ONS



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Editor: Stan Goron, [redacted]

Assitant Editor: Robert Bracey, [redacted]

ONS News

From the Editor

I am very pleased to announce that Robert Bracey has agreed to assist me as Assitant Editor. Robert is the author of the Brief Guide to Kushan History, www.kushan.org, which has been providing articles on general Kushan history since 2001. He recently joined the British Museum's Coins and Medals Department where he is working with Joe Cribb on the Kushan collection.

Annual General Meeting in London 1 December 2007

The AGM duly took place at the British Museum on 1 December. The report of the Society's activities in the previous year as well as the accounts were duly approved by those present. A copy of the accounts may be obtained from the Treasurer. The AGM was followed by the four talks mentioned in the previous Journal.

London Meetings 2008

Meetings will take place at the Coin & Medal Department of the British Museum 26 April and 15 November 2008.The theme for the April meeting will be "Great Men of the East". At the time of writing two papers are already promised for the April meeting:

i. Mao Badges etc. by Helen Wang. (Helen's exhibition 'Seeing Red: revolutionary icons in post-Mao China' Badges will open in early April and her book on Mao will be published)

ii. The coins of Reza Shah (the last Shah of Iran) by Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis.

New Members

[redacted]

Interested in and knowledgeable on the coinage, typology and currency of the Chola Empire; coinage of ancient Arabia (Nabataea, Edessa, Palmyra etc).

North American Region

1495 [redacted]

Revised addresses, interests etc.

1502 [redacted]

1645 [redacted]

1704 [redacted]

1907 [redacted]

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album [redacted]
2. Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. [redacted]
3. Galerie Antiker Kunst Dr Serop Simonian GmbH [redacted]

4. New and Recent Publications

Federico De Romanis e Sara Sorda, eds., *Dal Denarius al Dinar: l'Oriente e la moneta romana*, Studie e Materiali, 12, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma 2006, 340 pp., 13 pls. ISBN 88-85914-58-6

This is a publication resulting from a workshop held in Rome in 2004 jointly by IIN and IsIAO. It includes the following articles:

E. Lo Cascio 'Osservazioni sulla funzione della moneta aurea nell'economia monetaria dell'impero romano'

D.W. MacDowall 'The use of bimetallism in the Roman and Kushan coinage'

F. De Romanis 'Aurei after the trade: western taxes and eastern gifts'
A Bausi 'Il denarius in Etiopia'
M.A. Metlich 'Aksumite gold coins and their relation to the Roman-Indian trade'
N. Schindel 'Sasanian gold coins: an overview'
C. Intartaglia 'Monete d'oro nell'Arabia settentrionale e preislamica'
A. Zohrabyan 'Dahekan-Denar connection in Armenian medieval sources'
M. Blet-Lemarquand 'Analysis of Kushana gold coins; debasement and provenance study'
R. Krishnamurthy 'Roman gold coins from southern Tamilnadu, India'
O. Bopearachchi 'Circulation of Roman and Byzantine gold coins in Sri Lanka: fact or fiction?'
E.M. Raven 'Kushana echoes and the "Indianization" of early Gupta gold coin design'
Lin Ying 'From portraiture of power to the gold coin of Kaghan'
J Banaji 'Precious metal coinages and monetary expansion in late antiquity'

Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton, Part II by Oliver D Hoover, 174 pages, 55 black and white plates. ISBN-13: 978-0-89722-299-0. Published by the American Numismatic Society, price £48 or equivalent.

This covers new or unusual types since the release of part I in 1983. The volume is well illustrated and will no doubt prove a useful supplement for collectors interested in the area.

A History of the Dimasa-Kacharis as Seen through Coinage by NG Rhodes and SK Bose, Calcutta, 2006, published by Mira Bose (mirasbooks@rediffmail.com), hard cover, 128 pages, 12 plates and illustrated throughout. ISBN 81-901867-6-0.
The definitive work to date on the rare coinage of the Kachars of north-eastern India and an essential addition to any library on Indian numismatics.

Other News

JEAN
Bruce Smith and Michael Chou have decided to restart the Journal of East Asian Numismatics (JEAN) online this coming winter. No details of the website address are available yet but Mr Chou can be contacted at [redacted]

The Jamshedpur Coin Club held its 13th Exhibition of Rare Coins, called "JAMCOIN-2008", from 6-8 January 2008. The venue was at Tulsi Bhavan (near Gopal Maidan), Bistupur, Jamshedpur. The inauguration ceremony was held on 6 January 2008 10.30 a.m. with the general public being admitted on the following two days. Members of the club and coin dealers from all over the country provided displays of interesting material. To commemorate this occasion, club members decided to bring out a souvenir publication. The souvenir carried messages, articles, and bulletins on coins and the latest information on numismatics.

Auction News

Stephen Album Rare Coins and Clark Smith, World Gold Coins have joined forces to create World Numismatic Auctions. The first auction took place on 1 December 2007 and comprised just over 1000 lots of which half were of Oriental interest, and the second auction on the following day with 600 lots of Oriental interest. The auctions included live bidding via eBay. For more information contact Steve Album or Joe Lang at the address above under "lists received" or at steve@stevealbum.com, joe@stevealbum.com

Reviews

"*Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage*" by P. A. van't Haaff. Published by Classical Numismatic Group Inc., Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA and London, England, 2007; 167 pages.
Available from: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., [redacted] their website: www.cngcoins.com
E-mail : cng@cngcoins.com

Most ONS members know that Anne van't Haaff is not only a specialist in the punchmarked coinage of the ancient states of Saurashtra and Surasena in northwest India, but that he is also a passionate collector of Elymaean coins.

In his interesting lecture on Elymaean coinage given to members of the ONS in Leiden (9 October 2004) and to members of the *Diestse Studiekring voor numismatiek* (30 September 2006) Anne stated that he was preparing his catalogue of this coinage. In the autumn of 2007 their patience was rewarded. At the ONS meeting in Utrecht (20 October 2007), he presented his "*Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage*".

Before the autumn of 2007, numismatists interested in Elymaean coinage had to use the study written by J. de Morgan in 1930 "*Numismatique de la perse antique*", in E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Vol. 2, Paris, and the study by Michael Alram in 1986 on the inscribed coinage of Kamnaskires I to Orodes V in his "*Iranisches Personennamenbuch", Band IV: Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis*, Vienna.

In the decades since the publications of De Morgan and Alram many new types and sub-types have been identified. Newly found dated coins of the Later Kamnaskirid dynasty and an analysis of their mint marks made it possible to date fairly precisely the reigns of Kamnaskires III, IV and V as well as establish their home bases.

This was for Anne a fine opportunity for a renewed study of the whole Elymaean coinage and the production of his catalogue.

The first part describes the geographic location of Elymais in southeast Iraq and southwest Iran, the geopolitical history of the period, the language and art influences and finally sets the stage for the discussion of the three dynasties that ruled this Persian kingdom.

The author has meticulously analysed the various, and often conflicting, studies on Elymaean coinage. He has also critically evaluated the categories proposed by Benjamin R. Bell, John Hansman and Robert C. Senior and the recent research on the sequence of the kings, carried out by Ruben Vardanian and Benjamin R. Bell. This has resulted in a new sequence for the kings of the Elymaean Arsacid dynasty. As a consequence, a new type-numbering system has been developed. The concordance with the BMC and De Morgan numbering is given.

The first part concludes with a technical description of the coinage system, detailing its mints, iconographic types, and a brief metrological study. The "*Easy Finder*" at the end of the first part provides a schematic chart for quick identification of a coin's general type and will surely be appreciated by all beginner numismatists.

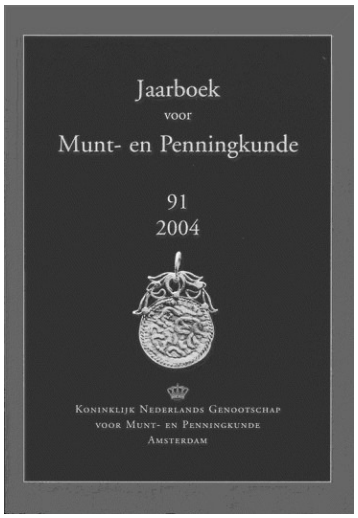
The second part - the catalogue of coins - describes the coinage of the three Elymaean dynasties: the Early Kamnaskirids, the Later Kamnaskirids, and the Elymais Arsacids. Each ruler's coinage is presented by general type, followed by their respective subtypes, all of which are accompanied by illustrations. Anne has undertaken an outstanding iconographic study of these coins and made hand-drawings of many coins, the details of which are not always discernible in their photographs.

With the help of fellow numismatists like Jan Lingen, Steve Album and Dr. Farhad Assar, one of the world's foremorst authorities on Parthian coinage and history, Brad Nelson the senior Numismatist of CNG and several others, Anne has been able to write this work and present to ONS members a well-

researched book that will undoubtedly be the new standard reference for the coinage of Elymais.

If any member has Elymaean coins that are not reported in this catalogue the author would appreciate receiving photos and scans for a possible follow-up publication. Please send any such data to Anne at vanthaaff@zeelandnet.nl .

Patrick Pasmans



In January 2008, the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society published, somewhat over due, its Yearbook 91 for the year 2004, which is entirely devoted to a single subject, viz.: *Gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh: Their origin, name and weight in a historical context,* by J. Leyten. 226 pages, including a 50 page catalogue, profusely illustrated with enlarged b/w illustrations of the coins.

Yearbook 91 is available from the Secretary of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society. The cost, including P+H will be:
€ 35,- + € 4,- = € 39,- (within the Netherlands)
€ 35,- + € 8,50 = € 43,50 (Europe)
€ 35,- + € 11,- = € 46,- (Worldwide)
Traders reduction by purchase of 5 or more copies 15%; for 2 to 4 copies 10%. The books can be ordered via e-mail, from the secretary of the Society: info@munt-penningkunde.nl

The first publication on this subject by J. Hulshoff Pol appeared in Yearbook 16 (1929) and subsequently in the Yearbook of 1949. C. Scholten wrote an addendum to this article. Besides some other minor publications, Hulshoff Pol's article, alas in Dutch, had remained the 'handbook' ever since.

With the present study, which is the result of many years of research into the gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh, and now published in English, a much felt gap has finally been filled. It is not only a catalogue about the coins, but the author has placed them in their historical context and has drawn some new conclusions. Information on the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh is scanty and fragmented. Many sources, therefore, needed to be combined and coins examined in depth in order to arrive at a succession list of rulers.

The publication is divided into 9 major chapters, each sub-divided into several sub-chapters:
1 Introduction,
2 The coins
3 The history of Samudra-Pasai,
4 The establishing of Samudra-Pasai
5 The history of Acheh
6 Catalogue
7 Suspect coins
8 Coin weight and coin name
9 Appendices.
An extensive introduction and the detailed contents, can be consulted on the website of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society: http://www.munt-penningkunde.nl/

In all former publications, the earliest coinage of Samudra-Pasai was, on account of Hulshoff Pol, attributed to Sultan Muhammad of Samudra-Pasai (1297-1326), but now the author proves that the initial coinage started under Sultan Ahmad I of Sumadra-Pasai (1270-ca.1295). The last coins were struck during the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Djohan Shah (1735-1760) of Acheh. Hence, there is almost half a millennium of gold coinage, during which the standard and weight remained much the same.

Of course, when going through the book one can find certain points which one may disagree with or where there are presently other views, like for instance the Indianisation of the archipelago. It is not very likely that Arab traders founded the Sultanate of Samudra-Pasai (p.4); it is more likely that local nobility was converted to Islam trough trade contacts. The Hikayat Rajaj-Raja Pasai mentions, for instance, the conversion to Islam of Mera Silu (more a Malay rather than a Muslim name), who became known as Maliku'l-Saleh (al-Malik al-Salih, "The pious King") of Samudra and died in 1297.

In earlier publications too, much thought is given to the fact that the contacts with southeast Asia came exclusively from India, despite the fact that the people of the archipelago were great sailors and had navigated the seas around the islands since time immemorial. It is evident that there were similar contacts from southeast Asia with India. With these contacts, Hinduism and Buddhism spread into southeast Asia. It is comparable with the spread of culture and religions along the land-route of the Silk Road. This spread of culture and religion was much the same along the sea-route between India and southeast Asia. Among the traders on this route there were southeast Asians too and they brought with them the commodities they purchased in India, as well as aspects of Indian culture (Vedic texts, Ramayana, etc.). The present view is that it is more likely that Hinduism and Buddhism entered into southeast Asia through the activity of indigenous traders rather than being brought by foreign traders. The southeast Asian traders must have incorporated the weight and currency system they encountered in the trade with south India, with the indigenous weight and value/wealth systems they were accustomed to in southeast Asia.

Throughout the publication, the author puts forward, almost obsessively, several arguments to prove that the name of the currency is a mas and not a kupang, as appears in many English publications. A separate chapter (Chapter 8: "Coin weight and coin name".) is entirely devoted to the metrology of the gold coins and its name. The name "mas" is also the Malay name for gold, "mas" or "emas".

It's regrettable that, in the discussion in chapter 8, the thesis of Robert S. Wicks: *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia; The development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400*, Cornell University, Ithyaca, New York 1992, was not consulted and, therefore, not taken into consideration with this arguments. It may not have changed the author's opinion, but the view that the denomination of the small gold coins of northern Sumatra are exclusively called "mas" and elsewhere in Malaysia "kupang", because it may have been derived from a different – Chinese - monetary/weight system, is rather arbitrary. Already in 901 AD on a copperplate inscription from Java the payment of "2 kupang of gold" is mentioned (Wicks, p.259). The kupang was already an indigenous weight/unit of value in early medieval times. Wicks (p.292) states: "Several Old Javanese texts, such as the Astadasavyavahara, originally translated from Sanskrit, convert Indian monetary values into those used in Java, ….For example, the Indian text might give the amount of a fine or payment in terms of pana. The Old Javanese text would retain that amount and also express it in the indigenous su(warna), ma(sha), ku(pang) monetary nomenclature.

Wicks, on similar grounds and as a result of studying many inscriptions, comes to the conclusion that 1 suwarna is equal to 16 masa = 64 kupang. Wicks comes to a weight of 38.601 gm for the suwarna, 2.412 gm for the masa and 0.603 for the kupang. Leyten, however, persists in viewing the mas to be a unit of 0.6 gm.

The author on page 5 writes: "There are two systems of weights that could have been the basis for the coin weight of the Acheh gold coins, a system originally from India and one from China. A comparison of the two systems should ultimately reveal the correct weight for the coins, and it suggests that 'mas' had to have been the coin name and that this name derived from the weight system from India, the suvarna masha, on which the coinage was based." This statement does not contradict Wick's

observations, but he adds that it was expressed in the "indigenous su(warna), ma(sha), ku(pang) monetary nomenclature."

The author mentions, that the script on the coins is Persian-Arabic (p.1, 211) and adds within parentheses: "Arabic script, with the addition of several characters in order to reveal sounds that do not appear in Arabic". Persian script, however, did not spread that far in the early period of Islam, Persian script is also missing these particular characters. It, therefore, would have been better to speak of Malay-Arabic, a term more often used in scientific publications to define the Arabic script of this region.

Another point of criticism may be the transliteration of some sultan names. Certain Arabic syllables which in Dutch would be transliterated using 'Dj', like Tadj, Djamal, Djawhar, Djohan, etc., would in English be transcribed as Taj, Jamal, Jawar, Johan, etc. The author gives (p.6) as the reason for this: "To avoid confusion, not the more recent rules of transcription, as in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but the transcription used by those writers (Hulshoff Pol, e.a.) is followed in this article." This principle leads to somewhat curious transliterations, like *Almoebin* which should be pronounced *Almobin*, or *Dawot* which in Arabic as well in English reads *Daud*. (p.131). The reasoning may be clear, but, since this study may well be the ultimate work on the gold coinage of northern Sumatra, the opportunity to incorporate modern transliteration practice has been missed.

The publication ends with some appendices of Arabic letters. However, here also a remark may be made: in Arabic, Khamal al-Alam is written, but transcribed as Djamal al-Alam. The same error appears in the list of vocabulary (chapter 9.3, p.214-216); the Arabic letter *khā* is transliterated 'Dj', or perhaps there is an error in the Arabic text and the *khā* should be a *jīm*? Presumably this is the case, as Khamal al-Alam would be translated as 'sincere friend of the world' and Jamal al-Alam as 'beauty of the world', which is the translation given for it.

Such errors may not be a problem for those who read Arabic reasonably well, but for the majority of non-Arabic readers it is a handicap.

Despite these criticisms, the author deserves our sincere admiration for this well-researched work. The black and white illustrations, which are all, for greater clarity, twice actual size, are his own work and are of excellent quality. For each ruler, several die varieties of the coins are illustrated. Wherever required, the inscriptions on tombstones, seals and on the coins are shown in Arabic with their transcription in English. A guide to reading the inscriptions on the coins, a concordance with coins listed in earlier publications, and a selective bibliography complete the book.

This book should not only be in all libraries of serious numismatic institutions, but with anyone who is interested in the culture, (economic)history and (Islamic)coinage of southeast Asia. No-one can publish anything on the coinage of this region any more without consulting this excellently researched work. On the other hand, they should not hesitate to correct any discrepancies or publish new varieties and/or denominations. This long neglected series of southeast Asian gold coins deserves it.

Jan Lingen

Recent Chinese Publications on the Currency of Tibet

By Wolfgang Bertsch

1) Jia Lin (or: Gu Lin): *Xi zang jin yin fen qing yu zang bi da guan (Collection of Tibetan Bullion Customs and Tibetan Coins).* Si chuan mei shu chu ban she (Sichuan Fine Arts Publishing House), Chengdu, 2002, ISBN 7-5410-2119-9 (480 p., 71 colour plates of coins and banknotes; 42 colour photographs of objects in gold and silver or of Tibetans wearing such objects).

The title may be better rendered as "Collection of Tibetan Objects in Gold and Silver and of Tibetan Money". The book is written in Chinese, with only the table of contents given in English. The first part of the book offers a cultural history of the use of gold and silver in Tibet in the form of bullion or in the form of objects made from these metals. The second part consists of an historical survey of Tibetan coins. The book contains 41 colour illustrations of Tibetan religious objects, buildings and mainly modern jewellery which demonstrate the use of gold and silver in Tibet. Tibetan coins and banknotes are illustrated on 71 colour plates at the end of the book. While the illustrations of the banknotes (except that of the 100 srang note) were already published by Zhu Jinzhong et al. (1988), some of the illustrated coins seems to be from the author´s collection.

Coin no. 9E is a kong-par tangka, dated 13-47, with a double circle on the reverse, an unpublished variety, unfortunately in poor condition.

Coin no. 9E (Jia Lin), kong-par tangka, dated 13-47 (AD 1793)

Coin no. 21 is erroneously identified as a 5 sho (5 qian) silver coin, while it is a 1 srang coin (first year of Xuan Tong), illustrated in reduced size.

Coin no. 22 is a fantasy, probably from Nepal, inspired by a rare 10 tam pattern coin. This fantasy was subsequently published as a genuine coin by Yin Zhengmin (2004, p.103, no. 380). It was identified as fantasy or forgery by K. Gabrisch and myself (1990).[1]

Coin nos. 61A and 61B are 5 sho copper coins with the obverse variety "two mountains", dated 16-24 and 16-23. These dates are unrecorded for this type of obverse variety and it is very likely that photographs of the obverses and the reverses are from different coins. The same probably applies to the 5 sho copper coin no. 59F which has the obverse with sun and moon and three mountains and shows the date 16-21, which is also unrecorded for this obverse variety. This kind of carelessness regarding coin illustrations unfortunately occurs quite often in modern numismatic works published in China.

2) Wang Haiyan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi* ("The Regional Money of Tibet" or "The Money of the Tibet Region"). Zang xue wen ku (Tibetology Series). Qing hai ren min chu ban she (Qinghai People´s Publishing House), Xining, 2007. ISBN 7-225-02577-5.

In Chinese language only, this book deals with coins and banknotes of Tibet. Most of the coins are illustrated as rubbings, while banknotes and banknote printing blocks are illustrated in colour. Nearly all illustrations are taken from Zhu Jinzhong et al., Lhasa, 2002 – Wang Haiyan being one of the co-authors of the latter publication.

The author does not follow the Chinese tradition of discussing the coinage by dividing it into gold, silver and copper, but gives a strictly chronological presentation, disregarding the material from which the money is made; even the paper money is discussed where it has its place in the chronological order. This is a new approach which in my view is remarkable and finds my full approval.

Wang Haiyan (p.47) illustrates a kong-par tangka, dated 13-47 with double circle on the reverse which is in better condition than the one illustrated by Jia Lin. However, the same obverse is illustrated on p.49 where it is matched with a reverse with a single

[1] Bertsch, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: "10 Tam Coins from Tibet". *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter,* no. 128, March-May 1991. For further details see my article "Fantasy of a Tibetan 10 Tam Pattern Coin" in this journal.

circle. Therefore one can assume that the reverse with double circle shown on p.47 is inserted by mistake and that it belongs to a coin dated 13-45 or 13-46.

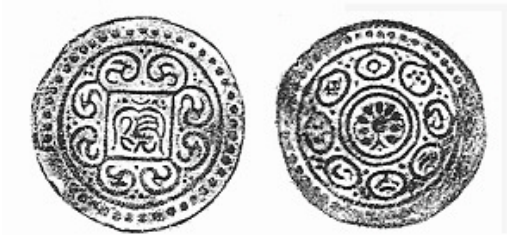


Illustration found on p.47

Two rare banknotes, a 10 tam (ser. no. 20864) and a 25 tam (serial no. 45675) issue, are illustrated for the first time. On p.177 the reverse of a 25 srang note is shown, although it must have been intended to show the reverse of the 15 tam note of which the obverse is illustrated on page 176. On p.156 Wang Haiyan illustrates the same fantasy coin which was already illustrated by Jia Lin (2002, p.416, no.22) and Yin Zhengmin (2004, p.103, no.380).

Including the two publications which I briefly discuss above there are now seven Chinese language books which are dedicated to Tibet´s currency. This is evidence for the interest which exists in China for Tibet´s numismatic history. At the same time it reflects the effort made by Chinese authors to integrate Tibet also numismatically into China. It is noteworthy that among the authors of these publications only two Tibetans have acted as co-authors, while a total of ten Chinese have authored or co-authored the seven books.

Here are the publication details of the five remaining Chinese publications. All these books, except for the one by Cao Gang, are in Chinese only.

Cao Gang: *Zhong guo xi zang di fang huo bi (Chinese Tibet´s Regional Currency),* Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, Chengdu, 1999. ISBN 7-5409-2203-6/C·37. Text in English and Chinese. 207 pages, numerous colour illustrations.

Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi (The History of Tibetan Money),* Beijing 1987. The proper translation of the title would be *The History of the Tibetan local (regional) Currency.*
140 pages, 52 black and white and 8 colour plates. Only the table of contents is translated into English.

Yin Zhengmin: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu (Illustrated Catalogue of the Money of China´s Tibet),* Xizang Renmin Chubanshe (Tibet People´s Publishing House), Lhasa 2004, ISBN 7-223-01686-8. 261 pages, numerous colour illustrations. In Chinese only.

Zhu Jinzhong, Ciren Pincuo und Yan Lunzhang: *Yuan xi zang di fang qian bi gai kuang [Introduction to the Tibetan regional Currency].* Institute of Finance of the People´s Bank of China in Tibet, Lhasa, 1988. 42 pages, numerous colour illustrations. In Chinese only.

Zhu Jinzhong, Wang Haiyan, Wang Jiafeng, Zhang Wuyi, Wu Hanlin, Wangdui and Tsering Pincuo: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi (Chinese Tibet´s Money).* Xi zang zi zhi ou qian bi xue hui (Tibet Autonomous Region Numismatic Society). Zhong hua Shu ju, Beijing, 2002. ISBN 7-101-03360-4/Z.449. 491 pages, numerous colour and some black and white illustrations. Only the table of contents and the foreword are translated into English.

Further to these seven titles one may mention the following book from Taiwan which partly deals with Tibetan currency, the other part of the book being dedicated to Tibetan philately:

Li Dongyuan: *Xi zang you bi kao* (*Research in Tibetan Stamps and Coins).* Taipei, 1959. In Chinese only. Part of the text of this work was republished in the above-mentioned book by Xiao Huaiyuan (1987).

Articles

A NEW DATE ON THE TETRADRACHMS OF VARDANES II

By G. R. F. Assar*

Tacitus (*Annals* XIII.6-7) intimates that, shortly after the accession of Nero, rumours brought the disturbing news of Parthian incursions into Armenia and so alarmed the Romans about the end of AD 54. However, as Nero instructed his generals to expel the invaders, "a rival to Vologases appeared in the person of his son, Vardanes". This compelled the Parthians to postpone hostilities and evacuate Armenia without a battle: *Exortusque in tempore aemulus Vologesi filius Vardanis: et abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum*. Although this last passage is not entirely clear about the identity of the Arsacid rebel, he is, nevertheless, generally recognised as Vardanes II,[2] son of Vologases I (*c.* AD 51-54, 1st reign, and *c.* AD 58-78, 2nd reign). Unfortunately, Tacitus fails to explain the circumstances of Vardanes' revolt and whether he ultimately secured the Parthian throne for himself. In three further passages, Tacitus (*Annals* XIII.37, XIV.25, and XV.1) speaks of an uprising in Hyrcania that preoccupied Vologases and diverted Parthian forces from Armenia. Wroth comments[3] that the Hyrcanians may have supported Vardanes' rebellion, to which Debevoise[4] attributes the permanent secession from Parthia of that important satrapy. According to Wroth and Sellwood, the presence on the later drachms of Vologases I (S71.1 and S71.3) of the abbreviated personal name *wl* (for *wlgshy*) strongly suggests that the latter's authority was challenged by a rival.[5] However, the connection between the Hyrcanian revolts and the earlier rebellion under Vardanes cannot be recovered with complete certainty. What is, nevertheless, noteworthy is that the combined numismatic evidence and literary sources show that a contender ousted Vologases I sometime during Sep./Oct. AD 54 – Jan./Feb. AD 55 (cf. below), reigned for about four years and was ultimately supplanted by Vologases in Aug./Sep. AD 58 or some months later.[6]

Several early numismatists ascribed to the putative son of Vologases I a series of coins ostensibly minted during AD 55-58. These included a few tetradrachms, depicting on their obverse the bust of a young prince with a short beard and a wart on his temple

* I am grateful to the Soudavar Memorial Foundation for sponsoring my research.

[2] Lewis (1728), 170; Lindsay (1852), 76; Rawlinson (1873), 268-269; Debevoise (1938), 180; Colledge (1967), 50 (with hesitation); Sellwood (1980), 225; Bivar (1983), 81; Sellwood (1983), 295; Wolski (1993), 165-166. This identification is, however, not universally accepted. Gutschmid (1888), 130, and Anderson (1934), 879, for example, question the emendation of Vardanis to Vardanes in Tacitus. Gutschmid (1888), 130, and Frye (1983), 239, believe that Vologases' rival was a son of Vardanes I (*c.* AD 40-45).

[3] Wroth (1903), liii.

[4] Debevoise (1938), 182.

[5] Wroth (1903), lii, n. 2; Sellwood (1980), 223.

[6] This is the date of the latest tetradrachm ascribed to Vardanes II, year ΘΞΤ (369 SEM), month ΛΩΠΥ (seen in commerce). For conversion to Julian date cf. the works in n. 20 below. However, the earliest extant tetradrachm from the 2nd reign of Vologases I (S70.1) is dated ΒΠΤ (372 SEM = AD 60/1) with the month off the flan (cf. Prokesch-Osten (1874/5), 63, first entry under Arsaces XXV, Artabanus IV (AD 59-67)). This entails a gap starting from just over 2 years and 2 months up to around 3 years and 3 months between the two issues. Perhaps the struggle between Vologases and Vardanes went on for some time after Sep. AD 58 without a clear outcome, leading to the suspension of mint operations at Seleucia on the Tigris.

(similar to the one on S64 tetradrachms of Vardanes I). Although Visconti and Lindsay had already assigned identical pieces to Vologases I,[7] de Longpérier provisionally ascribed them to Vardanes II, adding that if the same youthful bust appeared on dated coins from 364-366 SEM (Seleucid Era of the Macedonian calendar, beginning 1 Dios 312 BC) = AD 52/3-54/5, then the issue as a whole should be given to Vologases I.[8] However, Rawlinson unhesitatingly attributed these tetradrachms, with dates running from 367 to 369 SEM (AD 55/6-57/8), to Vardanes II and yet Prokesch-Osten almost immediately placed the series under Vologases I.[9]

In 1877 Gardner, too, identified the royal portrait on a similar tetradrachm in the British Museum (BM) trays and two further pieces in the Prokesch-Osten and Paris[10] cabinets with Vardanes II. Building on the above-quoted passages in Tacitus, he argued that, as the rebellious son of Vologases I, Vardanes reigned during AD 55-58 and issued coins.[11] Gardner's attribution remained unchallenged for some twenty five years until Wroth grouped the same BM tetradrachm and sixteen additional pieces with similar obverse busts under Class B of the early coinage of Vologases I.[12] He held that the differences between the obverse portraits on these tetradrachms and the ones he had securely attributed to Vologases I did not warrant their assignment to a different prince. However, having correctly sequenced the Parthian die-engravers in the 1st–2nd centuries AD, Sellwood[13] confirmed de Longpérier, Rawlinson and Gardner, and finally ascribed the disputed tetradrachm issue and its accompanying drachms and bronzes (S69.1-16) to Vardanes II.[14]

Among the pieces in Wroth's above quoted group, one (no. 16) has a peculiar year date as ΑΞΤ.[15] Perhaps taking Α as an aberrant form of Ζ, Wroth thought ΑΞΤ to be a variant of ΖΞΤ = 367 SEM (AD 55/6).[16] Yet, there are four coins in the BMC *Parthia* that are unmistakably dated ΖΞΤ.[17] At any rate, the BM specimen from year ΑΞΤ is not an isolated case and additional examples with the same date have since come to light (Figs 1 and 2). In fact, we now have at least 25 tetradrachms dated ΑΞΤ, struck from 18 different reverse dies (including the BM piece).[18] Of these, the following six have retained legible traces of their exergual month names:

1. Month Peritios (seen in commerce).
2. Classical Numismatic Group, Sale 31 (9-10 Sep. 1994), Lot 490. Month Panemos.
3. Classical Numismatic Group, Sale 58 (Sep. 2001), Lot 786. Month Panemos.
4. Month Loios, given as ΛΩΟΥ (seen in commerce).
5. J. Elsen, Sale 52 (13 Dec. 1997), Lot 1455 = Dr. Busso Peus, Auktion 372 (30 Oct. 2002), Lot 682. Month Hyperberetaios
6. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 4 (22 Sep. 2000), Lot 59563. Month Hyperberetaios.

It is noteworthy that Sellwood dates S69.4 tetradrachms to year ΖΞΤ, month Panemos and that we also have nos. 2 and 3 in the above list from year ΑΞΤ, month Panemos. Likewise, S69.6 tetradrachms are dated ΖΞΤ, month Hyperberetaios while nos. 5 and 6 above bear ΑΞΤ, month Hyperberetaios. The intentionally differently rendered first letters in ΑΞΤ and ΖΞΤ strongly indicates that they were not designed to represent the same numeral. Moreover, close inspection of over a hundred tetradrachms of Vardanes II in several public and private collections as well as collation of many good images in sale catalogues have confirmed a single craftsman responsible for cutting their reverse dies. It is, therefore, unlikely that he correctly cut Ζ on some dies (Fig. 3) and also persistently incorrectly as Α on others.

Fig. 1 – S69.1var. tetradrachm of Vardanes II, dated ΑΞΤ (Author's collection)

Fig. 2 – S69.1var. tetradrachm of Vardanes II, dated ΑΞΤ (Author's collection)

Fig. 3 – S69.2var. tetradrachm of Vardanes II, dated ΖΞΤ (Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auktion 363 (Frankfurt, 26.4.2000), lot 5178

Taking Α as a stylised "squared" form of Ϛ (Greek sigma), I proposed that the date ΑΞΤ should be interpreted as 366 SEM (AD 54/5).[19] This agrees both with Tacitus' statements on the

[7] Visconti (1825), 164-166, and Tav. VI, no. 8 (dated ΖΞΤ); Lindsay (1852), 76, 155-156, and Pl. 6, no. 10 (dated ΖΞΤ).

[8] de Longpérier (1853-82), 110-112, and Pl. XIV, no. 157 (dated ΖΞΤ).

[9] Rawlinson (1873), 268 (n. 5)-269; Prokesch-Osten (1874/5), 61-63 and Pl. 5, no. 43

[10] This is discussed in de Morgan (1923-36), 164, Fig. 174.

[11] Gardner (1877), 13, 51, and PL. VI, no. 1, tentatively accepted by Petrowicz (1904), 130-131, nos. 1-4 and Taf. XIX, no. 8.

[12] Wroth (1903), l-liii, 180-182 (nos. 15-31) and Pl. XXVIII, nos. 13 and 14.

[13] Sellwood (1967), 18.

[14] Sellwood maintains that although the S69 coinage may not have been minted by "Vardanes II son of Vologases I", it was not struck under the latter either (private communications).

[15] Wroth (1903), 180, no. 16, and Pl. XXVIII, no. 14.

[16] Wroth (1903), no. 16. Cf. also Shore (1993), 149.

[17] Wroth (1903), 180, nos. 15 and 17-19, the first illustrated on Pl. XXVIII, no. 13.

[18] Cf. http://www.parthia.com/vardanes2_366.htm for the images of the 25 tetradrachms. Of these, nos. 1-6, 8, 10, 11, 13-15, 17-20, 24, 25 are from different reverse dies. Nos. 6, 7, 12, and 21; nos. 9 and 4; nos. 16 and 5; nos. 22 and 19; and nos. 23 and 18 are struck from a common reverse die respectively.

[19] Having identified Α on some tetradrachms of Vardanes II with the Greek letter sigma, I forwarded my conclusions to the editor of www.parthia.com in April 2001 (cf. http://www.parthia.com/vardanes2.htm, foot-note 1). The initial note on www.parthia.com was later withdrawn for further appraisal.

revolt of Vardanes II before the close of AD 54 and the date of the latest tetradrachms from the first reign of Vologases I (S68.11). The latter are from year ΕΞΤ (365 SEM), month Hyperberetaios.[20] Given that the correspondence of months in the Macedonian and Babylonian calendars had changed at least in the period 48 BC – AD 79, causing the Macedonian Dios to coincide with the Babylonian Arahsamnu rather than Tashritu,[21] these may be dated to Sep./Oct. AD 54. Reading ΛΞΤ as 366 SEM would, therefore, place in Jan./Feb. AD 55 the above listed no. 1 tetradrachm of Vardanes II from month Peritios, only four months after the last tetradrachm of Vologases I from his first reign. If, on the other hand, ΛΞΤ is read as ΖΞΤ (367 SEM), it would push the earliest extant tetradrachm of Vardanes II to Feb./Mar. AD 56 and thus create an unnecessarily long gap of about a year and a half between the two contiguous issues of Vologases I and his rebellious son.

I should, however, emphasise that, having recently consulted a detailed article by A. de la Fuÿe, reviewing Wroth's BMC *Parthia* (1903) and rearranging the coins of the Arsacid rulers, I noticed that, although he incorrectly assigned to Vologases I a tetradrachm from year ΛΞΤ, he had already correctly read the date as 366 SEM.[22] He also commented that having studied the BM pieces catalogued by Wroth under Class B of Vologases I, he found that no. 16 bore a doubtful date which appeared to him to be 366 SEM.

The identification of Λ with ϛ is further strengthened by the appearance on certain non-Parthian issues of an almost identical character. We have, for example, two Imperial coins from Antioch with the head of Augustus, one dated ΛΙΚ = 26 of the Actian Era = 6/5 BC,[23] and the other ΛΙΛ = 36 of the Actian Era = AD 5/6,[24] as well as a bronze coin from Apamea dated ΛΙΚΤ = 326 SEM = AD 14/15.[25]

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[20] Prokesch-Osten (1874/5), 58.

[21] Assar (2000), 6-12; Assar (2003), 176-184.

[22] De la Fuÿe (1904), 370, and Pl. VIII, no. 12.

[23] Wroth (1899), 166, no. 131, and Pl. XX, no. 10.

[24] Wroth (1899), 168, no. 147, and Pl. XX, no. 13.

[25] Macdonald (1905), 194, no. 30, and Pl. LXXIII, no. 24.

JALĀL AL-DĪN MANGUBARNĪ'S COPPER COIN MINTED IN THE KINGDOM OF GEORGIA AND WITHOUT MARGINAL LEGEND: AN ADDENDUM

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia, Giorgi Lobzhanidze

In ONS Journal 192 we had the opportunity to publish a "Georgian style" copper coin of Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubarnī of standard[26] type, except that it did not bear the typical marginal legend on the obverse[27]; referring to the obverse of that coin we wrote: "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 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" [1, p. 8].

Unfortunately, it was impossible to ascertain whether the marginal legend was present or missing on the reverse: "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" [1, p. 8].

However, we are delighted to have another coin available for study now, the coin, missing the marginal legend on the reverse:

Obverse.
In the central area:

جلال الدنيا
و الدين
jalāl al-dunyā
wa'l-dīn.

The area normally occupied by the marginal legend is off-flan.

Reverse.
In the central area:

السلط[ان]
المعظ[م]
The great sultan

No marginal legend.

[26] For a concise, though general review of Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubarnī's coinage produced in the Georgian Kingdom please refer to [1, pp. 6-7].

[27] We consider the side with a formula containing Jalāl al-Dīn's name to be the obverse.

Fig. 1[28]*. Jalāl al-Dīn. Æ, irregular copper. Marginal legend of the reverse missing. Marginal legend of the obverse off-flan (missing?), ND, [NM, Tiflis?]. Weight: 5.81 g; diameter: 18 mm; die axis: 14:00 o'clock.*

The fragment of the coin left intact by the reverse die applied to the flan is sufficiently wide, up to 3.2 mm (normally the distance between the inner linear border and the marginal legend is 1 mm or even much less [1, p. 8]), which excludes the possibility that the marginal legend had been engraved on the die, but is simply off-flan: only the central legends were engraved on the reverse die.

Regretfully, this time the obverse die was applied by a better-centered strike, imprinting only the central part of the legends on the obverse of the coin, the outer part of the die being applied off the flan. Thus, we have one coin with no obverse marginal legend (impossible to say, whether the marginal legend was missing on the reverse die) and another coin with no reverse marginal legend (impossible to say, whether the marginal legend was missing on the obverse die), and are still unable to affirm, whether there were minted any coins of this type missing the marginal legends on *both* sides.

However, both obverse and reverse dies applied to these two coins are different, which may suggest that the omission of the marginal legends may have been a less exceptional practice at Jalāl ad-Dīn Mangubarnī's mint (mints?[29]), which were producing a significant amount of currency within a limited time [1, p. 8].

We do not think that the marginal legend of the reverse, which, when present, contains the date formula (AH 623/1226 AD), was omitted for the reason that the present coin was struck later than that (we hypothesized in our initial paper on the subject, that 623 "could be a 'frozen' date and that Jalāl ad-Dīn's copper currency may have been struck in later years as well, possibly until his defeat and death in 1230-1231" [1, p. 7]).

We are more of the opinion that probably "some deviations from the principal design were tolerated or at least failed to be attended to" by Jalāl ad-Dīn's mint administration. This "could even intentionally allow the usage of unfinished dies, with only central legends, in order to save time. Such dies could be engraved much more quickly" [1, p. 8], and this could be the explanation for the absence of the marginal legend/s.

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1. Paghava I., Turkia S., Lobzhanidze G. "Jalal al-Din Mangubarni's copper coin minted in the Kingdom of Georgia and without marginal legend" JONS 192, Summer 2007.

[28] Our publication of the coin missing the marginal legend on the obverse attracted the attention of a private collector in possession of the coin we are publishing now and who kindly offered it for study. We would like to express our profound gratitude to this person, who desired to remain anonymous.

[29] We suggested that Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubarnī's coppers may have been struck at some other locations within the Georgian Kingdom, in addition to or instead of Tiflis [1, p. 7].

A COIN IMITATING A TIFLIS ABBASI OF 1131 AH: WEST GEORGIAN OR DAGHESTANI ORIGIN?

By Severian Turkia, Irakli Paghava, Alexander Kesmedzhi

The aims of this paper

By means of this paper we aim to:

- publish a group of coins seemingly constituting a part of a hoard unearthed in the vicinity of the city of Ganja (Republic of Azerbaijan) in 2006;
- study one peculiar coin, belonging to that hoard, and show its imitative character;
- attempt to deduce when and where the currency represented by this specimen could have originated from and who could have issued it.

"A hoard from the vicinity of Ganja"

While the precise location of this "hoard find" is unknown, it allegedly originated from some place in the vicinity of Ganja. Because of a lack of relevant data, one cannot be absolutely sure that the coins discussed below, which were offered as one lot on the market, had truly been part of a single hoard and not a casual combination of coins intended for sale and accompanied by a nice "hoard story". However, in addition to the vendor's statement, the composition of this lot speaks in favour of a hoard origin for these coins:

- Some coins from the lot were quite worn-out, i.e. barely of collectible quality and hence hardly sellable: in our opinion, it is less probable that a dealer, who was ready to sell these coins separately, would have put them on sale along with attractive, well-preserved abbasis, unless he had acquired them altogether in one lot, presumably from a hoard;
- All the surviving coins are silver abbasis issued in the name of Sultan Husayn I Safavi; they all are of the 3rd standard, which was minted in 1129-1134/5AH (1716/7-1721/2/3AD) [1, p. 130, #2683]: the absence of non-Safavid coins or even of coins of other rulers apparently speaks in favour of the hoard provenance as opposed to a dealer's accumulation;
- All the coins were produced at mints located in the southern Caucasus and adjacent area. Typically, most of the coins circulating in the southern Caucasus area were struck at these mints [13, pp. 72-73]. For comparison, along with the composition of this group, we also provide that of 2 major hoards of Safavid coins of the 18th century unearthed in the southern Caucasus, in Azerbaijan: Table 1 [13, pp. 72-73]. However randomly the group of coins from Ganja may represent the entire hoard, if there was one, in our opinion it is clear that its composition, i.e. the absolute preponderance of the south Caucasian mints and particularly of Tiflis mint, fully conforms to what we know about money circulation in the region in the first quarter of the 18th century.

Although all the above arguments are not particularly cogent if considered separately, their combination makes the hoard theory more likely: so, in our opinion, the coins under discussion could really be a hoard or part of a hoard, as claimed by the vendor. Bearing in mind the destruction of the system for reporting hoard finds in the former Soviet Republic after its collapse, every single report of this sort can be consideredto be of particular significance.

We do not know how many more coins may have been in this alleged hoard, but, based on our observations of the local numismatic market at that time, we think that there were not many other coins, if any, which may have escaped out attention.

Table 1. Composition of 2 hoards discovered in Azerbaijan [13, pp. 72-73] and that of a lot said to be a fraction of a hoard allegedly discovered in the vicinity of Ganja

Mint	Composition		
	Allegedly a hoard from the vicinity of Ganja (fraction of a hoard? n=11)	**Chaykend hoard, Azerbaijan (n=663)**	**Aterk hoard, Azerbaijan (n=328)**
Tiflis* (at present Tbilisi, Georgia)	36%, 4 coins	19% (38%**)	36%
Ganja (at present Republic of Azerbaijan)	9%, 1 coin	14%	9%
Iravan (at present Yerevan, Republic of Armenia)	18%, 2 coins	10%	22%
Tabriz (at present East Azerbaijan province of Iran)	27%, 3 coins	not indicated	16%
Nakhjevan (at present Republic of Azerbaijan)	-	5%	12%

*** -** One coin out of 11 has the mint name Tiflis, but we consider it to be an imitation, not struck at the official Tiflis mint. Hence, the figures are calculated for the coins undoubtedly issued in Tiflis.
** - If we disregard 319 Huwayza muhammadis from this hoard (48% of the total number of coins), Tiflis coins would constitute 38% of the remaining coins.

The composition by mints of this group of coins is represented in Table 1. As we have already mentioned, all 10 coins listed in Table 1 are abbasis (third standard: 1 toman = 1400 nokhod, Type D: *Hoseyn bande-ye shâh-e velâyat* [1, p. 130, #2683]). One more coin from the lot has the mintname Tiflis, but in our opinion it does not derive from the official Tiflis mint (we describe it in detail below). Its weight is 5.20 g, and hence we may consider it an abbasi too.

Unfortunately, we were able to study and photograph only 7 of these 11 coins: 1 Ganja abbasi, 1 Iravan abbasi and 4 Tiflis abbasis, as well as the peculiar, imitative coin bearing the Tiflis mintname. Please refer to *Figs. 1-6* for the images of the regular abbasis and to *Fig. 7* for the image of the imitative coin (metrology information as well as mint dates are provided in captions). As far as the other 4 coins are concerned, the authors could just note that they comprised 1 Iravan and 3 Tabriz abbasis, also of the 3rd standard (1129-1135 AH) of Sultan Husayn I, as stated above, all badly preserved. They were unable to record any other information about them. They were, however, fortunate enough, to be able to study in detail the important imitative coin.

Fig. 1. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Ganja, 1133 AH (weight 5.34, size 22.5 mm, die axis 11:15 o'clock).

Fig. 2. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Iravan, 1130 AH (weight 5.38, size 22 mm, die axis 16:00 o'clock).

Fig. 3. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Georgia, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, Tiflis, 1131 AH (Weight 5.37 g, size 25.5 mm, die axis 12:30 o'clock).

Fig. 4. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Georgia, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, Tiflis, 1131 AH (weight 5.40 g, size 23.5 mm, die axis 18:30 o'clock).

Fig. 5. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Georgia, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, Tiflis, 1134 AH (weight 5.37 g, size 25 mm, die axis 18:00 o'clock).

Fig. 6. Safavid, Sultan Husayn I, Georgia, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, Tiflis, 1134 AH (weight 5.41 g, size 24 mm, die axis 14:30 o'clock).

Fig. 7. A coin imitating Tiflis abbasi 1131 AH, AR?, abbasi (weight 5.20 g, size 21.5-22 mm, die axis 12:30 o'clock. Illustration enlarged).

A coin imitating a Tiflis abbasi of 1131 AH[30]: general description

The weight of this coin, 5.20 g, is close enough to the standard weight of Tiflis abbasis of Sultan Husayn I of the 3rd standard – 5.33 g – for it to be called an abbasi. The actual range of weight, (calculated from 106 abbasis) [13, p. 45], is 4.22-5.68 g. Under inspection, the coin appeared to be of high-standard silver, more or less like that of the regular Tiflis abbasis of the period. No laboratory analysis, however, could be performed at the time, and the metal composition of various layers of the coin remains undetermined).

The size of the coin is 21.5-22 mm. There are no data available regarding the average size/diameter of Tiflis abbasis of the period. However, based on our experience with Tiflis Safavid coinage, the coin seems to be slightly smaller in diameter/size than the average Tiflis abbasis of 1133-1134 AH, but equal in size to many Tiflis abbasis of 1130-1132 AH.

The die axis is 12:30 o'clock. To our knowledge, no statistical research has been done with regard the die axis of the regular Tiflis Safavid abbasis, so one cannot draw any conclusion from this information.

The coin bears the greater part of the mintname Tiflis and the date 1131. By type it corresponds to the regular 3rd standard Tiflis abbasis minted in 1130-1132 AH (1717/8-1719-20 AD), Type D: *Hoseyn bande-ye shâh-e velâyat* [1, p. 130, #2683; 17, pp. 19-20]:

Obverse:
A corrupt 5-line legend in Persian, (pseudo-Nasta'līq calligraphy):

شاه ولا
یت
بنده حسین تفلیس
ب
ضر ۱۱۳۱

(May be translated as: *Husayn, slave of the shah of sanctity* - i.e., Ali [13, p. 46]).
Ornaments in field.
A plain and dotted circle, visible at 5 o'clock, form the margin.

Reverse:
A crudely engraved Shia creed (pseudo-Naskh calligraphy):

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله علی و
لی الله

(*There is no god but God, Muhammad – the messenger of God, Ali – the vicegerent of God*)
Ornaments in field.
Margin, as on the obverse, visible at 5-7 o'clock, with possible traces of an outer line.

A coin imitating Tiflis abbasi 1131 AH: signs of imitation

The crudity of the legends on this coin, together with the mediocre die-cutting technique, make the imitative nature of this coin (*Fig. 7*) indisputable in our view.

There was a time when the Tiflis mint production was distinguished by its crudity, but that was much earlier, and was normal for Tiflis coins of Abbas I [13, p. 34], whereas Tiflis coins of Sultan Husayn I were remarkable for their exquisite artistry: in her monograph, devoted to the coins minted in the name of the Safavids in Georgia (including Tiflis), T. Kutelia, a distinguished researcher of Safavid and, generally, Persian coinage, noted the following: "Монеты чеканенные в 1129-1135 гг. в Тбилиси так же, как и на иранских монетных дворах изящны и красивы." ("The coins, minted in 1129-1135 in Tbilisi as well as at Iranian mints are refined and good-looking") [13, p. 46].

For our part, we can add that, having had the opportunity to look at hundreds of the 3rd standard coins of Sultan Husayn I (including the images of 82 the 3rd standard silver coins from Tiflis mint alone, accumulated by one of the authors in the Zeno Oriental Coins Database [23] by December 27, 2007), we have never encountered a single coin even remotely approximating this one in terms of crudity.

The legends on this coin are a slavish but unskilful imitation of the ones on regular Tiflis abbasis of 1130-1132 AH [17, p. 20]: cf. *Fig. 7* to *Figs. 3-6* as well as to *Figs. 8-10* (for comparative reasons we provide images of well-preserved specimens of Tiflis abbasis dated 1130, 1131 and 1132: respectively, *Figs. 8, 9* and *10*).

Fig. 8. Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (weight: 5.41 g; diameter: 23-24 mm; die axis: 7:15 o'clock).

Fig. 9. Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (weight: 5.33 g; diameter: 21.5-22 mm; die axis: 10:30 o'clock).

Fig. 10. Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1132 AH (weight: 5.39 g; diameter: 25-25.5 mm; die axis: 3 o'clock).

We do not know, whether die-cutters at the 18th century Safavid mints were literate in Arabic script or were illiterate, but at least they were skilled in reproducing Persian and Arabic legends on the dies. It is possible that the legend patterns to be struck onto coins were distributed in a centralised way after having been composed and confirmed in Isfahan, the capital, but not the dies proper or the entire die patterns, because of the variety of designs used for the 3rd standard silver currency of Sultan Husayn I [17, pp. 20-21; 1, p. 130]). However, the person who produced a die for striking this particular coin was apparently quite unskilful in reproducing the legends in Arabic script as well as illiterate in Arabic. He painstakingly attempted to repeat the original legend, but obviously failed; we shall list the most notable deviations:

On the obverse the slant of the words to be written in Nasta'līq style is wrong, the upper line (شاه ولا) being inclined anticlockwise and the middle line (بنده حسین تفلیس) being inclined clockwise; ر in ضر is remarkably elongated and dilated; the تفل part of تفلیس resembles the way the word Tiflis was written on some Abbas II coins (cf. *Fig. 13*), or particularly on copper fulus

[30] For discussion of the traits qualifying it as an imitation please refer to the following section.

of Simon (younger brother of Vakhtang VI), the ruler of the Kingdom of Kartli in 1712-1714 (cf. *Fig. 16*), but has nothing to do with its normal representation on the coins of Sultan Husayn I; the cipher ٣ is quite crude as well;

Fig. 13. Safavid, Abbas II, Kingdom of Kartli, Rostom/Vakhtang V, AR, panjshahi, Tiflis. VOC c/m. (weight: 9.15 g, diameter: 32 mm, die axis: NA). Zeno Oriental Coins Database #21817.

Fig. 16. Georgia, Kingdom of Kartli, Simon, Tiflis, [112]4 AH, AE, half-bisti (weight NA, size , die axis 11:00 o'clock).

On the reverse the cutter distorted the *lām* + *alif* ligature (لا) in both cases when it appears in the upper line (لا اله الا الله); at the end (the extreme left part) of the upper line he severed the left ligatureلا linking its left fragment with لله in *Allāh* (الله); the craftsman also further corrupted the Shahadah by managing to distort the name of the prophet (محمد), not representing the loop of the second *mīm* (م), unless the forking of the horizontal line that follows the preceding grapheme *ḥā* (ح) together with following short upright is an unsuccessful attempt to represent *mīm*; the *rā* (ر)of رسول was inventively engraved and thus transformed into a closed figure with the lower side made up by an additional stroke (the original coin/s perhaps had a floral ornament located beneath the ر, creatively interpreted by the craftsman), whereas the left-lower part of the *lām* (ل) is not bent upwards as it should be; other graphemes/words are legible, although badly distorted too.

It is noticeable, at least on the reverse, that the floral ornaments (which are represented in a very coarse way, differing a lot from the exquisite designs on the original coins) are engraved in a sufficiently high relief, almost equal to that of the legends proper: it seems that the die-cutter was not quite sure whether these elements on the sample coin/s were mere decorations or constituted a part of the legend, and correspondingly failed to distinguish them from the text proper.

In our opinion, all the above listed deviations from the norms of Arabic calligraphy and orthography exceed the boundaries of carelessness and lead us to the important conclusion that the die-cutter was most probably unfamiliar with Arabic script. Nor does he appear to have been particularly experienced/skilful in die-cutting in general, let alone Arabic calligraphy and reproducing Arabic words correctly. His abilities were well below the standard for Safavid coinage in the last years of Sultan Husayn's reign.

Thus, in our opinion, all the features of this coin, described above, prove that it could not have been issued in Tiflis, the capital of the east Georgian Kingdom of Kartli, a mint having a tradition and history of issuing Safavid coins for more than a century, or at any other official mint of the Safavid state. The spread of mint-farming during Sultan Husayn's reign opened the doors to both abusing the weight of the minted coins [20, p. 148], and possibly also their metal standard, but the artistry of the die-legends was preserved, as proved by the extant coins. This particular coin under discussion has to be an imitation, and, to our mind, an important one. In the following paragraphs we attempt to come to some conclusions as to when, where and under whose authority it may have been struck.

When was it struck?

The coin bears the date 1131 AH (1718/9 AD), so this date is a *terminus ante quem non*: of course, theoretically speaking, the imitator could indicate the date 1131 even if engraving a die before that, but that is highly improbable. Rather it would seem that an existing coin was copied while producing the die.

It is impossible to be equally certain with regard to the *terminus post quem non*. Generally speaking, currency which is imitated should be popular and prevalent in the area where it is imitated. Sultan Husayn I was deposed by Afghan rebels invading the central provinces of Iran in 1722 AD (1134/5 AH), his last life-time issues bearing the date 1135 AH, while his posthumous issues were different from this imitation (type E vs. type D [1, p. 130, #2686]), being issued up to 1137AH in Mashhad [1, p. 130]. No doubt, that the share of Sultan Husayn's coins in circulation gradually diminished, and were replace by the currency of the political powers which filled the subsequent political vacuum and which had an active coin-issuing policy: the Hotaki Afghans, Ottomans, Safavids Tahmasp II and Abbas III (mostly under the control of Nadir Shah), and then Nadir Shah Afshar himself. (The Russian Empire, which occupied the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea was not involved in any minting activities there other than countermarking Persian civic coppers [12]).

We have no exact data on how fast the natural process of displacing Sultan Husayn's currency by that of his successors may have been. It may not have been accelerated by the introduction of currency of a lower weight standard. Under Gresham's law, the lighter coins would normally have driven out the heavier ones provided they are forced to be considered as having the same face value on the market. However, in the political turmoil that followed the Battle of Gulnabad in 1722, in which the Afghans defeated the Safavid army[31], it is less probable that the population was effectively forced to accept both good and bad money as if they were of equal value. In any case, it is worth noting that the coins of Tahmasp II and Abbas III retained the weight of the most common series of Sultan Husayn's issues, the 3rd standard (toman = 1400 nokhod) [1, pp. 130-131], and seemingly *de facto* this was also done by the Ottomans who occupied the south-eastern Caucasus and Azerbaijan [1, p. 131]. The Afghans, on the other hand, mainly adhered "to the 1200 nokhod standard introduced by Mahmud's opponents during the siege of Isfahan in 1134" (the 4th standard of Sultan Husayn I), possibly with the exception of the 5 shahi coins, which could be struck on the 1520-1540 nokhod standard ("the concurrent use of divergent standards is most unusual, but so were circumstances during the Afghan occupation"[32]) [1, pp. 131-132]. Nadir Shah initially struck coins on the 1400 nokhod standard, but also adopted the 1200 nokhod standard in 1150 AH (1737/8AD) [1, p. 132].

More important with regard the displacement of Sultan Husayn's coins on the monetary market could have been the influx of silver bullion and coin from India, following Nadir Shah's highly successful campaign against the Mughal emperor[33]

[31] The Safavid Army included a strong Georgian cavalry unit, "which fought with desperate courage until completely wiped out, its commander [Rostom, brother of Vakhtang VI] falling on the battlefield" [15, pp. 112-113].

[32] The issue deserves more attention.

[33] It is noteworthy that a Georgian military contingent under the leadership of prince Erekle, the future Erekle II, king of the eastern Georgian kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti, also participated in the Indian campaign. "Erekle's courage and resourcefulness won the shah's highest commendation" [15, p. 142]. However, as far as we know, no Indian coins have so far been found in eastern Georgia.

[20, p. 156]. Nadir Shah returned in 1739 (1151-1152 AH) and the silver booty was used to start large-scale coining activities.

Nevertheless, it seems that Sultan Husayn's coins remained in circulation for a while. There were two hoards unearthed in Georgia in 1830-1835 and in 1929 or 1930: the 1830-1835 hoard comprised abbasis of Husayn I struck at Tiflis, Iravan and Tabriz in 1712-1716 (i.e. in 1124-1129/1130 AH, the majority, if not all, probably being coins of the 2nd standard - no more information is available on the hoard) and 13 onluks/abbasis of Ahmad III struck in Tiflis, Revan and Tabriz after 1723 (1135/6 AH) [13, p. 99, Hoard XXII]; 15 coins from the 1929-1930 hoard were examined by the late Davit Kapanadze and turned out to be Tiflis coins of Sultan Husayn I dated 1130 AH and Nadir Shah's coins dated 1150 and 1151 AH (1737/8/9) [13, p. 99, Hoard XXIII]. Of course, both hoards could have been the long-term accumulations rather than necessarily representing the monetary circulation at the very moment when they were concealed; however, they may indicate that Sultan Husayn's currency remained in circulation at least till 1738/9 (1151 AH), and, therefore could have been imitated even after his dethronement.

However, in our opinion, the chances of Sultan Husayn's 3rd standard coins being imitated steadily diminished with every year that elapsed after the dethronement of this Safavid ruler in 1722, and became minimal by the early 1150s AH (roughly 1740s), when Nadir put into circulation the silver plundered in India. This supposition is supported by the fact that the only other coins reportedly found with the imitation were Sultan Husayn's abbasis of the 3rd standard, minted before 1134/5AH (1722/3 AD), no later coins accompanying it. Thus, as the coin in question bears the date 1131 AH, (1131 AH = 1718/9 AD), it is probably safe to assume that this imitation was produced at some point after 1718, and almost certainly before the 1740s, probably at the end of the 1710s or in the 1720s.

Who struck it and why?

The existence of an imitative coin like this could be the result of either private or state initiative. Such private persons could be malefactors, willing to make profit simply by forging coins - forgeries of Sultan Husayn's 3rd standard abbasis are not unknown (cf. *Figs. 11-12*). The coin in question, however, is of normal weight and seems to have a normal (or nearly normal?) metal composition: it does not look like a contemporary forgery.

Fig. 11. Contemporary forgery of Safavid, Sultan Husayn I abbasi, silvered (?) AE, mint name indicated as Nakhjavan and the date as 1132? (weight 3.52 g, size 25-26 mm, die axis 1:30 o'clock). Zeno Oriental Coins Database #26395.

Fig. 12. Contemporary forgery of Safavid, Sultan Husayn I abbasi, silvered (?) alloy (reportedly roughly 20% tin and 80% copper), mint name indicated as Iravan and the date as 1131 (weight 5.01 g, size 22 mm, die axis NA). Zeno Oriental Coins Database #23860.

We see no reason why any private person, whether it be a merchant or craftsman, a representative of the nobility, or the Christian Church (either Georgian or Armenian) would have taken the risk of getting involved in the criminal act of minting coins, thereby evading the established network of official Safavid mints (which had an open minting prolicy at the time), for the sake of just gaining the profit derived from the difference between the market price of the bullion and the coined metal; or why such a criminal act or activity would have been tolerated by the authorities. As far as the official Safavid mints are concerned, the system of farming out the mints could have led to various abuses but this would not explain the corrupt Arabic and low quality of the die-cutting which is so evident with this imitation. The die-engravers at the official mints were certainly capable of producing coins with neat and correct legends, as is proved by the extant coins.

In our opinion, this imitation could could have been the result of a *state* initiative, i.e. be produced by a political power, exercising an effective dominance over some geographic area which was well acquainted with Safavid coinage, but was not effectively controlled by the Safavids.

The reasons for imitating Sultan Husayn's coins could be as follows:

- Make profit by producing a crude forgery, i.e. a coin with drastically diminished weight and/or metal content, which is not the case with this imitation;
- Make profit by slightly diminishing the weight and/or metal content, producing a coin which would be more or less acceptable to the market but would still bring some profit to the issuer. Activities of this kind were practiced at Safavid mints proper, but the die-cutting technique and calligraphic abilities of the craftsmen employed at the latter were much better;
- Make profit by simply running their own mint: the income from mint operations was quite significant. For instance, Vakhtang VI, king of the Georgian province of Kartli used to impose a 2% tax on the total value of all the silver smelted at the Tiflis mint [13, p. 31], which was producing regular Safavid coins in the name of Sultan Husayn I;
- Utilise bullion by converting it into currency. It is noteworthy that the Safavids appeared to have operated an open minting system, allowing anyone with bullion metal to have it converted into legal currency. The aforementioned "political power" may well not have had easy access to official Safavid mints, and could have preferred to coin the bullion itself;
- Facilitate trade and economy in general by minting currency.

Where could it have been struck?

Determining at least the approximate area where this imitation could have been issued, using all the information on the coin as well as other sources, could provide important data on the economical history of the region and maybe even point to the authority behind this activity.

The mint could have been a mobile one, not bound to some specific location: "during a demonstration of medieval English coin manufacture by David Greenhalgh at the Ashmolean Museum in 1998, it was made clear that the entirety of a coiner's equipment, including all the tools needed for die production, could easily have been carried on a single mule or donkey. The same should also have been true in medieval Iran" [2, p. 96], and undoubtedly in the neighbouring regions too.

Nevertheless, there are a couple of general points that may be made with regard to the area where this imitation may have been produced. We have already seen that the die-cutter was unfamiliar with Arabic script and was not very experienced in die-cutting in general: that points to an area with no professional and/(or?) experienced workers employed and no particular literary knowledge of Arabic and Persian. That location needed to have been within the sphere of monetary circulation of Safavid coins, i.e. on territory either bordering the Safavid state, or territory

where Safavid coins were at least popular, but not on the territory of the Safavid state proper, where an imitation revealing such an ignorance of Arabic and such deficient workmanship is unlikely to have occurred.

We incline to the idea that the area where imitations of this kind could have been produced was some land in the Caucasus, in the region squeezed between and partially dominated by three major local super-powers: the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Safavids. Unfortunately we do not have information about the existence of any other similar coins and their find spots that would help confirm this feeling.

Nevertheless, we have several grounds for this assumption. First of all, this is the somewhat obscure find spot of this coin, i.e. in the vicinity of Ganja, modern Azerbaijan. Even if the group of coins in which it came was not a hoard but rather a dealer's collection, we should still keep in mind that the imitation's "local", i.e. Caucasian, provenance is quite probable, as the coin was brought from Ganja.

Of course, the imitation could have been produced far from that region as well, and actually being a full-weight silver coin, travel to Ganja area freely, despite the corrupt legends, which might have been able to pass unnoticed, as all the Safavid coins were probably subject to more or less free circulation within the Safavid state. On the other hand, Rabino di Borgomale wrote the following referring to the Safavid state during the reign of Sultan Husayn I: "Cornelius de Bruyn (1704, p. 287) says that the only coin generally current in trade in the whole kingdom was the Huwayza *muhammadī* struck by the predecessors of the ruling sovereign" [19, p. 14, footnote 1].

The existence of the mintname on the coin is clearly important, but due to coin's imitative nature, we should be careful not to overestimate the importance of the fact that the rather crudely engraved mint name is Tiflis, although it does probably point indirectly at least to a Caucasian, if not Georgian origin. Normally, only a widely-circulated and popular coin is imitated; that means that the 3rd standard abbasis of Sultan Husayn should have been common in the area where this imitation originated from. This latter could be any province of the Safavid state as well as the neighbouring and, therefore, trade-partner countries, which would, to some extent undoubtedly have been included in the Safavid currency circulation zone. As for the mintname, the name of any Safavid mint of the time could have been imitated; nevertheless, the mint name common for the coins circulating in the area had much more chance of getting imitated. Again, while one has to be careful not to draw far-reaching conclusions based on the mint name of a sole specimen, our attention is, nevertheless, repeatedly attracted to the region where the city of Tiflis was located, i.e. to the Caucasus, as that was evidently the region where Tiflis silver coins issued in the name of the Safavid shahs were the most widespread currency, definitely so in the southern Caucasus [13, pp. 72, 110].

However, we certainly cannot claim that the Caucasus was the only place where southeast Caucasian coins were circulating freely. Safavid coins minted in the Caucasus and adjacent regions managed to penetrate as far as India[34]. There exist, for instance, Tiflis, Iravan, Shamakha and Tabriz coins of Abbas II bearing the countermarks of The Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) applied at Paliakate (modern Pulicat) and Colombo [16, pp. 24-25] (for Tiflis panjshahi coin with VOC countermark please see *Fig. 13*, also see Zeno Oriental Coins Database ##22510, 22511). Evidently, Safavid currency was quite popular: "about the middle of the 17th c. the Persian silver abbasis and mahmudis were much in demand by the Company at their factories in Southern India and in Ceylon and were imported in large quantities from Persia" [16, p. 24]. Safavid coins of the rulers after Abbas II apparently remained quite popular in southern India and Ceylon. For instance, according to Kutelia, there exist Tiflis coins (for instance one of Sulayman I) with the countermark of one of the European East India Companies[35] [13, p. 31]. The free circulation of Safavid coins made the VOC administration issue a special edict in 1688, instructing that all abbasi and muhammadi coins had to be countermarked [5, p. 206]; an edict of 1691 instructed that the aforementioned coins should have been taken from circulation and declared bullion [5, pp. 206-207], and the edict of 1702 declared all Persian money illegal [11, p. 281]. It is evident, that the latter was in circulation in India at least in the first years of Sultan Husayn's reign (1694-1722). The specifics and scale of Safavid currency circulation in India deserve separate research, but it does not seem very likely that imitation coins of this would originate in India only to travel all the way to the southern Caucasus to be found in the vicinity of Ganja – all the more so as silver mostly used to flow out from Iran to India, and not vice versa [9, p. 28; 20, p. 140].

It is important here not to forget that the imitation bears grave mistakes in the Arabic legends, even in the Shahadah. Even if these were accidentally committed by an illiterate craftsman, they obviously failed to be attended to by whoever was exercising the final control over the minted product. This would seem to preclude the possibility that this imitation was issued in any country with a prodominantly Muslim population and Islamic authorities, or at least in any country with a well-established as well as literary Islamic tradition, with literacy in Arabic readily available to whoever decided to issue the imitative coinage. In the areas where this was not the case, the mistakes in Arabic, particularly in the Islamic creed, would not knowingly have been tolerated, but could maybe have passed unnoticed.

Anyway, taking into account the religious make-up of the territories where Safavid coins were popular, and searching for a country or state which was not well acquainted with Islam, we naturally again end up with the Caucasus and adjacent regions. By the first quarter of the 18th century there were still predominantly Christian Georgians and Armenians living there (some Georgians and Armenians were forcedly converted to Islam during the centuries of Moslem domination). We should also not forget about the more or less islamicised peoples of the northern Caucasus.

As far as the Caucasus is concerned, we shall study the political make-up of the region by the early 1720s (cf. Map 1). As can be seen, the region was squeezed between and partially dominated by three major local super-powers: the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Safavids. In our opinion it is possible to safely leave out the territory under effective control of these three states.

The western neighbour of the Safavids, the Ottoman Empire, held sway over south-western Georgia with its partially still Christian population, as well as part of Armenia, but all the real power there was in the hands of the Muslim administration. Arabic script was well-known and widely used; the state had its own well-established coinage; the official religion was Sunni Islam. Historically, Safavid Iran was one of the major enemies of the Ottomans, the latter even invading the former in 1723. All these factors make the emergence of imitations of Safavid abbasis with corrupt engraving and a Shia creed on the territory of the Ottoman Empire quite improbable. Ottoman intolerance towards Safavid coinage is further proved by the fact that, after having occupied the former Safavid provinces in and after 1723, the Ottomans started to issue coins of Ottoman type (albeit possibly on a Safavid weight standard) [1, p. 131].

The northern neighbour of the Safavids, the Christian Russian Empire, including its outposts in the northern Caucasus, had an established and developed monetary system and "European-style" coinage, and can also be safely excluded from the list of possible issuers of the Safavid-style imitative coinage. The Russian Empire's dislike of hammered coinage gained a foothold in the epoch of Peter I and his immediate successors - the advanced technique employed by the Russians presents a stark

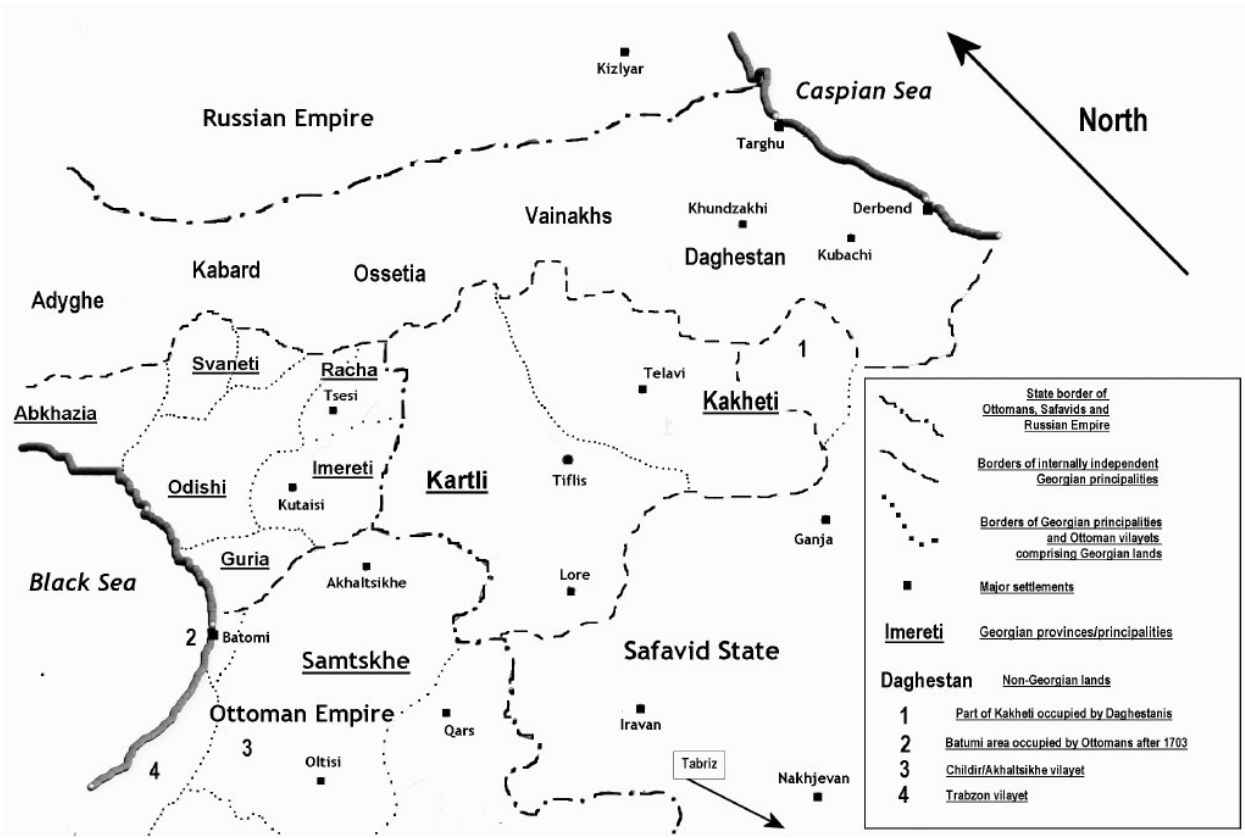
[34] We express our gratitude to Mr Jan Lingen for the valuable information on this topic which he kindly provided us.

[35] Danish East India Company is named in the original text [13, p. 31], however, we have a strong feeling that the Dutch East India Company was meant.

contrast to the mediocre imitation in question, which was hammer-struck, as was normal for the original Safavid coins too. It is noteworthy, that Russian domination on the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea apparently did not leave any monetary vestiges apart from countermarking Persian civic coppers with a double-headed eagle, the Russian Empire state emblem [12]. If there was any foreign coin ever imitated in the Russian Empire, it was a Dutch golden ducat, from 1735 [21].

As for the Safavid state proper, we have already expressed our views on the impossibility of striking this imitation on its territory.

With regards the Caucasus, however, there were still left certain areas undoubtedly well acquainted with Safavid coinage, but lacking the strict control of the local super-powers, which would prevent the basically illegal minting activities by some local political powers. The combination of these two factors, i.e. prevalence of Sultan Husayn's coins in circulation and no effective control by either Ottoman or Safavid or Russian administration created in our opinion a sort of a monetary black hole, an ideal environment for minting imitative coinage.



If we look at the map (Map 1), we can see that there certainly existed the territories meeting these criteria: **West Georgia**, inhabited by Christian Georgians, from time to time paying tribute to the Ottomans and suffering from the periodic incursions of the latter, but not being directly incorporated into the Ottoman Empire; and the **northern Caucasus**, inhabited by a multitude of different ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, some of them remarkably small, all dwelling in the predominantly high-mountain areas. These had been islamicised in the Middle ages[36], perhaps superficially in some areas, practised mainly Sunni Islam, and hence often showed some allegiance to the Ottomans.

Caucasian origin: West Georgian version

The partition of the united Georgian kingdom in the 15th century into several smaller and weaker political entities ending up within the Ottoman and Persian spheres of influence was one of the most important turning points in the history of the Georgian nation. This division, parallel with the rivalry of the three branches of the Bagrationi royal house: those of Kartli, Kakheti and Imereti (historical provinces of Georgia), turned out to be an insuperable obstacle to national reunification [15, p. 47].

The decentralisation processes lead to further dissolution of the west Georgian kingdom of Imereti, which by the beginning of the 18th century, had already been further divided into the princedoms of Guria, Odishi, Abkhazia, Svaneti and Imereti proper, this latter term referring in a narrow sense only to the eastern part of West Georgia. It was only this area that remained under the de facto control of the King of Imereti. Even in Imereti, however, the influential princely family of Abashidze often contested the power and the throne, sometimes even successfully, while the Eristavi (duke) of Racha, the latter located to the north of Imereti, at times attained virtual independence.

The country was ravaged from the mid-17th century onward by a particularly savage civil war, weakening all the local princes and leaving them at the mercy of the sultan's frontier representatives, the Turco-Georgian Jaqeli pashas at Akhaltsikhe (in south-west Georgia, already directly incorporated into the Ottoman empire). These pashas often played a decisive role in the political intrigues of western Georgia[37] [15, pp. 22, 28].

[36] The process accelerated with the political weakening of Christian Georgia following Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubarnī's and Mongol invasions.

[37] "The Ottoman government could probably have annexed the country outright, but preferred to keep it as a sort of nursery for slaves", which "would have been lost to the Turks had western Georgia been placed under direct Ottoman rule, since Islamic law forbids the enslavement or mutilation of even Jews and Christians once they are living under the direct aegis of Moslem rule" [15, p. 22]. Other factors, saving western Georgia from the Ottomans were undoubtedly the impregnability of the country and the irreconcilability of the people. Moreover, as Vakhushti Bagrationi proposed, the pashas of Akhaltsikhe were not interested in the final conquest of western Georgia. While ruling the frontier province vilayet of the Ottoman empire they were free from participating in strenuous Ottoman campaigns in remote regions. In fact, they even used to provoke unrest in western Georgia to evade such military duties on the pretext of caring for the security on the north-eastern border of the

After the joint, but unsuccessful attempt of west Georgian princes to overthrow Ottoman dominance in 1703, the latter became even more prevailing: the princedom of Guria lost Batumi with its hinterland, and the Ottomans garrisoned even more locations in west Georgia[38] [7, pp. 455-459]. Ottoman rule was further strengthened after 1723, when the Ottoman Empire annexed east Georgia and the entire western part of the former Safavid dominions in the southern Caucasus [7, pp. 462-470].

On the other hand, not all parts of west Georgia were equally dependent on the Ottoman empire in the first half of the 18th century; the provinces lying more to the north and further from the Black Sea (despite Russian efforts, still basically an "Ottoman lake), felt more secure and less obedient [7, pp. 471-474].

As far as the economy is concerned, it is a well-known fact that, despite being within the sphere of Ottoman and not Safavid political influence, west Georgia was inclined towards Safavid Iran in terms of trade, or at least of monetary circulation: Safavid silver held a dominating or at least a substantial position in the monetary circulation of west Georgia[39] [13, pp. 82, 99-100].

The idea of imitating foreign coins, or better say coins of foreign types (Tiflis was located in Georgia proper, and Tiflis silver currency minted in the name of say Sultan Husayn I was not that "foreign" for the residents of west Georgia) was well rooted in west Georgia.

There exist Georgian imitations of Ottoman akches, presumably dating back as far as the 15th century [3, pp. 16-22], but Safavid coinage was evidently also imitated in west Georgia; possibly there were some attempts to imitate small denominations of the contemporary Safavid coins there already in the 16th century [13, pp. 74, 78-80], whereas for the 17th century we have the notes of the missionary Father Lamberti writing that the ruler of Odishi had struck some abbasi-like coins [14, p. 91; 15, p. 30; 13, p. 111]; while another European, travelling to Georgia, Tavernier, indicated that the King of Imereti was minting Persian money to foster the trade between Persia and Imereti [13, pp. 82, 111; 15, p. 30]. Dobrovolskiy even considered some silver coins (State Hermitage, inventory ##8819 and 8820, weighing correspondingly 7.67 and 7.78 g) from the Ambrolauri hoard to be crude, west Georgian imitations, confirming the literary data [6, pp. 133-134]. Kutelia, however, noted that some of the Tiflis coins minted in the beginning of the 17th century were equally crude and concluded that Dobrovolskiy's supposition should be considered a mere hypothesis [13, p. 75]. We personally did not have an opportunity to study the State Hermitage specimens, and the reproduction of #8820 which was published is of a mediocre quality [6, Table XIV, #15]. What can be seen, in our opinion is more in line with an imitative origin for the coin.

Taking into account all the above, it does seems plausible for Safavid coins to have been imitated somewhere in west Georgia. Moreover, coins struck in the east Georgian city of Tiflis, the nearest and one of the most prolific mints for the Safavids, were naturally the primary candidates to be imitated.

The political situation, in terms of the volatility of the Ottoman domination [7, pp. 471-474] and civil chaos or at least unrest in the country might perhaps have constituted the proper ambiance/atmosphere for the minting activities in the name of the Safavids.

It is also noteworthy, that in 1720-1721 the throne of the Kingdom of Imereti was taken by Alexander V Bagrationi (King of Imereti in 1721-1741, 1741-1746, 1749-1752), who had grown up in Tiflis at the court of Vakhtang VI, the King of Kartli (in east Georgia). Alexander V was aided in occupying the throne by troops of the pasha of Akhaltsikhe and those of Vakhtang VI, the latter under the command of prince Vakhushti, Vakhtang's illegitimate son. Alexander V was sponsored by Vakhtang VI financially as well (probably till the latter escaped to the Russian Empire in 1724). Alexander V in his turn used to reciprocate; for instance, the army of Imereti accompanied that of Kartli during the offensive against Ganja in support of the Russian Empire army of Peter I in 1721-1722 [7, pp. 461-462]. Alexander V in our opinion could easily have conceived the minting of a coinage imitating Tiflis abbasis in the name of Sultan Husayn I.

Generally, the political relationship between west Georgia and Tiflis in east Georgia was quite intense and not limited to the connections between the these two personalities; it extended over the previous years to Alexander's predecessors as well. The King of Imereti in 1702-1707 was Giorgi V Abashidze, a member of the prominent noble family, who later took refuge at the court of Vakhtang VI in Tiflis, dying there in 1722. Vakhtang VI also supported Giorgi VI Bagrationi, King of Imereti in 1707-1711, 1712-1713, 1714-1720 [7, p. 460].

In addition to the political circumstances, it should be noted that probably most of the silver supply used to enter the Safavid state "via the Ottoman empire and, to a lesser degree, through Russia", so that "most of the active mints were situated in the north-west where they will have processed the silver received from the Ottomans and Russia" [9, pp. 28-29], and European silver coins were an important source of bullion for the Safavids [20, pp. 141-143]. West Georgia, producing some silk as well as other export goods [7, p. 480], seemingly lay on a silver import route, or close to it.

Moreover, silver might have been mined in west Georgia proper: the venerated contemporary Georgian military leader, historian and geographer. prince Vakhushti, a natural son of Vakhtang VI. noted that silver ore (ვერცხლის ლითონი, i.e. "metal of silver", or "silver metal", verbatim) was reported in Tsesi [4, p. 159], one of the most important settlements in Racha. This reference appears to have been wrong[40], but still points to the Georgians' general preoccupation with mining.

In 1737, Alexander V, whom we have already mentioned above, sent to the Russian government samples of various ores mined in Imereti, including those of *silver*, gold, tin, copper, iron and lead [7. p. 479].

Could Alexander V of Imereti be the person who minted some coins say in Kutaisi, his capital, imitating the coinage of Tiflis, the city where he had grown up, at some time during 1721-1741 (the years for the first reign being 1721-1741, 1741-1746 and 1749-1752 for the following reigns), maybe to facilitate trade or to produce some easily disposable money?

One way or another, we consider it quite possible that this imitation was minted in west Georgia and perhaps constitutes a sole surviving testimony to the efforts of some local ruler to struck his own currency.

Caucasian origin: Daghestani version

Despite our reasoning set out above, it has to be said that a north Caucasian origin for the coin looks equally, if not more likely.

Prima facie, the candidacy of the northern Caucasus for the area where Safavid coinage could have been imitated seemed to be less probable compared to western Georgia, with its century-long tradition of issuing its own coinage[41] or imitating the foreign ones. It would be reasonable to suppose that the mountain dwellers of the northern Caucasus were less involved in monetary matters in general, even in terms of money circulation, let alone issuing money of their own. It is notable how prince Vakhushti characterised the early 18th century Ossetians and their involvement in the market economy in one of his major works

Ottoman empire [7, pp. 463-464]. All that would have increased their importance and political weight and would have helped them to feel more independent from Islambol.

[38] Garrisons were mainly composed of Islamisiced Georgians [7, pp. 463-464].

[39] let alone east Georgia, whereas south-west Georgia, which had already been fully incorporated into the Ottoman Empire used Ottoman coins [13, pp. 99-100],

[40] One has to note that a significant inaccuracy crept into [7], where it was noted that the silver ore was *actually mined* in Tsesi, referring exactly to this very note of prince Vakhushti about *the reported presence of silver* in the area [7. p. 479, footnote 2].

[41] The first coins were minted in western Georgia, known as Colchis, in the 6th-5th c. BC [14, pp. 6-9].

"The Description of the Kingdom of Georgia": "არა უწყიან თეთრი, არამედ თეთრისა წილ ნაბადი, ჩოხა, ხამი, შალი, ცხვარი, ძროხა და ტყვე, და ვაჭრობენ ურთიერთსა შინა ამით" ("they are not acquainted with money, but have felt cloaks, chokhas[42], brown holland, wool, sheep, cows and prisoners instead, and that is what they use to trade with each other"[43]) [4, p. 111].

We need to bear in mind that Vakhushti was a person of superior position: besides his interest in history and, particularly, in geography, he was also a prominent statesman and military leader. He governed Kartli in 1722, in the absence of his father Vakhtang and his brother Bakar, the successor to the former. Occupying such a position and having interests like those mentioned (he produced several advanced maps of the Caucasus), Prince Vakhushti was undoubtedly well-acquainted with the situation both in Georgia and the adjacent regions, so his information should be quite reliable, particularly if we take into account the immediate connection between Georgia and Ossetia - Vakhtang VI had invaded and subjugated part of Ossetia only shortly before that, namely in 1711, as reported by Vakhushti [22, pp. 117-118].

One could presume that the above statement of Vakhushti might reasonably be extended to other peoples of the northern Caucasus in the first half of the 18th century as well, making that region a much less likely candidate for issuing the imitation, compared to west Georgia. That, however, would be a risky, and, indeed, erroneous thing to do.

We managed to discover valuable information provided by another contemporary: Johan Gustaw Gerber, son of a lieutenant in the Saxon army, who joined the Russian army in either 1710 or 1715 as a poruchik (lieutenant). Having been in action already since 1706, he made a career in Russian service. He was first promoted to the rank of captain, and then, in 1721, in reward for his "knowledge, allegiance and skilfulness", to that of major. While involved in the preparation for Peter I's Persian campaign, Gerber surveyed the coastline of the Caspian Sea. In 1722-1723 he personally participated in the march and was even in command of artillery when Russian troops captured Baku. He stayed in the Caucasus till 1728, actively participating in negotiations with the Turks[44]. All the information he collected gave him a basis for composing his major work[45]: "The Reports on Nations and Lands located on the West Side of the Caspian Sea between Astrakhan and the River Kura and on their State in 1728" [8, pp. 10-11].

The testimony of a person who was so well-acquainted with the Caucasus has particular significance. Gerber noted that coins were produced in the village of Kubachi in Daghestan[46], famous for its residents who had been specialising in crafts for centuries. This is how he described this activity of the Kubachians: "делают турецкие и персидские серебряные деньги; начали испытание делать российские рублевки; однакож сии деньги имеют надлежащий свой вес серебра, что оных везде берут" ("They make Turkish and Persian silver money/coins; have started trying to make Russian rouble coins; these coins have the appropriate weight of silver that they should have, so that they are accepted everywhere") [Gerber as cited by 8, p. 135].

The existence of Kubachian coins is further confirmed by the fact that, according to an official document of the Russian Empire, when money was culled in Kizlyar, a Russian stronghold in the northern Caucasus, in 1744, "12 roubles in copper poltinniks, 4 Kubachi roubles, of light weight…" ("полтинников медных 12 рублей, кубачинских четыре рубли, маловесных...") were detected [Central State Archive of the Daghestani Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Kizlyar Commandant Fund, File 3897, sheet 36, as cited by 8, p. 135]. As we see, Kubachian currency is listed as something common and self-explanatory, along with other kinds of defective money/forgeries.

The coincidence between Gerber's evidence and the time period and area that we were considering is striking. In our opinion, the imitation we are researching could easily constitute the "Persian silver money" minted in Kubachi, Daghestan, at some time during the period 1718-1728 (the coin bears the date 1131 [AH] which corresponds to 1718/1719, and Gerber finished his work by 1728).

Gerber's indication of "appropriate weight of silver" also corresponds well with the 5.20 g. weight of the imitation (however, Kubachi roubles detected in Kizlyar were of light weight, in contrast to what was noted by Gerber by 1728, 16 years earlier).

The imitation bears the Shia creed, but the Kubachians were Sunnis [10]; however, that probably would not prevent their craftsman from starting a profitable minting business. The Kubachians, according to the above-mentioned documents, showed a remarkable impartiality in selecting an object to imitate, imitating currencies of all types: Ottoman, Persian, Russian.

Regardless of the general skilfulness of Kubachian craftsmen, one would not expect them to be on a par with experienced die-cutters at traditional/regular Safavid mints. This could account for the faulty workmanship we see on the present coin. As could the relative lack of a literary tradition in the *Land of Mountains* (Daghestan), which, in its turn, would be responsible for the inadequate Arabic. On the other hand, one could certainly still argue that Sunni Kubachians would not have produced coins with the Shia creed and with deficient Arabic legends.

At this stage, we can only say that the Daghestani version of the origin of the imitative currency of the described type still seems to us to be quite convincing, taking into account the direct testimony of a contemporary personality of Gerber's importance, and certainly more convincing than the west Georgian version.

More research is necessary: new finds of other imitations of this type as well as a thorough search for relevant materials in the archives of the Russian Federation would hopefully yield more certain results. Our work, so far, is therefore limited to an initial publication of this imitative coin, and formulating some hypotheses with regard to its possible origin.

[42] Chokha is the Georgian/Caucasian national male suit.

[43] We did not make an attempt to preserve the archaic style of the 18th c. Georgian author while translating the text into English.

[44] Upon his return to St. Petersburg, Gerber was promoted to colonel; in 1730 he was made a member of the funeral committee of Peter II; in 1731 he led an unsuccessful Russian expedition to Khiva and Bukhara. Johan Gustaw Gerber died from illness in 1734 while conveying Russian siege artillery intended for action against the Ottoman fortress of Azov [8, p. 11].

[45] I. Gerber also authored two other works: A memorandum on the rational exploitation of the Caucasian shores of the Caspian Seas occupied by the Russian Empire dating back to 1733 (first published in Tbilisi, Georgia in 1937) [8, pp. 11-12, Footnote 19] and a review of "Prof. Bayer's" work on "Russian Geography of the 10th c." [8, p. 11].

[46] Now within the Russian Federation, coordinates being N 42° 5' 8"; E 47° 36' 11".

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A HOARD OF CLIPPED AND COUNTERMARKED KHUSRO II DRACHMS FROM THE ILI VALLEY IN XINJIANG

By P.A. van't Haaff

In the summer of 2007 part of a hoard of 66 clipped drachms of Khusro II type coins was sold on Ebay. These coins were unearthed in the Ili valley in Xinjiang in western China. Most of them were heavily corroded and all were clipped. The group of 66 coins is illustrated on ZENO.RU _Oriental coins Database # 41628 (www.zeno.ru) Of 11 of these coins, which are not very corroded, I recorded a weight varying between 1.2 and 2.5 g, whereas clipped Khusro II coins usually weigh 2.3 – 3.10 g.

The illustrations are up to 1 ½ x actual size.

Coin 1 : Mint AY; Year 37?; 1.40 gr.; 21x22 mm
CM at 2

Coin 2; Mint AY; Year 34?; 1.87 gr.; 22x23 mm
CM at 2

Coin 3; Mint KL; year 35; 1.56 gr. ; 24 mm
CM at 12

Coin 7; BYSh; Year 31; 2.1 gr. 23 mm.
CM at 2

Coin 5; Mint AT; Year 38; 1.49 gr.; 22 mm.
CM at 2

Coin 6; GW/GN; Year ?; 1.47 gr.; 21x22 mm.
CM at 1

Coin 9; Mint DA ?; Year 39; 1.4 gr 22x23mm.

Coin 11, Mint ?; Year ?; 1.2 gr; 19x21 mm.

I identified years 31-39 from 6 mints. All coins have on the obverse at 12-2 hrs Göbl countermark 64, always on or within the double line around the bust and most are perpendicular to the rim with the top end pointing outwards.The CM has the character of a tamga.

Göbl (Documente; Band II page 201) mentions one coin with CM 64 (Khusro II year 35, mint AY) of unknown provenance and gives no illustration.

CNG's electronic auction 176 lot 333 included a Peroz imitation (Göbl 289) with, in the margin, a countermark similar but not identical to CM64. It is squarish and struck parallel to the coin's margin, and not perpendicular to the coin margin. A similar coin has also been seen offered for sale on eBay.

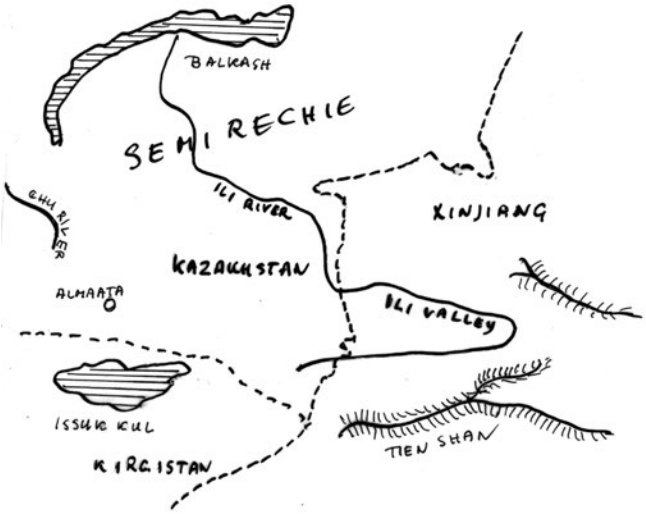
11 coins from a hoard of 60 shown on Ebay				
	Mint	**Year**	**Weight in grams**	**Size in mm**
1	AY	37	1.40	21x22
2	AY	34	1.87	22x23
3	KL	35	1.56	24
4	BYsh	31	1.43	23x24
5	AT	38?	1.49	22
6	GW/GN	?	1.47	21x22
7	BYsh?	36	2.1	23.4
8	Jazd	31	1.9	21-21.7
9	DA?	39	1.4	22x23
10	?	?	2.5	24x25
11	?	?	1.2	19x21

The location of the tamga on these coins is different from the countermark location on Hephthalite Sasanian copies, where the countermark is always in the band outside the image. If these coins had been Hephthalite coins, the clipping would have resulted in removing part of the countermark. On none of the coins in this study is any part of the countermark clipped off. That means that the countermark was struck after the clipping.

On the 11 coins I could study, the obverse and reverse images seem to indicate that they are Khusro II originals except perhaps coin 1. However, the coins could also be clipped Arab-Sasanian coins of the Khusro type (which have no Arabic legends). The weight of clipped Arab-Sasanian coins varies between 2.20 and 3.20 g (see Album 2002). If these coins were indeed Arab-Sasanian Khusro types, they will have been additionally clipped to their present dimensions.

Providence of the Hoard

The coins were unearthed in the Ili River valley in the north-westernmost part of Xinjiang, about 100 km east of the Chinese/Kazakhstan border, some 300 km east of Alma Ata (co-ordinates 43.54 -43.39 and 80.58-81.59 on Google-Earth).



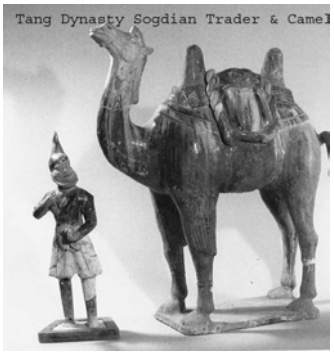
The Ili valley lies east of the Semirechie (7-rivers) region, which is in Kazakhstan. The Ili is one of the 7 rivers, flowing into Lake Balkash. The valley lies in the present day Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture with its capital, Kuytun, on the railway between Urumqi and the Kazakhstan border. This is a city of 285.000

inhabitants (25% Kazakh; 30-40% Han Chinese; 25% Uighurs and others. Some of the Uighur clans claim descent from the pre-Turkic Tokharians, whose language was Indo-European and who had "Caucasian" physical traits like fair skin and hair and blue eyes.

Political/Social situation in the area where the coins were found

The political/social situation in the 6th-11th century was complicated and fluid. Chinese, Sogdians, Turkic and nomadic tribes were struggling for dominance, alone or in different combinations. Semirechie and the more eastern region of the Ili valley over the centuries had different overlords, sometimes ruling over a large area, while, at other times, the area was split up into a multitude of petty kingdoms.

From the scarce extant written documents from Chinese and Muslim sources we get an unclear picture of the real power structure. In the 7th and 8th centuries, Chinese influence was strong. In 751 Chinese troops were defeated on the Talas river, south-west of Lake Balkash and west of the Ili valley and retreated. Thereafter, Arab and Turkic forces struggled for dominance and, for a time, the Turkic khans prevailed. The Turks allowed the local potentates considerable freedom, as is illustrated by the wide variety of coinage in Chach and Semirechie. Their interest was mainly in the tribute due to them and in extending the range of tribute-paying tribes. They let the local rulers rule more or less as they pleased.



In Semirechie the Chinese influence remained especially apparent. The local Turkic rulers issued coins in the Chinese cash-style, whereas the Sogdian cultural influence is illustrated by the Sogdian legends on these coins.

Sogdian Traders

The economy was dominated by Sogdians traders who had, for centuries, been the driving force on the Silk Road. But the traders did not only put their imprint on the economy. In the 7th century, Sogdian trade was strongly supported by a large-scale emigration of Sogdian noble families from the Bukhara region, fleeing from the tyrannical rulers there. The emigrants founded a large number of urban settlements in the fertile valleys of the Talas and Chu rivers and further east up to Lake Issuk Kul, including the Ili river valley. The settlements were numerous and often not more than 12 km from each other particular in areas suitable for agriculture. This short distance between the settlements proves that these cities were permanent agricultural settlements and not just on-the-way stations for the Sogdian trader caravans. The settlements were prosperous and certainly a stimulant for Sogdian trade in the easterly direction of the valleys north of the Tien Shan mountain range. (De La Vaissière, page 106-107 and Kamishev, page 14).

The Chinese Xuan Zangin 630 reports that the Sogdian traders dominated the economy and they extended their commercial domain to the east and the steppe region. From the 6th till the 8th century there was a constant movement of Sogdian groups between Semirechie and Gansu. The Sogdian settlements in Donhuang and Turfan are well known.

Who were the issuers of the coins?

From the 6th till the early 8th century, according to Chinese sources, Sasanian coins circulated in the Turfan region. Hoards are reported from Xinjiang (Turfan, Kuche and unspecified Xinjiang locations). Sasanian coins are also reported from locations outside Xinjiang such as Lo-yang, Xi-an, Chang-an, Xi-ning and Hebei and Quandong provinces on the eastern seaboard. These coins, found along the various routes of the Silk Road most likely arrived there in the purses of Sogdian traders. The Hebei and Quandong coins may have reached China via the sea route. (I thank Tjong Ding Yih, who provided this information in a private communication).

In the hoard I noted some curious aspects.

- All 66 coins have one imprint of the same tamga, which is, apart from the coin Göbl mentioned, not recorded from any another find.
- The tamga is placed differently from other countermarked coins
- The coins seem to have been clipped before the tamga was placed.
- The coins seem to be clipped, original Khusro II coins from mints from all over Persia.
- The coins used for this article are from years 31-39. The coin reported by Göbl is from year 35 and mint AY, which fits in with our coins.
- The weight of all the coins is well below the weights normally found with clipped Sasanian coins either original, Hephthalite or Arab-Sasanian

There are two possible scenarios for the history of the hoard.
In the first of these, the coins were issued by a ruler of a petty kingdom in the Ili valley, where the coins were found.

- The coins used were Khusro II originals or Arab-Sasanian coins of the "Khusro" type (which have no Arabic legends).
- Clipping of these coins to a weight below 2.1 g, which is the weight of the heaviest coin recorded in the hoard (possibly re-clipping for coins already clipped to dirham weight).
- Placing the tamga validated the coins with a local weight standard for circulation in his kingdom.
- The coins originated somewhere more to the west, where Sasanian types circulated and they were buried by a (Sogdian) trader and were (part of) his trading capital.

For the 2nd scenario a few question have to be answered:

- Who struck the tamga? Could that be a ruler somewhere west of Semirechie, where a Sasanian type of coinage circulated. The coinage of that area has been relatively well studied and there is to my knowledge no coin published with countermark 64.
- The other question is: who clipped the coins to the low weight? There is no other post-Sasanian weight standard for silver other than the dirham weight. This leads to the conclusion that the clipping was not likely done by a local ruler west of Semirechie. The other possibility is that the trader who buried the coins clipped them. I have not yet found a reason why a trader would clip coins in his trade capital to an unusual weight standard.

Conclusion.

I think the first scenario is the more likely one. The hoard is the first piece of evidence that, in the Ili river valley, one of the local rulers mentioned by De La Vassière and Kamishev, in the 8th century issued his own coins, using Khusro II or Arab-Sasanian drachms which he clipped to his local weight standard and validated for circulation is his realm with CM64, his tamga.

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ANTIMACHOS OF BACTRIA: COINS, DOCUMENTS AND ERAS

By L.M.Wilson

Antimachos I is generally placed after Euthydemos I and Demetrios I but before Eukratides I in the Bactrian king sequence within the period c.185 or more recently 174 BC to c.165 BC, with inception dates c.185[3] or c.174[2]. In Bactria, Antimachos most likely appears in the second half of the reign of Agathokles, with the 'commemorative' coins[3] being the last issues of Agathokles but probably one of the earlier issues of Antimachos and indicate some overlap[2] of their reigns. The absence of any nickel issues of Antimachos I also suggests his dating after Pantaleon and Euthydemos II and his place in the later reign of Agathokles, favouring a later inception date (such as 174). But his reign is complicated by the fact that he also seems to have reigned in Arachosia and the Paropamisadae (Kabul valley), so he may have begun his reign in these southern areas *before* his reign in Bactria and continued to rule there *after* Bactria. If it is supposed that the Attic tetradrachms of Antimachos I with 'Indian' monogram BN 44 were not issued in Bactria since this monogram has previously been associated with the southern 'Indian' areas[3], it suggests that Antimachos I could have moved to or come from beyond the Hindu Kush. In the 'Indian' territories the order of kings is almost certainly Pantaleon and Agathokles followed by Apollodotos I followed by Antimachos (II), as shown by the development of the coinage[3], making Antimachos I a near contemporary of Apollodotos I.

Due to the recent discovery of a 30 year dating formula[1] of a 'king Antimachos' in a Bactrian parchment document, the dating of Antimachos may need to be reassessed. The only other document we know that mentions a king Antimachos (so far) is the 'Asangorna' tax document[2] which gives a 'year 4' of Antimachos Theos and should be compared in any discussion of this new discovery. It is tempting to assume that both documents would use the same dating formula, since both refer to a king Antimachos, and we simply have a year 4 and then a year 30 of the same king. There is so much uncertainty in Bactrian history that unfortunately we should consider several different possible scenarios and even the identity of the Antimachos mentioned in the new document is not certain.

This Antimachos could be a) completely different to the Antimachos (I or II) who issued coinage. b) the same Antimachos as the Antimachos I mentioned in the Asangorna document who issued Attic standard coinage and/or c) the same Antimachos as the Antimachos II who issued Indian standard coinage. It should be noted that Antimachos I and II both held 'Indian' territory and could even be the same king, since both issued coins with the 'Indian' monogram[3] BN 44 and the case for two different kings does not seem totally certain[4,5,6,7], despite the Antimachos (younger son?) mentioned in the Asangorna tax document, since we do not know if he issued coinage and none has been found for the Eumenes mentioned in the document. This could mean that all the coinage was issued by just one king, Antimachos I.

The authors who published the document[1] postulate the document has an early date but they base this only on palaeographic changes from Egypt. This may be inadequate in a Bactrian context, but unfortunately there are no precisely dated texts of this period from Bactria that can be used as evidence. Then this document is placed together with the Asangorna tax document in the period c.220-170 BC. The tax document has previously been (tentatively) dated[2] c.170 using the usual accepted dates for Antimachos I. They also date the 'year 24' oil jar inscription from Ai Khanoum[8] in the same general period, 'late 3rd or early 2nd century BC', although 'it also displays some 2nd century features', is in a different type of hand and looks 'somewhat later'. This inscription has previously been dated to the 24th year of Eukratides[8], which places it c.148 BC, although there is some uncertainty since the link to Eukratides I is not proven. It could be some years either way and even if it is actually referring to the 24th year of Eukratides I it could be a few years either way since there is some uncertainty in his inception date.

If the 'year 30' in the document does in fact mean the thirtieth regnal year of the king, it seems unlikely that a king reigned for 30 years without leaving some coins, and if he was just a local 'sub-king' (without coinage) it seems unlikely that he would not mention his senior king in a dating formula. Even if the year 30 is an era date, it is unlikely we have a new and unknown king Antimachos who issued no coinage, so a) seems the least convincing possibility. If he is the same as Antimachos I/II, considering b) and c) above, then we have 1] apparently a much longer reign than was previously suspected *or* 2] the year 30 is not actually a regnal year after all. If the 30 does not refer to a regnal year, it could refer to an era.

One problem with taking the 'year 30' in the document as the thirtieth regnal year of the king is that Antimachos I does not seem to have had anywhere near a 30 year reign *in Bactria* according to current (admittedly tentative) chronologies[2,3,4,12] but could of course have moved south of the Hindu Kush and continued to reign in the Indian areas, as has been suggested before[10] (and he could then be the same king as Antimachos II). King Antimachos I (ΘΕΟΥ) is normally not assigned more than 10 or 15 years (mainly on the basis of the number of his coins), and Antimachos II (ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ) is normally[3,14] not given more than about 5 years. If their reigns (and coins) are added together it is perhaps just possible to get 30 years in total, either for Antimachos I himself continuing in the South or with Antimachos II succeeding in the South, since estimates based on numbers of coins are inexact. Another serious problem for assigning this document to Antimachos I is that this king appears to have used his epithet ΘΕΟΥ throughout his reign; it is present on all his silver coinage. But the document does not give an epithet (the authors write it is 'inconceivable' his epithet would not appear in the document). Hence it is difficult to assign this to Antimachos I in Bactria but it is also unlikely this is from 'before his adoption of Theos' as the authors suggest[1]. It is tempting to reject Antimachos I completely because of the absence of his grandiose epithet, but the same problem does exist for Antimachos II, since he seems to have used the ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ epithet throughout his reign on all his coinage (except for the possible joint rule with Antimachos I, since in the tax document there is no epithet for the second Antimachos, but possibly he issued no coinage at this time). This king Antimachos in the south could still conceivably be Antimachos I if he used a different epithet (ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ) in the Indian areas[7] and if this document did not use his full name formula but an abbreviated form without epithet for some reason. There is a precedent for this, the bronze coinage of Antimachos I does not have the epithet, but only the simple ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ, similar to the document.

A king Antimachos in the south may more easily accommodate this 30 regnal year time-span, either as Antimachos I himself continuing to reign there or as his successor Antimachos II. However, this would suggest the document could be from the Indian areas, rather than from Bactria itself, and we again come back to the supposed find-spot and any uncertainty surrounding the origin of the document. Assuming that this does in fact refer to Antimachos I/II (without using the epithet) and that it does indicate 30 regnal years, then we have to accept the inception date of Antimachos I/II was 30 years earlier than the date of this document. If this document is dated to just before the reign of Menander (in the Indian areas, assuming the beginning of Menander's reign is the latest possible date for Antimachos I/II), then it seems to be from c.165/160 BC. This would give c.195/190 as the inception date for Antimachos I/II, actually close to the date obtained for the new document (c.200/190 BC) assuming the 'Euthydemid' era[1]. These are both problematic, as the date is generally accepted as being around the transition between the reign of Euthydemos I and Demetrios I. This date does correspond to the supposed conquest of the Indian territories by the Greeks (under Demetrios I) and it is tempting to suggest that Antimachos was installed as a king in the Indian territories at this time and

hence counted his regnal years from this time. However, we have no evidence that Demetrios ruled with any such sub-kings or joint kings as was proposed by Tarn[11]. If Antimachos was a king or even just a governor at this time who later counted his regnal years from his governorship we have another problem with the Asangorna tax document. The tax document gives only year 4, so if 195/190 is taken for the inception and year 4 is a regnal year, it is again problematic to suppose that Demetrios is dead and Antimachos is ruling in Bactria only 4 years later since the tax document appears to come from Bactria. Therefore there seem to be some chronological problems with this and with the proposed 'Euthydemid' era (and see below). Postulating eras of other kings would bring the dates closer to presently accepted limits. For example an era of Demetrios I would give dates close (or identical[12]) to those obtained using the 'Greek' era, giving somewhere between c.175 and c.155 BC for the 'year 30' date (depending on the inception date of Demetrios[2,3,4,12]) and seems to fit the current chronologies much better, favouring a 'Demetrios era'. The inception date of Demetrios would most likely be from his joint reign with Euthydemos I, possibly c.205, giving c.175, or perhaps even from his sole reign giving the later dates. But just like the 'Euthydemid' era, we have no evidence for any such era in Bactria.

The find-spot of this document is relevant to the consideration of any use of an era in the dating, but is uncertain as usual for such documents. Apparently it is from Yousufdhara in Bactria[1]. The tax document referring to Antimachos I Theos was apparently found in Bactria[2] and does not seem to use an era in its dating formula, just the regnal year. Hence if this document was also found in Bactria it may well simply use the regnal year. (Of course if both documents used the same 'Greek era' then for 'year 4' of the Asangona document we have 183/2 BC, which is too early according to the present dating of Antimachos I and closer to his earlier dating preferred by older authors). But, so far, use of an era in dating seems to be attested only in the Indian territories, south of the Hindu Kush. Over a wider period some era dated inscriptions are found in Bactria, although very few in number, and none have been found for this particular period. Hence the practices in Bactria at this time are still unclear. If this new document did in fact come from the Indian areas and not from Bactria, then perhaps it is more likely to use some sort of era dating formula.

One possibility, preferred by the authors[1], is that this could be in an era of Euthydemos I. However, as they noted, no such era has previously been observed. It should also be noted that Euthydemos I could easily have reigned for over 30 years[4,3] (possibly over 35 years) and so could still have been alive if this was 'year 30' of the 'Euthydemid era'. If Euthydemos I was alive, it would be expected that his name should appear in the document and it would not be an era, but rather a regnal year of Euthydemos (see below for the case of an 'heir apparent'). If c.230/220 is taken for the inception of Euthydemos I, this 'year 30' date would give c.200/190 BC, which does seem too early for Antimachos I (as above).

The 'Greek' era[9] starting in 186/5 BC is another possibility, in which case the date referred to is 157/6 BC and then we do not know the actual regnal year of this king Antimachos. However, we do not know where this 'Greek' era was used or when it was used. The inscription does not actually indicate an era and appears to be similar to the wording of the Asangorna tax document, but the possibility it refers to an era cannot yet be ruled out. The authors[1] reject the possibility that it is dated in the 'Greek' (Yona) era, since the 'writing is certainly too early', but it seems that c.220-170 BC is not so far from c.160 or 157/6 BC and their dating of the year 24 oil jar text is similar (although it looks 'somewhat later') and since it is possibly from c.148 BC, as mentioned above, it does not seem to stretch credulity to place this new document c.157/6 BC. But the authors also say these 'two texts could be contemporaneous', which gives a c.150 date to the new document if the c.148 date is accepted for the year 24 oil jar text. This would obviously allow a 157/6 BC date for 'year 30' using the Greek era.

The 157/6 date may just *possibly* fit with the reign of Antimachos I/II, perhaps being in the later part of his reign, but it seems a little too late for Antimachos I, if the usual dates for Antimachos I are accepted. It also seems a little late for Antimachos II since Menander (and probably Eukratides I) is supposed to be reigning in the Indian territories at about this time. Moreover Antimachos (II), Eukratides I and Menander all use the same coin monograms, so there really seem to be too many kings to fit into this time period and it seems unlikely that Antimachos (II) can be accommodated.

Further numismatic evidence can be used. While the tax document refers to Antimachos I (ΘEOY) it is possible that the new document refers to Antimachos II 30 years after he began his joint reign with his father Antimachos I (most likely if he is the same Antimachos (younger son) mentioned in the tax document) and implies it originated in the Indian areas (as mentioned). Depending on the inception date of Antimachos I, this would date the 'year 30' document to c.145 BC (if c.174 is taken[2]) or possibly c.155/160 BC if the older earlier dates are taken. But again all of these are problematic, as mentioned above. Although the dates for Menander are of course uncertain, he probably dates from c.165. So in 145 or 155 Menander is supposed to be reigning in the Indian territories. Shifting Menander to a later date is possible only if the connection between the coinage of Timarchos, Eukratides and Menander[15] is broken. The main chronological marker is the connection between the coin types of Timarchos and Eukratides I and realistically it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Timarchos copied the coinage of Eukratides I. Then there is the connection between this later coinage (issued before 162/1 BC) of Eukratides and the coinage of Menander[3,6] and a way out of the chronological difficulty here would be to break or weaken this connection, by assuming that the new coinage type of Eukratides was nothing to do with or had no immediate effect on the coin legend arrangement of Menander (despite the crucial monogram connections but given there is some uncertainty in the significance of the monograms), allowing Menander to be dated later. Realistically this is unlikely and we have no solid evidence for a later dating, and since it seems the only way to allow Antimachos (II) to reign south of the Hindu Kush until c.155 BC and precede Menander, we again have chronological problems with this possibility.

Another suggestion is that the new 'year 30' document is dated according to the reign of the king to whom Antimachos (I) is associated[16] as 'heir apparent', ie. as a junior ruler (probably a family relative), and is earlier than the tax document. This is similar to the idea of the 'Euthydemid' era[1], but here Antimachos is not a later successor but heir apparent. We still have the same problem as in option (a) above, namely why the name of the senior king does not appear on the document. However it is possible that a junior (joint) ruler eg. a son or relative, could issue coins in his own name in that part of the kingdom assigned to him (perhaps this was the case for Diodotos I and II and later for Euthydemos I and Demetrios I). Such a junior king could therefore conceivably have had a document issued under his authority that mentioned only his name. This could be an abbreviated formula (as mentioned), before he was associated with his own juniors (sons) and so could predate the tax document and still use the regnal year of the senior king. The most likely (senior) king and predecessor of Antimachos I was Euthydemos I or Demetrios I and would bring us again to dates similar to those obtained using an era of Euthydemos I or Demetrios I above. The Asangorna tax document is then dated according to the regnal year of Antimachos I himself, now ruling as the senior king with ΘEOY epithet, just a few years later.

Possibly these two documents use different dating formulas and/or refer to different kings or the presently accepted dates for these kings (possibly including Menander) are incorrect. The presently accepted dates for Antimachos I (c.174-165) assume that he copied the ΘEOY title[2] from Antiochos IV and obviously assume he was in conflict with Eukratides I (c.170). However, he could of course have copied this epithet from (or vice-versa, been

copied by) one of the immediate predecessors of Mithradates I of Parthia (such as Phriapatius[17] or Phraates I if they issued the S.10.15 ΘΕΟΥ coins[13]). An examination of the inscriptions shows that the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the Parthian S.10.15 coins (fig.3) exactly corresponds with the inscription on the coins of Antimachos I, with the ΘΕΟΥ immediately before the name of the king (fig,1), unlike the Seleucid coin inscriptions of Antiochos IV that put the epithet after the name (fig.2). Hence, although it seems unlikely that he is much earlier than c.175, Antimachos I *could* actually be dated slightly earlier and indeed the older dates for his inception are c.185 BC[3] or c.190 BC[14]. This has implications for the dating of Agathokles, Apollodotos I and Demetrios I etc., as discussed in the introduction, but unfortunately none of their dates are known with any certainty. Agathokles seems to have adopted his epithet at about the same time, so there is a serious possibility that the Bactrians adopted these 'cult' epithets on their coinage first and were copied by the Parthians.

fig.1

fig.2

fig.3

Altogether we have to balance a set of uncertainties and probabilities and at present none of the possibilities is entirely satisfactory. Use of an era of Euthydemos I seems unlikely, while a regnal year 30 of Antimachos (I or II) would stretch their reigns beyond normally accepted dates. The new document could refer to Antimachos I using the regnal dating of his immediate predecessor and unnamed associate, or it is possibly referring to Antimachos 'II' (or I, in the South) and could give him a regnal year 30 (although presently this seems less likely), in which case some adjustment of present dating estimates will be necessary. While Antimachos I could be dated slightly earlier, Antimachos (II) in the South is unlikely to be later than c.165/160 BC. If the new document does not give regnal years, but refers to some era (such as an era of Demetrios I), it will be necessary to find new evidence to confirm the use of such an era and some adjustment of currently accepted dates may still be necessary.

Illustrations courtesy of CNG Inc (Antimachos), Trustees of the British Musuem (Antiochus IV), .

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SOUTH INDIAN COINS – Part I

By Barbara Mears

This is the first of a series of three papers in on the coinage of Southern India. Anyone who has ventured into collecting the pre-colonial coins of this area runs the risk of being overwhelmed by the sheer variety of small copper issues, while the later gold coinage is unexcitingly homogeneous. Rather than attempting to enumerate and catalogue all the different varieties (surely a thankless task given that these coins are mostly anonymous and without provenance) I will be putting them into their historical context and assessing them more as types, in an attempt to establish why they took the form they did. In the last 30 years, traditional views of the social and political history of this period have been reassessed in the light of indigenous contemporaneous literature. These works clarify how the users and issuers of currency regarded authority, the division of power, religion and the use of religious emblems, all of which have proved invaluable when applied to the extant coins. In this article I discover that the symbols on Vijayanagara coins were not quite as random as they appear. I then move on to apply this knowledge to the gold coinage of the Nayaka and early colonial periods, while my third paper draws on this previous work to reconsider the copper coinage of the Nayakas and their contemporaries.

I hope that taking a backward step and assessing the coinage from a broader view will enable collectors to refocus on the specifics of this series with a greater understanding.

Symbols on Coins of the Vijayanagara Empire: Propaganda and Power

Symbols on coins remain a testament to the concepts that an issuing authority wished to project about itself throughout the area in which its coins were destined to circulate. Unlike an oral or literary source, it is not possible to subtly amend the fabric of a coin over time to suit the aims and sensibilities of intervening eras. Of course it is possible to over-strike or melt them down but these acts are instructive in themselves. Therefore, although the designs are open to erroneous interpretations by those outside their original cultural milieu and era, they can prove more reliable indicators of what their producers thought about themselves than what has been projected back on them by subsequent historiography.

The inception of the Vijayanagara Empire in the mid-14th century is surrounded by myth and legend, and even today the subject of much historical controversy and debate. Did the first two rulers of the Sangama dynasty earn their position as natural successors to the Hoysalas through time spent in their service, or were they once Telegu lords, captured and converted to Islam,

then installed as governors by the sultans, only reverting to Hinduism under the influence of the monks of nearby Sringeri? A particular sword or dagger emblem found on many Vijayanagara coins may add something to the debate, but for now, the most salient point to realise is that the Sangama brothers were spearheading a new foundation, and their dynasty had few, if any, regnal traditions of its own. By today's standards it might seem strange that they did not immediately instigate a new and distinctive coinage to establish their identity and mark their presence; however, they surely had no idea that their new state was to last for 300 years and that it would encompass much of the south. Indeed, were it not for the vacuum caused by the fragmentation of the Delhi Sultanate so soon after its conquest of the Hindu dynasties of the south, they might arguably have spent their lives as petty rulers or governors. As it was, both Hari Hara I and Bukka I styled themselves *mahamandalesvara* (great lord) - a title far beneath that of *raya* (king) or *devaraya* (god-king) adopted by later sovereigns.[1]

For a dynasty with such a tenuous grasp on legitimacy, the first priority was to create a reputation for invincibility and a fortified base with religious associations, a fact exemplified by the rapid establishment of Vijayanagara (city of Victory) at a site already associated with the *Ramayana* epic. Trade (and hence coinage) was no doubt important, but here the watchwords were continuity and stability, hence the persistence of traditional designs associated with the previous great powers of their core area. As Michael Mitchiner has pointed out, over time some of these dynastic emblems, long divorced from their political context, such as the lion of the Hoysalas, or the boar of the Chalukyas, became little more than abstract designs that served to identify the small gold fanams and silver chuckrams used as currency in coastal South Kanara, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka.[2]

Illustration 1: Fanam of Vijayanagara period demonstrating antecedents of later abstract designs

The first 100 years saw a rapid expansion of territory, but throughout this period areas conquered by Vijayanagara either retained their original ruling dynasty as tributary kings, or were administered by governors (*adikaras*) overseen by close family members of the Sangamas installed at regional centres. Prior to 1350, the most favoured numismatic design in the south had been the dynastic symbol, or an emblem that had long acted as a metaphor for a particular area, and in the provinces this remained very much the case. Established and long-accepted dynastic emblems: a bull in north Tamil Nadu, an elephant further south, the two fish favoured by the Pandya dynasty and the Alupas of Udupi, or the lion of the Saluvas of Gersoppa, continued to be used, in conjunction with the name of the appropriate Vijayanagara overlord on the obverse, or sometimes just his initial.

Apart from the argument for maintaining a recognisable and acceptable coinage, this choice underlines the fact that, during this period, royal status was marked more by allegiance than by the formal demarcation of territory. The greatest ruler was the one who could attract or defeat the majority of his contemporaries and then retain them as subordinate allies. Early European accounts of Vijayanagara emphasise the importance of the annual Navaratri (Mahanavami) festival when all the subsidiary rulers of the empire gathered at the capital to pay tribute and receive honours according to their status and performance.[3] The bestowal of honours was a way of installing order over many petty rulers scattered over a wide and disparate area. They could take the form of titles, special robes, the granting or renewing of authority over lands and their revenues, permission to fortify a city, or simply the rights to use certain kingly attributes, such as palanquins and chouries. Absence from these ceremonies suggested disloyalty and usually predicated speedy reprisals, but attendance signified inclusion in the hierarchy and a sharing of ritual power, which, it has been argued, was the only thing that distinguished the putative "empire" from a confederacy.[4] The honours included the right to use one or more emblems. Identification and ranking by emblem had been accepted practice all over India during the medieval period. As early as the 7th century, Chalukyan inscriptions refer to possession of a "*pali* banner" as an indicator of universal sovereignty. This consisted of rows of flags, each bearing the dynastic symbol of a submissive ruler, topped by that of the Chalukyan boar.[5] Returning to provincial coins, the retention of the symbols of many old dynasties, in conjunction with unambiguous signs that each was now subject to Vijayanagara, can be seen as a demonstration of power rather than signalling a *laissez-faire* attitude or an inability to exert total control over these regions.

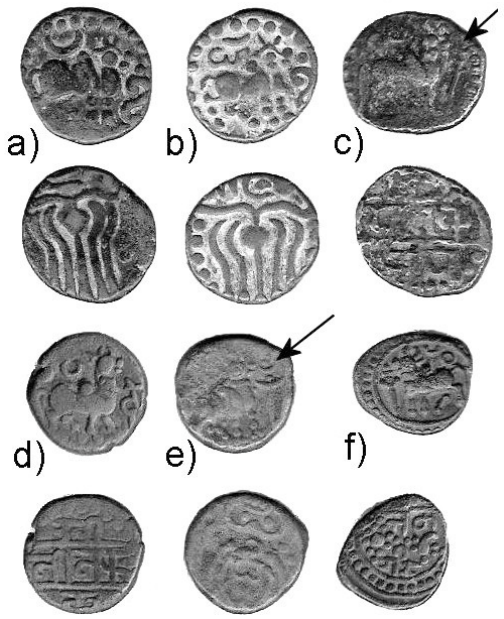


Illustration 2: Pre-Vijayanagara coinage of South Arcot (Padaividu) area and its early Vijayanagara counterparts: a) c.13th- 14th century, with *sankh* shell before bull and Chola-style reverse, b) Similar coin of late 14th century with letter "*Ha*" (for Hari Hara) above the bull, c) Early 15th century, sword before bull, with reverse legend *(SriVija)ya Bukaraya* , d) Early 15th century, with "*De*" (for Devaraya) before bull, and reverse legend *Sri Nilakantha*, e) Early 15th century variant, attributed to Devaraya ("*De*" in centre of reverse), sword before bull, f) Late 16th century, sword before bull, title *Chalama* on reverse.

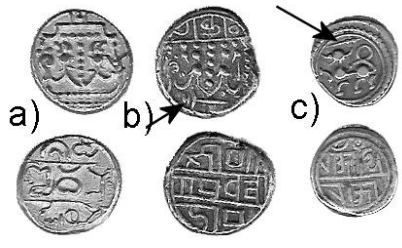


Illustration 3: a) Pre-Vijayanagara coin of the Alupas of Udupi and b) its Vijayanagara counterpart, c) coin of the Saluvas of Gersoppa – Vijayanagara coins have sword indicated..

In this context it is interesting that the most common indication that an area had been "brought under the sword" of Vijayanagara was the appearance of a sword or dagger on an otherwise similar coin (illustrations 2, 3 & 12). This phenomenon requires further

investigation. There are three possible explanations for its appearance on these particular coins:

1. It was purely fortuitous and just symbolised kingship generally at this time.

2. It demonstrated continuity and authority to rule passed on by a previous dynasty associated with this symbol. This sword features on many of the silver *taras* used in the environs of the capital during the first 150 years of the empire, but a prototype may be found on the pre-Vijayanagara coins of Kampili, where Hari Hara and Bukka Sangama were appointed as governors by the Hoysala king Ballala III prior to 1336.[6] Its subsequent appearance on coins of regions appropriated by Vijayanagara may indicate that the Sangama dynasty themselves chose to project the fact that their authority to rule came from their tenure of Kampili, and by implication, the Hoysalas. Unfortunately, another reading of the legend on these coins is *Sri Si(gha)na Kamvaladevi* suggesting an attribution to the Yadava rulers of Devagiri, Singhana II and Kamvala Devi. However, as the Puranas state that the Yadavas were a lunar race with direct descent from the gods, suggesting that they were the inheritors of the sword of the Yadavas would be an equally advantageous strategy.

Illustration 4: Gold pagoda-sized coin attributed to Kampiladeva of Kampili (1300-1327),
(also to the Yadava rulers of Devagiri, Singhana II and Kamvala Devi)
(3.9g.) lot 942, Baldwin's Auctions (London) #47, 25th September 2006.

3. It signified the ruler's supernatural powers gained through his close relationship with the gods. The Navaratri festival was primarily religious in nature and involved various ceremonies that only the emperor could perform. These centred around the local goddess, a form of Durga, who at one stage presented him with a sword and sceptre to symbolise the authority she had given him to rule on earth.[7] Thus the dynasty founded by "great lords" transformed themselves into "*devarajas*", the earthly manifestations of the deity's power.[8] While not rendering an emperor invincible, the possession of such Excalibur-like weaponry would put him in a spiritually unassailable position as regards any possible rivals, and it would not be surprising if an image of the sword was used on coins as a metonym for this dominance.

If the later two points are valid, this would suggest that what has been called the "Vijayanagara Symbol" of a boar accosted by a sword or dagger is only one of many similar motifs denoting Vijayanagara dominance, in this case over the previous incumbents of the Vijayanagara heartlands, the Chalukyans. As we have seen, many coins were struck bearing a sword before other dynastic emblems, yet it is interesting to note that no coins were issued at the capital bearing this particular design even though gold *huns* or pagodas continued to be known by the name of *varaha* (boar). It was not until the late 16th century that coins bearing the image of a boar accosted by a sword attributable to Vijayanagara began to circulate, and these were unimpressive small copper issues with the legend *Chalama Tirumalaraya* struck in the Gingee area of Tamil Nadu.[9]

In the early 16th century, there was a marked change in how the emblems on currency were utilised that coincided with the rise of the Tuluva dynasty. This also marked a move towards a more centralised state. Throughout the 15th and early 16th centuries deities from subjected areas were appropriated (or duplicated) and housed in specially built temples in the capital, such as that dedicated to the image of Balakrishna captured from the Gajapatis at Udayagiri, Venkateshvara of Tirumalai at the Tiruvengalanatha temple, the Maharashtran deity Vithoba at the Vitthala, and Padmanabha of Trivandrum at nearby Hospet.[10] A religious icon embodied the spirit and power of a state and, as we have seen, was closely linked to the legitimacy and very identity of its ruler. Therefore, this deliberate policy went far beyond the wish to capture the insignia of one's enemy and display them as a signal of their defeat, but may have stemmed from this practice as the dynastic emblems used to define previously independent rulers similarly appeared on coins struck at the central mint. One example of this is the utilisation of Balakrishna of Udayagiri as a defining motif for the gold coins of Krishnadevaraya. This would not be remarkable, were it not for the fact that the eagle used by the Bana rulers of Madurai and Ramnad in the 15th century (which possibly also held significance for the previous Saluva dynasty who originated from the Chandragiri area),[11] and the *ganderbherunda* of the rulers of Keladi on the west coast, received identical treatment between 1509 and 1530 (illustrations 5 & 6). It is as if the regional power and identities that these symbols evoked were being erased from the provinces and reincarnated in the capital as facets of the Emperor's own power. Once they had become associated with Vijayanagara in the public's mind neither they nor the dynasties they had once represented could ever regain their former role.

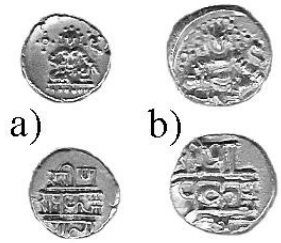


Illustration 5: Representations of Balakrishna on a) a half-pagoda (*pardao*) (1.7g.), b) a pagoda (*hun* or *varaha*) (3.44g.), both name Krishnadevaraya on the reverse.

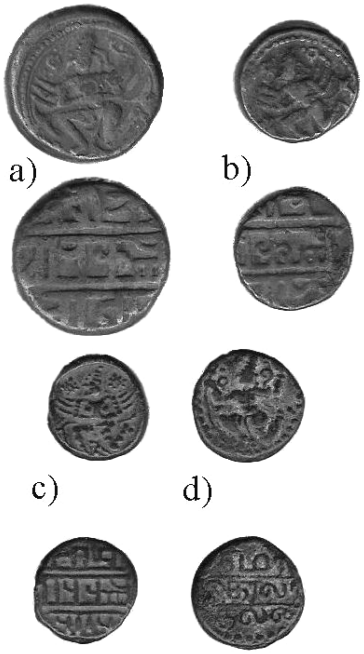


Illustration 6: Representations of Garuda on coins of Vijayanagara and Tamil Nadu:
a) & b) Early 16th century coins of new type issued for Vijayanagara town, d) Late 15th century coin of Banas of Madurai / Ramnad, reverse legend *Samarakolakalan,* c) Early 16th century coin of same area naming Krishnadevaraya ,

The use and importance of dynastic emblems at this time is exemplified by the foundation myth of the Nayakas of Madurai, as explored in depth by both Dirks[12] and Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam.[13] The story opens with the emperor sending his general Nagamma to regain Madurai for his subsidiaries, the Pandyas. As their overlord it was his duty to protect them, although by this period they were obviously ineffectual and

perhaps not deserving of power, so once their lands had been rewon the emperor expected them to be solely in his gift. However, Nagamma seized control of the area for himself and it was left to Nagama's son, Visvanatha, to demonstrate his loyalty and knowledge of the correct etiquette by recapturing Madurai and giving all the fruits of battle to his lord. Of course, the very act of putting the emperor's interests before that of his father indicated that he was sufficiently loyal to be worthy of rule himself, and he was given command of Madurai as its first nayaka, together with the very image (and the implied sacral energies) of the emperor's own deity and the right to use the emblems of the Pandya kings. This is a particularly apt example numismatically, as a series of copper coins were indeed struck in the Madurai area featuring the characteristic double fish and *cenkol* of the Pandyas, but bearing the name Visvanatha (illustration 7). However, as the accounts from which this story were taken were written retrospectively, possibly as late as the 18th century, they are also a testament to how the later Nayakas perceived their relationship with their Vijayanagara overlords. It is clear that they expected unswerving loyalty and exemplary service to be rewarded with rights over land, but the emblems accompanying the worldly benefits also signified a share of the divine warrant and energies bestowed on the emperor by his god.

Illustration 7: Copper unit of Visvanatha, first Nayaka of Madurai (c.1529 – 64).
Coin the property of J.Farr, USA.

This belief helps explain the third big shift in the use of iconography on coins that was initiated after the battle of Talikota in 1565, when the nayakas put in place by the Tuluva dynasty assumed a degree of independence. Certainly by the time of Venkatapati II (1586-1614), *Venkateshvara* was not only the tutelary deity of the Aravidu line, but this deity's centre of power at Tirumalai was associated with emanations of Vijayanagara authority from their later capital at nearby Chandragiri. His appearance on their gold pagoda and half-pagoda coins symbolised the continued authority of Vijayanagara in the region, and subsequent rulers used this image as a visual metaphor for their authority to rule, albeit gained from a somewhat mythical Vijayanagara of the past. It is notable that the nayakas of Madurai and Tanjore, even when they might be considered to have gained autonomy, never changed the motif on their gold coins to reflect their own identity, a point considered more fully in my second paper. The Nayakas of Chitradurga and Ikkeri also retained the image and titles granted to them by emperors of Vijayanagara on their later coins. In Tamil Nadu, images of *Venkateshvara*, in characteristic stance under an arch, also began to adorn the minor currency, not just of the major Nayakas, but also that of lesser chiefs and subsidiary rulers in peripheral areas, in the knowledge that use of this emblem was more than a demonstration of loyalty, but could also signify that they held their right to reign as a gift from the emperor (illustration 8).

Illustration 8: Venkaṭeshvara of Tirupati on: a) a half-pagoda attributed to Venkata III (1630-41), b) Nayaka cash naming Sriranga, c) Tirunelveli cash with bird, d) Sri Vira cash of Madurai Nayakas

The three stages of numismatic art outlined above are understandable within the established models of Vijayanagara power. They serve to underline some previous conclusions, but also perhaps question other assumptions about this state. What is interesting is that if we can "read" the message implicit on these coins in a meaningful way several hundred years later, then at the time of their issue their choice of design must have been even more emotive. This suggests to me that the rulers of Vijayanagara were not just using their coins to signify they had an empire, but to broadcast and implant important concepts about its nature and ruling ethos throughout the south.

Illustration 9: Half-pagoda attributed to Hari Hara II (1377-1404) (1.67g.) with obverse design depicting Siva and Parvati seated facing and legend *Sri Pratapa Harihara*

Vijayanagara was perhaps the one polity from India's medieval age that demonstrated a sophisticated awareness of the propaganda value of the images chosen for their coins.[14] At the capital this was manifested quite early, if the pagoda and half-pagoda coins naming *Pratapa Harihara* (illustration 9) can be safely attributed to the period 1377-1404 when Hari Hara II held sway.[15] The religious freedom evident from inscriptions and archaeological remains in the capital[16] and by the taking of names such as Hari Hara by early rulers (Hari equating to Vishnu and Hara to Siva), is further demonstrated by the fact the two deities on these coins can be identified from their attributes as either Vishnu and Lakshmi, Siva and Parvati or Brahma and Sarasvati. As it is well known that these early rulers favoured Saivism personally, the coins served as a visual demonstration of the religious impartiality of the incipient empire.

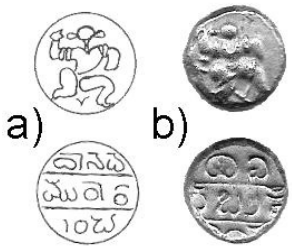


Illustration 10: Gold coins depiction warrior figure: a) Pre-Vijayanagara coin attributed to the Chalukyan ruler Somesvara IV (1181-c. 89), *"dasapa murari raja"* (Mitchiner, 1998, vol.I, #282), b) Vijayanagara coin naming *Sri Vira Bukaraya* (c.1344 - 77).

Gold coins naming Hari Hara and Bukka I have also been found featuring a warrior in heroic pose, in a direct borrowing of those of the Chalukyan ruler Somesvara IV (1181-c.1189) that circulated in the area (illustration 10).[17] Perhaps this particular design held too close an association with Chalukyan authority, as Vijayanagara soon started producing coins featuring its own regional warrior, Hanuman, in a similar pose. This form of Hanuman is ubiquitous on boulders and temple pillars in the capital as nearby Anegondi had long been associated with Kishkinda, capital of the *Vanara* race. It was perhaps the ideal emblem to use on a series of copper coins that would necessarily act in a subservient role to gold issues, as it linked the concept of being a servant of the ideal king Rama, with the location of the new capital as a place of legendary power, whilst promoting the heroic nature of Vijayanagara's warriors. It simultaneously made visual allusions to themselves as inheritors, and indeed superiors, to both the Kadambas of Hangal (who employed Hanuman as an emblem – but as a king), and the Chalukyas. From find spots, silver *taras* with this image circulated at the capital, but the copper coins appear to have been issued for, or have circulated, as far south as the Kongu plain.[18]

Illustration 11: Copper coins of Vijayanagara period depicting Hanuman in heroic pose:
a & b) Issues found in Kongu attributed to Hari Hara, legend reads *Sri Vikrama* (2nd coin reads clockwise), c) with letter *"Ha"* for "Hari Hara" or possibly the denomination *hana*, d) attributed to Bukka I, legend *Sri Vira Bupatiraya*.

Devaraya II (1422-46) was well known as a strategist, and his *biruda* "hunter of elephants" (*gajaganderbherunda)* was both a reference to his love of this sport and a metaphor for his victory over the Gajapatis (elephant lords) of Orissa. A copper coin struck for circulation in coastal Tamil Nadu features both this title as a reminder of his victory in the lands just to the north, and also incorporates an elephant, homologous with royalty on earlier coins of the region, seizing the sword of Vijayanagara (previously placed in a passive position above or before the beast) to chastise a fleeing adversary.

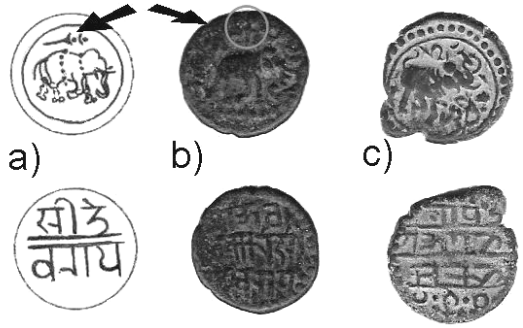


Illustration 12: Coins naming Devaraya with elephant and sword: a) gold unit (c.0.85g.) circulating in the capital (Mitchiner, 1998, vol. I, #452), b) & c) copper coins issued for coastal Tamil Nadu: b) with legend *Gajabetakara Sri Devaraya*, c) *Raya Gajagandaberunda.*

However the design with the most pathos was that chosen, surely deliberately, for the coins of Tirumala (1565-78), the first emperor to rule in exile at Penukonda following their defeat and expulsion from Vijayanagara. Again playing on the imagery of the *Ramayana*, his gold pagodas depict those famous royal exiles *Rama, Sita* and *Lakshmana* who, like the Vijayanagara court, endured a period in the wilderness but anticipated a triumphal return to their capital some day. This numismatic design had currency on the Coromandel coast far longer than that enjoyed by the Vijayanagara emperors, continuing in somewhat amended form (via the three-deity type attributed to Srirangaraya III) on the "Three Swami Pagoda" struck by the European Companies north of Madras.

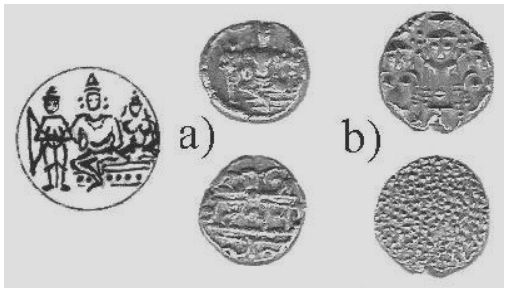


Illustration 13: Gold Pagodas of a) Vijayanagara ruler Tirumala (3.39g.) **b) "Three Swami" type of Madras** (3.53g.)

Why are certain coin designs chosen over others? As founders of a new polity, the Sangamas could have instigated a new coinage under the banner of a new dynastic icon, as could the Tuluvas for their vastly increased empire. They could have chosen to "Islamicise" the coinage, in denomination if not design, and introduced silver tanka -sized coins to make it compatible with that of the sultanates further north.[19] The regional coinage of the Sangamas may not have reflected an inability to directly control the entirety of their conquered lands, as the inclusion of the sword symbol clearly indicates a wish to make their authority known. The Tuluva's appropriation and reuse of emblems evoking the authority of conquered states must be seen as part of the political rhetoric of the medieval period; a clever but logical extension of the more familiar practice of expropriating religious icons and regalia. The reuse of these on coins of Vijayanagara broadcast that the subliminal energies they represented were lost to the vanquished and were now redirected to the empowerment of the emperor. Their redistribution to favoured nayakas appointed to govern the regions suggests a sophisticated incorporative imperial policy, as their use on coins succinctly expressed tributary status and shared authority, and marked new loyalties and ties to the centre. The fact that Vijayanagara's iconographic policies were both understood and largely successful in maintaining tacit control over a huge area, is demonstrated by the fact that successor states continued to use their given emblems to validate their rule long after the demise of Vijayanagara as an imperium.

(This article is a summary of a talk given at the ONS meeting held in London on 5th June 2004)

Notes

[1] Kulke, H., "Maharjas, Mahants and Historians, Reflections on the Historiography of early Vijayanagara and Sringeri" in Kulke, H. (ed.), *Kings and Cults,* Mahohar, Delhi, 2001, p.217
[2] Mitchiner, M., *The Coinage and History of Southern India,* Vol.II, Kerala - Tamil Nadu, Hawkins Publications, London, 1998, p.252
[3] This festival was first mentioned by Nicolo Conti in 1420, but Paes account of c.1520 goes into more detail. His account is to be found in Sewell, R. *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)* originally published 1900. Republished by AES, Delhi, 1980, pp.262-275.
[4] Stein, B., Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India, Oxford India Press, 1980, pp.273-76
[5] Inden, R., *Imagining India,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990: pp.250-52
[6] In his attribution, Mitchiner (*The Coinage and History of Southern India,* Vol.I, Karnataka-Andhra, Hawkins Publications, London, 1998, p.142), reads the legend on this coin as *Sri Si(ya)di Kambaladeva*
[7] Detailed explanations of the rationale behind these ceremonies is to be found in Davis, S., *The Lives of Indian Images,* Princeton University Press, 1999 Chapter 2, and in Dirks, N., *The Hollow Crown,* University of Michigan , 1993, pp.36-42
[8] Until the 16th century emperors signed themselves and enacted laws in the name Virupaksha, a local form of Siva who inhabited the capital's main temple and was the consort of the tutelary goddess
[9] Mitchiner, M., *op. cit.*, vol.II, p.198
[10] Verghese, A., *Religious Tradition at Vijayanagara,* Manohar, Delhi, 1995, p.59; Davis, *op.cit.*, pp.65-6
[11] The name Saluva means "eagle".
[12] Dirks, N., *The Hollow Crown,* Second Edition, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1993, pp.97-104
[13] Rao, V.N., Shulman, D. & Subrahmanyam, S., *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, pp.144-56
[14] The early Cholas also incorporated the emblems of conquered states on their coins, but only in a simplistic way.
[15] It is likely that these coins were initially struck during the reigns of the named rulers, but the quantity and quality of those surviving today would suggest to me that they were issued for several centuries in the same form.
[16] Verghese,A., *op.cit.,* p.9 & pp.185-201
[17] Mitchiner, *op.cit.,* vol.I, pp.138, 160 &162
[18] Mitchiner, *op.cit.* vol.I, p.174 -5. There is some evidence that silver *taras* were still used for small change at the capital at this time, whereas the areas in which these Hanuman coins issued had been used to a copper currency for small transactions since the Chola period.
[19] The nearest approach to synthesis was made by Krishnadevaraya whose new copper coinage (Illustration 6 a) and b)), issued to replace the tiny

silver *tara*, corresponds to the weights of the Gani, and its two-thirds, half and one-third denominations (ie.16.5, 10.5, 8.2, 5.2g approx.) struck by the Bahmani Sultanates (compare Goron, S., and Goenka, J., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates,* Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 2001, pp.306-7 with Mitchiner, *op.cit.,* vol.1, pp.187-8).

THREE UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR

By Nicholas Rhodes

Since writing my paper on the Coinage of the Sultans of Kashmir[47] I have been searching for new types. Recently, in a private collection, I noticed three unpublished varieties. Although the owner wishes to remain anonymous, permission was given to publish the pieces. I have used numbers appropriate to the original publication.

No.60a. AR Sasnu. Shams-ud-din II (c.1537-38)

Obv. As No.60, but the die is different, and rather crude in style. There may be a date in digits at lower left, but this part of the die is off the flan.
Rev. Same die as Nos.60 and 61a.

This is clearly a link type between Nos.60 and 61, with the obverse die engraved by the less competent die cutter who produced the obverse die of No.61 and the reverse die of No.61b.

No.67a. AR Sasnu. Haidar Dughlat, in the name of Humayun.

Obv. Legend *muḥammad humāyūn bādshāh ghāzī 953.*
Rev: Type as No.67, but "h" of *shahūr* differently formed.

The piece differs from other coins in the name of the Mughal emperor, Humayun, in that it does not have the title *sulṭān*, but it does have the date in digits. It may have been the first issue, quickly replaced when it was realised that the title was inappropriate. It is difficult to explain why the reverse die should also have been changed.

No.72a AV Mohur. Isma'il Shah (c.1554)

[47] *Numismatic Digest*, Vol.17, 1993, pp.55-147.

Obv. As Nos.66, 101 & 105, but slightly different die.
Rev: Legend only partly read *khallada allah ta'āla… isma'il shāh…. kashmīr.*

This is the first gold mohur of Sultan Isma'il to have appeared, although a few rare silver sasnus are known for this ruler. The gold coins of the Sultans of Kashmir remain extremely rare, and it seems likely that coins were struck on the accession of each ruler, for ceremonial reasons, rather than with any motive to provide coins for use in the market. It is possible, therefore, that new gold coins will turn up in the future in the names of the sultans not yet known to have struck gold coins.

A NEW COIN TYPE OF BABUR, FOUNDER OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

By David Levy

I recently acquired from the trade a shahrukhi of Babur with the clear mint of Qandhar but of a type so far unpublished for this mint. Coins from Qandhar have been reported of only one type [central multifoil – Rahman 38, p.71] but this one is of lozenges type and its discovery raises interesting conclusions on the commencement of the standardisation of the lozenge design on Babur's coins.

The coin is a silver shahrukhi, of lozenge type, 27 mm diameter (max), 4.60g, die axis of -10°. Although rather weakly struck at the centre, the overall condition is VF.

As usual for this coinage, the reverse shows the *Kalima* in the center, surrounded by the four Caliphs with their attributes. The obverse, of a high standard calligraphy, has the legends - *ẓahir al-dīn muḥammad bābur bādshāh ghāzī* (in the cartouche), *al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam wa khāqān al-mukarram* (on top) and *khallada allah mulkahu wa sulṭānahu ẓarb qandhār 935* at the bottom. This coin is exactly the same as Rahman's 35-04, p71, attributed to Kabul but now reattributed to Qandhar, with a new suggested listing number of 39.

The digit "9" of date is very clear under the letter *rā* of *qandhār*. The "3" is seen under the letter *hā* of *qandhār*, and the "5" is placed under the letter *ṭā* of *sulṭānahu*. These readings are confirmed under high magnification inspection of the specimen and are legible despite the black deposit in that area (see reconstruction below).

This dated coin can thus be considered an introductory issue after Babur's consolidation of his empire, with a view to introducing a uniform design throughout his domain. It helps in dating the

dateless 35 series [page 71], and the epigraphy establishes that the die was cut [and perhaps struck] at a central mint at Kabul for both the issues.

The dating on this coin and the deterioration in calligraphic standards of series 74 [page 93] and virtually all the Indian mint issues lead credence to the adoption of this central lozenge type for all post AH 935 coinage, possibly cut and minted at Agra from AH 936 onwards.

References:

1. Private correspondence with Mr. Rahman.
2. Aman ur Rahman, *Zahir-uddin Muhammad Babur: A Numismatic Study*, Karachi, 2005, ISBN: 9698890009

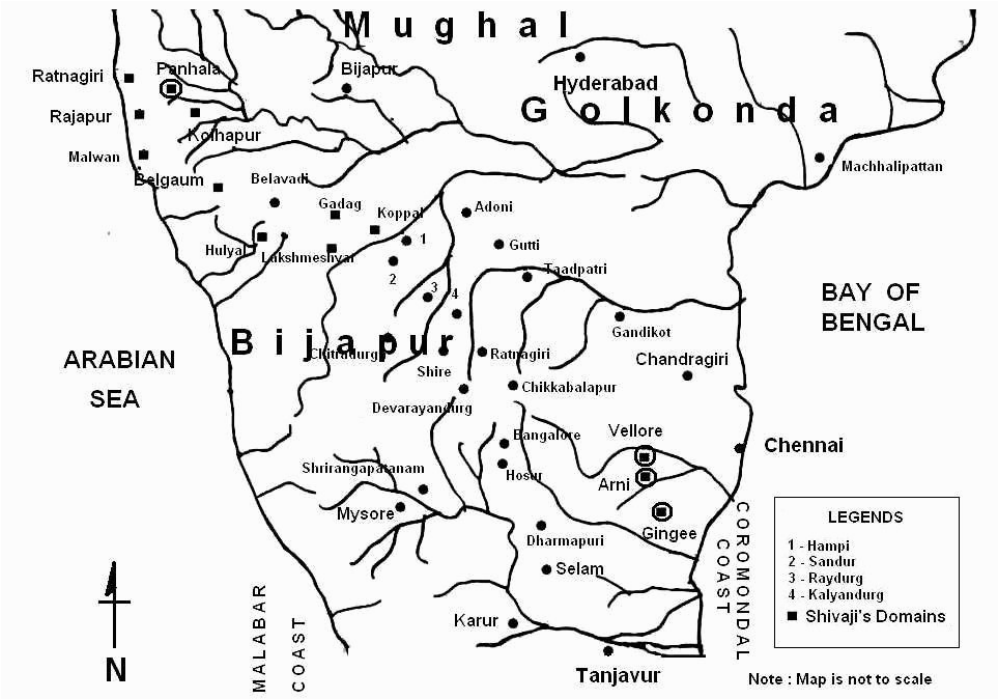
MONETARY HISTORY OF THE EARLY MARATHA PERIOD (1664 - 1700 AD): THE MARATHAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

By Amol N. Bankar, Pune

History

The rise of Maratha power in the Deccan was the most noteworthy event in the politics of India during the seventeenth century. Earlier, the mighty kingdom of theYadavas had fallen to 'Alā' al-Dīn Khiljī and the Deccan was ruled by Muslim sultanates. The people of Maharashtra acquired political and military experience during the next three centuries by serving under the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan. The rise of the Marathas can be traced to the Mughal attack on Ahmadnagar in 1595 AD In that year, Bahādur Niẓām I ennobled a Maratha warrior, named Maloji Bhonsale, with the title of '*Raja*', and enriched him with the *Jagir* (fiefdom) of Pune and Supe and the charge of the forts and districts of Shivneri and Chakan. After Malojiraje Bhonsale, his son, Shahajiraje Bhonsale, a gallant and capable general rose to distinction and acquired a vast territory covering western Maharashtra, Karnataka and part of Tamilnadu. Shahajiraje gave part of his *Jagir* including Pune, Supe and Chakan to his wife Jijabai and son Shivaji.[1]

According to Khafikhan (In his account '*Muntakhbu-i-Lubab'*), in AH 1074 (1663-64 AD) after the death of Shahajiraje, Shivaji assumed the title of *'Raja'* and struck coins in his name.[2] It is a common perception that Shivaji began using the title *'Chhatrapati'* at his coronation in June 1674 and that the coins prior to his coronation do not have the title *'Chhatrapati'*. This, however, is totally incorrect and Dr Shailendra Bhandare has very well explained with several examples that the employment of the title *'Chhatrapati'* occurred well before his coronation.[3] Here I would like to add one more example, Shri G.H. Khare has given reference to an unpublished letter which is an account of Kulkarni of Chaul mentioning Shivaji as *'Rajashri Shivaji Raje Chhatrapati'*. This letter is dated 1578 SE (1656 AD) which is much earlier than the coronation.[4] There are several authorities that state that Shivaji struck gold pagodas (*hoan*) and copper currency *'Shivarai'* (based on the Nizamshahi weight standard of '*Falus*'). According to Shri M.G.Ranade, both copper and silver coins were struck at Raigad.[5] Khare also mentioned that coins were minted at Raigad.[6]



Map of Southern India (1677 - 1680 AD)

Ranade observed: "No Government has the right to close its mints or to say that the currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That is a question solely for the bankers, traders and merchants to consider. If they do not require money, they will not purchase bullion to be coined. The duty of the Government is merely to assay all bullion brought to the mint for coinage and to return the value of bullion in money".[7] According to D.C.Sarkar, Shivaji advocated the above policy: "This is apparent from his reply to the prayer of the English Merchants of the East India Company that their 'money should go current in his dominions'. The English were informed that the Maratha king 'forbids not passing of any number of coins, nor on the other side he forces his subjects to take those monies whereby they shall be losers; but if their coin be as fine an alloy and as weighty as the Mughal's and other princes', he will not prohibit it". The inevitable result of such a policy was that not less than 32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 varieties of silver money were current in Shivaji's realm.[8]

A) Fanams

The *'Fanam'* was a prominent currency of Southern India from the early mediaeval period to the rise of the British Empire. Earlier these were struck by several, early mediaeval dynasties of

the Deccan and Southern India viz. the Western Gangas, Chalukyas, Kalachuris Alupas, Shilaharas, Hoysalas, Kadambas. Several *fanams* of the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara period are known. Generally *fanams* are small gold coins with a weight of 0.1 to 0.4 grams. The word *'fanam'* is possibly derived from Sanskrit *'Panam'* and called by different names in different languages e.g. *Fanam* (Persian & Arabic), *Panam* (Malayalam and Tamil), *Falam* (Dekhani), *Ruka* (Telugu), *Ponnam* (Ceylonese), *Fanao / Fanoes* (Portuguese), *Fanon / Fanon / Panon / Panan / Panant* (French), *Fano* (Danish), *Fanone / Favo* (Italian).[9] In Maratha documents *Fanam* is spelt *Fanam, Pana, Phalam or Fullam*. It can be estimated that in Vijayanagara the average weight of a *Fanam* was 1/10th of the *Pagoda (Varaha)*.

The chronicles *(Bakhar*) of Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad is one of the earliest known sources of the early Maratha period. It gives an inventory of different gold and silver coins in the treasury of Shivaji, including a list of *Fanams (Falams)* of twelve kinds viz. *Afaraji, Trisuli, Trivaluri or Trimalari (Trimalarai?), Chandavari, Biladhari, Ulafkaari, Muhammadshahi , Yeluri (Velluri) , Kanterai (Kaaderai or Kanthirai), Devjevli (Devahalli), Ramnathpuri, Kungoti (Kungoli ?)*.[10] A list of the contents of Shivaji's treasure is given by Sabhasad, describing them according to the type of coin, its metal and further by its nomenclature. The list of *fanams* has been appended below:

Puravani honanchi nave (Phalam yanche poti) [11] ***:***
1 Apharahji 1 Bildhari 1 Venkatrai 1 Trimalari 1 Ulafkaari
1 Devanhalli 1 Trisuli 1 Mahammadshahi 1 Ramnathpuri
1 Chandavari 1 Veloori 1 Kungoti
(Note: Some editions of Sabhasad bakhar have 'Kanterai' instead of 'Venkatrai')

Some preliminary observations can be made regarding this list. This list given above is a sub-section following the names of the *Hoans.* It names the contents as 'additional names of *Hoans*' and further, within brackets, says that they are 'grouped under *Fanams*'. The bracketed information makes sense, as it appears just below the entry '300000 *Phalam*', which makes it reasonable for the names that follow to be *fanams*. With this in mind, their mention as 'additional names of *Hoans*' is incongruous.[12] Of the gold coins of the early Maratha period, *Fanams* are rather less known. Sabhasad described twelve varieties those were circulating in the Maratha territory (listed earlier). It is possible that all these appear to be coins foreign to western India , the majority originating from south India. Some of these were the coins of Vijayanagara, some of local polygars and some whose names defy explanation. Here I would like to make some suggestions regarding the names of *fanams* in the early Maratha sources:

1) ***Velluri (Weloori) fanam:*** These may be unidentified as *fanams* from Vellore (12°55'N, 79°09'E),[13] 140 km west of Chennai. Formerly part of the Vijayanagara Kingdom, it was seized by Bijapur. In 1678 after a 14 months siege, it was captured by the Marathas and remained in their possession for the next 30 years. However, no *fanam* bearing such a mint name is known. No information is available about any other variety of *fanams* struck at Vellore either. So the coins remain unidentified. It must be noted here that the nomenclature is also applied to *Hoans* when describing the valuation for clothes in the treasury, in the Sabhasad Bakhar. [14]

2) ***Muhammadshahi fanam***: These may have been the issue of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (1627-1656 AD). The 'Adil Shahi Sultan, Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, is known to have struck *fanams* bearing the same couplet described above, although they are not described in numismatic literature. But it is plausible that these *fanams* were not called *Muhammadshahi fanams*, because *Hoans* bearing the same couplet were termed as '*Patshahi' Hoans* (vide supra). It is therefore most probable that these *fanams*, if they did have any name, were called *'Patshahi' fanams* and not '*Muhammadshahi' fanams*. There are some *fanams* known bearing the name of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah (1719-1749 AD), and which are indeed often referred to as *'Muhammadshahi' fanams*. Hawkes mentioned the names of *fanams* struck at Hoskote in Karnataka as '*Ooscotta Mahomed Shahi'*. Apart from Hoskote they were also struck at several other mints (Gooty, Hosur, Balapur, Siddhaut, Kolar, Karpa and Mulbagal). If we relate the name 'Muhammadshahi' *fanams* to the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, this reference will definitely postdate the period that Bakhar describes.[15] According to Princep, Arcot pagodas minted by Muhammad Ali were also known as 'Muhammadshahi', as are very rare *fanams* which were probably issued by this nawab and are listed by Hans Herlli. But these, too, would clearly be too late.[16] However, some *fanams* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda (1580-1611 AD) are also known and these predate the period of Bakhar.

3) ***Kanterai (Kaderai or Kanthirai) fanam:*** These were the issue of Kanthirava Narasa Raja Wodeyar of Mysore (1638-1659 AD). These types were also imitated by the Dutch at Pulicat (1650 AD) and Tuticorin (1658 -1759 AD). The British called these *'Canteroy'* or '*Canturoy*' *Fanams*, the French called *them 'Fanon Cantarai'*.[17]

4) ***Kungoti (Kungoli) fanam:*** These may have been the issues of Eastern Karnataka by the Avati family, who earlier ruled as tributary to Vijayanagara and were later invaded by Mohammad Adilshah of Bijapur in 1638 AD. The *fanams* issued by them were called *Kunigal* or *Coonghul Fanams*. *Kungoti* is a Marathi misspelling for the name *'Kunagoli'*. It bears a bulbous lump on the reverse and rows of dots on the obverse. It is possible that it is a derivative of the *'Vira Raya'* type.[18] Hans Herlli has suggested that *Kungoti Fanams* were possibly *fanams* from Kongu.[19]

5) ***Trisuli fanam:*** These *fanams* understandably had the symbol of a trident on them, as evident from the name. Several *fanams* of the early mediaeval and mediaeval periods bearing a trident are known but it difficult to say whether they were still circulating in the late 17th century.[20] It is also difficult to ascertain which variety is being referred by Sabhasad. Most likely, they were *fanams* struck at Tirupati with the Vaishnavite '*naam'* symbol on them that can often be mistakenly identified as a *trisula* or trident.[21]

6) ***Devjevli (Devanhalli) fanam:*** This obviously means *fanams* struck at a town named as such. Devenhalli (13°14'N, 77°42'E) is situated in Karnataka. Earlier it was part of the territory of Jagadevaraya and invaded by Shahajiraje on behalf of Bijapur. It later became famous as the birth place of Tipu Sultan. It is not certain what variety of *fanams* were struck here and under whose authority.[22]

7) ***Ulafkaari fanam***: no further information can be obtained about this coin. The name may suggest an Islamic origin.[23]

8) ***Ramanathpuri Fanam:*** These *fanams* came from Ramanathpuram (9°23'N, 78°50'E) as their name suggests. Ramanathpuram was a part of the territory of the Setupathis of Ramnad, minor polygars of the Nayakas of Madurai. The Setupathis are known to have struck coins. They portray two anthropoid figures on the obverse, one of which holds a bow. From the connotation that this depiction has with the chief town of the kingdom, the figure with the bow can be recognised as Rama. The figure next to him, in all probability represents Seeta. Although copper coins of this type are very well known, gold coins are not published. There exists a *Hoan* (pagoda) in the

British Museum that awaits systematic publication. In view of its existence, it is reasonable to assume that *fanams* also existed. However, their identification as *'Ramanathpuri Fanam'* remains conjectural.[24]

9) ***Bildhari Fanam**:* These *fanams* cannot be identified, but, from the name, it is conceivable that they may have had a design representing the *Bael* leaf. The name in its literal sense can mean 'holding (showing) the *Bael* leaf', hence this conjecture. The *Bael* leaf is a favourite associate object of the *Shaivite* pantheon, so its representation on coins is not entirely unjustified.[25]

10) ***Trimalaari Fanam**:* This name is probably a corrupt rendering of *'Tirumala rayi'* which means the coin thus described was a *fanam* and issued by Tirumala Raya, the Vijayanagara king (1565-1570 AD *de facto* and 1570–1578 AD *de jure*). No such coins were known till recently, but Mitchiner attributes a 'boar facing a dagger' type *fanam* to Tirumala Raya, on the basis of similarity to the motifs on the copper coins of the same ruler.[26]

11) ***Apharaji Fanam**:* The collection of *fanams* housed in the department of Coins and Medals, British Museum has a few old tickets which have valuable information about the nomenclature employed for the coins they describe. The name *'Apharaji'*, spelled *'Afraunji'* in this case, is seen on the tickets accompanying the small gold coins weighing about 150-170 mg, minted at Cuddapah (Kharpa on coins) and Siddhaut. From the style of the inscription on the tickets it can be safely surmised that they are sufficiently old to give such information correctly, probably at a time when the names of these coins still survived in public memory. The earliest *'Apharaji' fanams* in this group bear the name of Muhammad Shah (1719–1749 AD) and the mint name Kharpa.[27]

12) ***Chandaavari Fanam**:* These *fanams* were struck at Chandaavar, which is a Persian rendering of the place name Tanjavur or Tanjore. The Marathas established themselves at Tanjavur under Venkoji, who was a half-brother of Shivaji. However, their relations were not exactly cordial and Shivaji had to threaten him into a truce. The Maratha family at Tanjavur ruled until the early decades of the 19th century. It is not certain which variety of *'Chandaavari' fanams* the Bakhar refers to. Two broad varieties are known: one is a derivation of the *'Vira Raya'* type and the other bears the emblem of a dagger. But in all probability, it is the first of these two that is being labelled as the *'Chandaavari'*. This is evident from two facts: the latter variety is always called *'Kataari' fanam,* from the dagger mark, and the first variety is attributed to Venkoji after a *Devanagari* syllable *'Ve'* that it bears. So this is the one more likely to be contemporary to the *Bakhar*. **[28]** There are some *'Kali' fanams* known and Mitchiner has attributed these to the Marathas of Tanjore. But there is a dispute regarding the issuer of these *fanams,* hence their identification as *'Chandaavari Fanam'* remains conjectural.

13) ***Venkatarayi Fanam**:* As the name suggests, these *fanams* can be attributed to a king named Venkata Raya. There are three kings named Venkata Raya in the Vijayanagara lineage. The first of them did not rule for more than a year. However, Venkata Raya II (1586-1614 AD) and Venkata Raya III (1630-1641 AD) both enjoyed long reigns. They are also known as Venkatapati Raya and gold *Hoans* with the effigy of Lord Venkatesha at Tirupati are attributed to them. These coins bear the Sanskrit legends *'Shri Venkateshwaraya namah'* (Salutations to the illustrious Venkatesha) on the reverse. As a type, these coins were struck in the region under polygars in Tamilnadu and subsequently by nearly every European mercantile company operating in the region under polygar patronage. It, therefore, survived for nearly 200 years as a type. A *fanam* similar to these *Hoans* is in the collection of the British Museum, and a few others are also known from certain private collections in Mumbai, Belgaum and Mangalore. It is probably that the same variety was referred to in the *Bakhar.* The exact period when these *fanams* were minted and under whose authority, is difficult to ascertain because of the multiplicity of these issuing authorities and a long period of issuance and circulation involved. However, there is no reason to doubt its existence in Shivaji's treasury as both the kings named Venkata Raya predate him.[29]

It is difficult to determine whether these gold coins were imports used extensively in the previous Muslim Sultanates or obtained as a result of trade or tribute by the Marathas. Possibly most of these emanated from outside the Maratha country and came into use by way of trade, tribute or by power.[30] When the Vijayanagara kingdom came to an end in 1565 AD, the local currencies must have been allowed to continue by the succeeding Muslim sultanates especially the gold coins of different denominations.[31] Grant Duff has given an inventory of Shivaji's treasury made on his death; this included 68 kg of gold *fanams* (Sabhasad[32] gave the quantity as 3 lakh), 5 lakhs of *pagodas (hoans)* and other coins of all description including Mughal rupees, Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins (or ducats) and Gold mohurs of Surat and different parts of Hindustan.[33]

द्रव्यं तु नख्तसंज्ञं स्यात् वराहो होन उच्यते ॥३८॥
तदर्धं तु प्रताप: स्याद् भाषयोरुभयोरपि ॥
वराहपादो धरणश्चवलस्त्वष्टमांशक: ॥३९॥
दुवल: षोडशांश: स्यान्मोहरा तु बुधै: स्मृतम् ॥
सुवर्णनिष्कं रजतनिष्कं स्यादुपयाभिधम् ॥४०॥
वाच्या रजतवर्ती तु लाहरी फलम: पण: ॥
ताम्रद्रव्यं तु खुर्दा स्याद वस्तनं बन्धनं स्मृतम् ॥४१॥

The above *shloka* (Sanskrit composition) is from *Rajavyavaharakosha*, a Sanskrit compilation prepared by learned pandits on the order of Shivaji. It gives particulars of *hoans*, its fractions (*pratap, dharan, chaval* and *duval*) and other contemporary coins. It is an administrative lexicon giving Sanskrit parallels to the Persian and Deccani Urdu terms (eg. *nakht - dravya, varha - hoan, Lahiri /larin - rajatavarti, khurda - tamradravya, falam - pana*). The *Rajavyavaharakosha* defines *'pana'* as a Sanskrit parallel for the Persian *'falam'*.[34]

1. Abd al-Razzak, a famous traveller, noted "In the 15th century the *fanams* made at Vijayanagara were not of pure gold and one *fanom (fanam)* was a tenth part of a Vijayanagara *varaha (pagoda)"*.[35]
2. Abbé Carre was a French traveller, who visited the Deccan around 1670 AD; his account was published as *'Voyage des Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieures histoires curieuses'* at Paris in 1699. He mentioned that one *fanam* was equivalent to 1/36th of a *hoan (pagoda*.[36]
3. Dr Fryer, the English physician and traveller, who was invited by the Mughal governor of Jeneah (Junnar), gives the value of one *falam (fanam)* as equivalent to 1¼ rupee.[37]
4. Recently some documents of a Maratha *Sardar* (feudal lord), Dabhade, were published by Shri S.N. Joshi, which tell us that one *fanam* was equal to 1/16th of a *'paadshahi hoan'*.[38] The difference in the value ratio of the *'fanam'* and *'hoan'* may be due to the deteriorating quality of both coins over a period of time.
5. There are several mentions of coins called *'chhatrapati falams'* and *'chhatrapati chakrams'* in some Maratha sources (including one letter of Chhatrapati Rajaram).[39] While the first of these could be a gold coin, the context in which it appears in the text indicates that silver coins

are being talked about and not pure gold. Sabhasad mentioned *'chakram'* as *'chandramya'*. In Rajavyavaharakosha, *'falam'* is listed as a silver coin.[40] In another document of Maratha *Sardar* (feudal lord), Dabhade, dated to 1695 AD, *falam* is mentioned as *'chhatrapati chakre'* or *'chhatrapati chakram'*.[41] Antonio Nunes, who compiled his *'Livro dos Pesos'* in 1554 AD, wrote about the *fanams* of the Malabar Coast which were called *'chocroes (chakram)'* and they were made of inferior gold and worth 12½ to 12¼ to the *pardao* (pagoda).[42] Here it is rather complicated to say in what context the term *'chakram'* is used in early Maratha records. Recently some Maratha documents of Tanjore from the 'Saraswati Mahal Library' were published. Some of them, dated to 1776 AD, contain daily accounts in *'chakre'* and *'falams'*. However, another record dated to 1803 AD, which includes a list of 118 coins circulating in the territory of Sarfojiraje II (Sarabhoji II) do not mention '*chakre*'. [43]

Earlier some varieties of Maratha *fanams* were catalogued by K.K. Maheshwari & K.W. Wiggins (1989), Michael Mitchiner (1979 & 1998) & Hans Herlli (2007). Here I would like to present a list of some of the varieties known:

(Type 1.1): There are some inscriptional *fanams* in a rather crude style, bearing a short legend in two lines *'Shri/ Raja'* on the obverse and *'Chhatra / pati'*[44] in two lines on the reverse. Maheshwari & K.W. Wiggins suggested that this type may be attributed to the Marathas of Tanjore but there is certainly evidence that these were circulating in the Deccan in the 17th and 18th centuries AD. These vary in weight between 0.35-0.38 g and are not particularly rare. Recently Hans Herlli suggested that, since these coins do not show Shivaji's name, they are the coins of Venkoji or Venkaji[45] (Shivaji's half brother). However there is no tangible information about the *fanams* struck at Tanjore and the palaeography and type of these *fanams* is closer to the gold and copper issues of Shivaji known from his western territories. As these coins do not show the name of either Shivaji or Venkoji alias Ekoji, the attribution to a particular ruler will remain conjectural.

Type 1.1

(Type 1.2): Same as type 1.1 but these vary in weight between 0.17-0.18 g (½ *fanam*). These are much rarer than the full denomination.[46]

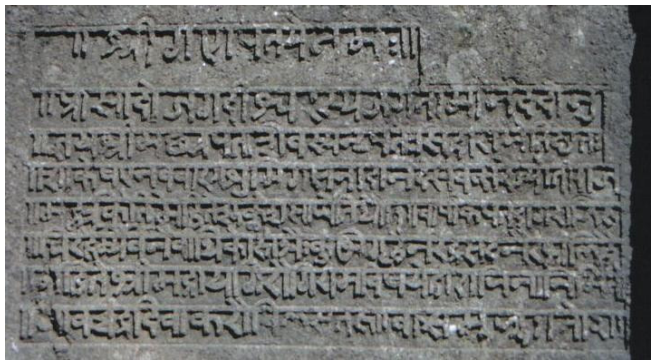
(Type 2)*:* Hans Herlli published a uniface *fanam* which may have been struck by the Marathas. This has the legend *'Pantapradhan'* in a dotted grid on the obverse, while the reverse is blank.[47] An gold coin (*hoan)* of a similar kind (weight: 1.94 g) was published by G.H.Khare (also catalogued by Maheshwari & Wiggins) with the obverse reading *'Shri/ Ganapati'* in Nagari and *'Shah Alam'* in Persian, whilst the reverse has the words *'ShriPan/ Tapradhan'* (Peshwa) in Nagari & *'Maimanat'* in Persian.[48] Some silver rupees and fractions (from Miraj) are also known. All these seem to be issues of a later period and were issued by a Maratha Sardar (feudal lord), the Patwardhan of Miraj, who was active in and around the Cudappah region.

(Type 3)*:* Maheshwari & Wiggins published another *fanam* which may have been struck by the Marathas.[49] These have the legends *'Ra Siva'* on the obverse and *'Shri Prakash'* in a dotted border on the reverse. However, the style of some of the letters, e.g. *'Shri'* on the reverse, is closer to issues of Vijayanagara and successor dynasties of the Carnatic region.

(Type 4.1)*:* Maheshwari & Wiggins published a *fanam* which may have been struck at Gingee by the Marathas.These have a Nagari legend in three lines '*Shri / Raja/ Shiva'* in a dotted border on the obverse and *'Chhatra/pati'* in two lines in a dotted border on the reverse. In the section on the coinage these are mentioned as of 'gold' but, in the catalogue, this type is mentioned as *'AR Fanam'*.[50]

According to Maheshwari & Wiggins "Possibly the *fanams* bearing the inscription *'Shri Raja Shiva/Chhatrapati'* could have been struck at Tanjore as well as in other places in South India (like Gingee)".[51] A few years back, some gold coins of Shivaji surfaced from Tanjavur, Karur belt, Dharmapuri district, Kolar Gold field, Kolhapur and Maharashtra borders beyond Belgaum.[52] There was no single hoard and all are stray finds. Today there is a large number of collectors and the coins are travelling from one hand to another, hence we do not get precise information on provenances and any such information is, therefore, not very reliable.

If we consider the history of Shivaji's incursions into the Carnatic region we find that, immediately after his coronation on 17 June 1674 AD, Shivaji carried out raids up to the very walls of Burhanpur i.e. in Berar and Khandesh. Civil war in Bijapur tempted him to seize the Kolhapur uplands. The fort of Phonda fell to Shivaji in April 1675[53]. Shivaji moved out of Raigad on the Dussera on 6 October 1676 for his Dakshin Digvijay (southern incursion). He arrived in Bhaganagar[54] some time in January-February 1677.[55] Abu'l Hasan, the Sultan of Golkonda, and his ministers gave him a magnificent reception. Shivaji left Hyderabad by the end of March 1677. He had 20,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry with him.[56]



Shivaji's inscription at the Jagadishvar Temple, Raigad, dated 1596 SE or 1674 AD. It is a fine example of the script of the early Maratha period.

The Marathas under Shivaji acquired Gingee[57] (12°16'N, 79°28'E) on 15 May 1677 .They also attacked the fort of Velur or Vellore (12°55'N, 79°09'E) on 25 May 1677 and Vellore was captured after a long siege of fourteen months i.e. on 21 July 1678. French sources and the records of Jesuit missionaries[58] give the impression that Sabaji (Shivaji) applied all his energy and all the resources of his dominions to the fortifications of all the principal places. He constructed new ramparts around the fort of Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers and created basins. These forts remained in Maratha control till 1698 and 1708 respectively, when the Mughal generals ousted them. The French left a good description of Shivaji's camp. The Frenchman, Martin, mentioned that the cavalrymen of Shivaji usually received 2 pagodas pay per month. There are several sources that inform us that, after occupying a new fort, Shivaji made new appointments and the salaries of all the forces kept at the fort were paid in cash. A letter dated 30 July 1677 possibly issued from Gingee, has been published.[59] It is the account for the newly acquired fort of 'Utalur'[60] and the appointments made by Shivaji, details of the soldiers' salaries and that of other staff. The Chief Officer of the fort (*Killedar or Mudradhari*) was paid 125 *hoans* a year, other soldiers & staff (*Saratatanobat, Baragir, Hasham, Majumdar*) were paid 36 *hoans* a year.[61]

Beside the Carnatic incursion of Shivaji there was the continuous presence of Shivaji's forces at some places from 1677 (at Gingee - 21 Years, Vellore - 30 Years). Gingee had served as a seat of the Maratha chief from 1677 to 1698. There are several gold and copper (*Shivarai & Shivarai-Kasu*) coins[62] bearing the names and titles of Shivaji which are found at Gingee, Tanjavur and several other places. It is possible the Marathas struck these copper coins & *fanams* based on the local standard to pay the campaigning troops for their supply. Maheshwari & Wiggins thought that the '*Shri Raja/Chhetraapati*' & '*Shri Raja Shiva /Chhatrapati*' types might had been coined at Tanjore. Hans Herlli, however, suggested that, "The fairly rare '*Shri Raja Shiva /Chhatrapati' fanams*, whose legends are identical with one on Shivaji's early pagoda and on the copper coins of his western territories should be attributed to Shivaji I. We do not know if those *fanams* were struck by one or several mints, but Gingee seems a likely place for a *fanam* mint of Shivaji".[63] Here I would like to describe some varieties of *fanams* which are recent finds from Gingee.

(Type 4.2): This *fanam* may have been struck at Gingee. It is similar to Type 4.1. It has a Nagari legend in three lines '*Shri/ Raja/ Shiva'* within a dotted border on the obverse and *'Chhatra/pati'* in two lines within a dotted border on the reverse. There are two dots above *'Chhatra'* on the reverse. The lower part of both the obverse and reverse is off the flan. This particular type, its inscriptional style, the arrangement of the legends, is very similar to the early copper issues (*shivarai*) and gold pagodas *(hoans)* of Shivaji I, known from his western territories.

Type 4.2 (photo courtesy of Mr R. Vaidyanadhan)

(Type 4.3a): Another *fanam* from Gingee has a Nagari legend in three lines '*Shri / Raja/ Shiva'* within a dotted border on the obverse and *'Chhatra/ pati'* in two lines on the reverse. The reverse is without a dotted border and there are three dots above the word *'Chhatra'* on the reverse. Here some mistakes were made by the die-engraver: the forth letter '*Sha*' (of *Shiva*) on the obverse and the fourth letter '*Ta'* (of *Pati*) on the reverse are retrograde. The epigraphy of these *fanams* is different from that of Type 4.2a.

Type 4.3a (photo courtesy of Mr R. Vaidyanadhan)

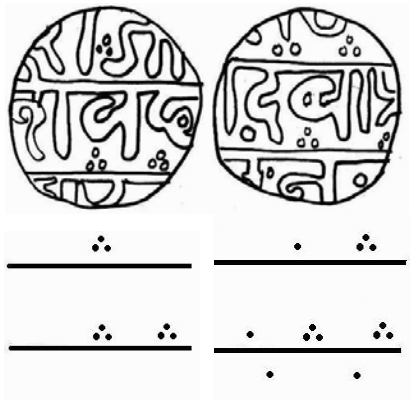
(Type 4.3b): Probably a die variety of Type 4.2a. There is a small gap between the second letter *'Tra'* (of *Chhatra*) and the fourth letter '*Ti'* (of *Pati*) on the reverse.

Type 4.3b (photo courtesy of Mr R. Vaidyanadhan)

B) Silver Coins:

1) Wiggins & Maheshwari described a mintless, undated silver rupee attributed to Shivaji I. According to them this rupee was probably issued on the occasion of Shivaji's coronation in June 1674 and it is doubtful whether it was ever a regular currency issue.[64] This particular type and the style of some of the letters - e.g. '*Ra'* - are different from the conventional type reperesented by the early copper and gold issues of Shivaji I.[65] Whereas the early copper and gold issues of Shivaji I are carefully struck with dies and coin flans more or less equal in size, these silver pieces were struck with dies larger than the coins, resulting in many of the letters ending up off-flan. This may indicate that this type was not struck by Shivaji I, but more likely by Shivaji II, a later Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. Three coins of this type are known and all were found in the Belgaum-Kolhapur region. The metallic composition of the coin as well as find spots of known pieces makes this attribution almost certain.[66] It is also known that some *'Shivaji Mohurs'* were struck specifically to donate to the goddess, Tulja-Bhawani, at Tuljapur. There is one necklace of these *mohurs* in the treasury of Tuljapur. All the mohurs are attached by loops onto one necklace and bear the legends *'Raja Shiva Chhatrapati'* and *'Sri Jagadamba Prasanna'*. According to some researchers these are also issues of Shivaji II of Kolhapur.[67]

(Type 5): This type has a Nagari legend and many of the letters fall off the flan of the coin. However a reasonable reconstruction can be undertaken as: '*Raja/ Shiva Chha / Trapati* in three lines on the obverse and *'Shri Ja / Gadamba Pra / Sanna'* in three lines on the reverse. The symbols and ornamentation on the obverse and reverse are illustrated as below.



Type 5, Rupee, weight: 11.35 g

2) Wiggins & Maheshwari also published a fractional silver coin of unknown denomination (weight 3.00 g) with the legends *'Shri Raja Shiva'* on the obverse and '*Chhatrapati'* on the reverse. According to them "It is a silver piece which has obviously been struck from the same dies of as a gold *hoan* of Shivaji. Its purpose is obscure. It is heavier than the *hoan* and rather too heavy to be classed as a quarter rupee. It is possibly a trial piece used to test the dies and appears quite genuine".[68]

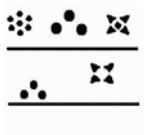
(Type 6): This particular type has a Nagari legend in three lines '*Shri/ Raja/ Shiva'* within a dotted border on the obverse and *'Chhatra/pati'* in two lines within a dotted border on the reverse. There are two dots above *'Chhatra'* on the reverse. The lower part on both obverse and reverse is off the flan. The style and legend arrangement of this coin is very close to the early copper and gold pagodas (*hoans)* of Shivaji I.

3) Some coins of another variety have appeared in auctions. These appear to be stray finds and so far at least three die variations have been noted. The coins weigh between 2.31 and 2.36 g ($1/5^{th}$ rupee?) and may have been struck by the Marathas, possibly in the Carnatic region where the Marathas were active in the years after the fall of Raigad in 1689.[69] Previously, Khare mentioned silver *hoans* struck by Shivaji in his writings. These were identified as '*Hoan Nukhra'*.[70] Here I would like to describe one variety, which is also a recent find from Gingee.

(Type 7.1): This coin may have been struck at Gingee. It has a Nagari legend in three lines '*Shri/ Raja/ Shiva'* within a dotted border on the obverse and *'Chhatra/pati'* in two lines on the reverse. The symbols and ornamentation on the obverse and reverse are illustrated as below.

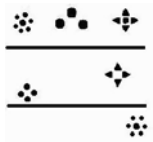
Type 7.1 (photo courtesy of Mr R. Vaidyanadhan)

(Type 7.1a): Probably a die variety of type 7.1. There is a small gap between the third letters '*Ja'* (of *Raja*) and fourth letter '*Shi*' (of *Shiva*). Also there is a difference in the arrangement of symbols and ornamentation.



Type 7.1a (ornamentation on the reverse)

(Type 7.1b): Again, probably a die variety of type 7.1, with some difference in the arrangement of symbols and ornamentation on the reverse .



Type 7.1b (ornamentation on the reverse)

Acknowledgements:

I am very grateful to Mr R. Vaidyanadhan for permitting me to make use of some coins for this article. I would also like to thank Dr. Shailendra Bhandare, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, U.K, Govindaraya Prabhu, Prashant P. Kulkarni, and Mrs Manjiri Bhalerao for their constant inspiring support and discussion on SACG and Stan Goron for editing this article. The author can *be contacted at* [redacted]

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14. op cit 11, Pp 218.
15. op cit 11, Pp 217.
16. op cit 9, Pp 126
17. op cit 9, Pp 126 & 91.
18. op cit 11, Pp 218
19. op cit 9, Pp 126 .
20. op cit 9, Pp 126 .
21. op cit 11, Pp 217
22. op cit 11, Pp 217
23. op cit 11, Pp 217
24. op cit 11, Pp 217
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41. op cit 36, Pp162-174.
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44. Hans Harelli read the legend '*chhetrapati*' as *'chhatrapati'*. The legend '*chhetrapati*', may be a misspelling of *'chhatrapati'* and it is widely seen on copper coins of Shivaji I from his western territories.
45. op cit 9, Pp 87-88
46. op cit 9, Pp 87-88
47. op cit 9, Pp 98
48. MMC, Pp 20-21
49. MMC, Pp 20-21
50. MMC, Pp 176-177,182-184
51. MMC, Pp 176-177,182-184
52. Shri Govindaraya Prabhu on SACG
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66. Based on information provided by Dr Shailendra Bhandare in a personal communication.
67. Dilip P. Balasekar (2007): *'Marathekalin Nani'*, IIRNS Publications, Pp 12.
68. MMC, Pp 103.
69. Dr Shailendra Bhandare on SACG.
70. op cit 66, Pp 12.

AN UNUSUAL UNIFACE TAKKA OF BHARATPUR STATE.

By Barry Tabor

I have recently seen and photographed an unusual Bharatpur State uniface takka, which has been overstruck on a much earlier takka of the same state, in about 1871 AD, by which time currency production in the territory of the Bharatpur Jats had almost ceased.

The coin in question is a copper takka of about 16.8 g, the host coin having been issued in about AH 1212 (the final 2 of this date is just visible, though somewhat uncertain) in the 18th regnal year of Jaswant Singh (AH 1269 to 1311, 1853 to 1893 AD), which corresponds to AH 1286, or 1871 AD. The obverse legends are evenly and incompletely obliterated by the overstriking process and remain legible, but the reverse legends have been lost entirely. The legible parts of the legend indicate that it was probably of the type called KM 11 by Krause, and it may be dated AH (121)2. This is about 1797 AD, and if this is so, the coin was over 70 years old at the time of its reuse. The legends on the host coin are the "Badshah Ghazi" legends of Shah Alam II.

This type of takka must have been relatively scarce in 1871 AD, and the more commonly available type would have been the narrower, thicker coin (called KM.101 in the Krause catalogues) which must have been stuck in great quantity, judging by the number that have survived, until about 1864/65 AD. It seems likely that the overstrike die was prepared for use on these later coins, because its diameter is about 17mm., which is a close fit for many of those more recent coins.

The legend on the overstruck side is clear, and the die was engraved in relatively good Persian characters and script, and reads, from top to bottom "Maharaja Jaswant Singh (RY) 18"

Maharaja Jaswant Singh succeeded to the gaddi while he was very young, in 1853 AD (AH 1269), and was given full ruling powers in March of 1871 AD (AH 1286), in his 18th regnal year. It is therefore an inescapable conclusion that this coin was struck to commemorate that event. The fact that it was probably never intended to be a currency issue may well explain both why it was not struck in great numbers, and why it was struck at all.

It seems probable that the striking of copper coins had ceased, or nearly so, by then, as only a few silver coin types, and none in copper, are known after that date. The reuse of old coins for this limited issue would overcome some possible difficulties for the mint authorities, such as the procurement of copper bullion, melting or hammering that bullion into sheets, and cutting out and preparing the required number of blanks. In addition, the use of a uniface design would halve the number of dies required. Any or all of these considerations may have weighed on the minds of those mint authorities at the time.

I would like to record my thanks to Shailendra Bhandare for confirming the authenticity of this piece, and for his other remarks, which assisted in the preparation of this short note.

ALAMPARAI - A MINT FOR ARCOT RUPEES

By Jürgen Brockmeier

Arcot rupees can be called a speciality in Indian numismatic history. When the mughal emperor, Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707), had conquered almost the entire south of India, he established governors at several places between 1686 and 1698 to protect his interests. Aurangzeb appointed a Nizam in Hyderabad and a Nawab in Arcot. Zulfikar Khan was made the first Nawab of the Carnatic after the capture of Jinji from the Marathas in 1698.[48]

Arcot became the capital of the Nawab's territories, and there is numismatic evidence that a mint was in operation during the reign of Aurangzeb. However an Arcot rupee of Aurangzeb has yet to be discovered. The first known Arcot rupee is of his son Shah Alam Bahadur (1707 – 1712) and dates from AH 1120 (1708/9).[49]

Arcot rupees took their name from their original mint, which is found on the reverse of the coins as *Zarb Arkat*.

Fig.1 Arcot rupee of Mohammad Shah RY 14

But what makes Arcot rupees so extraordinary is that they were minted at more then 14 different places in south and east India. As Arcot rupees were for a long time very popular in Bengal, they were in high demand and many authorities tried to profit from this situation. And this is our problem: only in 4 cases are we sure where they were minted, namely, Pondicherry (crescent), Calcutta (rose), Madras (lotus) and Fort St. George (lotus).

In two other cases, namely Fort St. David and Vellore we are almost sure and we can assign them to a specific mint.

The only sure sources are the archives of the EIC, and there we find hints of two mints operated by the Nawabs of Arcot. In February 1739, 100,000 Arcot rupees were purchased for shipment to Bengal, and from then until October 1742, the Madras Council either purchased Arcot rupees for gold or sent their own bullion or specie to the country mints of Alamparai and Covelong for coining into Arcot rupees.[50]

In this connection an Arcot rupee of Mohammed Shah (1719 – 1748) attracted my attention (Fig.2). On this coin, the word *julus* is engraved in a very particular way, quite different from the usual type (Fig.3).

Fig.2 Arcot Rupee of Mohammad Shah R.Y. 20

[48] Dr. V. Jeyaraj: "A Technical Study on the Coins of Arcot Nawabs" Government Museum, Chennai 2005

[49] R. Jawahar Babu: "Arcot Rupees: A Note on Some New Varieties", *Studies in South Indian* Coins Vol. XIV, Chennai 2004

[50] F. Pridmore: *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations,* Part 4 India, Vol. 1 East India Company, Spink & Son Ltd, 1975

Fig.3 Arcot Rupee of Mohammad Shah R.Y. 19(?)

Some similarity can be seen, however, to rupees of Mohammed Shah minted by the French at Pondicherry (Fig.4). Here the *julus* is written in the same way and the crescent identifies the coin clearly as an issue of Pondicherry.

Fig.4 Arcot Rupee of Mohammad Shah R.Y. 29, Mint Pondicherry

This Similarity had been noticed by Jan Lingen earlier[51]. The ANS has in its collection a similar-looking coin but with RY 23 (Fig.5). In the ANS catalogue the coin is attributed to the mint of Alamparai, but where is the evidence for this?

One other coin of this type can be seen in "South Asian Coins and Paper Money"[52] listed under Arcot, Uncertain Mints, wrongly attributed to Ahmad Shah Bahadur. Noticeable is the crescent on the *obverse* for all these coins, unfortunately off flan on my coin (Fig. 2).

Fig.5 Arcot Rupee of Mohammad Shah RY 23, ANS collection

Luckily, I found on the internet an extract of a contemporary diary, kept by one, Ananda Rangam Pillai. Ananda Rangam Pillai (henceforth ARP) was born in 1709 at Ayyanavaram (Perambur), near Madras, to Thiruvengadam Pillai, a merchant of great reputation. The family came to Pondicherry in 1716, that is when ARP was a boy of seven years. After establishing, within ten years, flourishing trade at Pondicherry and gaining the favours and recognition of the French there, his father, Thiruvengadam Pillai, died in 1726 when ARP was only 17 years old. It was then that Mr Lenoir arrived as Governor of Pondicherry. From his 17th year, for about 30 years till 1756, his life was very intimately connected with the history of French rule and Pondicherry. For nearly ten years from 1747 to 1756, he was the Chief Dubash (translator) to the French governor. His handling of men and matters as learnt from his diary shows him as an honest and, at the same time, skilful and bold man.

ARP's diary throws valuable light on the numismatic history of the period, like the coins issued, minting of coins, their purchase value, receipt of gold and silver ingots for minting coins, their relative values, the people who actually minted the coins, and other such information.

Dr R. Nagaswamy writes[53]: "I understand that this source has not been fully utilised for the numismatic history of the age. It may not be possible to give a comprehensive outline of this aspect in this short article. Nevertheless an attempt is made here to draw attention to the facts found in ARP's valuable notes".

Even at the very beginning of his diary, ARP describes in detail the receipt of the charter authorising the coining of rupees by the French at Pondicherry. In fact, the successive governors of Pondicherry were trying their best to secure from the Nawab of Arcot the charter authorising them to issue rupee coinage in Pondicherry. ARP remarks later that it was Mr Lenoir, the governor, who did most of the spade work but that, two months before the arrival of the charter, he left and that the charter was received when Mr Dumas came as the governor. To obtain this charter the French gave about 80,000 rupees to Nawab Dost Ali (1732 – 1740) and another 40,000 by way of presents to his subordinates. Altogether a sum of Rs 120,000, equal to 40,000 pagodas, was spent to obtain this privilege. At that time one pagoda equalled three rupees.

The charter, sent from Alamparai, arrived at Pondicherry on 10 September 1736. ARP gives a graphic description of how the charter was received, indicating the importance attached to it. "A procession started to receive it and as soon as it was carried into the fort, a salute of 21 guns was discharged from the guns, replied by three ships lying in the roads, each of them firing a like number of canons. On the same day the document was placed in a palanquin, was borne in procession through the town with drums beatings and music playing".

When the rupee (dies) arrived the person in charge of the mint was duly asked to mint 100 seers of silver dollars into rupees and submit a detailed account. Silver dollars weighing 100 seers was equivalent to 2343 and ⅛ rupees; to this an alloy of lead (equal to 9⅜ rupees in weight) was added. Thus 2352 and a ½ rupees were minted. Sixteen rupees were deducted towards minting expenses. The governor and his council, however, fixed the rate at 2335 rupees for every 100 seers of silver dollars. This shows that for every 100 seers, a sum of 17½ rupees was the difference which was extra profit. For permitting this favour, ARP records, that Dumas was paid a bribe of 2000 pagodas. Besides coining rupees from their own silver, coins were also minted from the silver received from the merchants of the company. Types of silver received in this way are mentioned. One was the silver dollar and the other a coin with a double bead (possibly a European coin with a double beeded border)..

But what is of special interest for us is the following:

Kanakaraya Mudali, the Chief Dubash (of the Nawab) represented to the governor that the mint at Pondicherry should be conducted on the same lines as at Alamparai. A certain Pottu Pattan from Alamparai was allotted half of the goldsmith's work in the mint. The other half went to Velayuda Paramjoti and others who were already there. ARP says that Pottu Pattan of Alamparai spent 1000 pagodas to gain employment at the mint.

The fort of Alamparai is situated 50 km north of Pondicherry and served as a harbour for the Nawabs of Arcot. It was built at the end of the 17th century by the Mughals. From 1735 it was a seat of Nawab Dost Ali (1732 – 1740). In 1750 the Fort was given to the French for services rendered by Commander Joseph Francois Dupleix to Subedar Muzaffarjung (1751). When the French were defeated by the British, the fort was captured and partly destroyed in 1760. Now, only the remains of the ruined fort are to be seen.

Can all this help us in our attempt to attribute a particular Arcot rupee to the mint of Alamparai?

From the above we can summarise as follows:

- The permission to mint coins in the Mughal style at Pondicherry and the first dies came from Alamparai.

[51] Jan Lingen: "Rupees with the Mint name Arkat", *Seaby Coin & Medal Bulletin* January 1980

[52] Krause publications: *South Asian Coins and Paper Money*

[53] Dr. R. Nagaswamy: http://tamilartsacademy.com/articles

- The Nawab of Arcot instructed the French governor to run the mint at Pondicherry in the same way as at Alamparai.
- The first die-cutter came from Alamparai.

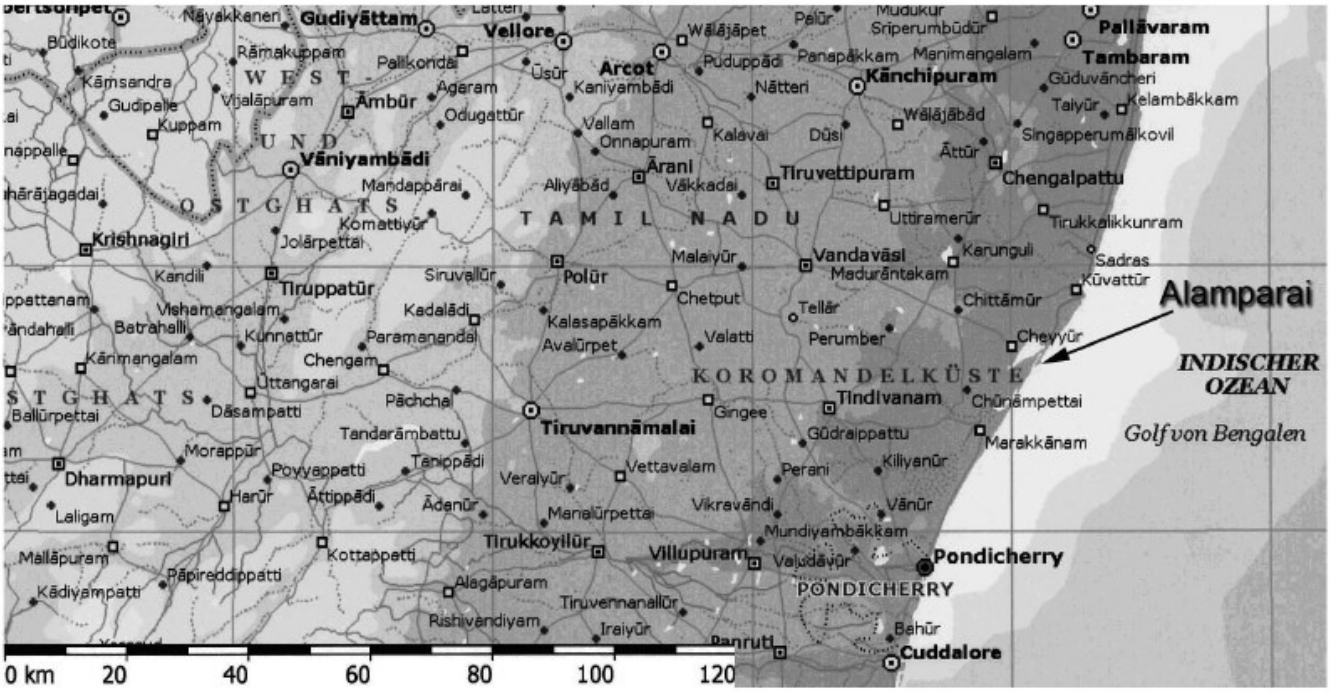
Conclusion

We know how the first rupees minted at Pondicherry looked. The rupees minted at Alamparai must have looked similar, with the *julus* written in that particular style, except that the crescent was engraved on the obverse. Unfortunately I have not seen one of the first rupees with RY 19 minted at Pondicherry, but it is reasonable to assume that the French did not change the design of their coins from 1736/37 (RY 19) and that they looked no different from the coins of the years 1742/43 (RY 25) or later.

So we can say that Arcot rupees minted at Alamparai have the *julus* written in that particular Pondicherry style but with the crescent on the obverse instead of to the left of the regnal year. From the history of Fort Alamparai we can conclude that the mint operated there only for a short time, perhaps from 1735 till 1740.

The attribution of Arcot rupees to a specific mint is a real problem. Only a careful comparison of different specimens and the equally careful checking of history is likely to assist us in their attribution. More and more new Arcot rupees have come to light; there are rupees issued by Hyder Ali, Danish Rupees minted at Tranquebar and Arcot rupees with various mint-marks. In my next article I will look at Arcot rupees from other mints and give an overall view of the various types.

Fig.7 Ruins of Alamparai



SOME UNLISTED COINS OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

By Pankaj Tandon[54]

In sorting through a group of Bengal Presidency coins recently, I came across a few that were not listed in Pridmore[55] and so it seemed worthwhile to bring them to the attention of researchers and collectors.

Fig. 1 Murshidabad rupee, AH 1185, RY 11, 11.53 gm, 23 mm

The first coin (fig.1) is a Murshidabad rupee in the name of Shah Alam II, carrying a crescent mintmark. The unusual aspect of this coin is that the AH date on it is 1185, while the regnal year is 11! Since the regnal year 11 of Shah Alam II spanned AH 1183-84 (coins with RY 11 are known for both these AH dates … see Pridmore 109-110), this coin must be a mule where an old reverse carrying the RY 11 date was used along with a current AH 1185 obverse.

Fig. 2 Banaras rupee, AH 1195, RY 17/23 11.27 gm, 24 mm, with leaf sprig mark

Fig. 3 Normal Banaras rupee of AH 1195

The second coin (fig. 2) is a Banaras rupee dated AH 1195, with the frozen RY 17 along with the current RY 23. Pridmore shows all the mintmarks and other ancilliary marks that he identifies as *dārogā* marks on these coins and shows that the AH 1195 coins had a new *dārogā* mark. A circle replaced the leaf sprig that the entire series had featured, dating back to the pre-British issues of Awadh. The circle is seen clearly in the normal AH 1195 coin (see fig.3). However, on the subject coin (fig.2), the circle is not present. Rather, we have the usual leaf sprig in that position, a variety not noted by Pridmore. Since the leaf sprig was present in years before and after AH 1195, this coin fills a gap in the series and suggests that the circle mintmark was a temporary deviation rather than a real change in the composition of the coin design.

It seems to me there are two possible explanations for the circle mark and its brief life. One possibility is that the Company decided to change the *dārogā* for the issue, but ended up unsatisfied with his performance and re-employed the *dārogā* of the leaf sprig. The other is suggested by the fact that, as Pridmore notes, the mintage of AH 1195 was particularly large. There were over 2.2 million rupees minted at Banaras that year, as compared to just under 670,000 in AH 1194 and just over 250,000 in AH 1196. The *dārogā* of the leaf sprig may not have been able to handle the large demand, and so the Company could have diversified their sources by retaining the *dārogā* of the circle. Original documents in London might be able to resolve this issue.

Fig. 4 Banaras rupee, AH 1198, RY 17/25, 11.31 gm, 24 mm

The third coin (fig. 4) is another Banaras rupee. This one is dated AH 1198, with a RY of 17/25, a combination unrecorded by Pridmore or KM.[56] A curious feature of the Banaras coinage is that, for the first several years of issue, there is only one AH date for each regnal year date. Since the AH year and RY did not coincide exactly one would have expected two AH years for each RY, as is the case for the Murshidabad coinage (see Pridmore 87-115). However, for the Banaras series, Pridmore records only one AH year for each RY until RY 26. However, for RY 26 and for most of the years after that, Pridmore records coins with two AH dates for each RY. There are two AH dates for each of the regnal years 26, 27, 29, 30, and 33-49 (at which point the RY freezes at 49). Regnal years 28, 31 and 32 have only one AH date associated with them. Our coin 3 pushes back the start of this dual-dating to RY 25. The most likely explanation is that the volume of coinage had increased significantly. As mentioned earlier, Pridmore records a mintage of roughly only a quarter million in RY 24. But in RY 25, the mintage spiked to nearly 1.8 million, and it remained well over 1 million for the next two years (RY 26 and 27). The larger output may have necessitated production on a wider range of dates, and therefore both AH dates corresponding to the regnal year are recorded. The mintage fell to less than 50,000 in RY 28, and this would explain the single AH date for that year. Pridmore does not record the levels of mintage for any of the subsequent years, but the evidence of the coins suggests that the mintages must have been low in RYs 31 and 32, but relatively high in all other years.[57]

Fig. 5 Banaras rupee, AH 1200, RY 17/27, 11.17 gm, 24 mm

[1] I wish to thank Paul Stevens for helpful comments and for furnishing me with a table showing the date distribution of a siginificant hoard of Banaras rupees (see note 3).

[55] F. Pridmore: *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Part 4, India, Volume 1: East India Company Presidency Series c. 1642-1835*, London: Spink & Son, 1975.

[56] This date combination does not appear either in a date distribution table of 771 Banaras rupees, recorded by P. Kulkarni and kindly furnished to me by Paul Stevens.

[57] Of course, it is also possible that coins with the missing date combinations 1204/31 and 1205/32 might still be found, which would be consistent with larger mintages in the RYs 31 and 32.

New daroga mark

Fig. 6

Finally, coin 4 is yet another Banaras rupee, AH 1200, RY 17/27, that fills a gap in Pridmore's listing of the *dārogā* marks on the coins of this series. Specifically, for AH 1200, RY 17/27, Pridmore has a question mark in the column of illustrations of the *dārogā* marks. Perhaps he did not have access to a coin which was clear enough for the marks to be seen clearly. Coin 4 here shows the *dārogā* marks clearly, and, in particular, indicates the appearance of a new mark (see fig. 6) in place of the leaf sprig. The new mark consisted of a central pellet, surrounded by four curved pellets. Pridmore's table (and my own observation) shows that the leaf sprig reappeared in RY 28, so the 5-pellet mark was another short-lived one, like the circle mark of RY 23.

AN UNRECORDED DOUBLE TOLA GOLD COIN OF NEPAL

By Nicholas Rhodes

Fig. 1 obverse *Fig. 2 obverse*

Obv: *Śrī Śrī Śrī/ Trailokya Vi/ra Vi/krama/ Sāha Deva/ 1796.*
Rev: *Śrī 3/ Bhavā/nī* in central circle, *Śrī Śrī Śrī Gorakhanātha* in petals around.
Diam: 26mm Wt: 23.05 g

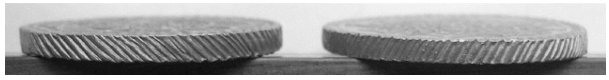
Fig. 1 reverse *Fig. 2 reverse*

Obv: *Śrī/ Śrī Śrī Sure/ndra Vi/krama/ Sāha Deva/ 1794.*
Rev: Same die as last.
Diam: 26mm Wt: 23.00 g

In the Hong Kong Coin Auction (Baldwin, Ma, Gillio & Monetarium, Catalogue 42), on Thursday, 30 August 2007, a remarkable Nepalese gold coin was offered as Lot.703 (Fig.1 above). Fortunately for me, as the ultimate purchaser, the cataloguer, and presumably the previous owner, did not realise the full importance of this coin. It was catalogued as a gold coin of King Surendra, of a rare denomination and an unrecorded date, 1796 Saka (1874 AD). This description was not fully correct, as the coin is in the name, not of the king, but of his eldest son, the Crown Prince, Trailokya Vir Vikram Shah. As such, this is a completely new and unexpected coin. Two coins were issued in the name of the young prince in 1771 Saka (1849 AD)[58], when he was about two years old, but this new piece was issued twenty five years later, and does not obviously celebrate any of the events in his life when coins might have been issued in his name[59]. In 1860 AD he was married to the daughter of the Prime Minister, Jang Bahadur Rana, Lalit Kumari. Then, on 8 August 1875 AD, Lalit Kumari gave birth to a son, the future King Prithvi Vir Vikram Shah. Finally Prince Trailokya died suddenly and in mysterious circumstances on 30 March 1878 AD, three years before his father and before he could ascend the throne. One can only speculate as to why this coin was struck in 1874 AD.

One possibility is that the coin was struck while Jang Bahadur was out of the country, and risked political intrigue. In late 1874 AD, Jang Bahadur left Kathmandu for his second visit to Europe, the first having been in 1850-51 AD. Unfortunately, on 3 Feb. 1875 AD, while in Bombay, he was thrown from his horse and sustained chest injuries. It was decided to cancel the visit, and the party returned to Kathmandu soon after. It could be that this coin was struck for Jang Bahadur to present to VIP's on his trip to Europe[60], to celebrate the fact that the Crown Prince was his son-in-law, or it could have been struck in Kathmandu as part of a complex and unrecorded plot for Trailokya to replace his father on the throne. Prince Trailokya was a well-educated and cultured individual, and is known to have been involved, willingly or otherwise, in some palace intrigues after the death of Jang Bahadur in February 1877 AD, but this was too late for the issue of this coin[61].

The new coin is illustrated at the head of this article, along with a coin of the same denomination struck in the name of his father, King Surendra, dated 1794 Saka (1872 AD) (Fig. 2 above). The coins are identical in size and fabric, and indeed share the same reverse die, so they must have been officially struck in the same mint. The different form of the numeral "9" in the date is also found in silver and copper coins of this date, and is to be expected. One unexpected feature of the new coin is that the oblique milling slopes in the opposite way from all the known gold coins in the name of King Surendra (see illustration), and it may be that this was a secret code to distinguish the coins not struck in the name of the ruling King.



In conclusion, this new coin is a most exciting new discovery, but further historical research is necessary before we can be sure as to exactly why, and on what occasion, this unique piece was struck[62].

[58] RGV 938 & 978, gold and silver respectively of this 2 tola weight.
[59] As with all Nepalese gold coins from this period, this piece would have been struck for presentation purposes, on some special occasion, rather than as normal currency.
[60] It is worth noting that the only known earlier gold coin in the name of Trailokya was giving by Jang Bahadur to Queen Victoria during his first visit to Europe, and was given by the Queen to the British Museum. However, no other gold coins are known with this date, so Jang Bahadur did not strike other gold coins for presentation during his trip, as he seems to have done in preparation for his earlier visit to Europe.
[61] The historical background for this article is largely taken from *Nepal Under the Ranas*, by Adrian Sever, Sittingbourne, UK, 1993.
[62] The provenance of this coin gives no hint as to the reason for its issue. It was reportedly consigned for auction by a British coin dealer, but its earlier history is not known.

THE LUKUAN RUPEE AND ITS VARIANTS

By Wolfgang Bertsch

A silver coin which was struck in 1902 and 1903 to the standard of the Indian rupee in Kangding, the former border town between Sichuan province and Tibet, is generally known as the Lukuan (in Pinyin transcription this is *Lu guan)* rupee. This expression is derived from the upper two of the four Chinese characters which figure on the obverse of this issue (Kalgan Shih, 1950; Kann, 1960).

In the beginning of the 20th century Tibet imported a considerable amount of tea from China through Kangding. As the Tibetan merchants could not sell Tibetan products for the equivalent amount to their Chinese counterparts, they had to make up for the balance by payments in cash. These payments were mainly delivered with Indian rupees which the Tibetans had earned with their wool trade with British India. The Chinese authorities in western Sichuan had observed the influx of Indian rupees into Sichuan with misgivings and decided to try to replace the Indian rupee by minting a silver coin of their own, struck to the same weight standard as the Indian coin, the weight of. which was 180 grains or 11.664 grams[63]. The striking of the Lukuan rupee was suggested by Liu Tingshu, who was a Chinese government official residing in Kangding. In 1902 the minting of the proposed coin in Kangding was authorised after much hesitation by the then Governor General of Sichuan, Qi Jun. His successor, Chen Chun-xuan, confirmed the authorisation for the minting of the Lukuan rupee, and from 1903 onwards allowed the striking in Chengdu of the well-known Sichuan rupee which replaced the Lukuan rupee. Records reveal that 200,000 Lukuan rupees were struck in 1902 and 800,000 in 1903 (Chen Yishi, 1990) from silver which was sent by the Chinese government to Kangding for payment of salaries to Chinese troops who were stationed in central Tibet. In order to make the Lukuan rupees competitive with their Indian counterparts, they were struck to a better standard than the Indian rupees: the fineness of the Lukuan rupee can be as much as 98% silver (Dong Wenchao, 1992, p.467 and Y.K. Leung, 2003). Judging by the rarity of this coin, one can surmise that nearly all Lukuan rupees were recalled towards the end of 1903 to be melted down and replaced by the Sichuan rupee which shows the portrait of emperor Guang Xu on its obverse.

The Chinese and Tibetan legends on the Lukuan Rupee

The first attempts to read the four Chinese characters on the obverse of the Lukuan rupee were made by Kalgan Shih (1949) and Kann (1966, p. 389). Kann read the legend as *Lu* (furnace), *Kwan* (close) *dzu* (enough) and suggested that the fourth character may be *yin* (silver). Kann considered Kalgan Shih´s interpretation that *lu* may be short for Tachienlu (the old name for Kangding)[64], and that *kwan* may mean customs. Rhodes (1977) based his reading (from right to left) on the afore-mentioned authors: *lu* brazier (Tachienlu) *kuan* (*guan* in Pinyin, meaning "customs"[65]), *tsu* (enough), *yin?* (silver?). Rhodes suggested the following translation: "Tachienlu Customs, sufficient silver" To my knowledge no better translation has been suggested so far. The expression "sufficient silver", if taken as correct, could refer to the fact that the Lukuan rupee was struck to the very high standard 98% silver (Dong Wenchao, 1993, p. 467) which, as I mentioned, surpassed that of the Indian rupee, which contained 11/12 (91⅔%) silver (Pridmore, 1980, p. 3).

Rhodes (1977) is the first author[66] who clearly recognised the reverse legend of the coin as being in Tibetan script and suggested the following reading: *dngos dngul* (in the centre; the final "sa" in the word *dngos* is written inverted) and around starting on the top and reading clockwise: *nged gsum zho dar. Dngos dngul* can be tanslated as "genuine silver", the legend around can be translated as "three sho of Dar [rtse mdo]", leaving out of consideration the syllable *nged* which makes no sense in the context[67]. The fact that *gsum zho* does not reflect the normal Tibetan word order which should be *zho gsum*[68], and the unusual style of the letters in the Tibetan legend engraved on the coin dies suggests that the die engavers were most probably Chinese who were not too familiar with Tibetan grammar and the *dbu med* ("without head") script. The reading of the script suggested by Rhodes remains questionable except for the syllables *dngul* and *gsum.* But so far, I am unable to suggest a more convincing reading.

After the publication of the Lukuan rupee by Kalgan Shih and Kann specimens of this coin were illustrated in Chinese numismatic literature such as Xiao Huaiyuan (1987, coin no. 6-14), Chen Yishi (1990) and Dong Wenchao (1992, p. 467). More recently Yin Zhengmin (2005, p. 121, nos. 438 and 439) published two specimens which are struck with two different pairs of dies. Lukuan rupees were also illustrated in western auction catalogues, the most important of which are listed in the bibliography of the present article.

Taking into account that, according to Chen Yishi (1990), a total of one million Lukuan rupees were struck in 1902 and 1903 a considerable number of dies must have been used for the production of this coin. It is therefore not surprising that among the few specimens of Lukuan rupees which have survived numerous variants can be detected. With the help of illustrations I would like to give an overview of those variants which are known to me from collections or from numismatic literature, including auction catalogues.

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[63] The Indian rupee contained 11/12 silver, i.e. 91⅔ % silver (Pridmore, 1980, p. 3). Due to its uniform weight and high silver content which were fixed in 1835, this Indian coin had become the most widely used silver coin in Tibet in the second half of the 19th and well into the 20th century.

[64] Rhodes (1977) remarks that *lu* was already mentioned by Rockhill (1891, p. 274, footnote 1) as a short form for Tachienlu. Bruce W. Smith (1996) takes into consideration the fact that the character *lu* could also be short for Luding (located southeast of Tachienlu) or Lubuo, a county seat near Tachienlu. But the evidence given by Chen Yi-shi that the Lukuan rupee was struck at Tachienlu together with Rockhill´s remark that the Chinese called Tachienlu *lu* in abbreviated form render Smith´s speculations obsolete.

[65] According to Chen Yishi (1990) the meaning of *guan* is "(mountain) pass". The Chinese character *guan* is composed of the radical *guan* which has the basic meaning "to close" and the main character which has the basic meaning "gate". The translation "mountain pass" or "customs office" can easily be derived from the basic meaning of the two elements of this character; these represent two related concepts, since mountain passes frequently marked borders and therefore customs offices were often (and even nowadays still are) located on or near mountain passes.

[66] The credit for first reading the Tibetan legend probably goes to Carlo Valdettaro, who had suggested already in 1974 the reading which was subsequently published by Rhodes (Valdettaro, 1974, p. 20).

[67] Dartsendo (Tibetan *dar rtse mdo*) or Dar-ché do (*Dar Hché mdo)* as Rockhill (1891, p, 268) refers to this town, was the Tibetan name for what the "Chinese have distorted to Ta-chien-lu" (Rockhill, 1891, p. 268). Tachienlu is also referred to as "Tatsienlu" in western literature; both names are alternative transcriptions of Chinese *Ta-jian-lu*. The interpretation of the Tibetan syllable *dar* as a short form for the place name *dar rtse mdo* remains debatable, since Rockhill (1891, p. 274, footnote 1) states that Tibetans abbreviated this name as "Do", using the last syllable of the place name rather than the first. Furthermore the letter "d" in the syllable *dar* is written with an additional stroke in the coin´s legend, while it is normally written only with one vertical stroke in the Tibetan *dbu med* (headless) script, as can be seen in the word *dngul* in the second line of the central legend.

[68] A copper coin with the denomination "three sho" which was struck with the Tibetan date cycle 16, year 20 (1946) shows the legend *zho gsum* on the reverse. On many other Tibetan coins of the 20th century the word indicating the number of units always follows the word for the denomination, such as *zho lnga* ("five sho") or *skar lnga* ("five skar").

Illustrations of Lukuan Rupees

The coins illustrated as figs. 1 to 5 share the same obverse dies. All the coins are illustrated enlarged. Their actual diameter ranges between 30 and 31 mm. All the coins have plain edges.

Fig. 1. Reverse: Inner circle consists of 45 beads (dots). Photographed in Nepal in the 1980s. Weight and diameter not recorded.

Fig. 2. Weight: 11.21 g, diameter: 30.1 mm. Reverse: Inner circle consists of 43 beads. Collection Wolfgang Bertsch (Bertsch, 2002, plate IV).

Fig. 3. Weight: 11.6 g; diameter: 30 mm. Reverse: Inner circle consists of 43 beads. Collection N.G. Rhodes (Rhodes, 1977).

Fig. 4. Weight: 11.52 g; diameter 31.2 mm. Reverse: Inner circle has 43 beads. Collection K. Gabrisch (Baldwin-Ma-Gillio-Monetarium, 2005, lot 254).

Fig. 5. Weight: 11.6 g, diameter. 31.0 mm. Obverse: similar to coins of figs. 1 - 4, the reverse is similar to coins of figs. 2 and 3. Reverse: Inner circle is composed of 43 beads. Yin Zhengmin, 2004, p. 121, no. 438.

Fig. 6. Weight: 11.0 g, diameter: 30.6 mm. Obverse: Different die, compared to coins of figs 1 to 5. Particularly the upper left character guan *and the lower right character* tsu *are different. Reverse: Inner circle is composed of 44 beads. Yin Zhengmin, 2004, no. 439.*

Fig. 7. Obverse: Same or slightly different from obverse of coin of fig 6. The inner circle on the reverse consists of 44 beads. Collection Adam Green.

Fig. 8. Weight: 11.36 g; diameter 10.7mm. Obverse: similar to coin of fig. 7. Reverse: Inner circle composed of 43 beads. Collection Wolfgang Bertsch

Fig. 9. Weight: 11.67 g. Reverse: The Tibetan legend in the inner circle is engraved reversed, the legends between the inner and outer circle are engraved inverted (upside down). The inner circle on the reverse consists of 38 beads. Collection Nicholas Rhodes (Cf. Kann, 1966, no. 1285 and Superior Galleries, 1991, lot 1802).

Fig. 10. Reverse without inner circle of beads and Tibetan legend in a style which is difficult to read. Weight and diameter not recorded. Taisei-Baldwin-Gillio, 1996, lot 1426. At present level of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether this coin is genuine or forged.

Fig. 11. Cast counterfeit. Weight: 11.22 g; diameter 30.6 mm. Reverse: 43 beads. Published by K. Gabrisch (1981). Judging by the photograph this piece looks genuine, but Karl Gabrisch, who examined the actual coin, was of the opinion that it is "a cast counterfeit, a mode of manufacture well shown by the ´dendritic´ surface structure".

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READING MANCHU (PART 1)

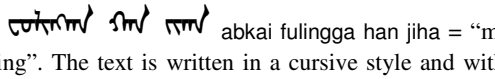
By Dirk de Boek

Some time ago I became interested in the legends on Chinese coins. A lot is known about the legends written in Chinese and Arabic, but nearly nothing about those written in Manchu on the coins between 1616 and 1911. The legends I could find are here transliterated in the style of Mrs Roth-Li and translated with the help of two dictionaries on the Internet. The transliteration of Manchu is written in a sans-serif font, of Chinese in *italics*. The Manchu words should be vertically written, but for obvious reasons I have turned them anticlockwise over 90º.

The Manchus got their script from the Mongols. The Mongolian script is ambiguous. But because letters can exclude others from a word, the Mongolians can use the same sign for o and u (and sometimes also ö and ü), just as for a and e, for d and t, and for g, h and k without too serious ambiguity. But the Manchu language does not know these exclusions. So reading the old Manchu "without dots and circles" involves a lot of guesswork, unless you know the language well.

Around 1644 the Mongol script was enriched with circles and dots. The letters u, e, d and g now have dots to distinguish them from o, a, t and k. The h has a circlet. When d or t are followed by a vowel with a dot, the dot is not written but the stem of the word made longer at the top. The result of this all is that there are nearly no ambiguities left.

1. 1616-1626. KM 228 Zeno# 7464.

 abkai fulingga han jiha = "money of Tianming". The text is written in a cursive style and without the dots and circles.

abkai fulingga is the Manchu year-title from the Tianming period. The word jiha is more or less the same as *qian* 錢 which can be translated as "copper coin", "cash" or "money".

2. 1627-1635 or perhaps later. Hartill 22.8

sūre han ni jiha / emu yan = "money of Tiancong": reverse juwan emu yan = "ten one tael" or one tenth of a tael. (The same construction was used on small German coins: "Sechzehn einen Taler" or "Sixteen (to) a dollar".) In fact juwan emu yan means "11 tael", which is impossible for such a coin. The text is also written without dots and circles, but now with a straight 'backbone' and triangular strokes. sure han is the Manchu name of the epoch of Tiancong.

On this coin sūre is written, rather than sure. There seems to have been initially some uncertainty about the spelling with an u and an ū. ni gives the genitive, but only after -ng. Here it should have been i. (Burger says the longer word is used because the engraver needed four words). The point to the left of the -n- has been used to date the coin because the spelling reform that introduced the dots and circles is from 1644. It is seen as proof that this coin was not made in the Tiancong period. However, the year 1644 is far from sure, and Mrs. Roth-Li wrote that the spelling reform took root gradually so that dating on the base of it is very insecure. Moreover: the point of the –n- is also used in Mongolian and it was the only point used in the older style Manchu. Nevertheless, the coin is regarded as having been made after the Tiancong period.

3. 1616-1643? Zeno# 9847.

This coin could have been cast by Abahai during the reign period Chongde. The only recognisable word is the particle i bottom left. But the text definitely does not include the Manchu year-title wesihun erdemungge of the Chongde emperor. However, it may be abkai sure which was an alternative year title of the Tiancong emperor (1627-1635). Another possibility is that the text is a variation on that of the first coin: abkai fulingga han i jiha read top, bottom, left and right.

All the following texts are written in the modern style with dots and circles.

4. 1801 KM Tibet C85.

menggun jiha = "silver money". On the obverse: 嘉慶藏寶 "Tibetan coin from the Jia Qing period". The reverse has a Tibetan text which was read and translated by Andrew West: ca chin for Jia Qing and 'khri bzhugs which may be "10.000 lives". The last could be the translation of a common Chinese congratulation 萬歲 *wan sui*. In the margin top and bottom, where we expect the year, seems to be written brgyad pa: eighth.

There is also a 5 fen piece from the same period, with menggun jiha in mirror script and Chinese 年六 "year 6" (1801) and khri bzhugs (without ') in Tibetan.

The Manchus wrote Chinese words in their own script, as is evident by nearly all the mintmarks and mintplaces between 1750 and 1911. They had some extra letters for typical Chinese consonants. For the typical Chinese vowels they used combinations that do not exist in Manchu, like 'io' and 'ao'. A list of all these words can be found in "Manchu, a Textbook for reading Documents" by Mrs Roth-Li. For instance: ciowan = *quan*.

The next coin, "the old man dollar" has the mintplace in Chinese written in Manchu.

5. 1837-1845. KM Taiwan C25-3, Zeno# 38000.

tai wan kiyang ku = *tai wan qiang ku* = 台灣槍库 = "Taiwan arsenal". On the reverse in seal script: 道 光 年 造足 醇 銀 餅柒 庫 貳 平 = "Daoguang period minted, full pure silver cake, treasure weight 72".

6. 1878 KM Sinkiang Kashgar Y A7.6.

kasigar weilembi = "Made (in) Kashgar". Clearly the name of the city is not written with a š, as it was rightly done on cash coins, but with a s. I have translated the word weilehe on copper coins as "made". The second word here is a form of the same verb.

五分 = 5 fen. Reverse: قلغان كاشغر qalgan kashgar, Kashgar mint.

On coins A7.7, A7.23, A7.24, A7.19 and B7 only the name Kashgar is written in Manchu, but now with a š: .

7. 1878? KM Sinkiang General coinage Y A7.5 (was A7.3).

ᡳᠨᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡮᡳ ᡶᡝᠨ ᡠ niyan j'i fen u = *nian zhi fen wu* = 年(二?)分五 = "year (2?), 5 fen".

Under the Zhizheng emperor (Yuan dynasty) two coins were issued with numbers in Chinese and their pronunciaton in Phags-pa. So we know that the pronunciation of 3 (*san*) was in Phagspa spelled as "sam", and 2 (*er*) as "zhi". If the 5 fen piece under consideration was issued in year 2 of the Guang Xu-period, 1875, it would be only one or two years older than similar pieces bearing the dates AH 1294 and 1295 and it could have been a trial piece.

According to Mr. Andrew West, however, this interpretation cannot be correct for two reasons. He wrote: ... '*Mandarin "er" is a fairly recent development, and, in the Yuan dynasty, characters which in modern Mandarin are pronounced "er" were pronounced (and spelled in 'Phags-pa script) "zhi". However this "zhi" is not at all the same as the pinyin "zhi" used in modern Mandarin.*

The Phags-pa "zhi" has a soft consonant sound, pronounced more like pinyin "ri" than "zhi". Manchu "j'i" is used exclusively to represent the hard "zhi" sound of modern Mandarin. It is just an accident of transliteration that Phags-pa "zhi" is written the same as pinyin "zhi". They are in fact two completely different sounds, and so Manchu "j'i" could not represent an archaic pronunciation of Chinese "er" (in any case by the start of the Qing dynasty the sound "er" had become fixed...)'.

Reverse: كنشوى نيک كو موشفلى
Gang Shui ning gumush puli, "Silver money of Guangxu".

8. 1884. KM Kirin Y 915-919.Zeno# 32059 (KM has illustrated a copy of a tael with very bad Manchu.)

ᡤᡳᡵᡳᠨ ᡨᡝᡥᡝᡵᡝᠪᡠᡴᡠ ᡝᠮᡠ ᠵᡳᡥᠠ girin teherebuku emu jiha = "Jilin, equal to 1 qian". teherebuku = "balance, scale".
On the other coins of this series the values 3, 5 and 7 qian and 1 tael are written as: ilan jiha, sunja jiha, nadan jiha and emu yan.

Chinese at right:廠平 *chang ping* = "factory weight". At left: 壹錢 (the coin in the picture has a simpler character for 1)， 三錢， 半兩， 契錢， 壹兩 one qian, three qian, half liang, seven qian, one liang.

Obverse 光緒十年吉林官局製 = "Guangxu year 10 Jilin government office manufactured".

The larger coins have: 光緒十年吉林機器官局堅製 = "Guang Xu year 10 Jilin machinery government office supervisor manufactured".

9. 1890 KM Sinkiang Y A18, Kann 1040. Zeno# 8010.

ᡩᠠᡳᠴᡳᠩ ᡤᡠᡵᡠᠨ ᡳ ᡦᡠᡵᡩᡝ ᡨᡝᡵᡝᡥᡝᠨ ᡳᠮᡳ ᠵᡳᡥᠠ

badarangga doro i menggun muheliyen ilan jiha = "3 qian white silver coin of Guangxu". Another coin has as the value: sunja jiha = "5 qian". badarangga doro is the year-title of the Guangxu emperor. muheliyen = "round". Its equivalent in Chinese is *yuan* 圓, which can be translated as "circle", "round" or "money". jiha is obviously used here as a certain value, not as money in general.

Chinese: 光緒銀圓三錢 "Three cent silver coin from the Guang Xu emperor"; on the other coin: 五錢 "5 cent".

The Uyghur text, written in Arabic is:
كانكشوى خان نيک ملفان فلى / وح متقال لق كموش
Guangxu khan's ... money 3 mitqals silver. The text on the other coin is somewhat shorter and has بش :5.

From here on, the Manchu text is practically always the literary translation from a Chinese legend on the coin.

10. 1896-1898. KM Chihli Y61-65 Zeno# 24823.

ᡩᠠᡳᠴᡳᠩ ᡤᡠᡵᡠᠨ ᡳ ᠪᠠᡩᠠᡵᠠᠩᡤᠠ ᡤᡠᡵᡩᡝ ᡳ ᠣᡵᡳᠨ ᡩᡠᡳᠴᡳ ᠠᠨᡳᠶᠠ ᠠᠮᠠᡵᡤᡳ ᠨᠠᠮᡠ ᡳ ᡨᡝᡨᡠᠨ ᠰᡠᡵᡩᡝᡵᡝ ᡴᡡᠸᠠᡵᠠᠨ ᠸᡝᡳᠯᡥᡝ

daicing gurun i badarangga doro i orin duici aniya amargi namu i tetun šurdere kūwaran weilehe = "made in the machine mint of the North Sea (=Beiyang) in the 24nd year of Guangxu of the Great Qing dynasty", which is the same as the Chinese text: 大清光绪二十四年北洋機器局造

Other coins have ᡨᡝᡨᡠᠨ ᡵᡠᠴᡳ orin juweci and ᡨᡝᡨᡠᠨ ᡳᠯᠠᠴᡳ orin ilaci for the 22nd and 23rd year.
daicing gurun i = "from the great Qing dynasty",
badarangga doro i = "from Guangxu",
orin duici aniya = "the twentyfourth year",
amargi namu i = "from the North Sea (navy)",
tetun šurdere kūwaran weilehe could be "the workplace of the rotating machines" but also "the machine shop for the (money) circulation".
The i in daicing is remarkable. It suggests *tai qing* 太清. The Chinese text on coins however is always *da qing* 大清 (please note the small difference).

11. 1897-1899. KM Fengtien Y 86, 87.1. Zeno 11807.

ᡩᠠᡳᠴᡳᠩ ᡤᡠᡵᡠᠨ ᡳ ᠪᠠᡩᠠᡵᠠᠩᡤᠠ ᡤᡠᡵᡩᡝ ᡳ ᠣᡵᡳᠨ ᡩᡠᡳᠴᡳ ᠠᠨᡳᠶᠠ ᠠᠪᡴᠠᡳ ᡳᠮᡳᠶᠠᠩᡤᠠ ᡨᡝᡨᡠᠨ ᠰᡠᡵᡩᡝᡵᡝ ᡴᡡᠸᠠᡵᠠᠨ ᠸᡝᡳᠯᡥᡝ

daicing gurun i badarangga doro i orin duici aniya abkai imiyangga tetun šurdere kūwaran weilehe = "Made in the machine mint of

the Heavenly Reverence (= Fengtian) in the 24rd year of Guangxu of the Great Qing dynasty", the same as 大清光緒二十四年奉天機器局造.

Also with orin ilaci and orin sunjaci for the 23th and 25th year.

Lin Gwo Ming shows a 50 cents piece with year 25 in Chinese but year 24 in Manchu in his "Illustrated catalogue of Chinese gold & silver coins".

12. 1898-1899. KM Fengtien Y83-85. Zeno# 38164.

badarangga doro i orin duici aniya abkai imiyangga weilehe = "Made in Fengtian in the 24th year of Guangxu", 光緒二十四年奉天者造. In 1899 with orin sunjaci for the 25th year. The text is abbreviated for use on small 5, 10 and 20 cents pieces.

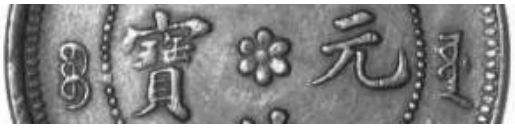
13. 1899-1908. On several Jilin coins with Yeoman numbers starting with 179 to 183. Zeno# 7810.

daicing gurun = "The great Qing dynasty", the same as 大清.

14. 1898-1907. On many copper dollars: for instance Y4.1 and Chihli Y74. Zeno 34275.

badarangga doro i yuwan boo = "Original coin of Guangxu", a literary translation of 光緒元寶 *Guang Xu yuan bao*.

On Kwangtung Y205 and Y206, coins issued in 1909, this text is incorrect because Guangxu died in 1908. The obverses of these coins give the correct Chinese name Xuantong.



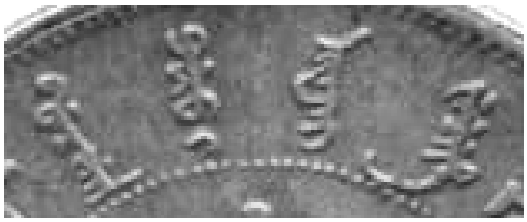
15. 1902-1905. KM Hupeh Y120, 122, Kiangsi Y149.2, 150, 153. Zeno# 40272.

yuwan boo = *yuan bao* = 元寶 = "Original coin". This has nothing to do with the mint of the Board of Works that had no minting press and closed in 1900.

16. 1904. KM Hupeh Y128.1, 128.2. Zeno# 37685.

daicing gurun menggun jiha = "Silver money of the Great Qing dynasty", 大清銀幣.

The reverse has emu yan = "one tael", 壹兩.

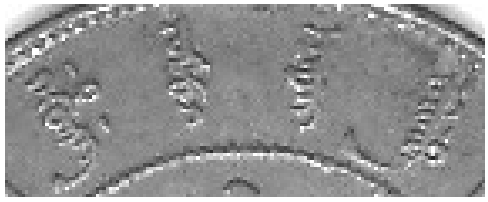


17. 1905-1909. On many coins from the Tai Ching Ti Kuo series, for instance KM Hupeh Y10j, Chekiang Y11b, Fengtien Y10e and Fukien Y10f. Zeno# 37635.

badarangga doro i aniyai weilehe = "Made in the period of Guangxu" 光緒年造 (Krause-Mishler refers to this text as "with bottom of Manchu word at 11 o'clock curls right".) On Szechuan Y20t.2 and Y21t.1, the Manchu text gives the wrong ruler, because these coins are from 1909, when Guangxu was no more. In aniyai = "from the year" the genitive-i is not written seperately, but as part of the word.

18. 1909. KM Kirin Y22, Y22.2. Zeno# 32163.

gehungge yoso is the year title of the 宣統 Xuantong emperor.

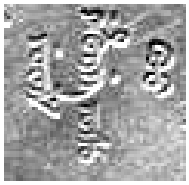


19. 1909. KM General issue Y20, 2121.3, Kann 221, Fengtien 19 e, 20 e, Hupeh 20j, Szechuan 20t.2.

gehungge yoso i aniyai weilehe = "Made in the period of Xuantong" 宣統年造
(Krause-Mishler writes here: "Bottom of Manchu word at 11 o'clock curls left".)

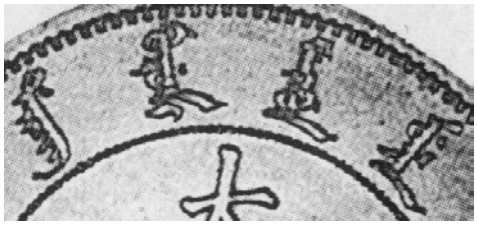
20. 1909-1911. (KM Manchurian provinces Y213). Zeno# 12526.

daicing yuwan boo = *da qing yuan bao* = 大清元寶 = "Original coin of the great Qing dynasty".



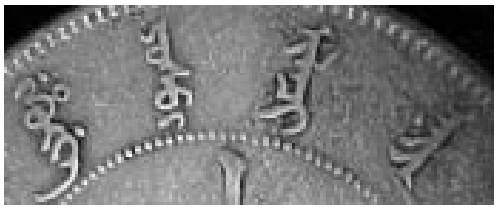
21. 1909-1911. KM Szechuan 242, 243, Yunnan Y259. Zeno# 22182

gehungge yoso yuwan boo = "Original coin of Xuantong" 宣統元寶



22. 1910. KM General issues Y 23, K 219, K221.

daicing gurun i menggun ulin = "Silver money of the great Qing dynasty" 大情銀幣. ulin may be translated as "goods" but also as "money". Another translation is "Wealth of the great Qing dynasty".



23. 1911. KM General issue Y 31.

gehungge yoso i ilaci aniya = "The third year of Xuantong" 宣統三年. The spelling is clearly incorrect.

I would like to thank the following people:
Dr. Gertraude Roth-Li and Dr. Stefan George for their help with Manchu;
Dr. Andrew West for his reading and interpretation of the Tibetan text and the discussion of text 7;
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The translation of Manchu texts 1, 2 and 4 are from Dr. Werner Burger.
The reading of Chinese was made possible by using The Character dictionary of Clopper Almon
(www.wam.umd.edu/~calmon/hanzi) and the Cedict dictionary
(www.mandarintools.com/cedict.html).

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Richard J. Plant, *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic coins and how to read them,* New York 1979
Gertraude Roth-Li, *Manchu. A textbook for reading documents*, Honolulu

AN INTERESTING NEW COIN OF DEVAMĀNIKYA OF TRIPURA

By Nicholas Rhodes

Following the publication of our book entitled The Coinage of Tripura[1], we predicted that new varieties would certainly turn up. The rupee of Devamānikya of published here, is particularly impressive, and is illustrated and described below:

Obv: Lion walking right with crescent and pellet above. Date, *Śaka 1449*, below. Ornamental border around.
Rev: Sanskrit Legend in four lines within square, with arabesques outside. *Krta Durgā Ko/ti Homa Śrī Śrī/ Devamānikya/ Śrī Padmāvatyau*.

Diam. 18mms. Wt. c.10.7gms.

The obverse die of this new coin is identical to that on coin No.77 described in our book and the date shows traces of having been altered from *Śaka 1448* on the die. The initial part of the reverse legend is, however, completely new, and may be interpreted as 'Has performed a crore of sacrifices(?) for Durgā'. Although the description alludes to a 'crore' of sacrifices, this should not be taken literally. We should either assume that very many sacrifices were performed on this occasion, or it may merely mean that the king had worshipped goddess Durga and had uttered her name a crore of times. The queen's name, Padmavati, is the same as that on other coins of this date. I suggest that this new type can be identified as No.77A according to the numbering system used in our book. This new type certainly confirms that Devamānikya was a very fervent worshipper of the goddess Durgā.

Coin No.77 in our book was unusual, in that it had the date on the obverse changed, while not commemorating any special event on the reverse. This new piece shows that the date was changed in order to celebrate the "sacrifices" performed for Durga, and the earlier known coin may be regarded as a mule between the two types, using the obverse die of the new coin No.77A, and the reverse die of No.76. The general rule was, therefore, still followed, whereby the date on the obverse was only changed when there was a special event to celebrate. We may assume that some of these coins were given to the Brahmins who officiated at the sacrifices that were performed. Since a new obverse die, also dated *Śaka 1449* was prepared for the new type No.78, which was struck to celebrate the ritual bath at Dhurasara, we may assume that this new type was struck before the ritual bath took place.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay for helping to read and interpret the Sanskrit legend.

[1] [1] *The Coinage of Tripura*, by N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose, Kolkata 2002.

SOME TANKAS OF THE BENGAL SULTANS
and a billon coin of Dehli

A New Gold Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal

By Nicholas Rhodes

The coins of the Indian Sultanates have been well published by Goron & Goenka, but new unrecorded specimens continue to appear. Most gold coins of the Sultans of Bengal are only known from a few specimens each, as production must have been very limited.

Diam 17mm. Wt.10.6g

The gold coin illustrated above is the first gold coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh clearly to show the mint of Dār al-Zarb Fatḥābād, and hence is certainly worth recording. Since gold coins of the previous reign are known for this mint, its appearance is in no way unexpected. Indeed, in describing coin No.B791, Goron and Goenka noted that as *Dār al-Zarb* was visible, the mint may be Fatḥābād, written on the last line of the obverse, but as that part of the coin was off the flan, it was not possible to confirm the mint. This particular piece differs from B791 in that the legend is fully within the die, and it has an ornamental border on both sides. Otherwise the style is not unlike B791, and the companion silver tanka, B811, and the stylised, fixed, date 925 AH is visible.

A Gold Tanka of Chandrābād

By Paul Stevens

The *badr shāhī* tankas of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd (AH 939-945; 1532-1538 AD) remain rather enigmatic as many of them bear clear dates that fall during the reign of his elder brother, Nuṣrat Shāh. The silver tankas as a type are quite common and were struck at a range of mints, some well known from earlier series, others specific to this issue. One of the latter mints is Chandrābād, possibly to be identified with Chandpur in Murshidabad district. A few dateless silver tankas are known of this mint.

Gold *badr shāhī* tankas are extremely rare, those so far published either bearing no mintname (G&G B891) or just "ḥa" (or kha) (G&G B890). I am now pleased to be able to publish this gold tanka from the mint of Chandrābād. It is practically identical to the silver type, G&G B900, weighs 10.78 g, and has a diameter of 22 mm.

A Tanka of Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'ẕam

The silver tanka published here seems to belong to the Mu'aẕẕamābād series (G&G B245). This is a fairly variable series, the variation occurring in the coin diameters and particularly in the shape of the multifoil on the reverse. Although the overall type is quite common it is very difficult to find a coin with a legible reverse margin.

Comparing this coin with those published in G&G, one can notice a much less angular and more detailed style of engraving on the obverse. The short upright strokes are clearer as are the "teeth" of the letters *sīn* and *shīn*. The reverse inscription is also differently engraved. The word nāṣir is in two lines; the centre of muslimīn is in the form of a knot; the *wa* is at the beginning of the third line rather than the end of the second line. The marginal legend is not clear enough to be read. The coin weighs 10.44 g and is 30 mm in diameter.

A Tanka of Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf

This silver tanka is similar to the mintless type G&G B572A. The principle difference is in the ruler's kunya. On the previously published type, the kunya is *abū'l mujāhid*. On this coin the kunya is clearly *abū'l muẕaffar*. The obverse of both types is engraved rather crudely in very similar style, while, on the reverse, the shahada is engraved more elegantly with clear lettering, and with *muḥammad* in the bottom line. This coin weighs 10.50 g and is 26 mm in diameter.

A Tanka of Saif al-Dīn Fīrūz

This silver tanka bears the standard legend for this ruler but with *saif* spelt with a *sād* rather than the normal *sīn*. Such a spelling is known for some coins struck at Fatḥābād and Khazāna (G&G B653, 656). The present coin, dated year 893, seems to have a different mintname which looks somewhat like Iqlīm. Iqlīm, which means "district" is usually found in association with the mintname Mu'a̲z̲z̲amābād, but not on its own. The reading is very tentative: there is no sign of the letter *yā* between the *lām* and the final *hā*, but that would not in itself be unusual (see, for example, B509). Stylistically, the coin has some similarities with the Fathābād issue but there are differences; the *abū* of *abū'l mu̲z̲affar* on the obverse is engraved differently as is the way in which *muḥammad* on the reverse is engraved. The coin weighs 10.51 g and has a diameter of 29 mm.

A Tanka of Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat of Khazāna Mint

Khazana, the Treasury, is a relatively scarce mint for this ruler. G&G lists a gold tanka dated 927, a silver tanka dated "93" and a silver half tanka dated 925 (B792, 835, 836). This silver tanka, dated 925, shows various stylistic differences from the coins illustrated. On the obverse, *nāṣir* is engraved to the left of *al-sulṭān* and not to the right of it, as on the other coins, so that *bin* is also placed differently. Otherwise, the style of the engraving on this side is similar to that found on the other coins illustrated. The engraving on the reverse, on the other hand, is much finer than on the other Khazāna coins of this ruler and seems to have been done by another hand. Mintname and date are very clear. This coin weighs 10.51 g and is 29 mm in diameter.

Something Strange

Dr Alex Fishman has provided this illustration of a very strange silver tanka, weighing 10.4 g. It apparently came with a group of coins of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain and Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat. The inscriptions on both sides are so garbled that it is not clear whether it is an imitation, i.e. of a coin of Ḥusain Shāh, or represents something different. One thing which does appear to be clear is a Nagari character on the first side which seems to be *mri.*Various types of imitative coins are known from this period and are usually ascribed to somewhere in east Bengal, albeit speculatively. Members are cordially invited to decipher the legends.

A Billon Coin of Muḥammad bin Fīrūz of Dehlī

This billon coin of Muḥammad bin Fīrūz, clearly dated 793, is very similar to G&G D588, except that the word at the top of the obverse is *sulṭān* and not *sulṭānī*. This would seem to correspond to the unillustrated NW 813-814, which is not included in G&G. The weight of the present coin is 8.78 g, diameter 17 mm.

References:

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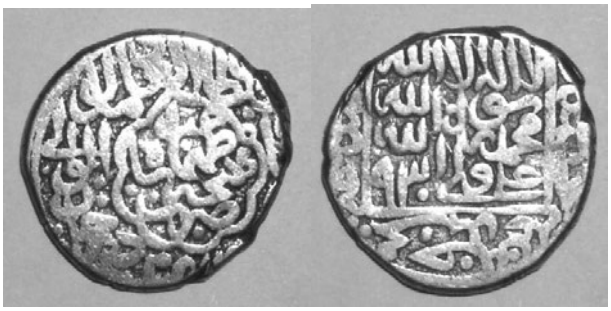
SOME COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER TAHMASP I: Part 7

By Stan Goron

In previous parts of this series, I published many different types struck on the 'second western standard' of 6.22 g. This time I am turning my attention to shahis struck on the 'first western standard' of 7.88 g. This standard is based on a *toman* of 8100 *nokhod* and was used in the first few years of Tahmasp's reign, from AH 930 to 937. Coins of this standard are much scarcer than those of the second standard.

Shahi of Arjish, no date visible, 7.35 g. Ruler's name within elongated cartouche, mintname at the bottom of the obverse.



Shahi of Ganja, year 930, 7.5 g. Struck during the first year of the reign. Ruler's name and mintname within ornate cartouche. Date on the reverse at bottom left of Kalima, within the square.

Shahi of Isfahan, dated year (93)4, 7.7 g. Ruler's name and mintname within cartouche. Date just below to the left.

Shahi of Kashan, year 930, 7.5 g. Ruler's name and date in rhombus, mintname at bottom, only partly visible. Reverse with the 12 *rashidun* in mill-sail arrangement.

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