $\check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'p\check{c}$ Chachian people/country. The following word is a clear $krznw\check{c}w$ Karzanuchu. I corrected the graphic description made by Kuznetsov of five legends on coins no. 1-5, having started with the name $krznw\check{c}w$ (fig. 2). It is distinct on the legends of no. 1, 3, 4, 5 and the letter r in the word $pyyr$ (legend no. 3) is written the same way as the letter r in the word $krznw\check{c}w$ (legend no. 4). The Sogdian name *Karzanch* is mentioned in an Arab chronicle of 720 AD. He was the leader of Sogdian insurgents. Forced to retreat, they decided to go to Fergana since the Ferganian king, Alatar, promised them protection. Karzanch insisted that they should cross the Syr Daria and go to the Turks. But the insurgents went to Fergana, where Alatar betrayed them and they were massacred by the Arabs (Gafurov 1972, 319). So *Karzanuchu* was an ancient variant of this name. It could also be that Tābarī wrote this Sogdian name without short vowels as was the way with the Arabs.

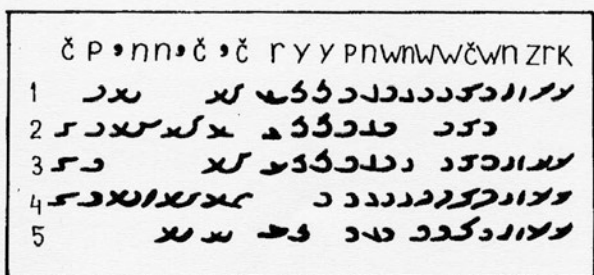


Fig. 2. Legends on the five Type 1 coins (No. 1-5, Type I/1/1 by Shagalov and Kuznetsov). Graphic description by Kuznetsov is corrected by the writer. From right to left it reads: $krznw\check{c}w\ wnw n\ pyyr\ \check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'p\check{c}$.

After *Karzanuchu* goes $wnw n$ Victorious. Then goes the word $w/pyyr$ *Wir (Man) or Pir*. According to M. Iskhakov (2004, 192) the Sogdian word *Pir* may be translated as ‘wall’ with the concomitant meaning ‘defence’.

And so the legend was: $krznw\check{c}w\ wnw n\ pyyr\ \check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'p\check{c}$ *Karzanuchu Wanwan Pir Chachan Napch* = *Karzanuchu Victorious/Powerful Wall/Defence (of) the Chach People/Country* (fig. 2). There is a striking parallel with the Sāmānid period. The famous Sāmānid amir, Isma‘īl b. Aḥmad (892-907), used to say: “While I am alive, *I am the Wall of Bukhārā*” (Gafurov 1972, 340).

“If we regard the coiffure, the form of the beard and hair (? I translate word for word - M. F.) as ethnic feature ... we may infer that the ancient Chach rulers belonged to the Yeji” - wrote Rtveldadze (2006, 23). Surprisingly he did not mention the most distinctive and characteristic feature of the Yeji – the artificial

deformation of the skull. But the *Wanwan* rulers of Chach were remote descendants of the Yeji who invaded Transoxiana c.140-129 BC. About 100 BC they occupied southern Greco-Bactria. A century or so later, their descendants created the Kushan empire. Nomadic tribes which stayed in Transoxiana and Khwarezm created kingdoms there in the last third of the second century BC. The earliest variants of the swan-shaped tamgha appeared about that time on imitations of Eucratides tetradrachms in Khwarezm and on imitations of Euthydemus tetradrachms in Bukharan Sogd. In Chach, coins with the Chachian variants of the swan-shaped tamgha appeared considerably later.

Type 2.

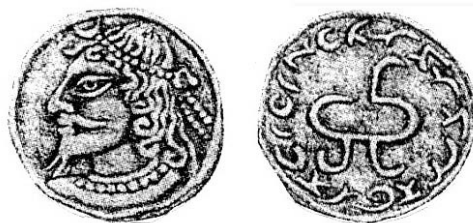


Fig. 3. W. 3.4 g. D. 20.2 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 9, 10, I/1/4). Tb. 2.

Obv. Within a circle: moustached and bearded king (facing left) with a beaded diadem with a crescent, tied with ribbons hanging downwards. He has a broad neck-ring (two parallel lines with beads inbetween). His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has a pronounced artificial deformation of the skull, a big heavy armenoid nose, fleshy lips and big, slightly slanting eyes with heavy eyelids. His beard is formed into three plaits.

Rev. Within a circle: a swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right, Sogdian legend $\check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'p\check{c}'$ (sic) $wnw n\ xw\beta$.

Surprisingly both Rtveldadze and Kuznetsov read the second word as $n'p\check{c}$ *napach* although on the coins and, moreover, on the graphic description of the legends made by Kuznetsov (Shagalov, Kuznetsov 2006, 40), it is quite distinctly $n'p\check{c}'$ *napcha*. One could be tempted to think that this was a die engraver's mistake, but this word is written the same way on different coins struck from different dies (see fig. 3). So, why is it written in this way only on coins of this particular type while on all other coins (where the legend has survived) the word *People/Country* is written correctly as $n'p\check{c}$? The answer must be because it was another word. Here it is surely the ruler's name. If this is indeed the case, the legend should be read $n'p\check{c}'\ wnw n\ xw\beta\ \check{c}'\check{c}'n$ *Napcha Victorious Ruler Chachian*. And if so, we would know the names of two rulers from the Wanwan (swan-shaped tamgha) dynasty.

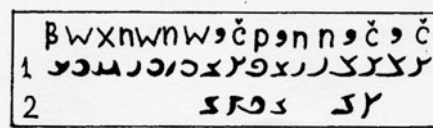
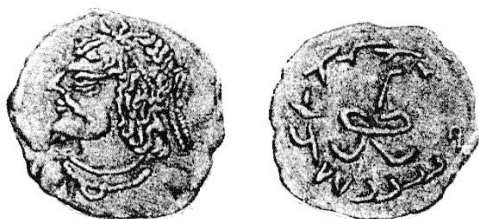


Fig. 3. Legend on the two Type 2 coins (No. 9, 10, Type I/1/4 by Shagalov and Kuznetsov). Graphic description by Kuznetsov. From right to left it reads: $\check{c}'\check{c}'n\ n'p\check{c}'$ (sic) $wnw n\ xw\beta$.

One more name of the Wanwan dynasty ruler $\check{S}'w$ *Black* we know from a Sogdian inscription on a Sasanian silver plate (D. 27.6-28 mm, W. 636 g) with the image of Varahran (when he was Kushanshah) hunting wild boar. On this plate the inscription: $MY'R\ \check{S}'w\ \check{c}'\check{c}'n\ np'\check{c}\ III\ III\ III\ XXX\ styrk$ / *King Shav (of) Chachian people/land. 39 staters* (the plate's weight) is accompanied by the swan-shaped tamgha described above (Masson 1933, 9; Trever, Lukonin 1987, 108, 121; Rtveldadze 2006, 27, 8). The future Sasanian shah, Varahran IV, was portrayed when he ruled Kushanshahr (the lands conquered by the Sasanians from the Kushans) in 384-388/9. V. A. Lukonin (1967, 31) wrote that, on the plate, was portrayed Varahran, son of Varahran IV, but I think it was Varahran IV. Sasanian silver plates with portraits of rulers were not made for sale. They were made for the shah. But such ceremonial vessels could be bestowed as an

award or presented by the Sasanian ruler's embassy to some foreign ruler. If so, we may date the reign of *Shav* to the time around the 380s AD

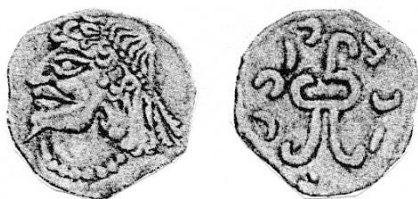
Type 3.



W. 5.6 g. D. 22 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 14, I/1/8). Tb. 3.
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) with diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He has a necklace with an oval medallion. The coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, aquiline nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and the Sogdian legend $\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{c}}\text{n} \dots \text{p} \dots \text{wnwn} (\text{xw}\beta?)$ *Chachan ... p ... Wnwn (Xw\beta?)* = Chachian ... Victorious (Ruler?).

Judging by its weight, this coin ought to belong with earlier types. But some distortions in the legend lead one to suppose that it was struck somewhat later than the preceding types. The heavy weight attests to some monetary reform. $5.6 \div 3 = 1.866 \text{ g}$. $1.866 \times 2 = 3.733 \text{ g}$ which is the average weight of Type I coins. So the weight ratio of Type 3 to Type 1 coins was 3:2.

Type 4.



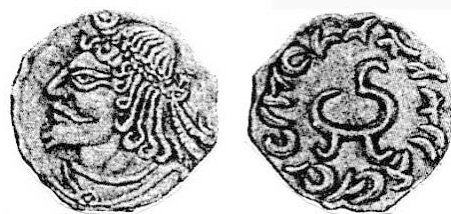
W. 4.1 g. D. 18.7 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 16, I/2/1). Tb. 4.
Obv. Moustached and bearded ruler (facing left) wearing diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He had a necklace of big beads and the usual coiffure. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips and big, almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and the legend $\text{wnwn} (\text{xw}\beta?)$ *Wnwn (Xw\beta?)* = Victorious Ruler(?). *Wanwan* is unmistakable; the second three-lettered word looks like *Xwab* engraved with mistakes. Judging by the weight and the legend with some distortions this type was minted somewhat later than heavier coins with a legend without distortions. The absence of the words $\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{c}}\text{n} \text{ n}^{\text{p}}\check{\text{c}}$ shows that this ruler was not supreme ruler of Chach. He was from the Wanwan (swan-shaped tamgha) dynasty but ruled an appanage principality. Like adjacent Sogd, Chach was a confederation of principalities with the ruler of the strongest one being (often nominally) the supreme ruler of Chach.

Type 5.

W. 3.1 g. D. 18 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 21, I/2/3).
Obv. Moustached and bearded ruler (facing left) without diadem(?), with neck-ring, usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard appears to be unplaited.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and the Sogdian legend $\text{wnwn} \text{ xw}\beta$ *Wnwn Xw\beta* = Victorious Ruler. He was also a ruler of some appanage principality.

Coins heavier than 2 g

Type 6.



W. 2.9 g. D. 18.8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 13, I/2/7). Tb. 5.
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a beaded diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons hanging down. He has a neck-ring with a round medallion, usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and the Sogdian legend $\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{c}}\text{n} \text{ n}^{\text{p}}\check{\text{c}} \text{ wnwn} \text{ xw}\beta$ *Chachan Napch Wnwn Xw\beta* = Chachian People/Country Victorious Ruler.

This coin is of high quality, with full a legend of the second variant (i.e. without the ruler's name). Were it not for its weight it would belong with the earliest types. But since it is considerably lighter (cf. average weight 3.7 g and 2.9 g) it was presumably minted at a later time by some supreme ruler of Chach.

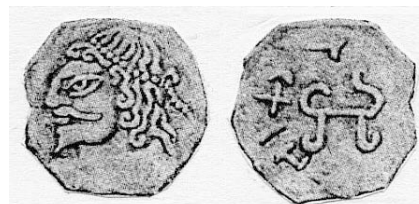
Type 7.

W. 2.1 g. D. 18.3 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 15, I/2/1).
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing beaded diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons hanging down. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips, slanting eyes.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and Sogdian legend $\dots \check{\text{c}}\check{\text{c}}\text{n} \dots$ *Chachan...* = ... Chachian ...

Judging by the word *Chachan*, he was supreme ruler of Chach in the time close to, but after, the time of the supreme ruler who minted the Type 6 coins.

Coins less than 2 g

Type 8.



W. 1.7 g. D. 17.3 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 20, I/2/2). Tb. 6.
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing beaded diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons hanging down. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, aquiline nose, fleshy lips and slanting eyes. His beard is formed into one? plait.
Rev. A swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and a distorted, illegible Sogdian legend.

Type 9.

W. 1.5 g. D. 19.6 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 18, I/2/2).
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a beaded diadem, with crescent, tied by ribbons hanging down. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose and slanting eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right and distorted, illegible Sogdian legend.

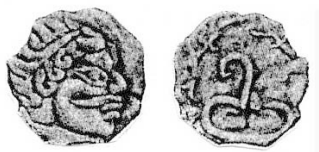
Type 10.

W. 1.7 g. D. 14.9 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 24, I/3/1).
Obv. Primitive image of head (not bust) of moustached, unbearded(?) king (facing left) with usual coiffure, artificial

deformation of the skull, heavy armenoid nose and big slanting eyes.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right. The legend is absent or is off-flan.

Type 11.



W. 1.1 g. D. 13.9 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 29, I/3/3). Tb. 7. *Obv.* Primitive image of head (not bust) of moustached, unbearded(?) king (facing right, the first and only case) with diadem, artificial deformation of the skull, armenoid nose, thick lips, big slanting eyes.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right. The legend is distorted and illegible.

Coins with swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right are the more numerous - 52% of all the Wanwan dynasty coins published in Shagalov and Kuznetsov's catalogue.

Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha, turned right, with a dot in upper part.

Type 12.

W. 3.8 g. D. 21.8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 6, I/1/2). Fig. 4.

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing beaded diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring without a medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, a straight, rather short nose and thin lips. His eyes are not shown. Could it be that he was blind? His beard is formed into a single(?) plait.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right with a dot in the upper part, Sogdian legend č'č'n n'pč wwnw xwβ.

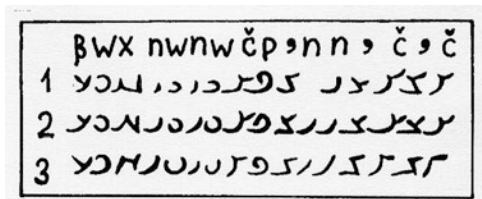
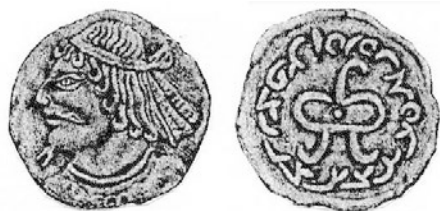


Fig. 4. Legend on Types 12-14 coins (No. 6-8, Types I/1/2-3 by Shagalov and Kuznetsov). Graphic description by Kuznetsov. From right to left it reads: č'č'n n'pč wwnw xwβ.

Type 13.



W. 3.9 g. D. 21.5 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 7, I/1/3). Tb. 8. Fig. 4.

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem, with crescent, tied with pleated ribbons. Neck-ring without a medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, a straight, rather long nose, thin lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right with a dot in the upper part, Sogdian legend č'č'n n'pč wwnw xwβ.

Type 14.



W. not given. D. 21 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 8, I/1/3). Tb. 9. Fig. 4.

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing scaled(?) diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring without a medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, hooked nose, thin lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right with a dot in the upper part, Sogdian legend č'č'n n'pč wwnw xwβ.

Judging by their heavy weight, full legend (second variant, without the ruler's name), absence of mistakes and high quality of portraits these coins belong to the earlier period and are close in time to the coins of Types 1-3. Since the coins of Types 1-3 and 12-13 have the words č'č'n n'pč in the legend, they were minted by the supreme rulers of Chach. This means that it is not a question of two different contemporary principalities ruled by two kindred families with swan-shaped tamghas, oriented to the right, but differing in the absence or presence of a dot in their upper part. There was a change of power when one dynastic family was supplanted by another kindred family. Then the family with the tamgha without a dot regained power. Their tamgha is found on both later and the latest coins (no. 15, 18, 20, 21, 24, 29 in the catalogue published by Shagalov and Kuznetsov).

Type 15.



W. 2.9 g. D. 18.8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 12, I/1/6). Tb. 10.

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring without a medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, thin lips and rather small eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha, oriented to the right, with a dot in the upper part; Sogdian legend č'č'n n'pč wwnw xwβ.

Type 16.

W. 2.4 g. D. 20.2 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 19, I/1/6).

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a beaded diadem with crescent. He has a neck-ring (it is not clear: with or without a medallion?). His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, hooked nose, small lips and big eyes. His beard is formed into one(?) plait.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha, oriented to the right, with a dot. The Sogdian legend is distorted and illegible.

These coins were struck by the same dynastic family but considerably later than coins of Types 13-15.

The coins with such a tamgha constitute 16% of the coins of the Wanwan (swan-shaped tamgha) dynasty in Shagalov and Kuznetsov's catalogue.

Here I also include the coin which has a tiny annulet instead of a dot.

Type 17.

W. not given. D. 21.2 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 11, I/1/5).
Obv. Within a circle: moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem, with crescent, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring (with a medallion?). His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, aquiline nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard is formed into two plaits.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha, oriented to the right, with a tiny annulet in the upper part, and Sogdian legend **č'č'n n'p... wwnw xwb** *Chachan Nap(č) Wwnw Xwb* = Chachian People's/Country's Victorious Ruler.

This coin belongs to the same chronological group as the Type 1-3, 12-14 coins.

In all, coins with a swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right constitute 71% of all the Wanwan dynasty coins published in Shagalov and Kuznetsov's catalogue.

In the table "Varieties of tamgha on coins of the first group" (Shagalov, Kuznetsov 2006, 58) are shown reverses of coins with a swan-shaped tamgha, oriented to the right, with two or three dots, and a coin with a dot under the lower part of the tamgha. But in the catalogue such coins are not described. L. Baratova (1998, 54) mentioned a coin with a swan-shaped tamgha, oriented to the right, with four dots in its upper part.

Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha oriented left.

Type 18.

W. not given. D. 18 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 17, I/2/1).
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing beaded diadem, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring with a round medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, small lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard appears to be unplaited.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left and Sogdian legend **... p ... č ... wwnw x...**

Shagalov and Kuznetsov included this coin in "Group I, Period 2, Version 1" but this is methodologically incorrect because the first two coins of this group had the tamgha oriented to the right.

Type 19.



W. 1.8 g. D. 15.5 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 25, I/3/1-2). Tb. 11.

Obv. Primitive image of head (not bust) of moustached and bearded ruler (facing left) wearing a diadem; artificial deformation of the skull, heavy armenoid nose, thick lips and big slanting eyes.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left. The legend is partly off-flan, partly illegible.

Type 20.

W. 1.3 g. D. 14.5 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 26, I/3/1-2).
Obv. Primitive image of head (not bust) of moustached and bearded ruler (facing left) wearing a diadem; artificial deformation of the skull, armenoid nose, high cheek-bones, thick lips and big slanting eyes.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left. The legend is partly off-flan, partly illegible.

Type 21.

W. 0.4 g. D. 10.6 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 30, I/3/5).
Obv. Almost unrecognisable image of head, partly off the flan.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left. The legend is worn out or absent.

Type 21a.



W. not given. D. 8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 31, I/3/5). Tb. 12.

Obv. Image of head partly off-flan, so that only the heavy nose, big slanting eye, moustache and upper lip are visible.

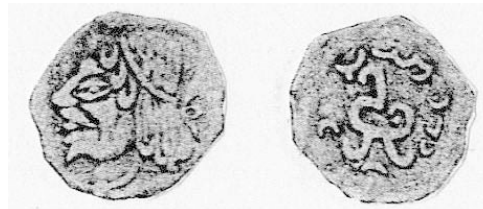
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left. The legend is absent.

Types 19-20 are the latest. Type 18 still has a good bust portrait and legible legend. From the diameter (18 mm) it ought to weigh less than 2 g. The subsequent coins weigh between 0.4-1.8 g and have primitive (I would even say grotesque) images of different thick-lipped, slant-eyed heads, some of them partly off the flan. Which suggests that the dies used to strike these coins were made for bigger flans.

Coins with a swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left constitute 16% of the Wanwan dynasty coins published in Shagalov and Kuznetsov's catalogue.

Chachian variants of the swan-shaped tamgha, turned left, with two dots and two tiny circles.

Type 22.



W. 3.4 g. D. 16.8 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 22, I/2/3).

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem, tied with ribbons. He has a neck-ring with a round medallion. His coiffure is the same as on Type 1 coins. He has an artificial deformation of the skull, aquiline nose, fleshy lips and slanting eyes. His beard appears to be formed into a single plait.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left with two dots and a distorted Sogdian legend **... wwnw(?) ...**

Type 23.

W. 2.2 g. D. 16.3 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 23, I/2/3).
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, heavy armenoid nose, fleshy lips and almond-shaped eyes. His beard appears to be unplaited.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left, with two tiny annulets and a distorted, illegible Sogdian legend.

Type 24.

W. 1.6 g. D. 15.7 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 28, I/2/3).
Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a diadem. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, straight nose, fleshy lips and big almond-shaped eyes. His beard appear to be unplaited.
Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left, with two tiny annulets, and a distorted, illegible Sogdian legend.

The table "Varieties of tamgha on coins of the first group" (Shagalov, Kuznetsov 2006, 59) includes reverses of coins having swan-shaped tamghas, oriented left, with a cross, tiny annulet, and three dots in the upper part. But in the catalogue itself such coins are not described.

There is one more variety of a swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left with a type of "bifurcating tail".

Type 25.

W. 2.2 g. D. 16.3 mm (Shagalov, Kuznetsov, no. 27, I/3/2).

Obv. Moustached king (facing left) wearing a diadem. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, heavy straight nose and almond-shaped eyes. The lower part of his face is off the flan.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left and a distorted, illegible Sogdian legend. As mentioned above, the upper part of the tamgha resembles a swimming swan with a raised neck. The “swan’s tail” was always described by a single line. Here it is described by a line bifurcating at the end.

Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha (turned right or left) with “swan looking back”.

Surprisingly Sahagalov and Kuznetsov did not include in their catalogue coins with the “swan looking back” tamgha though such coins were published both by Musakaeva (2004, 112-113) and Rtveldadze (2006, 14).

Type 26.

“Swan looking back” with body turned to the right (Rtveldadze 2006, 14, upper photo). Weight and diameter are not given but Rtveldadze wrote that coins of the “Second type” weigh between 2.6-2.8 g and have diameters between 17-20 mm (surprisingly he included here coins both with the usual and the “swan looking back”, tamgha which is methodologically incorrect).

Obv. Moustached and bearded king (facing left) wearing a beaded diadem *without a crescent*, and a neck-ring with a round medallion. He has the usual coiffure, artificial deformation of the skull, aquiline nose, almond-shaped eyes and small lips. It is difficult to say whether his beard was formed into one or two plaits.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the right. But the “swan’s head” is turned left as if the “swan” is looking back. Around it is a short Sogdian legend. **wnwn** is distinct, but the words **č’č’n n’pč** are absent. **wnwn** appears to be preceded by the word **MR’Y King**. **MR’Y** is preceded by the word (most probably the name) **’p/wn/z ūn, ap(a)n, ūz, ap(a)z.** The letter **p** also may be read as **f**, i.e. **af(a)n, af(a)z.**

The absence of the words **č’č’n n’pč Chachian People/Country** shows that this ruler was not the supreme ruler of Chach. He could have been either an appanage prince under the supreme Wanwan ruler of Chach, or the Wanwan ruler who retained his principality after the Chionite invasion of Chach (I shall return to that below).

Type 27.

“Swan looking back” with body turned to the left and two dots within it (Musakaeva 2004, 112-113). W. 3 g. D. 19.7x24 mm.

Obv. Moustached and possibly bearded king (facing left) with artificial deformation of the skull and aquiline nose. The quality of the illustrations in Musakaeva’s article is extremely bad so it is difficult to discern any other details.

Rev. Swan-shaped tamgha oriented to the left. But the “swan’s head” is turned to the right as if the swan is looking back. The right “leg” of the tamgha bifurcates at the end. No Sogdian legend is discernible.

Later developments

Musakaeva (2004, 114) wrote that, in the third period (which she dated to the “V-VI, beginning of VII c.”, and which I date to the fourth - part of the fifth centuries), coins with the swan-shaped tamgha and coins with the “Bukharan type tamgha” (she means the X-shaped tamgha) co-existed.

In the second half of the fourth century AD, the mintage of coins with the “ruler in tiara” in the Bukharan oasis ceased and a new type appeared: silver and copper coins with the bust of a diademed king (facing right) on the obverse and a fire altar with Sogdian legend on the reverse. The altar has a horizontal slab,

with a burning fire, for which the X-shaped tamgha (two letters **C** turned back-to-back, linked by two short parallel lines or an annulet) served as a pedestal (Zeimal 1978, 210, Tb V/5-11). Sometimes such a tamgha was placed on the side of the fire altar. When writing about the “Bukharan type tamgha” Musakaeva meant the X-shaped tamgha in the shape of two back-to-back letters **C** linked by two parallel lines. Such a tamgha was placed on some early-mediaeval coins of Chach. And, as Musakaeva wrote, some such coins were contemporary with the latest coins of the Wanwan dynasty.

The change in Bukharan coinage shows that some new dynasty came to power. In the second third of the fourth century AD there was a massive invasion of Transoxiana by nomads from the east. Chronicles called them Chionites. In 346/347, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Sasanian ruler, Shapur II (309-379), advanced to the eastern frontier of his state threatened by “Chionites and Eusenos”. Later, Shapur II concluded a peace treaty with the Chionites. In 359 they were allies of Shapur II and fought the Romans in Syria (Gafurov 1972, 195-198). In the north-east, the Sasanian empire bordered the Bukharan oasis, the river Amy Daria being the natural frontier. These facts show that, in the middle of the fourth century, Bukharan Sogd was invaded by the Chionites, who abolished the native dynasty (who struck the “ruler with tiara” coins) and created a state of their own which minted a quite new type of coin. About that time, the Chionites also invaded Samarqandian Sogd, killed its ruler and established there their dynasty which had the y-shaped tamgha (Fedorov 2003, 13-14). But first of all, the Chionite tribes with the X-shaped tamgha had invaded Chach, where they divided: some stayed in Chach, created their own state (and dynasty) and struck coins with the X-shaped tamgha. Others turned south, which is why not the whole of the Chach oasis was subjugated. In some Chach principalities there survived descendants of the Wanwan dynasty, who struck coins with the Chach variant of the swan-shaped tamgha. It seems that, having come from the east, the Chionites conquered the Akhangaran valley with the ancient capital of Chach (Kanka) but then a large part of them turned south. The massive departure of Chionites from Chach saved the Wanwan dynasty who retreated to the west, to the Chirchik valley, where they minted coins for about half a century or more. This was where king *Shav* reigned, whose name and swan-shaped tamgha were engraved on the Sasanian silver plate with the image of Varahran hunting wild boar. M. Masson (1959, 27) attributed this plate to Varahran I (when he was heir apparent and Kushanshah, i.e. before 273 AD). But earlier Kushanshahs (i.e. rulers of the lands conquered from the Kushans) did not mint coins. On the other hand, the later Kushanshahs did strike coins and, on one type of coin with the name Varahran, the ruler has a crown decorated with ram horns. The same “ram horn crown” is shown worn by the ruler on the Sasanian plate already mentioned. Lukonin (1967, 31) thought that such coins were struck by Varahran, the son of Varahran IV, who became Kushanshah in 389. But I think that they were struck by Varahran IV, when he was Kushanshah in 384-389 and that the ceremonial plate with his portrait was made between 384-389. Masson was of the opinion that this plate was sent as a present to the Chach ruler whose name and tamgha were later engraved on it. I totally agree with him. This would mean that the Wanwan dynasty ruler, *Shav*, ruled around the 380s AD in the Chirchik valley where the Wanwan dynasty had retreated when they lost the Akhangaran valley with their ancient capital (*Kanka*) to the Chionites.

Chach coins with the X-shaped tamgha were issued by the new supreme rulers of Chach, who stemmed from the Chionites. The striking of such coins started in the middle of the fourth century and continued until 605, when the last ruler of this dynasty was killed by the Turks who placed on his throne some Turk Tegin (prince), related to the ruling Ashina House of the Turk Qagans

Some thoughts on the metrology of Wanwan coins

The average weight of the early coins of the Wanwan dynasty is 3.8 g, with the peak histogram weight being 3.7 g. This was the

weight of the Parthian silver drachm. So we may call the Wanwan dynasty coins “copper drachms”. The iconography of the Wanwan coins was also influenced by the Parthian coinage with the ruler facing left. This suggests that the earliest Wanwan coins were struck when the Parthian state still existed, i.e. before 327/328 AD. It would allow us to date the first Wanwan coins to the beginning of the third century AD or even to the end of the second century AD.

It is difficult to single out coins with the X-shaped tamgha struck in the late-ancient period. But they should be the heaviest of the series. The average weight of the earliest coins with the X-shaped tamgha is 4.32 g, which is nothing else but the Attic drachm (4.36 g). Having started with the Parthian weight standard, the Sasanians soon returned to the Attic weight standard. Such heavy coins, though, were rare and the usual weight of Sasanian silver coins was 4.1-4.2 g. Thus the coinage of the new Chionite rulers of Chach was influenced by Sasanian coinage. They borrowed the Sasanian weight standard for their copper coins, which we may also call “copper drachms” (but on the Sasanian weight standard).

I shall not dwell on the coins with the X-shaped tamgha because most of them were minted in the early-mediaeval period and are the subject of a separate article.

Tentative chronology and succession of coin types

Shagalov and Kuznetsov considered coins No. 1-5 (average W. 3.7 g, tamgha oriented to the right, issued by king *Karzanuchu*), which is Type 1 in my article, the earliest. I agree with them and date these coins to the end of the second - beginning of the third century AD. Then, judging by their weight, followed coins of types: 3 (W. 5.6 g = 1.5 coins of 3.7 g, tamgha oriented to the right); 12-14 (W. 3.8-3.9 g, tamgha, oriented to the right, with dot); 17 (tamgha, oriented to the right, with tiny circle). On these coins are the words *č'č'n n'pč* meaning that they were struck by supreme rulers of Chach. Coins of Type 4 (W. 4.1 g, tamgha oriented to the right) do not have the words *č'č'n n'pč* and were minted by an appanage principality ruler, not by the supreme ruler. Coins of Types 3, 4, 12-14, 17 were struck in the first two thirds of the third century AD.

Then followed lighter coins (but heavier than 3 g) of Types: 2 (W. 3.4 g, tamgha rietned right, supreme ruler *Napcha?*); 22 (W. 3.4 g., tamgha oriented left, with two dots); 5 (W. 3.1 g. tamgha oriented right); 27 (W. 3g, “swan looking back” tamgha oriented left with two dots). The last three types do not have the legend *č'č'n n'pč* and were not issued by the supreme rulers of Chach. Coins of Types 2, 22, 5, 27 were struck in the last third of the third - first decades of the fourth century AD.

Then followed coins lighter than 3 g of Types: 6 (W. 2.9 g, tamgha oriented right); 15 (W. 2.9 g, tamgha oriented right, with dot); 16 (W. 2.4 g, tamgha oriented right, with dot); 23 (W. 2.2 g, tamgha oriented left with two tiny circles); 25 (W. 2.2 g tamgha oriented left); 7 (W. 2.1 g, tamgha oriented right). Types 6, 15, 7 include in their legend the words *č'č'n npč* and were issued by supreme rulers of Chach before the Chionite invasion, i.e. before the 340s AD. Types 16, 23, 25 have distorted legends without the words *č'č'n npč* and were minted after the Chionite invasion, in the last two thirds of the fourth century AD, when the Wanwan dynasty, having lost the Akhangaran valley and the throne of the supreme rulers of Chach, retreated to the Chirchik valley. The fact (Musakaeva 2004, 115) that, at Shash tepe (12 km west of Tashkent), on the bank of the river Chirchik, a hoard of late Wanwan dynasty coins was found, shows that this dynasty retained the Chirchik valley.

After that came coins lighter than 2 g of Types: 19 (1.8 g, tamgha oriented left); 8 (1.7 g, tamgha oriented right); 10 (1.7 g, tamgha oriented right); 24 (1.6 g, tamgha oriented left, with two tiny circles); 9 (1.5 g, tamgha oriented right); 20 (1.3 g, tamgha oriented left); 11 (1.1 g, tamgha oriented right); 21 (0.4 g, D. 10.6 mm, tamgha oriented left); 21a (weight not given, D. 8 mm). Types 19, 8, 10, 24, 9, 20, 11, 21, 21a have distorted, illegible

legends. They are the last of the Wanwan coin series. I date them to the fifth century AD.

The earliest coins found in the territory of Ancient Chach are Kushan and Chinese ones. They came there with Chinese and Kushan merchants travelling along the Great Silk Road. But, contrary to the opinion of Rtveldadze, they cannot be regarded as evidence of money circulation in the then Chach oasis. B. Golender (2004, 189) was quite of the same opinion. Ancient foreign coins are very rare in Chach. There was no money circulation in Chach prior to the time when Chach started to mint coin of its own.

Money circulation occurred in Chach later than in western and southern Central Asia. One of the most important prerequisites of money circulation was urbanisation and urban life. But Chach lagged behind Khwarezm, Bactria, Margiana and Sogd. One may speak of money circulation there only when the mintage of coins started in Chach. The earliest Chach coins were minted by the Wanwan dynasty stemming from Yeji nomads, who invaded Central Asia in the middle of the second century BC. Wanwan coins were not “barbarous imitations” of foreign coins. It was a monetary type of its own, inherent to Chach. The similarity between the swan-shaped tamghas of Chach, Khwarezm and Bukhara (fig. 1/1-16) shows that, after they arrived from the east, the Yeji nomads split up. Some stayed in Chach, others went to Khwarezm, while one kindred tribe turned to the south and settled in the Bukharan oasis. The majority of scholars have dated Wanwan coins to the third-fourth centuries AD. I date the appearance of the Wanwan dynasty coinage to the end of the second - beginning of the third century. All Chach coins so far known are copper. The fact that copper (small denomination) coins were struck shows that money was used in everyday petty trade already at that time.

The purpose of this article was to give a new classification, tentative chronology and succession of the Wanwan dynasty coin types based on their metrology, variants of tamgha, legends and portraits of kings (as far as it is possible to discern one king from another).

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List of abbreviations

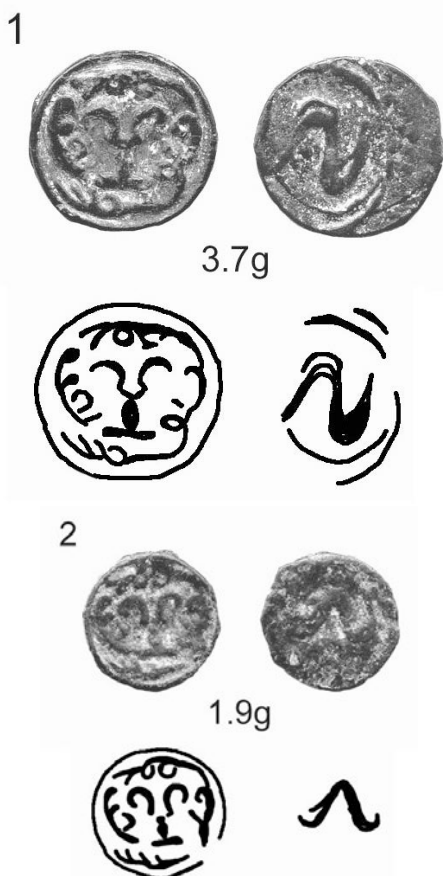
- DGKSA *Drevneushie gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednei Azii.*
 EV *Epigrafika Vostoka*
 IMKU *Istoriia Material'noi Kul'tury Uzbekistana.*
 VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii.*

SOME NOVEL PRE-ISLAMIC COINS IN CENTRAL ASIA

By Shinji Hirano

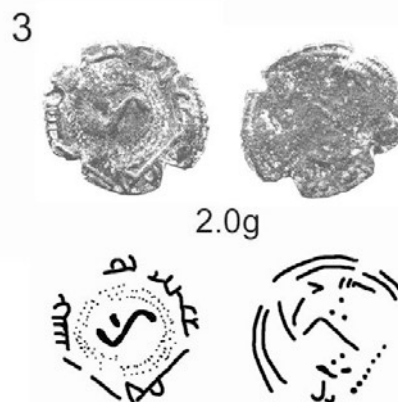
Pre-Islamic coins in central Asia are very interesting because many tribes including Hunnic and Sogdian people issued varieties of coins that were influenced not only by Western coins but also Chinese ones. Sogdian coins were studied extensively by Smirnova¹ but hitherto unknown coins continue to turn up even today. Here, I report some novel pre-Islamic coins from Central Asia.

No. 1 & 2



These coins are unknown bronze coins from southern Sogdiana. On the obverse, these coins bear goblet-like tamghas that are reminiscent of those of the Hephthalites (see for example Göbl type 245²). The legend looks like Sogdian script but no readable words were determined. On the reverse, a wavy line (tamgha?) can be seen. Weight is 3.7 and 1.9 g, respectively, and they may represent different denominations.

No.3



This coin bears a tamgha in the centre and legends around the margin on the obverse but the reverse is worn-out with only a trace of the original design. The coin is copper and weighs 2.0 g. The legend is written in Sogdian script and can be read as

kšy'n'k xwβ'xwrpt

(Akhurpat, Lord of Kesh)", which is exactly the same as that of the known Akhurpat coins (Smirnova No.1356¹). Although the find-spot of this coin is not known, the legend clearly indicates that this is a coin of Akhurpat of Kesh. The tamgha seems to be a part of a triskelion, that is considered to represent a family originating from Kesh³. This was confirmed by a similar coin⁶.

Interestingly, the Chinese cash style (with a square window in the centre), that is seen on the known Akhurpat coin, Smirnova 1356, was not used for this coin. Naymark concluded that Akhurpat coins were issued around 722-738 AD based on several pieces of evidence⁴. On comparing the present coin and Smirnova's coins 1356, the transition from the Chinese style to the Arabic style can be seen, this being consistent with the hypothesis that the Arab conquest had an influence on coin style in south Sogdiana during this period⁴.

No.4



This is an unknown coin that is reminiscent of coins found in Semirechie (see Smirnova 1585-1589; Kamyshev 21-38)^{1,5}. It is copper and weighs 4.1 g. The legend is written in Sogdian script but the only readable word is "pny" (money). The peculiar points of this coin are that the central square window is closed, and that a very thin Turgesh tamgha along with a hollow triangle can be seen on the reverse. Because no comparable coins of this type have been reported^{1,5}, it could be a local imitation of Turgesh Kaghan coinage.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Prof. Yutaka Yoshida (Kyoto University) for his generous help in reading the Sogdian legends, and to Prof. Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University) for providing a copy of his unpublished paper. The author also thanks the Editor for his kind help in correcting his English.

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- 2 R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* Weisbaden, 1967
- 3 Aleksandr Naymark, "The date of the coinage of Ahurpat, Lord of Kesh", in press
- 4 Michael Fedorov, "Money circulation in early-mediaeval Sogd (6th – first half of 8th century AD)". Supplement to *ONS Newsletter 175*, 2003..
5. A. Kamyshev, *Early Medieval Monetary Complex of Semirechie*, Bishkek, 2002
6. During the preparation of this manuscript, a similar coin was reported in Zeno RU-Oriental Coins Database (No.43172; <http://www.zeno.ru/index.php>). The coin bears a king's face on the obverse and a triskelion tamgha with legends on the reverse.

A FEW MORE UNPUBLISHED INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

By R. C. Senior

Over the years I have published many unusual Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins in these pages and, in 2001, Classical Numismatic Group (CNG) published my "Indo-Scythian coins and History" (ISCH) in 3 vols. (590 pp., illustrated throughout with photographs, drawings, charts and maps) which listed all the coins of the latter series known to me up to that date. I have since then continued to publish new finds in these pages and now, after a delay of two years CNG have published Volume IV of ISCH - a supplement which bring the earlier three volumes up to date. It contains a revision of my earlier chronology and historical background of the early Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings together with a discussion of the Indo-Scythian-to-Kushan succession in view of the chronological problems involved. The new volume also lists several coin finds identified since the first three volumes were printed, and illustrations of 32 hoards, many of which were listed but not shown in Vols. I - III. Amongst these hoards is one not included in ISCH - the so-called Chakwal hoard, which has an important bearing on the chronology of the Kshaharata and Western Satraps (see separate article on Higaraka).

Most new discoveries in this field tend to be minor variations of known types, perhaps bearing unreported monograms and such like but occasionally a new type will surface which is of particular significance. Here are a few more unreported coins which I have noticed in the last year or so which fall into one or other category.

1) Menander Square copper 11.13 g, 18 x 15 mm

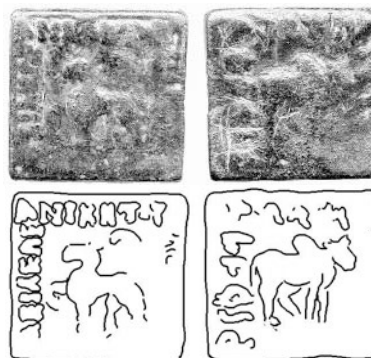


On the obverse on three sides is the usual legend; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Σ/ΩΤΗΡΟΣ/MENANΔΡΟΥ and below is an elephant standing right with lowered trunk.

On the reverse is the equivalent legend in Kharosthi: *Maharajas/tratarasa/Menadrassa* with a large *ankus* below which, on the right, is the monogram BN 182. The coin is similar to the BN Série 26 issue but having the elephant facing the opposite way and with the absence of the *delta* on the reverse. In fact it

corresponds exactly in type to BN Série 38, so far unique, but is a larger denomination.

2) Philoxenos square copper. 6.78 g, 19 x 18 mm.



On the obverse, on three sides, is the Greek legend; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ/[ΦΙΛΟΧΕΝΟΥ] below which is a lion standing left with raised paw.

On the reverse is the Kharosthi equivalent on three sides: *Maharajasa/apadihatasa/Philasinasa* with a humped Bull below, standing right. No discernible monogram can be identified.

Despite being the principal inheritor of Menander's kingdom, Philoxenos did not continue the many varied types and denominations issued by his illustrious predecessor but struck a simpler, more standardised coinage. His copper is principally the one type, BN 10. A rare variety, BN 11 exists and a slightly less rare but still scarce type BN 12. A unique ¼ denomination of BN 12 was published in this Journal (186, p. 24), which may indicate that Philoxenos did at some stage issue more varied types than previously supposed. The coin now published here, however, is the first important new discovery and a departure from his previously known types. The obverse lion harks back to the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon and the anepigraphic city coins of that early period. Was this unique type issued perhaps as a call for unity amongst the Greeks (as inheritor of the mantle of those previous two kings) and/or the indigenous population (by using Lion and Bull which had appeared on the indigenous non-Greek coinage) in the disturbed aftermath of Menander's death?

3) Epander silver drachm 2.24 g, 17mm diameter.



Obverse: Bust right with Greek legend around: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/ΕΠΑΚΔΡΟΥ

Reverse: Kharosthi legend similarly: *Maharajasa yayadharasa Epadrassa* around a thundering Athena left. In the fields are monogram BN 62 left and BN 52 right.

The misspelling of the king's name on the obverse is unusual and the celator appears to have been non-Greek since he also substituted the 'N' with a 'K' in the epithet. The importance of this coin, however, is in the use of dual monograms. These are known for the Æ issue BN 2B but so far unreported on silver issues.

4) Zoilos II round copper 3.15 g, 18 mm dia.





There is no legend on the obverse. On three sides is a bead and reel border and within is Dionysios holding a bow, to the right, and in the left field the monogram ISCH IV, p. 130, 3. ¹

On the reverse is the Kharosthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa/tratarasa/Jhoilasa* and below is an elephant walking right with lowered trunk.

In the Chakwal hoard published in ISCH Volume IV this monogram figures largely as an important one on the coinage of Apollodotos II, Dionysios and Zoilos II - but always on coins of 'Dionysios/tripod' types in the 12 - 16 gm weight range. Coins bearing the same types but different monograms do exist - see BN 9, and there were several in the Chakwal hoard of these but this is the first known example bearing this monogram.

5) **Azilises/Azes** square copper 1.35 g, 14 x 11 mm .



Obverse: Greek legend on three sides ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Β/[ΑΣΙΑ]ΕΩΝ/[ΜΕ]ΓΑΛ[ΟΥ ΑΖ....] below is Hercules crowning himself and holding a club and lionskin. Below left is monogram ISCH 129.

Reverse: Kharosthi legend equivalent M)aharajasa [rajadirajasa Maha]tasa Ayasa Below is a horse walking right with Kharosthi *Mi* above and *I* before.

This tiny coin probably represents a 1/8 unit, so far unreported for this rare Hazaran series and corresponds to ISCH issues 45.1, 45.2 – the so-called **joint** or **mule** Azes/Azilises coins. A fraction is known for the coinage in the name of Azilises alone (43.1a) but is double the weight. Though the obverse legend is uncertain, the obverse monogram and Kharosthi letters on the reverse, as well as Azes' name, fix the issue. I believe that these coins were struck during the transition of power from Azilises to Azes (see ISCH Volume I, p. 140). Unfortunately the king's name is missing off the obverse.

6) **Azes** round copper 5.8 g, 21mm.



Obverse: Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.. Hermes to the left with right arm raised, holds caduceus over left shoulder. Kharosthi letter *Ho* lower left.

Reverse: Kharosthi legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*. City goddess standing left holding cornucopia, right arm outstretched. In the left field is monogram ISCH 1 and in the right field Kharosthi monogram *Sa-Vi*.

This coin is a new variety of ISCH 112.10, the Kharosthi reverse monogram appearing on issue 112.20. These rare issues seem to correspond to the late (some possibly posthumous) silver

drachm issues of Azes with Zeus Nikephoros reverses – (see issues 105.247-253 Vol. II, p. 87,88). These lower denomination $\frac{1}{8}$ are scarce and one may expect more varieties to surface bearing the same control letters/monograms as the above mentioned late Azes drachms from the same region (probably Hazara). The obverse type of 'Hermes' only appears on the coins of Azes, not his predecessors, and seems to have been introduced in the transition period after he acquired Hazara from Azilises. It appears a) on the unique drachm ISCH 94.1, b) on the copper series (ISCH 101) that interrupts the regular Elephant/Bull to Bull/Lion series (see Table 9, p. 72 ISCH Vol. I), and c) on the 'Seated king/Hermes' copper issue ISCH 106/7 which accompany the regular Azes 'Zeus Nikephoros' silver issues from his lifetime period into the posthumous series.

A NEW VARIETY OF AZILISES $\frac{1}{8}$ UNIT.

By Anne van't Haaff

Recently I received from Pakistan a small square copper coin of Azilises, which has been identified by Bob Senior as a new variety of his Type 5.1c (58.5c) (Volume IV Supplement of Senior ISCH), which was first published in ONS 173 p 16 # 49. This coin weighs 1.20 gram and measures 12x13 mm. It is a $\frac{1}{8}$ unit.

The obverse has the design with the king on a horse and holding a spear. It has the partially readable legend (B)AZIA(EON) ΜΕΓΑΛΟ(Y) AZIAICo(Y).



It is the reverse that differentiates the coin from type 5.1c in two respects:

- It has only one monogram: #27
- The legend is on 3 sides (and not on 4) and clearly reads: *Ayilishsa Mahatasa (Mahara)jasa*.

Bob Senior, in a private communication, expects that more varieties will appear, also of an even smaller denomination, and these will be worth publishing.

A NEW OESHO/SHIVA IMAGE OF SASANIAN "PEROZ" TAKING POWER IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE

By Hans Loeschner

A novel "Peroz 2 type" (Em. 1101²⁷) coin is shown in Figure 1. The coin has c.18/21mm diameter and a weight of 2.7g. Obverse to reverse orientation is 12:30h. To the author's knowledge the Oesho/Shiva type has so far not been published. It is not included in important publications on this field^{28,29,30} and is not listed in the overview as provided by Joe Cribb³¹.

²⁷ Robert Göbl, "MÜNZPRÄGUNG DES KUŠĀNREICHES" (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1984).

²⁸ Alexander Cunningham, "LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS", in Numismatic Chronicle 1893/94, reprint in "Complete Works of Alexander Cunningham No. 11", Ed. A.K. Narain (Indological Book House, Varanasi, India, 1962).



Fig. 1

The reverse of this novel Peroz 2 type coin shows the god Oesho/Shiva standing before the bull. His dress is clearly in Sasanian style and there is a remarkable message: with his right hand this "Iranian Oesho" places the Kushan crown onto his head while taking a Sasanian mural crown off his head with his left hand which is also holding a trident.

In the time period of interest there are three Sasanian kings wearing mural crowns³²: Ardashir I (224-240/1 AD), only rare type V³³; Shapur I (240/1-272 AD), during his reign³³ (apart from an eagle type as crown prince³⁴); and Shapur II (309-379 AD)³⁵. The "Peroz 2" type coins are placed early in the Kushano-Sasanian (KS) series: Shapur II was identified with this KS Peroz by Robert Göbl³⁶, further elaborated upon in detailed publications^{37,30} and defended³⁷ against analysis by Joe Cribb that Shapur II should be placed towards the end of the KS series³⁸. A recent detailed study by Nikolaus Schindel has shown that the start of the KS series is prior to the reign of Shapur II³⁹ as also stated by Alexander Nikitin⁴⁰. Thus, the novel Peroz 2 type coin (Figure 1) is to be allocated either to Ardashir I or to Shapur I while using the name Peroz ("victor") during his campaign in the east (probably still during the reign of Ardashir I). Obviously this coin should provide

the message that the Kushan crown and thus realm could be added to the Sasanian empire. This finding contributes to, still disputed, Kushan chronology as outlined below.

Another fixed point of Kushan chronology is provided by "San-Kuo Chih" (Memoires of the Three Kingdoms) on the chronicle of the state of Wei that "...on the day kuei=mao (26th January 230 AD) the king of the Great Yüeh-chi, Po-t'iao, sent an envoy with tribute ..".^{30,41} Po-t'iao is identified with Vasudeva.⁴² This envoy to the Wei can have been sent either by Vasudeva I or by Vasu(deva) II. The two possibilities are elaborated in Table 1, using for the start of the Kanishka Era either 78 AD, as outlined in detail by Robert Senior⁴³, or 127 AD, as proposed by Harry Falk⁴⁴. Dates of inscriptions^{45,46} are included. For the post-Vasudeva I inscriptions the missing 100 has been added (there is proof that the "Lohuizen-formula"⁴⁷ is justified⁴⁸). The Era allocations for the inscriptions are different for KE1=78 AD and KE1=127 AD, respectively. The start of the Maues Era was assumed c.120 BC⁴⁹, of the Yona (Greek) Era 186/5 BC⁵⁰, and of the "Unknown Era" c.220 BC as explained below. For the length of reigns of the Kushan emperors the analysis by Joe Cribb⁴⁵ has been adopted at large.

In Table 1 important years are highlighted: For "Case A" the great Kushan emperor Kanishka I inaugurates in 78 AD. The thorough analysis by Robert Senior fully supports this case, i.e. that the first year of the Kanishka Era (KE1) equals year 1 of the Śaka era (SE), which is still used in India. There is important analysis that the Kushans were not of the Yüeh-Chi race but were Saka (*saka/wanderer, nomad*⁵¹) people from Sogdian (Scythian: **sukuḍa* /archer⁵¹) origin.⁵² This allocation of the Kushan to the Shaka people was recently rejected by Michael Fedorow, mainly based on the analysis that the Kushan emperors had artificial skull

²⁹ Michael Alram, "IRANISCHES PERSONENNAMENBUCH Vol. 4, NOMINA PROPRIA IRANICA IN NUMIS" (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1986).

³⁰ Robert Göbl, "DONUM BURNS, DIE KUŠANMÜNZEN IM MÜNZKABINETT BERN UND DIE CHRONOLOGIE" (Fassbaender, Vienna, Austria, 1993)

³¹ Joe Cribb, "Shiva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins", pp. 11-66, in "STUDIES IN SILK ROAD COINS AND CULTURE – Papers in honour of Professor Ikuro Hirayama on his 65th birthday", Eds. Katsumi Tanabe, Joe Cribb and Helen Wang (The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1997).

³² Robert Göbl, "Sasanian Numismatics" (Klinkhardt & Biermann, Braunschweig, Germany, 1971)

³³ Michael Alram and Rika Gyselen, "Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Vol. 1, Ardashir I. - Shapur I.", p. 129 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 2003).

³⁴ Katsumi Tanabe, "Silk Road Coins – The Hirayama Collection", p. 28, Fig. 53 (The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1993).

³⁵ Nikolaus Schindel, "Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Vol. 3, Shapur II. – Kawad I. / 2. Regierung" (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 2004).

³⁶ Robert Göbl, "DOKUMENTE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER IRANISCHEN HUNNEN IN BAKTRIEN UND INDIEN", Vol. III, Table 1* (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1967). *a preprint of this table was donated by Professor Göbl to the author in 1967.

³⁷ Robert Göbl, "THE RABATAK INSCRIPTION AND THE DATE OF KANISHKA", pp. 151-175, in "Coins, Art and Chronology – Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands", Eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Österreichischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1999).

³⁸ Joe Cribb, "Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology", *Studia Iranica* Vol. 19/2, pp. 151-193 (1990).

³⁹ Nikolaus Schindel, "ADHUC SUB IUDICE LIS EST? – ZUR DATIERUNG DER KUŠANOSASSANIDISCHEN MÜNZEN", *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Vol. 113/114, pp. 217-242 (Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria, 2005).

⁴⁰ Alexander Nikitin, "NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KUSHANO-SASANIAN KINGDOM", pp. 259-263, in "Coins, Art and Chronology – Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands", Eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Österreichischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1999).

⁴¹ John M. Rosenfield, "THE DYNASTIC ART OF THE KUSHANS", page 105, correct citation in note 12* of chapter I (University of California Press, Berkeley, USA, 1967). *citing: Édouard Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-liou", T'oung Pao, 2d. ser. VI, pp.519-571 (1905).

⁴² E.G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese Evidence for the Date of Kanishka", Seminar on the Date of Kanishka, University of London, April 1960, published in "Papers on the Date of Kanishka", Ed. A.L. Basham (Leiden, Netherlands, 1968).

⁴³ Robert C. Senior, "Indo-Scythian Coins and History", Vol. I, II and III (Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA, and London, England, 2001)

⁴⁴ Harry Falk, "The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kušāṇas", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* Vol. 7, pp. 121-136 (2001).

⁴⁵ Joe Cribb, "THE EARLY KUSHAN KINGS: NEW EVIDENCE FOR CHRONOLOGY – Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I", pp. 177-205, in "Coins, Art and Chronology – Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands", Eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Österreichischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1999).

⁴⁶ P.N. Puri, "THE KUSHANS", pp. 247-263, in "History and Civilizations of CENTRAL ASIA Vol. II – The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250", Ed. János Harmatta with Co-Eds. P.N. Puri and G.F. Etemadi (UNESCO Publishing, Paris, France, 1994).

⁴⁷ Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The 'Scythian' Period" (E.J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1949).

⁴⁸ Richard Salomon, "Three Dated Karoṣṭhī Inscriptions", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* Nr. 9, pp. 127-141 (1995).

⁴⁹ Robert C. Senior, "Maues, the first (Indo-)Scythian king of India [c. 120 - 85 BCE]", contribution for *ENCYCLOPEDIA IRANICA*, Ed. Ehsan Yarshater (2005).

⁵⁰ R. Salomon, "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription", in "Afghanistan, ancient carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest", Eds. O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 2005).

⁵¹ Oswald Szemeréyi, "Four old Iranian Ethnic Names: SCYTHIAN – SKUDRA – SOGDIAN – SAKA", (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1980).

⁵² Laszlo Torday, "Mounted Archers – The Beginnings of Central Asian History" (The Durham Academic Press, Edinburgh – Cambridge – Durham – USA, 1997).

deformations, the same as the ruling class of the Ta Yüeh-chih.⁵³ But there is the example of Eastern Germanic peoples (e.g. Goths) who also adopted the custom of artificial skull deformation as sub-kings of the Western Hunnic empire.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Rabatak inscription informs us about the deeds of Kanishka the Great: "...Kanishka the Kushan ...inaugurated the year one as the gods pleased. And he issued a Greek edict (and) then he put it into Aryan..."⁵⁵ i.e. obviously his native Bactrian language. Further, it should be pointed out that there is a late Kushan emperor "Shaka" (Table 1).

The chronology for "Case A" also includes "Kushan", the "ANTEIX" / "ΣΑΝΑΒ" (Greek/Bactrian "repulser of an enemy"⁵⁶) as the first member of the Kushan dynasty, as the common attribution "Heraus/Heraios/Hiaos" is a misreading for "HSHAOY" (elected chief)^{57,58} or "HIAOY" (*hyau*, representing the most archaic form of the title *yau*, *yavu*, *yabgu*⁵⁹). There is the unique situation that full plastic portraits of the early Kushan rulers are preserved from the Khalchayan^{60,61} Kushan dynastic temple (located in southern Sogdia).

The inscriptions for Vima I Takto and Vima II Kadphises in the "Unknown Era" then are explained as stemming from the formation of the (also coin producing^{62,29,63}) Sogdian kingdom in c.220 BC when Euthydemus I (c.220-186 BC⁷⁰) took over the Bactrian kingdom from the Diodotos dynasty (c.256-c.220 BC) and finally (208/6 BC⁶³) lost this northern part of the Greek dominion.

A consequence of KE1=SE1 is that Vasudeva II obviously is the founder of a "Kushan Era" begun in 227 AD: in the "yuga of Sphujiddhvaja" the start of the Kushan Era is explicitly stated to

be 149 years after the start of the Śaka Era.⁴⁴ This Kushan Era was possibly started as a reaction to the threat to and, in due course, actual loss of the northern part of the empire to the Sasanian dynasty founded in 224 AD by Ardashir I. The final loss of the northern part of the Kushan empire might have happened in 232 AD, the start of a most likely, Kushano-Sasanian Era used in Central Asia as far as the 10th century.^{64,65,66} The southern part of the Kushan empire could be consolidated and flourished until c.327 AD. The KE/Shaka Era continued to be used (still to the present day) in parallel to the Kushan Era: there is a Vasudeva II inscription with KE170. And obviously the Kushan Era (omitting the hundreds) was further used in Gupta times⁶⁸. In c.327 AD (under scenario A), Samudra (possibly the later Samudragupta, 335-375 AD) conquered the remaining Kushan empire (Em. 611²⁷), whereas the Kushano-Sasanian kingdom continued to exist for several decades (Kabul was lost to the Alchon in 388AD^{27,30,36,67}). Probably in c.327AD⁶⁸ Chandragupta I (310-335 AD) inaugurated the Gupta Era.

"Case B" in Table 1 reflects the present common view that the interpretation by Harry Falk of the above mentioned "yuga of Sphujiddhvaja" is correct and KE1 = 127 AD.^{44,68} Under this scenario a suggestion by Joe Cribb⁵⁸, also shared by David W. MacDowall⁶⁹, is that Kujula Kadphises is the same as "Kushan"/"Heraus", and that Vima I Takto inaugurated the Śaka era in 78 AD.⁴⁵ Then for Case B, the reign of Vasudeva I can be extended to 232 AD when he probably lost a battle and his life in contest with Peroz, possibly the later Shapur I as outlined above. The southern part of the Kushan empire then continued to about 375 AD, the start of the reign of Chandragupta II (375-414 AD).

With the assumption that the Azes Era equals the 58/7 BC Vikrama Era, the recently found Yona (Greek) Era is fixed to 186/5 BC.⁵⁰ As a consequence, the start of the reign of the post-Azes Aprac(h)a king, Vijayamitra, can be defined to 12 BC.^{50,70} In a detailed recent analysis Robert Senior pointed out that under these circumstances KE1 can be extended at the maximum to 110 AD.⁷⁰ But, in order to keep KE1=127 AD, Joe Cribb recently contested the common view that the great Indo-Scythian Azes started his reign in 58/7 BC but instead proposed a start of the Azes Era in 46 BC.⁷¹

The dating of the "Senior scrolls" might provide a clue to distinguish between Case A (KE1=78 AD) and Case B (KE1=127 AD). These birch-bark scrolls were found in a pot with a Kushan style inscription dated to "year 12" which might be KE12 or KE112. The radiocarbon analysis of a scroll piece provided a 2σ calibrated date range of 130-250 AD. It is remarkable that the

⁵³ Michael Fedorov, "On the origin of the Kushan with reference to numismatic and anthropological data", in ONS Newsletters No. 181, pp. 30-32 (Oriental Numismatic Society, autumn 2004).

⁵⁴ Herwig Friesinger and Brigitte Vacha, "Die vielen Väter Österreichs – Römer, Germanen, Slawen. Eine Spurensuche", pp. 67 (Compress Verlag, Vienna, Austria, 1988).

⁵⁵ Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A NEW BACTRIAN INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA THE GREAT", Silk Road Art and Archaeology No. 4, pp. 75-142 (The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1995/96).

⁵⁶ Eduard V. Rtveladze, with contributions from V.A. Livshits and Iu.G. Vinogradov, "On the Interpretation of the Words Σαναβ and Αντεϊχ on the Tetradrachms of Heraios/Hios", in "Numismatika Tsentral'noĭ Azii" (Numismatics of Central Asia), 2nd issue (Tashkent, 1997), cited in ONS Newsletters No. 160, p. 9 (Oriental Numismatic Society, Summer 1999).

⁵⁷ Robert C. Senior, "Indo-Scythian Coins and History", Vol. II, p. 219 (Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA, and London, England, 2001).

⁵⁸ Joe Cribb, "The 'Heraus' coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, c.AD 30-80", in "Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins", Eds. Martin Price, Andrew Burnett and Roger Bland (Spink, London, 1993).

⁵⁹ János Harmatta, with the contributions of B.N. Puri, L. Lelekov, S. Humayan and D.C. Sircar, "RELIGIONS IN THE KUSHAN EMPIRE", pp. 313-329, in "History and Civilizations of CENTRAL ASIA Vol. II – The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250", Ed. János Harmatta with Co-Eds. P.N. Puri and G.F. Etemadi (UNESCO Publishing, Paris, France, 1994).

⁶⁰ G.A. Pugachenkova, S.R. Dar, R.C. Sharma, and M.A. Joyenda, "KUSHAN ART", pp. 331-395, in "History and Civilizations of CENTRAL ASIA Vol. II – The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250", Ed. János Harmatta with Co-Eds. P.N. Puri and G.F. Etemadi (UNESCO Publishing, Paris, France, 1994).

⁶¹ Boris Stawiski, "Mittelasiens - Kunst der Kuschan", pp. 90-103 (V.E.B. E.A. Seemann Verlag, Leipzig, Germany, 1979).

⁶² Michael Mitchiner, "ORIENTAL COINS AND THEIR VALUES – THE ANCIENT & CLASSICAL WORLD 600 B.C. – A.D. 650, pp. 274-276 (Hawkins Publications, London, England, 1978).

⁶³ Osmund Boppearachchi, "The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence", in Silk Road Art and Archaeology Vol. 2, pp. (The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1991/92).

⁶⁴ A.H. Dani, H. Humbach, and R. Göbl, "Tochey Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum", Ancient Pakistan I, p.125ff. (Peshawar, 1964). In 1962 Robert Göbl had identified the Bactrian character of the "Tochi Inscription", previously thought to be Mongolian.^{27,30}

⁶⁵ H. Humbach, "Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler", Vol. I and II (Wiesbaden, Germany, 1966 and 1967).

⁶⁶ Nicholas Sims-Williams, "FROM THE KUSHAN-SHAHS TO THE ARABS – New Bactrian documents dated in the era of the Tochi Inscription", pp. 245-258, in "Coins, Art and Chronology – Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands", Eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Österreichischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1999).

⁶⁷ Klaus Vondrovec, "DIE ANONYMEN CLANCHEFS – DER BEGINN DER ALCHON-PRÄGUNG", pp. Numismatische Zeitschrift Vol. 113/114, pp. 243-258 (Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria, 2005).

⁶⁸ Harry Falk, "The Kaniška Era in Gupta Records", Silk Road Art and Archaeology Vol. 10, pp. 167-176 (2004)

⁶⁹ David W. MacDowall, "The Rabatak inscription and the nameless Kushan king", in "Cairo to Kabul – Afghan and Islamic Studies presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson (London, 2001).

⁷⁰ Robert C. Senior, "INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS AND HISTORY", Volume IV (pre-publication copy, Oct. 2005, published by Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA, and London, England, 2006).

⁷¹ Joe Cribb, "The Geek Kingdom of Bactria", in "Afghanistan, ancient carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest", Eds. O. Boppearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 2005).

centre of this range, 190 AD, fits perfectly to KE1=78 AD adding the omitted hundred for the date on the pot "(1)12". So as far as the date of the Senior scrolls is concerned both 78 AD+112 and 127 AD+12, should be treated as equally likely, which means that, contrary to the conclusions drawn so far (Mark Allon, Richard Salomon, Geraldine Jacobsen, and Ugo Zoppi, "Radiocarbon Dating of Kharoṣṭhī Fragments from the Schøyen and Senior Manuscript Collections", presented at the International Association of Buddhist Studies Conference, London, England, Aug. 31st, 2006.), 78 AD for KE1 should not at all be ruled out. Further detailed radiocarbon dating with additional samples of the

Senior scrolls may possibly provide decisive information on the start of the Kanishka / Kushan Era.

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The author would like to thank Mark Allon, Michael Alram, Joe Cribb, Harry Falk, Robert Göbl (†), Richard Salomon, Robert Senior, Nicholas Sims-Williams and Klaus Vondrovec for providing pre-prints and copies of their publications. Valuable discussions of the manuscript with Robert Senior are acknowledged.

Table 1: Kushan Chronology for Case A (KE1=78 AD) and Case B (KE1=127 AD)

| Kushan Ruler | Dates / Inscriptions | Case A KE 1 = 78 AD | | Case B KE 1 = 127 AD | |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | Era | Reign Period | Era | Reign Period |
| Kushan ("Heraus") | | | c.60 BC – c.20 BC | | = Kujula Kadphises |
| Kujula Kadphises | 122 - 136 | ME | c.20 BC – c.25 AD | AE | c.30 – 78 |
| Vima I Takto | 279 | UE | c.25 – c.60 | YE | 78 – c.95 |
| Vima II Kadphises | 287/4, 299 | UE | c.60 – 78 | YE | c.95 – 127 |
| Kanishka I | 1 - 23 | KE = SE | 78 – c.102 | KE | 127 – c.152 |
| Huvishka | 26 - 64 | KE | c.102 – 142 | KE | c.152 – 191 |
| Vasudeva I * | 64 - 98 | KE | 142 – c.180 | KE | 191 – 232 |
| Kanishka II | (1)05 - 1(17) | KE | c.180 – c.195 | KE | 232 – c.245 |
| Vasishka | 1(22) - 1(30) | KE | c.195 – c.210 | KE | c.245 – c.260 |
| Kanishka III | (1)41 | KE | c.210 – 227 | KE | c.260 – c.290 |
| Vasu(deva) II ** | 170 | KE | 227 – c.260 | KE | c.290 – c.320 |
| Shaka | | | c.260 – c.295 | | c.320 – c.355 |
| Kipunada | | | c.295 – c. 327 | | c.355 – c. 375 |
| <p>AE = Azes / Vikrama Era 58/7 BC; KE = Kanishka Era (Case A: 78 AD, Case B: 127 AD); ME = Maues Era c.120 BC, SE = Shaka Era 78 AD, UE = "Unknown" Era c.220 BC; YE = Yona (Greek) Era 186/5 BC</p> <p>78AD: Start of the Śaka Era = Start of the Kanishka Era (Case A) 127AD: Start of the Kanishka / Kushan Era (Case B) 227AD: Start of the Kushan Era (Case A) *230AD: Embassy of Vasudeva I to the Wei in China (Case B) **230AD: Embassy of Vasudeva II to the Wei in China (Case A) 232AD: Start of the Kushano-Sasanian Era 327AD: Start of the Gupta Era 375AD: Start of the reign of Chandragupta II</p> | | | | | |

SULTANATES AND MUGHALS

1. Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sultan of Dehli: a token tanka of Sunargaon

The introduction in the year 730 AH of a copper and brass fiduciary coinage was one of the most revolutionary monetary experiments of Muhammad's eventful reign. The basic coin was the tanka weighing around 9 g. These were struck at several mints: Dehli, Daulatabad, Dhar, Dar al-Islam, Tughluqpur 'urf Tirhut, Sultanpur, Lakhnauti, Satgaon. Details can be found in

Nelson Wright⁷² and Goron & Goenka⁷³. It is reported that these token issues were counterfeited in large numbers with the result that Muhammad withdrew the whole issue in the year 732 and exchanged them for silver tankas from the treasury. Whether these silver tankas were the high-grade ones from earlier years or the billon ones that had been struck from years 727 to 730 and then again from 732 is not clear. In any case, up to now all reported token tankas have been dated 730, 731, 732.

⁷² *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli*, originally published in 1936 and since reprinted. See items 574-616, and pp 166-167.

⁷³ *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, Delhi 2001. See items D400-422, B128-129.



The mintname “Sunārgānū” (Sunargaon) preceded by “shahr” (town)



The date: “khams thalathin saba'maya” = 735
The “khams” is very clear on the actual coin.

Recently a very unusual coin has turned up from the mint of Sunargaon, in Eastern Bengal and clearly dated 735. It has the usual bilingual legends that are found on the coins of the other mints and weighs 8.74 g. The question is: why Sunargaon and why 735, three years after this forced token currency was called in elsewhere? In the early 720s Muhammad's father, Tughluq Shah, had been invited to intervene in a succession dispute within the Bengal Sultanate. Intervene he did to such an extent that he captured the capital, Lakhnauti, and turned Bengal back into a province of the Delhi sultanate. When Muhammad succeeded his father, he appointed separate governors to Lakhnauti and Satgaon in west Bengal, and Sunargaon in east Bengal. One attempt at rebellion in 728 was put down but it was not long before unrest occurred again, in the east. There is a gold tanka dated 734 struck, most likely at Sunargaon, in the name of Fakhr al-Din Mubarak, and a similar silver tanka with a probable date of 735. Mubarak went on to reign from Sunargaon until the year 950 but the start of his reign will probably have been one of some turmoil. Muhammad's governor at Sunargaon was Bahram Khan and he will no doubt have sought to put down the rebellion by Mubarak. Perhaps he was short of cash and/or the treasury had been captured in 734 by Mubarak. The issue of a short-lived copper token currency may have been a last ditch attempt to finance his campaign to retain the province for Muhammad.

2. A gold tanka of Mughith al-Din Yuzbak, Sultan of Bengal

Yuzbak had come to Bengal as governor for the Delhi Sultanate probably some time in the late 640s AH. Certainly there is an issue of coins struck in the year 651 citing both his name and that of the then Sultan of Delhi, Nasir al-Din Mahmud (G&G B74). The following year, however, he must have fancied his chances at independence as there is a very rare issue in his sole name from the mint of Nudiya (G&G B75). This is then followed in years 653-655 by another type probably from the mint of Lakh(n)ur (G&G B76). These state on them that they were struck from the

land-tax of Azmardan and Nudiya. These coins are all rare, the ones that do turn up usually having the date 653.



A gold tanka of this latter issue is now known and we are grateful to Mr JP Goenka for providing the image and allowing publication. The coin is dated 654 .

3. The Mughal interlude in Bengal – a new date

In AH 945, the Mughal emperor, Humayun, concerned about the growing strength of the Afghans in Bihar and parts of Bengal under Sher Khan Suri, marched eastwards, captured Chunar from the Afghans and went on to Lakhnauti, the Bengal capital, which he succeeded in occupying. Mahmud Shah, the Sultan of Bengal fled, and Humayun stayed in Bengal for around 9 months. During this time coins were issued in his name at two different weight standards: a tanka standard of around 10.4 – 10.8 g, and a rupee standard of 11.2 – 11.4 g. Coins of both standards are known with mintnames Bangala and Lak(n)ur; while coins of the lower standard from a couple of other mints that are not named on the coins but which, in terms of style, correspond to earlier issues of Fathabad and 'Arsah (see G&G B950-958). Hitherto, the only date found on this series of coins has been 945, and that only on the coins of Bangala (G&G B950-951).



The date - 946

Published here, with thanks to Baldwin Auctions, London, is a Fathabad type tanka with the clear date 946 at the bottom of the reverse margin. The 4 is engraved in the rather curious manner also found on some early Bengal coins of Sher Shah Suri: an upright stroke more or less bisecting an oval at the top. The coin weighs 10.5 g and corresponds to G&G type B958. Interestingly, the illustration of that coin in the book shows what appears to be a garbled attempt at a date. The present coin must have been struck right at the end of Humayun's rule in Bengal or perhaps during a brief interregnum. The earliest reported coin of Sher Shah of Fathabad is dated 946 (G&G D761).

4. A new type of Akbar Mahmudi from Gujarat

A notable facet of Akbar's earlier coinage is the retention of local weight standards for certain issues of silver coinage. We see this notably in Malwa where a series of light-weight tankas (weighing 6.8 – 7.0 g) and their halves were struck at Ujjain and probably also Mandu; in Kashmir, where various issues of square sasnu were struck in Akbar's name; and, to a lesser extent, in Gujarat.

Akbar initially occupied Gujarat during the period AH 980-991. In those years normal Mughal rupees and mohurs were struck at Ahmadabad but there were also some local issues from at least one other mint. Jan Lingen (“Gujarat type coin in the name of Akbar”, *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IV, part 2, December 1980) published a type that bears close resemblance to certain

Mustafabad coins of the Gujarat sultan, Mahmud I (see also G&G G645). Mustafabad was a town built close to the fortress of Girnar, and is now called Junagadh. Another, very rare type is based on the kori standard of 4.7 g and bears the legend *allahu akbar jalla jalalahu* spread of both sides. This too was probably struck at Mustafabad/Junagadh.



The coin published here, by courtesy of Barry Tabor, and weighing 5.75 g is different from both these other types in that it has the Kalima on one side and Akbar's name *jatal al-din muhammad akbar bad shah* within a peaked square on the other, and what could be the mintname in the margin. Within the peaked square at top left is what could be part of the date 981. The peaked square is very typical of the coins of the Gujarat sultans.

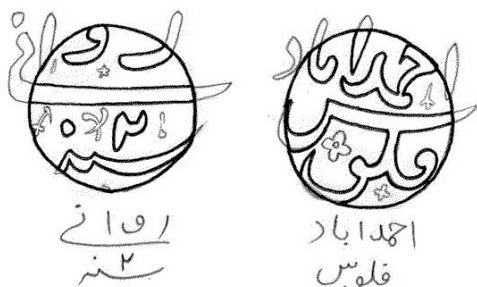
A HEAVY HALF DAM OF JAHANGIR FROM AHMADABAD MINT

By B. Millancourt

It is well known that Jahangir, in the first five years of his reign, introduced a new weight standard for gold and silver coinage and that mohurs and rupees 20% overweight were minted (named respectively Nur Jahani and Jahangiri) and then, during the 5th and 6th regnal years, 25% overweight gold and silver coins were minted (Sawai rupees). These new systems were soon withdrawn because of difficulties and confusion created in the daily market. All these coins are scarce and highly sought after by collectors.

In order to give homogeneity in the series, it could be expected to find an overweight copper coinage based on "heavy" dams and fractions. I am not aware of any such coins being published until J.R. Hunnargikar published a "heavy dam" of 24.25g from Ahmadabad mint, dated 1016 AH / regnal year 2, in IIRNS Newslines 13 (Jan 1997); this 20% overweight dam reads as follows: *Ahmadabad falus 1016 / rawani sanah 2*.

Here, I present a "heavy" half dam which clearly belongs to the same series: same type, legend, mint and regnal year as the heavy dam published by J.R. Hunnargikar, and obviously confirms the existence of a 20% heavier copper coinage following the new standard of the heavy rupees and mohurs.



Weight : 12.0 g ; diameter : 16-16.5 mm ; thickness 5.8 mm

The great rarity of these coins may however indicate that the mintage of heavy coppers was rather experimental. The grades of both dam and half dam show that these coins probably circulated for years among normal issues.

Other heavy copper coins of Jahangir might exist and it would be interesting to gather informations on them.

Editor's Note : Shailendra Bhandare has informed us that there exists examples of these heavy Ahmadabad copper coins in the cabinet of the Ahmolean Museum, Oxford, together with a quarter dam of the same type but which seems to be of normal weight. He has kindly provided the illustrations that follow.



Dam : 24.33 g



Half dam : 11.81 g



Quarter dam : 5.08 g

The museum also has a fine example of a dam of the same mint struck in Jahangir's pre-accession name of Selim Shah. This too is illustrated here.



Dam in the name of Selim Shah

THE NAWABS OF SAVANUR: HISTORY AND COINAGE

By Shailendra Bhandare

Introducton and historical background

Savanur, located 14.58 N, 75.19 E is a small provincial town in a *Taluk* of the same name, district Haveri, Karnataka State. Before Indian independence, it was the capital of a small principality ruled by Nawabs of the Miyana Afghan (Pathan) lineage. The Nawabs settled in the region in the early 17th century. In the 18th century, however, their domains ended up being a war zone, as they lay on tracts contested by two dominant political powers of the day, namely the Nizams of Hyderabad and the Maratha Peshwas. The Nawabs of Savanur largely managed to survive the tussles between these powers but they paid for it by compromising their sovereignty. For most of the 18th century, they remained allies and vassals of the Marathas. Given the fact that they were Muslims, this allegiance seems curious. The Nawabs, however, shared a 'provincial' affinity with the Marathas, having been old settlers in the region and also, as the Nizam was an ardent Sunni who did not favour the Shi'a Afghans, they decided to keep away from him.

The most comprehensive source for the history of the Nawabs of Savanur is a Marathi manuscript named 'Diler Jangi', in the collection of the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala* of Pune. It was published, along with some other archival papers from the 'alienation Office' (Peshwa Daftar) collection in Pune, as vol. 63, no. 3-4 of the the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala* Quarterly (BISMQ, Jan 1985 – April 1985), edited by K N Chitnis and titled 'Nawabs of Savanur: Historical Documents'. The historical details that follow have been largely taken from this source.

The Pathan / Afghan Miyanas of Savanur traced their origins to Abdul Karim Khan Miyana, a fortune-seeker who migrated to north India in the 14th century from his homeland in the Kabul valley. Early members of the house enjoyed patronage under various sultans and, following them, the Mughal emperors ruling at Delhi. Doda Khan Miyana became a 'Diwan' in Akbar's government. The southern campaigns of Shahjahan brought the Miyanas into contact with the Deccan.

Bahlul Khan, seventeenth in descent from Abdul Karim, served under the Afghan commander, Khan Jahan Lodi, Shahjahan's governor of the Deccan. Shahjahan granted Bahlul Khan a *jagir* at Nanded Baswant. During early 1630's Khan Jahan Lodi rebelled against Shahjahan but the emperor managed to quell the rebellion. After this episode, Bahlul Khan left Mughal service and chose to live a mercenary life, moving his allegiance to whomever supported him and his trusted band of men. He ultimately ended up in the 'Adil Shahi court of Bijapur. Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah confirmed the *jagir* of Nanded Baswant on him and titled him 'Sarbuland Khan'. As he was not a particularly handsome man, he earned the sobriquets *Ragati*, or 'ugly' and *Kālā Pahād* or 'Black Mountain'.

Bahlul Khan, alias Sarbuland Khan, had a grandson named Hafiz Abdul Karim Khan who was also called Bahlul Khan. He rose to prominence during the decline of the 'Adil Shahi power (1660 onwards). He was titled 'Rustam-i-Zaman' and became the commander-in-chief in the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II. In 1672, he was granted a new *jagir* of the province of Bankapur, along with 22 other subdivisions. On 22 November 1675, Bahlul Khan became the Vizier and the regent for the boy sultan, Sikandar 'Adil Shah, and thus emerged as the most powerful man in the 'Adil Shahi sultanate. He sagaciously played the politics of alliance with

Shivaji, the Maratha king, and also with other ambitious courtiers, marrying a daughter of Sidi Mas'ud Khan, the powerful African nobleman and the Nawab of Adoni. His chief aim was to muster a force against an ever-impending threat from Aurangzeb's Mughal armies and he managed to achieve it with varying success. His younger brother, named Abdul Nabi Khan, chose the 'Adil Shahi tracts in the Deep South (the province of 'Carnatic') as his sphere of activities. He went on to found the other important Miyana house of the Deccan, the Nawabs of Cuddappah.

Rustam-i-Zaman Bahlul Khan died in January 1678. His son, Abdul Rauf Khan, succeeded as Vizier and also to the titles the

family held. The Mughal threat to Bijapur became a reality in 1685 when a vast Mughal army attacked the city. It fell after a prolonged siege and, on 13 September 1686, Abdul Rauf carried out the task of surrendering Bijapur to Aurangzeb. As part of the treaty he brokered with the Mughals, he was awarded an imperial military tenure comprising 7000 foot and 6000 cavalry soldiers. Along with the tenure came new titles – he was styled 'Diler Khan Bahadur' (the 'Brave-heart' warrior) and his family *jagir* of Bankapur was confirmed to him. Soon afterwards he received fresh tenures, comprising the province or *sarkar* and fort of 'Azamnagar (Belgaum). The *sarkar* of Torgal was added to his *jagir* in 1692 and he was given a new title 'Diler Jang' ('brave in battle'). In 1706, his military tenure was increased to 7000 cavalry soldiers. In total, his income from land tenures amounted to about 1.8 million rupees per annum. The relative safety of being a landed statesman in the region prompted Abdul Rauf to leave the fort of Bankapur and establish his capital at Savanur, a village situated to the northeast in the Deccan plains. Savanur henceforth became the chief seat of the Nawabs and the fort of Bankapur remained only of strategic significance.

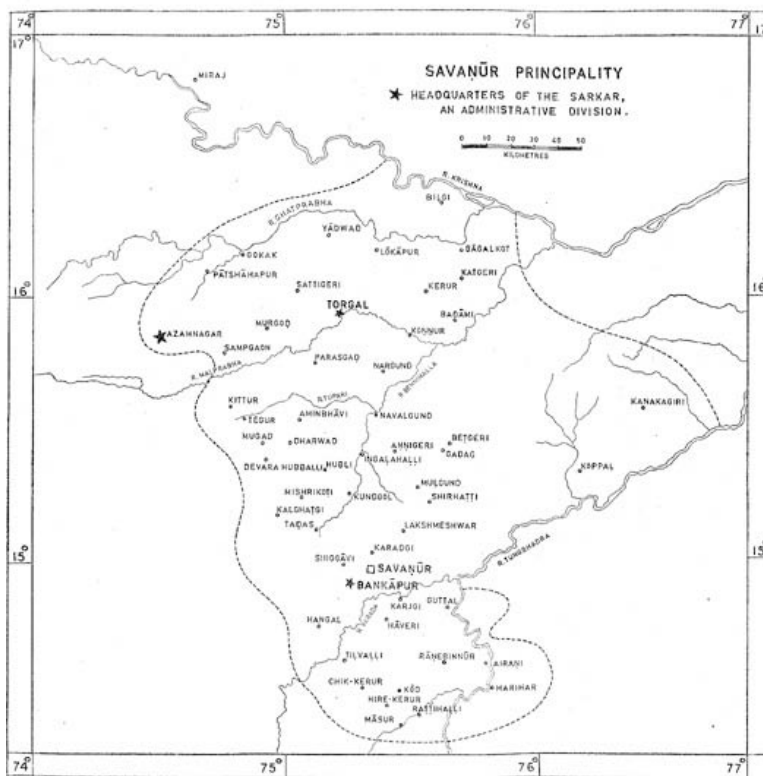
Abdul Rauf Diler Khan died in June 1720. He was a popular ruler and was also called 'Pir Khan' (the 'saintly' Khan). After his death a minor succession dispute ensued at Savanur. Two Nawabs following him had short reigns of a few months each (see appendix, chronology of the Nawabs of Savanur) and were succeeded by the sixth son of Abdul Rauf, namely Abdul Ghafoor Khan in late 1721.

In the meantime, the politics of the Deccan had become polarised between the Nizam and the Marathas. The latter, under the leadership of the 'Chhatrapati' or supreme king Shahu and his *Peshwa* (prime minister), Balaji Vishwanath, had managed to

secure an imperial charter from the weak emperor Raf'i al-Darjat, conferring upon them the rights to collect tribute in the provinces of the Deccan. The Nizam regarded these provinces as his own sphere of influence and harboured lofty political ambitions. Thus, a 'conflict of interest' ensued between these two emergent post-Mughal powers. Shahu was keen to increase his influence in peninsular Deccan and sent several expeditions to exact tributes. In 1726, the Nizam defeated an imperial army at the battle of Khedla and emerged virtually independent of any control from Delhi.

Earlier in the reign of Abdul Ghafoor, a skirmish had ensued between the Marathas

and the Nawab. Eager to elbow out the Marathas and the Nizam to create a small sphere of influence for himself, the Nawab attacked a minor ruler in the vicinity. The latter pleaded for Maratha help and Shahu responded immediately. The Nawab's ambitions were quickly quashed. Even though the Nawab did not accept Maratha supremacy, he agreed to allow the Maratha troops to pass through his territory en route further south. Taking advantage of this agreement Shahu launched two expeditions. The first was under the command of the Peshwa, Bajirao I, and lasted from November 1725 until May 1726. It covered an area up to the district of Chitradurga in modern Karnataka. The second expedition was



launched in late 1726 and reached even further south, to Srirangapattana (Seringapatam). Both expeditions traversed the territory of the Savanur Nawab, quite without any threat from him.

Abdul Ghafoor's son, Abdul Majeed Khan, became the Nawab upon the former's death in April 1726. As he was a minor, Abdul Sattar Khan, the younger brother of the late Nawab, acted as the regent. But in 1730, Abdul Majeed rebelled against his uncle and assumed full charge of his territories. He spent the next ten years consolidating his hold on the domains, which now included tracts in the present-day Belgaum, Bijapur, Raichur and Dharwad districts of Karnataka. The northern border of his territory ran through Patshahpur and Bilgi, while, in the south his land reached the towns of Masoor and Harihar. In the east, it extended to Koppal and Kanakagiri while in the west, his borders reached 'Azamnagar (Belgaum), Mishrikot and Hangal (see map).

Abdul Majeed reassessed land revenue and founded a new market town named 'Majeedpur' near present-day Hubli in Karnataka. A *Diwan* (finance minister) named Ali Khan executed substantial administrative reforms. Other *Diwans* like Mustafa Khan and Hatim Khan carried on the work of Ali Khan. Another important *Diwan* to serve under Abdul Majeed Khan was Giridhar Rao, who was given the title 'Mut'amid ud-Daula' for services he rendered to bring financial stability to the realms.

The political 'honeymoon' of Savanur with the Marathas came to an end in 1744. In that year, the Marathas launched an expedition aimed specifically at Savanur. This was partly a result of internal tussles in Shahu's court. The Peshwa, Bajirao I, had been a favourite of Chhatrapati Shahu. He died in 1740 and Shahu appointed his son, Balaji alias Nanasahab, to the office. A courtier named Babuji Naik was aspiring to be the Peshwa and therefore became disgruntled with Balaji's appointment. Earlier, Shahu had given the tenure for tribute collecting in Karnataka to Bajirao and his partisans. Upon Balaji's appointment, the tenure passed on to him. But when the tenure lapsed, Babuji Naik persuaded Shahu to be nominated in lieu of the Peshwa. Shahu agreed, but holding the tenure also meant collecting tribute from belligerent vassals. To prove his credibility, Babuji Naik decided to launch a tribute-collecting expedition against the Nawab of Savanur, an obvious 'soft target'. In the years immediately prior, Abdul Majeed Khan had been remiss regarding tribute payment. He had grown friendly with the Nizam, the main adversary of the Marathas. The Nizam had given a new land tenure and title ('Satwat Jang') to Abdul Majeed. Shahu therefore thought it prudent to let Babuji Naik exercise his right. But Babuji was not a competent military commander. Abdul Majeed successfully confronted the Maratha troops. A military deadlock loomed large on the campaign and Shahu ultimately reappointed Balaji, the Peshwa, in-charge of the Deccan. He, in turn, sent his young nephew, Sadashiv Rao, to Savanur.

The Peshwa's military strength forced Abdul Majeed into concluding a treaty with the Marathas. By its terms the Nawab had to surrender 35 of the administrative subdivisions under his control to the Peshwa. These tracts lay mainly in the northern parts of the Nawab's domains. He also agreed to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 Rs; to allow the Peshwa's troops a free passage en route further south and to disassociate himself from other rulers unless mediated through the Peshwa. This treaty effectively made the Nawab of Savanur a vassal of the Peshwa.

The year 1749 proved a busy one for the Peshwa as well as the Nizam's household. Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I of Hyderabad died in 1748 and was succeeded by Nasir Jang, his son. Soon afterwards, Chhatrapati Shahu died too. A succession dispute ensued as Shahu did not have a biological heir. The Peshwa intervened successfully in this dispute and astutely scuttled the Chhatrapati's hold on the Maratha confederacy. Although the Chhatrapati was *de jure* the head of the Maratha confederacy, the Peshwa emerged as the *de facto* supremo after this episode. Taking advantage of the situation, Abdul Majeed stopped the tribute payment and sent his son, Abdul Hakim Khan, into Nasir Jang's service. Nasir Jang re-conferred the Nawab's traditional titles 'Diler Khan' and 'Diler Jang' upon him. However, the

politics in the Hyderabad court took a murky turn soon afterwards. Nasir Jang's younger brother, Muzaffar Jang, challenged his succession and the dispute involving the brothers culminated in both being murdered by 1752. The Peshwa intervened and a weakling third son of Asaf Jah I, namely Salabat Jang, was installed on the throne. He eventually gave way to the fourth and most capable of the sons, Nizam Ali Khan, in 1762.

Abdul Hakim Khan succeeded Abdul Majeed after the latter died in 1755. Owing to the changed political situation at Hyderabad, Savanur no longer enjoyed the protection of the Nizam's forces. While the political scenario in Hyderabad after Nizam ul-Mulk's death had been one of turmoil, Maratha fortunes went into the ascendant in that same decade. The years 1754-1757 saw Maratha power reaching faraway Punjab. The Peshwa, therefore, thought it was time to bring the Savanur Nawab to heel and re-enforce Maratha authority over him. In October 1755, the Peshwa launched a campaign against Savanur under his own command. In February 1756, troops from Hyderabad joined the Peshwa and with the help of French artillery brought in with them, the Marathas were successful in defeating the Nawab. In April 1756, a treaty was concluded between the Peshwa and the Nawab. The Nawab agreed to pay tribute arrears amounting to 1.1 million rupees and to cede several subdivisions of the Bankapur, Torgal and 'Azamnagar (Belgaum) *Sarkars*. The authority of the Nawab remained confined to a small tract around Savanur and Bankapur.

Abdul Hakim subsequently remained a Maratha ally. Politics in the region took another turn in the 1760's with the rise of Hyder Ali at Mysore and the succession of Nizam Ali Khan (Asaf Jah II) at Hyderabad in 1761. The Marathas lost heavily at the battle of Panipat in January 1761 and the supremacy they commanded in pan-Indian affairs came under serious threat from all quarters. Both the new Nizam and Hyder tried to make the most of the situation but the situation so far as Karnataka was concerned was saved for the Marathas mainly due to Peshwa Madhav Rao. He, however, succumbed to tuberculosis in 1772. His successor, Narayan Rao, was murdered by his uncle, Raghunath Rao, who usurped the Peshwa-ship for himself. An alliance of ministers countered his claims by means of an infant son of the murdered Peshwa, whom they had raised. Taking advantage of this chaos, Hyder tried to push his armies further north. He attempted to befriend the Nawab of Savanur through matrimonial alliances – in 1779, Hyder's second son was married to a daughter of Abdul Hakim Khan and the latter's son, Abdul Khayr Khan, was married to Hyder's daughter.

After Hyder's death in 1782, his son, Tipu Sultan, took over. In 1785, an alliance of the Marathas and the Nizam was formed against Tipu, brokered by Nana Phadnis, the astute Brahmin minister of the Peshwa. The Nawab of Savanur had been a party to this alliance. His territories lay immediately to the north of Tipu's domains and, as such, he became the first casualty when Tipu went on an offensive. Savanur was sacked in October 1786 and the Nawab fled to Pune, the Peshwa's capital. Tipu took his brother-in-law, the Nawab's son, as a prisoner. However, in 1787, Tipu was forced to sign a treaty with the Maratha-Nizam alliance. Under the terms of this treaty the Nawab was restored to a part of his possessions, but he continued to live off a pension given to him by the Peshwa. He was ultimately restored at Savanur when Tipu ceded a further share of tracts in 1791.

Abdul Hakim Khan died in 1794 and was succeeded by Abdul Hussain Khan, who agreed to act as regent until the legitimate successor, Abdul Khayr Khan, returned from Tipu's prison. He was freed only in 1796 and when he did arrive at Savanur, Abdul Hussain refused to give the seat up. Abdul Khayr returned to Pune and sought help from the Marathas. The Peshwa's government recognised his claims and sent an officer to Savanur to effect Abdul Khayr Khan's accession. Abdul Hussain was deposed but given a *jagir* at Basawanakoppa.

In 1802, the Nawab was given a grant of 25 villages in lieu of arrears of the pension that the Peshwa had given him. After the Peshwa's downfall in 1818, the East India Company's government recognised the claims of the Nawab as the ruler of Savanur. Along with various other 'chief-ships' of the 'Southern

Mahratta' country, it was made a part of the Dharwad division of the 'Deccan Commissionerate' and later absorbed into the Bombay Presidency. Abdul Khayr Khan died in November 1827. He was succeeded by his first, third and fifth sons in succession between 1827 and 1834. In 1828, during the rule of the third son, Munawwar Khan, Savanur received a charter from the Bombay Government, awarding full civil and judicial powers to the ruler. The state thus became a minor ('non-salute') princely state of the 'Southern Mahratta' country. Abu'l-Diler Khan I, the fifth son of Abdul Khayr, ruled 1834-1862 and was followed by a succession of Nawabs (see appendix: chronology) until 1948, when the State of Savanur was absorbed into the Indian Union. It is said that last Nawab, Abdul Majeed Khan II, was so distraught by the circumstances of his accession that he vowed never to return to Savanur, preferring to live in nearby Dharwad. On one occasion, when he had to present himself in the district court where a matter had come up for hearing, he requested the court be held at the Savanur railway station so he could stay out of the town and maintain his vow!

Coinage

At the outset it may be worth saying that this paper will not limit itself to issues, which I think, judging by the historicity surrounding them, should be appropriately attributed to the Nawabs of Savanur. It will also deal with coins of some other mints in their domains, which have in the past been misattributed, and also with coins with certain mints, which still have an 'attribution crisis' surrounding them.

Bankapur

The first mint whose coins need to be attributed to the Nawabs of Savanur is Bankapur, where the original seat of the Nawabs was. From the chronological details seen on known specimens, it becomes evident that the mint was in operation by the 44th RY of Aurangzeb (Fig 1).



Fig. 1

Coins dated AH 1112 and 1113 are both known for this RY. It is also evident that the mint continued to operate through the reigns of successive Emperors – Shah Alam I (Fig 2), Jahandar Shah (Fig 3), Farrukhsiyar and Raf'i al-Darjat.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Most of the issues of Bankapur mint are not numerous by any means and can be categorised as 'scarce' at best. These coins have not been published properly in the numismatic literature, the only references being to pieces in museum collections such as Punjab (Lahore), Lucknow and Nagpur.

The issues struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar display at least four variations in the arrangement of the attributive couplet *sikkah zad az fazl-i-haq bar seem-o-zar / badshah bahr-o-bar farrukhsiyar*. They include:

1. Lower divider – *sikkah*; upper divider – *shah*; *seem* in middle line (RY Ahd - Fig 4)
2. Lower divider – *sikkah*; upper divider – *shah*; *seem* in bottom line (RY 5 - Fig 5)
3. Lower divider – *fazl*; upper divider – *shah* (RY 6, Fig 6)
4. Lower divider – *sikka*; upper divider – *fazl* (RY 7, Fig. 7)

The coins in the name of Raf'i al-Darjat are exceedingly rare and noteworthy for another reason – they have a new couplet, not read fully as yet, for the emperor, which includes his *laqab* 'Shams al-Din' (Fig 8). All these coins fall into the reign of Nawab Rauf Diler Khan, who ruled till 1720.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Diler Khan moved the seat of the Nawabs to Savanur from Bankapur in the mid-1710's. It is therefore possible that coins bearing the mint-name 'Bankapur' were thenceforth struck at Savanur. Coinage continues in the name of the next Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah. It is noticeable that the pre-Muhammad Shah issues have reasonably well-engraved legends, but in the reign of Muhammad Shah, the quality of the inscriptions begins to deteriorate in comparison to previous issues. Whether this has anything to do with the ways in which the mint was run, or the location where it was situated cannot be determined without additional study.

The coins in the name of Muhammad Shah belong to two distinct categories – the early issues have the simple *sikka مبارک بادشاه گhazi* legend while the later issues have the

couplet that includes the titles *ba-lutf-i-alah badshah zaman* (by the pleasure of God, ruler of the World) appended to the name of the emperor. The latest RY known for the coins of the first type is 3 (Fig 9) and it, therefore, follows that these issues are largely attributed to Nawab Abdul Ghafoor Khan's reign.



Fig. 9

Coins with the titles exhibit another variation – on the reverse, the mint-indicator word *zarb* is placed divided into two lines, 'Zar' appearing after the 'Sin' of *julus*, and 'B' appearing as the divider below it. The mint name Bankapur is placed below the 'B' (Fig 10).



Fig. 10

Also noteworthy on some coins is the appearance of a tiny sprig-like mark just above the 'Ju' of *julus* (Fig 11).



Fig. 11

The chronological details are off the flan for most issues of this category, and therefore an accurate attribution is rendered impossible in many cases. On rare specimens RY 28 is seen (Fig 12), indicating that the coins were struck in the decade of the 1740's.



Fig. 12

Such pieces can be attributed with certainty to the reign of Abdul Majeed Khan and, as he had a long reign almost mirroring that of Muhammad Shah (see appendix), in general it follows that other similar issues may have been struck during his reign, too. In fact, it is conceivable that the change in design from simple legends to couplets may have been prompted in 1726 when Abdul Majeed succeeded Abdul Ghafoor as the Nawab.



Fig. 13

The last issues of Bankapur mint are struck in the name of Alamgir II (Fig 13). By this time, the Nawabs of Savanur had almost become vassals of the Maratha Peshwa. But it is interesting

to note that the coins in the name of Alamgir II bear an uncanny resemblance to the issues of mints located across the border, in the Nizam's territories. Noteworthy features are thin and slender characters, the presence of a typical 'dotted pattern' for decoration on both sides, indication of an AH date where the RY should be (to the right of *julus* on the reverse) and an upright sprig-like mark. A comparison with a rupee of Dilshadabad mint is worth illustrating (Fig 14).



Fig. 14

It is not possible to ascertain when the coins in the name of Alamgir II were struck, owing to the fact that very few are known and none have a clear date/RY. But it is likely that the change in design was instituted when Abdul Hakim Khan succeeded Abdul Majeed Khan in 1755. He had been placed in the Nizam's court by his father early in his political career and harboured sympathies for the Hyderabad rulers, so much so that he had to be brought under control by the Marathas through sheer show of strength. It is thus possible that he modelled his coins on the designs of mints in the Nizam's territories.

'Azamnagar (Belgaum)

A Mughal army led by Prince 'Azam captured the fort of Belgaum in March 1687 and so it was renamed appropriately as 'Azamnagar. As described in the historical introduction, it was handed over to Nawab Abdul Rauf Diler Khan after he relinquished his position at the court of Bijapur and accepted a Mughal *mansab*.

The mint at 'Azamnagar seems to have become active in RY 48 of Aurangzeb (Fig 15) – about four years after Bankapur. By this time the town and fort of Belgaum had been firmly under Savanur control and, as such, these coins should be attributed to Nawab Abdul Rauf Diler Khan. The mint-name on these coins appears to the left of 'Julus' on the reverse, in the middle line, rather than the usual bottom-line placement. The RY appears just below the mint-name.



Fig. 15

Within two or three years, tell-tale signs of degeneration in calligraphic quality of the inscriptions appear. Coins with the RYs 50 and 51 (Figs 16 and 17, respectively), show a marked presence of dotted and floral decorations as well.



Fig. 16

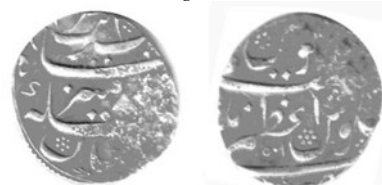


Fig. 17

It is possible that the coin with the RY 51 was struck from a re-engraved reverse die that had originally had the RY 50 – this is evident from a distinct dot that appears after ‘5’, after which the ‘1’ is engraved. RY 51 is in real terms a posthumous date, as Aurangzeb had died in the 50th year of his reign. His son Kam Bakhsh then declared himself the ruler in the Deccan and ‘Azam Shah, his elder brother, contested his claims. But judging by the fact that one of the theatres of the succession war that ensued amongst his sons after his death was in close vicinity to Belgaum, it is likely that in the chaos the authorities at ‘Azamnagar carried on minting in Aurangzeb’s name by placing a posthumous RY on the coins.

The succession dispute was resolved by 1709 and the Mughal throne finally had a claimant – Prince Mu’azzam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb began his rule as Shah Alam Bahadur. His name appears on the next issue from ‘Azamnagar mint but the quality of the inscriptions on the coins is markedly degenerate. One with RY 2 (Fig 18) is illustrated here.



Fig. 18

The mint continued to operate in the reign of Farrukhsiyar as is evident from a rupee bearing his RY 2 (Fig 19). As all these issues fall firmly under the rule of Abdul Rauf Diler Khan, they should be attributed to the Nawabs of Savanur.



Fig. 19

Later 17th century issues of the mint at Belgaum have a different mint-name – ‘Azamnagar-Gokak’ which is discussed below. The adoption of the designs of the neighbouring Gokak mint with the inclusion of a distinguishing symbol may indicate a hiatus in minting activities at Belgaum. Conceivably, the issues with the mint-name ‘Azamnagar Gokak with the mark were struck by the Marathas after Belgaum passed into Maratha hands by the treaty of 1756.

‘Azamnagar-Gokak

Gokak is a small town located about 60 miles to the northeast of Belgaum. It served as a garrison town in medieval Deccan and came into Mughal hands soon after the fall of Bijapur. It subsequently became the headquarters of an administrative subdivision under the province (*Sarkar*) of ‘Azamnagar and was transferred to the Nawabs of Savanur when Abdul Rauf Diler Khan secured his tenure from Aurangzeb. The Nawabs repaired the fort at Gokak and built a few other structures such as a mosque and a storehouse called ‘Ganji Khana’.

No coins struck in the name of Aurangzeb are known to bear the mint-name Gokak. But during the succession dispute involving his sons ‘Azam Shah and Kam Bakhsh, following his death, a mint became operational at Gokak and coins in the name of Kam Bakhsh were struck there. These, as with most other issues in the name of this transient ruler, are exceedingly rare. It is not known to whom amongst the disputants the Nawabs of Savanur rested their sympathies with, but if calligraphic qualities were any indicator, the mint at Gokak seems to have been run as an imperial atelier under Kam Bakhsh. The engraving is of very good quality and the dies are seemingly fashioned with good skill (Fig 20).



Fig. 20

The mint continued striking coins in the reign of Shah Alam Bahadur but the coins have an appearance totally different from the issues of Kam Bakhsh. The quality of engraving is poor and comparable to the issues of the ‘Azamnagar mint. A significant feature of these coins is that the mint-name is indicated as ‘Azamnagar-Gokak’ rather than only ‘Gokak’, as with the Kam Bakhsh issues. It is to be noted that, contrary to general belief, ‘Azamnagar is not an alias of Gokak in this case. The mint-name evidently alludes to the administrative link the town of Gokak had with ‘Azamnagar – it was a town situated within the ‘Azamnagar province. This mint-name became a constant feature of all subsequent issues of the Gokak mint. Another peculiar aspect, seen only on coins in the name of Shah Alam Bahadur, is that the word ‘Gokak’ is written with an additional ‘H’ following the ‘Go’, as ‘Goh Kak’ (Fig 21). The reason for this curious inscription is not known; perhaps it indicates a particular provincial manner of pronouncing the name transcribed into written form.



Fig. 21

Coins in the name of successive emperors, namely Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar are known. The coins of Jahandar Shah have the *sikka zad dar chu sahib qiran / jahandar shah badshah jahan* couplet and bear a fictitious RY 6, indicated below ‘Azam’ of ‘Azamnagar’ (Fig 22).



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

This is probably a vestigial continuation of an RY 6 of the previous ruler, Shah Alam Bahadur. The AH date is placed in the bottom right corner, above the word ‘Sikka’ on these coins. One

coin in the name of Farrukhsiyar bearing an RY 2 was noted (Fig 23), but many others with the same fictitious RY 6 are known (Fig 24). This RY detail subsequently becomes a fixture on subsequent issues of 'Azamnagar-Gokak mint, all of which bear the name of Muhammad Shah. It is possible that the coins were struck during the reigns of Nawabs succeeding Abdul Rauf Diler Khan but in the absence of a date, the degradation in the quality of inscriptions becomes our only guideline for proposing a chronology for these issues. But obviously, this is not a very sound option. Other avenues such as ascertaining metallic contents are also open, but no such research has yet been carried out. It is therefore better to leave the question of proposing a chronology for the 'Azamnagar Gokak issues in the name of Muhammad Shah to the future.

After the Maratha takeover of the region in 1756, the coins in the name of Muhammad Shah with the mint-name 'Azamnagar-Gokak' (Fig 25) evolve into a major regional coin-type. In most cases they have the *ba-lutf-i-alah badshah zaman* couplet of Muhammad Shah. Coins of this type were struck long after the reign of Muhammad Shah at several mints in and around the region, noteworthy amongst them being Hukeri, Kolhapur, Panhalla, Kittur, Belgaum and Shahpur.



Fig. 25

A progressive degradation is evident in their style and engraving and several regional variations can be discerned, although not all can be attributed with certainty. Some of them have the correct mint-name, e.g. in the case of Hukeri it appears as 'Azamnagar Hukeri' instead of 'Azamnagar Gokak'. Some others, like Panhalla and Kolhapur have the *sikka mubarak* legend on the obverse. Some have a distinct differentiating mark – as on the issues of Belgaum, a three-pronged dot is seen above 'Azam'. But most other issues remain unidentified and unattributable.

Torgal

According to chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign, the division (*Sarkar*) of Torgal was given in *jagir* to Abdul Rauf Diler Khan in 1692 when he was awarded a higher title 'Diler Jang'. Like most other mints in the region, the mint at Torgal became active in the final years of Aurangzeb's reign – coins of RY 48-50 are known. It continued striking coins in the short reign of Kam Bakhsh, and in the reigns of Shah Alam Bahadur, Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar. Unlike other mints in the region, the mint at Torgal also produced gold coins, mohurs in the name of all these emperors being known from rare and sometimes unique specimens. No coins struck after the reign of Farrukhsiyar are known, thus indicating that the activity at the mint ceased sometimes around 1718-19.

All coins of Torgal mint exhibit superb calligraphy and well-executed designs. The imperfections of 'Azamnagar and 'Azamnagar-Gokak mints are nowhere evident. Representative pieces include –

- Rupee of Aurangzeb, RY 50 (Fig 26)
- Rupee of Kam Bakhsh, RY 1 or *Ahd* (Fig 27)
- Rupee of Shah Alam Bahadur, RY 4 (Fig 28)
- Mohur of Jahandar Shah, RY 1 (Fig 29)
- Mohur of Farrukhsiyar, RY 4 (Fig 30)



Fig. 26



Fig. 27

Judging by this fact, involvement of a regional power like the Nawabs of Savanur in running the mint seems somewhat implausible, as one would expect that degeneration in coin design was the norm under local control. But it is not impossible for the Nawabs to have struck coins with fine calligraphy. Indeed, the issues of the mint at Bankapur, the original seat of the Savanur Nawabs, display reasonably well-executed details and calligraphy into the reign of Muhammad Shah.



Fig. 28



fig. 29



Fig. 30

However, historical developments concerning Torgal place a question mark over the attribution of these coins to the Nawabs of Savanur. During their protracted struggle with the Mughal armies, it had been a policy of the Maratha rulers to award 'anticipatory' tenures to capable individuals that would apply to territories and towns under Mughal rule. These tenures would act as an incentive for the men to win the nominated tracts over from the Mughals. Narsoji Shinde was one such individual who received a title 'Sena Khas Khel' from Rajaram the Maratha Chhatrapati in exile, during the 1690's. The area around Torgal formed part of an 'anticipatory' tenure that he had been granted as part of his title rights. The award thus brought his claims to the town in direct clash with that of Abdul Rauf Diler Khan. In the ensuing political turmoil, who actually controlled the town is not decidedly known. But it is possible that Abdul Rauf, even though he had a claim to Torgal, may not have been able to exercise it owing to the constant Maratha threat. The garrison may therefore have remained under the control of a military governor who may have been responsible for its administration, reporting to his superiors in the army, rather than a tenure-holder. This may have resulted in direct Mughal control of the mint and that would explain why the mint at Torgal seemingly operated on a wider range (judging by gold issues) and produced coins with well-executed inscriptions.

The house of the Maratha Chhatrapati broke into two factions around 1712 – they emanated from descendants of two sons of the premier Maratha ruler, Shivaji. The lesser faction established

itself at Kolhapur and Narsoji Shinde allied himself with this house. By 1718, there are clear indications that the town of Torgal and the territory around it was firmly under the control of Narsoji Shinde as his fief. This is precisely around the period when 'imperial-looking' issues of the Torgal mint cease. This may not be just a coincidence.

The descendants of Narsoji Shinde continued to rule at Torgal as minor *jagirdars* of the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis. They carried on the title in their names and were addressed as 'Sena Khas Khel Shinde Torgalkar' – the last word having an associative '-kar' suffix indicating their connection with Torgal, much similar to the way the German 'von' or French 'de' are used in personal names. Late 18th-early 19th century squabbles between the Peshwa and his barons, the Chhatrapatis and various freebooters and adventurers that were finally reined in by the British meant that the authority of the Shinde family eroded very rapidly and, judging by a representation made in 1848, the title-holder was pleading for intervention by the Company's government to re-institute some of his claims.

There exist a long series of coins struck in the name of Muhammad Shah, with the 'couplet' design much similar to the issues of 'Azamnagar-Gokak and Bankapur mints, having a mint-name 'Narsinpur Sarkar Torgal' inscribed upon them (Fig 31).



Fig. 31

Most of these are evidently posthumous issues and could ostensibly be attributed to the Marathas. Wiggins and Maheshwari have attributed them to Torgal. But we have seen that in the case of 'Azamnagar-Gokak', the syntax of the two components in this long mint-name would have its distinct meaning – 'Narsinpur Sarkar Torgal' would mean that the mint was located at 'Narsinpur in the *Sarkar* (administrative division) of Torgal'. It does not, therefore, automatically mean that these coins were struck at Torgal itself. Rather, the mint was located at 'Narsinpur'. This name resonates with Narsoji, the preceptor of the Shinde family and it is possible that it is an alias for Torgal. In which case, Wiggins and Maheshwari's attribution will be entirely justified – however, we must bear in mind that there is no firm evidence to support the 'alias' claim. Hitherto unpublished coins, belonging to the same series, but bearing the name of Alamgir II, are known struck from two more mints, namely 'Yadavpur Sarkar Torgal' and 'Haradapur Sarkar Torgal'. Like 'Narsinpur', the locations of both 'Yadavpur' and 'Haradapur' are uncertain, but conceivably these places lay close to Torgal and within the administrative division of the same name. There is a fort named 'Vallabhgarh' in the region that also has the name 'Haradapurgarh' – this may be a possible contender for location of one of these mints. However, this is a subject for further research and mentioned here only in passing.

Lokapur

Lokapur is a small town in Mudhol Taluk of Bagalkot district, Karnataka State. It has regional fame for the Lokeshwara Temple, dating to the 9-10th centuries AD. The area near Lokapur was the easternmost part of the 'Azamnagar Sarkar and thus belonged to the Nawabs of Savanur.

A unique coin of this mint, struck in the name of Muhammad Shah is being published here (Fig 32). It was documented while in trade a few years ago. The chronological details on the coin are truncated beyond restoration, but it bears close resemblance to the Maratha rupees of Kolhapur mint, also struck in the name of Muhammad Shah (See Fig 33 for comparison). As most of these Kolhapur rupees are dated within the first decade of Muhammad Shah's reign, it will be appropriate to place the rupee of Lokapur

in the same decade or after it. At Savanur, Nawabs Abdul Ghafoor Khan and Abdul Majeed Khan had been in charge during these years, so the coin may be attributed to one of them.



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

Issues of 'Azamnagar Bankapur' mint reconsidered

In their monograph on Maratha coins, Ken Wiggins and K. K. Maheshwari have listed coins of a mint read as 'Azamnagar Bankapur' and attributed them to the Marathas. However, two major doubts persist about the reading and attribution. Firstly, Bankapur was not a part of the 'Azamnagar province, so the joint mint-name does not stand justified as it does with other instances like 'Azamnagar-Gokak' or 'Azamnagar-Hukeri'. Secondly, there are doubts regarding the reading itself. The mint-name is engraved in the typical fashion - 'Azamnagar' appears in the middle line after 'Julus' whereas what Wiggins and Maheshwari have read as 'Bankapur' appears in the bottom line. The first character in this second word has a clear 'alif' added to it, thereby indicating the addition of a long vowel 'a', like 'a' in 'father'. But the word 'Bankapur' is not written like that, the fact being the first syllable in the word does not have a long 'a' sound in it. This can be seen from all other issues of Bankapur, none of which have the first character appended to a long 'a'.



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36

Three coins are illustrated (Fig 34, 35 and 36) to illustrate points made hereunder. If the word were indeed 'Bankapur', the last portion of the word would be 'Pur' and it would end in 'R' (the character 're'). But as can be seen from a coin in the American Numismatic Society's collection (Fig 37), the last character in the mint-name on the specimen is inscribed with more of a loop than what a Farsi-Urdu 'R' would be written as.



Fig. 37

A similar character is seen at the end of the mint-name on the specimen illustrated by Wiggins and Maheshwari. It is evidently not an 'R', but either an 'L' (lam) or an 'N' (noon). If it were an 'N', it should have a dot in the centre – but this is not seen on any coins. However, in Urdu, there exists such a character and it is widely used to indicate a terminal nasal sound. This form of the 'N' or 'noon' is called the 'noon gunnah', or 'silent noon'. Considering this, the last portion of the word can be read as 'Ganw' or 'Gaon'. It is a very common place-name ending all over India, but considering the orthography of Farsi-Urdu, it is a very difficult word to transcribe into that script. Its pronunciation has two nasal sounds – the first is prominent and occurs after the 'Ga' while the second is a 'spill-over' that mixes with the 'w' at the end of the word. This pronunciation is difficult to articulate in Farsi-Urdu script as it can equally be read as 'Ganu'. To avoid this reading, it seems an additional 'noon gunnah' is placed at the end of the word.

Once we establish that the second part of the word is not 'Pur' but 'Ganw', the portion before it is relatively easy to read from known specimens. The first character, to which an 'alif' or a long 'a' is added, is clearly an 'S' or 'seen as evident from the coin in Fig 34. The character following it is joined to the 'G' in the 'Ganw' ending through another downward stroke or *shosha*. There are thus two characters between the 'alif' of the first part of the name and 'G' of the last part. These can be restored as 'N' and 'P'. The plausible re-reading of the mint-name in the bottom line is therefore 'Sanp Ganw'.

'Sanp Ganw', or Sampgaon as it is usually spelled in English, is a market town situated to the south of Belgaum. Its location is thus spot on, within the boundaries of the province of 'Azamnagar and therefore the joint mint-name 'Azamnagar Sanp Ganw' is well justified when seen in this light. Sampgaon had a regional commercial importance even during the 'Adil Shahi period and had been subject to Maratha raids from the time of Shivaji (1660-1680). In the later 18th century it retained its importance as a regional commercial centre although not to its former glory. The operation of a mint at Sampgaon is therefore not unlikely, especially in late 18th century circumstances, when increased money-use meant more and more mints operating in the region. Indeed, during 1755-1765, the mints in the region had proliferated to such an extent that their output of coins ranging very widely in metallic content proved an impediment to the Peshwa's government as far as revenue collection in the region was concerned. The Peshwa made repeated attempts to curb the activities of these 'illegitimate' mints, but as most of them were run in the fiefs of his own barons who received direct financial rewards for running them in terms of licensing fees, his attempts ended in failure.

The mint at Sampgaon seems to have run for a considerable while, judging by some specimens that have degraded legends and inferior metallic content (Fig 38 and Fig 39).



Fig. 38



Fig. 39

The mint-name shows sufficient details for us to conclude that it is indeed a degenerate manner in which the same word 'Sanp Ganw' is written. The flans of these coins are much smaller and their fabric more dumpy than the specimens illustrated before. The obverse legend shows similar signs of degeneration so far as its engraving is concerned. It must also be said that the 'Ba-Lutf' portion of the couplet (top line on obverse) in the case of these coins bears a characteristic 'double-looped' shape. Wiggins and Maheshwari illustrated a coin showing the same in the 'miscellaneous and unattributed' category, with a remark about the extreme degradation seen in the execution of its legends. But this coin does not show a sufficient portion of the mint-name on the reverse as the coins illustrated here do.

Coins of the 'Azamnagar Shahpur Peth' or 'Azamnagar Shah Peth' mints

In issue XX of the 'IIRNS Newslines, Dilip Balsekar published a coin on which he read the mint-name as 'Azamnagar Shah Peth' (Fig 40). Elsewhere, the mint-name 'Azamnagar Shahpur Peth' is found listed amongst an exhaustive mint-list for coins struck in the name of the Mughal emperors (R D and Sheetal Bhatt, 'Mint Places of the Mughals and the others in the Name of the Mughals', *Numismatic Studies*, vol. 5, ed. Manmohan Kumar, New Delhi, 1997). Coins on which such a mint-name is written do certainly exist, but unfortunately a specimen is not available at this moment to illustrate here. But it would suffice to say that the coins are similar in most respects to the piece illustrated by Balsekar, with the additional word 'pur' inscribed between the 'Shah' and what Balsekar and others have read as 'Peth'.



Fig. 40

This last word in fact looks more like *sanah*, with a nought-like shape placed next to it. Balsekar and others have read this nought-like circle as a Farsi 'H', and they have opted to see it as articulating the terminal aspirated hard 'Th' in the word 'Peth'. 'Peth' in Marathi means 'market' and thus it has been contended that these coins may have been struck in Shahpur, a part of Belgaum or 'Azamnagar where a large commercial establishment has been in existence since 17th century.

There are two aspects to this attribution. Firstly, the readings 'Shahpeth' or 'Shahpur Peth' both seem a bit tenuous judging by what is seen on the coins. In the case of the coin published by Balsekar, there is no trace of the 'Pur' and he has concluded the mint-name is 'Shah Peth'. This is a curious rendering - even if we consider the 'Peth' part of the mint-name as an epithet. Secondly, as we have seen, the mint at Belgaum had been producing coins with the mint-name 'Azamnagar-Gokak. One would therefore wonder whether a separate mint was functioning in another part of the city striking coins with a different mint-name. Although this is not impossible, judging by the relative abundance of the Belgaum rupees, it seems the mint was producing enough coins and thus a scenario involving a second mint in the same town would seem implausible.

A possibility, in my opinion, is to regard the word as 'Shahnur' instead of 'Shahpur'. The way in which the word is

inscribed will not differ either way – but the attribution of the mint will. ‘Shahnur’ is in fact the Persianised name of Savanur and is seen in contemporary accounts. In ‘Dilerjangi’ the manuscript published by K N Chitnis, the name is seen as part of the Nawabs’ titles, whenever their portraits are illustrated. The word which is read as ‘Peth’ could indeed be *sanah* followed by a Hijri date – what is read as an ‘H’ could be the numeral 5 in this case. Further support for this view may be had from two rupees belonging to the same ‘Azamnagar types, but clearly struck later than the ‘Shah Peth’ rupee illustrated by Balsekar, as is evident from the quality of the inscriptions. On these coins, there is a clear date 1165 seen below the word ‘Azamnagar’, where the mint-name should normally occur (Fig 41 and fig 42).



Fig. 41



Fig. 42

Curiously, these coins do not have the first word that can be read as ‘Shahnur’, ‘Shahpur’ or indeed ‘Shahpeth’. It is possible that all these are issues struck at Savanur between the reinstatement of Nawab Abdul Khayr Khan in 1799 and the closure of all private mints in the Deccan following the inception of ‘uniform coinage’ in 1835.

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to the following for the co-operation they have extended by providing images of coins in their possessions. I particularly thank Mr Sanjay Gosalia of the Bombay Stamps and Coins Company, who responded promptly to my request for images.

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Mr J P Goenka, Mumbai: Figs 10, 11, 12, 38, and 39.

Mr Kashineth Pandit, Pune: Figs 41, 42.

Figures with institutional /web credits are:

Figs 2, 14, 30, 33 – Dept of Coins and Medals, The British Museum

Fig 37 – American Numismatic Society, New York (ex-Charles Panish Coll.)

Figs 1, 29 – ‘Coin Cabinet’ of the SACG web group www.southasiacoins.org

Fig 22 – Baldwin’s Auction Ltd, London

Appendix

Chronology of the Nawabs of Savanur

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Hafiz Abdul Karim ‘Bahul’ Khan, Rustam-i-Zaman | 1672-1678 |
| 2. Abdul Rauf Diler Khan, Diler Jang | 1678-1720 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 3. Abdul Fateh Khan | June – Sept 1720 |
| 4. Abdul Mahmud Khan | Sept 1720 – Feb 1721 |
| 5. Abdul Ghafoor Khan | 1721 – 1726 |
| 6. Abdul Majeed Khan I | 1726 – 1755 |
| 7. Abdul Hakim Khan | 1755–1786, 1791- 1794 |
| 8. Abdul Hussain Khan | 1794 – 1796 |
| 9. Abu’l Khayr Khan | 1796 – 1827 |
| 10. Faiz Khan | 1727 – 1728 |
| 11. Munawwar Khan | 1728 – 1834 |
| 12. Abu’l-Diler Khan | 1834 – 1862 |
| 13. Abu’l-Khair Khan II | 1862 – 1868 |
| 14. Diler Khan II | 1868 – 1884 |
| 15. Abdul Tabriz Khan | 1884 – 1892 |
| 16. Abdul Majeed Khan II | 1892 - 1947 |

BOMBAY BILLY WITH THE NUMERAL 3?

By Paul Stevens & Shailendra Bhandare

Introduction

In an earlier paper¹, we analysed a group of fifth rupee coins produced by the British for use on the Malabar Coast. These coins have the numeral 5 prominently displayed on one side. We followed this paper with a number of further small investigations² of similar coins with a numeral 8 instead of the 5 and speculated about the reason for the issue of such a coin. Hans Herrli kindly provided more information about these coins and suggested that some existed with a numeral 3, although we were doubtful about this at the time. However, a coin, possibly matching this description has now come into the possession of one of us and this seemed to provide a good opportunity to publish a picture of the coin and to update and simplify the catalogue that we started creating in the first paper we wrote on this subject.

Bombay Billy with a numeral resembling 3



Weight: 2.22g; Diameter: 12.8-13.5mm

The style of the coin most closely resembles Types 6 or 7 (see below). The numeral might be a 3, or might be a distorted 5 engraved by someone unfamiliar with the original symbol, which by then was upside-down. The latter of these possibilities seems the more likely to us. The weight of the coin corresponds with that of the fifth rupees, so it most likely passed current as that denomination.

References

¹ Bhandare & Stevens (2002), Supplement to ONS Newsletter 172
² ONS Newsletters 174, p 27; 176, pp 17-18; 177, 3-4.

Catalogue

The numbers used for the Type, and the Obv & Rev varieties come from the initial analysis undertaken by the authors (see ref 1). The catalogue numbers are those found at the website www.coins-of-india.co.uk

Types 1 & 2 – Normal 5, Top word ‘Ghazi’



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Emperor | Type | Obv | Rev | AH | RY | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|--------------|------|-----|-----|---------|-----|--|--------|
| 1183. | 34 | Muham'd Shah | 1 | A | 1 | 1131 | Ahd | Probably issued post c1725. Certainly from the Bombay Mint | N |
| 1184. | 34 | " | 1a | A | 2.1 | - | Ahd | | N |
| 1185. | - | " | ? | ? | ? | [xxxx] | 11 | Ref: Mitchiner M1738 | R |
| 1186. | - | " | 1b | A1 | 2.2 | [xxxx] | 12 | . | R |
| 1187. | 63 | " | ? | ? | ? | 1143 | 13 | Ref: Herrli. Baldwin (2006), sale 47, lot 852 | R |
| 1189. | - | " | 1a | A1 | 2.1 | [xxxx] | 22 | Ref: Puddester | R |
| 1190. | - | " | 1b | A1 | 2.2 | [xxxx] | 25 | Ref: Puddester | R |
| 1191. | - | " | | A1 | 2.? | [xx]62 | 30 | Not sure exactly which reverse. Must have been struck posthumously. | R |
| 1192. | - | Alangir II | 2 | B | 2 | [xxxx] | 2 | | C |
| 1193. | 60 | " | 2 | B | 2 | [113]3? | 3 | | N |
| 1194. | 61 | " | 2 | B | 2 | 113[x]? | 5 | | R |
| 1195. | - | " | 2 | B | 2 | [xxxx] | 6 | This may be a mistake for RY 2? | R |
| 1196. | - | " | ? | ? | ? | [xxxx] | 8 | Ref: Mitchiner M1737 | R |
| 1197. | 62/74 | " | 2 | B | 2 | 1188 | 9 | AH date usually not visible and could be different on posthumous coins | R |

Type 3 – Normal 5, Top Word 'Alangir'



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Obv | Rev | AH | RY | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|-----|-----|--------|----|---------------------|--------|
| 1198. | - | C | 3 | [xxxx] | 9 | Very distinct style | S |

Types 4 & 5 – Distorted 5, Top word 'Manoos'



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Obv | Rev | AH | RY | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|-----|-----|----|----|----------|--------|
| 1199. | 297 | D1 | 2 | | 9 | | RR |
| 1200. | 297 | D1 | 4 | | - | | RR |

Types 6, 7 & 8 – Inverted 5, Top word 'Manoos'. Sometimes the 5 may look like a 3.



Catalogue

| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Type | Obv | Rev | AH | RY | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|------|-----|-----|----|----|--|--------|
| 1201. | | 6 | D2 | 4 | - | 9 | The coin with the '3' most closely resembles these 2 obverses. These are very rare with the whole numeral clear. | RRR |
| 1202. | | 7 | D3 | 4A | - | 9 | | R |
| 1203. | | 8 | E | 5 | - | 9 | | N |

Type 9 – Inverted 5, Top word 'Shah Alam'



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Type | Obv | Rev | Ry | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1204. | 295 | 9 | F | 6 | [x] | Neat variety. No date visible. | N |
| 1205. | 295 | 9 | F | 6 | 9 | Neat variety. RY 9. | N |

Type Dated 1799



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|----------|--------|
| 1206. | 298 | | N |

Type dated 1805



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|---|--------|
| 1207. | 299 | Issued under the authority of the Madras Presidency | N |

Type with numeral 8



| Cat No. | Pr. No. | Comments | Rarity |
|---------|---------|--|--------|
| 1208. | - | Ref: Ashmolean Museum, K. Wilford, Hans Herli, Paul Stevens. | RR |

SOME NEW TYPES OF XIAN FENG IRON 1-CASH COINS

By Donald Robertson

In the past few months, I have been fortunate enough to come across a large number of these coins that were fairly badly corroded. I acquired about 100 of them and cleaned most of them by electrolysis. Only a very few were in good enough condition to just brush away the surface corrosion. After cleaning, about 30-35 were too corroded to assign to specific types. All show either the Board of Revenue or Board of Works mintmark, with 4 exceptions from Baoding, Zhili. Hartill shows 12 types of coins for the Board of Revenue and only one for the Board of Works. However, I have found 28 different coins, including 10 of Hartill's 13 types. Some are new types and others are varieties of his types. The following is a listing of those that do not seem to be in Hartill's book, *Cast Chinese Coinage*. I will have to leave it to some of the more expert members to determine how important some of the features that I describe here are. I have also not been able to find these types in most Chinese catalogues in iron, only in brass.

Due to the condition of the coins, some of the attributions are more tentative than others. However, I believe that it is important to bring these to readers' attention so that people may be aware of their existence. The coins are mostly between 24-25 mm. in diameter. Pictures are much larger than the actual coins. To save space, I have not included photos of most of the reverses. Perhaps later, I can do a study of the reverse varieties with better coins. I

have also included a photo showing the different kinds of *bao* and *tong* at the end of this article.

The most obvious new types have the Board of Works mintmark. In Hartill, the type numbered 22.749 would appear to be issued by the New Branch of the Board of Works. It has the two-dot closed head *tong*. I have found two more major types that should be listed under the Old Branch and Auxiliary Branch, following Hartill's listings of the brass coins.

First, there is the two-dot square-head *tong* variety that he ascribes to the Old Branch. There are two varieties of this. The first is as described (coin no. 1), and the other has a pointed end to what should be the square-head of the *tong* (coin no. 2). In both of these cases, it is important to note that the vertical stroke on the left side of the *tong* below the dots is short.

The next variety which he ascribes to the Auxiliary Branch has also the square-head *tong* but only one dot. On these coins, the vertical stroke on the left side of the *tong* is longer than on the previous type. Coins like both of these types are listed in the catalogues in brass but not in iron.

1. Board of Works Old Branch Iron Coin No. 1



2. Board of Works Old Branch Iron Coin No. 2



3. Board of Works Auxiliary Branch Iron Coin



In addition to these two new types, there also appear to be at least two or three varieties of the one type which is attributed by Hartill to the New Branch. They can be distinguished from each other by the size of the characters, most easily seen by the size of the Xian character and the width of the “bei” part of the “bao” character. The coin on the left is the narrow “bei” and the one on the right is the wider one. In addition, one of the larger character coins shown has a much wider rim than the others.

4. Board of Works New Branch Iron Coins



From the Board of Revenue, I have also found an unlisted type. Although Hartill does not mention it, it is found in brass in some of the Chinese catalogues. This is one of the “er” *bao* types, but has a one-dot, square-head *tong*. I have no idea what branch of the mint produced this. However, it might be from the Iron Mint that Hartill says first issued iron coins. One of the earliest iron coins in the “Dai” script (or style of characters) has this kind of *tong*. Since I did not find it in the coins of other emperors from Jia Qing to Xuan Tong, I am guessing that the origin of these coins could possibly be this mint. Although a number of brass coins exist and are in the Chinese catalogues, at least some of them are listed as mother coins. Perhaps they were the mother coins for these iron coins.

5. Board of Revenue 1-Dot Square-Head Tong



Another coin type that may be unlisted, or just a variety, is one with the “er” *bao*, two-dot closed-head *tong*. Hartill lists three types that are like this. One is 22.727. However, that one has a 6 stroke *bei* and these coins have 7 strokes. Another type is 22.730. That one has a protruding “BOO” in Manchu on the reverse and these do not. The third type is 22.726. However, that is characterized by Hartill as having a large squarish *bei* and these coins have a smaller, more rectangular *bei*. I think that this may be

a new type as well. There are also two varieties of this coin. One has much wider rims than the other. I show the reverse of the wider one so you can see there is no protruding line from the Manchu BOO character on the left. Unfortunately corrosion has badly damaged the mintmark on this example but it is the Board of Revenue.

6. Board of Revenue 2-Dot Tong Coins



Among the coins that can be attributed to Hartill’s no. 22.727, there are also two varieties. One has a larger *bei* and the other smaller.

7. Board of Revenue 22.727 Small And Large Bei



The last type of which I found some varieties is Hartill’s no. 22.734, or what is called the “zhen” *bao* type. This type has a 2-dot closed-head *tong*. However, I have a couple that appear to have a square-head *tong* (see the large *bei* & wide-rimmed coin illustration). The lower stroke of the square-head is only two-thirds as long as the top but is parallel, not at an angle. Other coins of this kind have more of an angle to that bottom stroke.

The above coin is also of what I would call the large *bei* variety. Another, which also has a large *bei*, has a much wider rim. There is also another coin with wider rims that has a small *bei*. The size of the *bei* on a third coin appears to fall between the two others and I have called it a medium *bei*.

8. Zhen Bao, Medium & Small Bei



9. Zhen Bao, Small & Large Bei



10. Zhen Bao, Large Bei & Wide-Rimmed Coin



In addition to the coins from the above two mints, I found 4 coins from the Baoding, Zhili mint. These also are different varieties of the *er bao* type, differing from each other by slight differences in the mint mark. I also have acquired another lump of coins that are stuck together with dirt and rust. I hope to study this mint a bit more and perhaps issue another short article on them at a later date. However, there is one type that is also not mentioned in Hartill and the Chinese sources. I have found several in this last group of coins and since it is also an unlisted type, I have added it to this article. It has the *zhua* form of *bao* on the obverse. In the photograph, I show the obverse of one coin and the reverse of another. Both are this type.

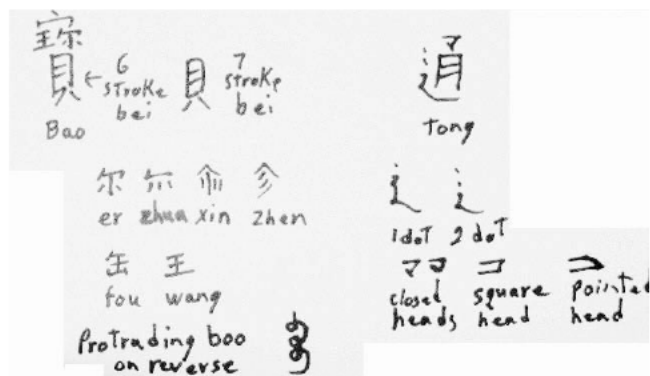
11. Zhili, Zhua Bao, Obverse & Reverse



Chinese Character Variations Mentioned

The following picture shows some of the variations in the characters that I have mentioned. In addition to those, I have included all of the different variations of the *bao* character as listed in Ma's catalogue. The different variations of the *bao* character are made by replacing one part with another. For example, to get the *zhen bao*, replace the *er* part of the character with the *zhen* as shown below. The *zhua bao* is commonly known by dealers as the 3 dot *bao* but Ma did not call it that. In Ma's book, as far as I have found, the *wang bao* only appears on 3 examples, one 100 cash coin and two 50 cash coins.

12. Character Variations From Text



Bibliography

The following bibliography is a list of the major catalogues and books that I have that include a large number of the coins of this period. Apart from Hartill's book, all are in Chinese. Numbers 5 and 7 give weights for the coins and numbers 4, 5 and 6 give rarity grades. These last two are also the most useful for giving varieties of the various coins based on character size and style, rim width, etc. Most of the others show only a very few examples of these coins. All of the books illustrate the coins with rubbings, not photographs.

1. Ding, Fubao, *Guqian Da Cidian*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1982, 2 volumes. (Reprint of 1936 edition. Includes values)
2. Ding, FuBao, *Guqian Tushuo*, Shanghai, Shanghai Shudian, 1985, 2, 238, 2 leaves. (Reprint of 1940 edition. Includes values) (This book is also known as "Fisher's Ding" because it was annotated in English by George Fisher, but I have only the original Chinese version)
3. Hartill, David, *Cast Chinese Coins*, Victoria, B.C., Canada, Trafford, 2005, xix, 450 p.

4. Hua, Guangpu, editor, *Zhongguo Guqian Daji*, Changsha, Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 2004. 4 volumes. (Volume 4 covers the Qing dynasty from Xian Feng to the end. It includes a rarity scale and values)
5. Ji, Zhongyou, *Xianfeng Qian De Banshi Xilie – Zicong Zilie Xianfeng Quanji*. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 2002. 6, 363 p. (Includes size, weight, and rarity scale)
6. Ma, Dingxiang, editor-in-chief, *Xianfeng Quanhui*, Shanghai, Renmin Chubanshe, 1994, 1139 p. (Includes a rarity scale and values. This is the most in-depth study of Xian Feng coins that I know of)
7. Shanghai Museum. *Shanghai Board of Works Suguan Cang Qianbi: Yuan Ming Qing Qianbi*, Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, 1994, 730 p. (Includes weights. This volume covers the coins of the last three dynasties in their collection)
8. Wang, Lixin, editor, *Zhongguo Guqianbi Ku*, Tianjin, Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 2003, 1132 p. (Includes values)

SOME COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, TAHMASP I: PART 5

By Stan Goron

As in the previous parts of this article (for which see issues 188-191) all the coins presented here are on the "second western weight standard of around 6.2 g.



Yazd 940? Ruler's name, mint and date within circle, titles around; reverse within circle



Yazd 940 mint and date within quadrilobe, ruler's name and titles around; reverse within square.



Yazd 941 mint and date within ornamental cartouche, ruler's name and titles around; reverse, names of the Rashidun in mill-sail design within circle.



Yazd no date visible ruler's name and mint within hexalobe; reverse within circle



Unread mint ruler's name and mint within ornamental cartouch, reverse within square. Although the mintname is completely visible, it has not yet been read.



No mint visible ruler's name and titles in linear legend, reverse within circle.



No mint visible ruler's name within octolobe, reverse within circle.



No mint visible obverse similar to preceding type but cruder, reverse within inwardly scalloped circle?

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