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ONS News

From the Editor

As part of this issue of the Journal we are very pleased to be able to publish a supplement devoted to Caucasian numismatics. We should like to express our gratitude to Irakli Paghava of Tiflis for co-ordinating the production of the individual papers and also for making a considerable contribution to them.

We apologise for the inadvertent inversion of the cash coin in the header to JONS 196.

London Meeting and AGM

The AGM will be taking place at the British Museum on Saturday 15 November 2008. In addition to the formal proceedings, talks will be given by:

Paul Stevens: 'EIC mints in Bengal 1765-1790'

Nicholas Rhodes: 'The coinage of Acheh'

and other participants.

Oxford Meeting

A meeting took place at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford on Sunday 28 September 2008. Talks given were as follows:

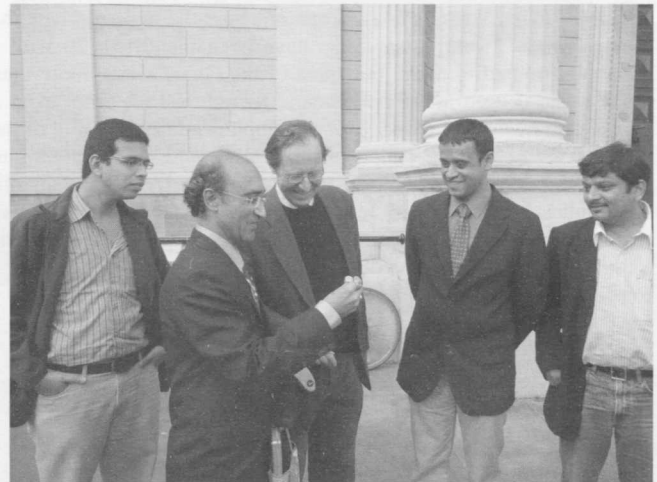
Dilip Rajgor: 'Pre-Ksatrapa Numismatics of Gujarat'

Prashant Kulkarni: 'Kushan influence on Gupta coins'

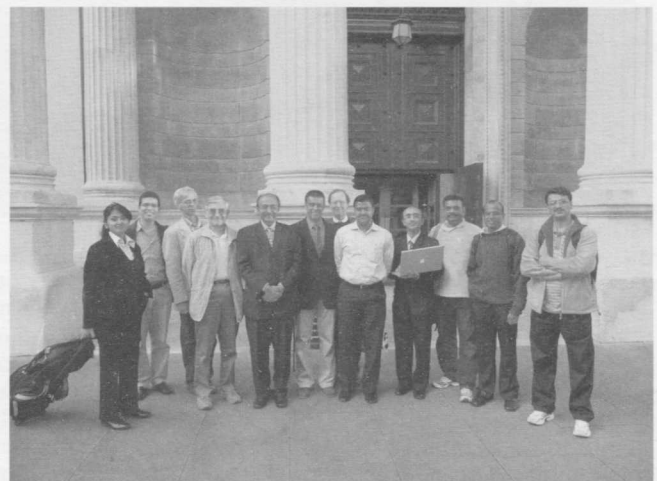
Paul Stevens: 'Early EIC Coinage at the Calcutta and Murshidabad mints'

Nick Rhodes: 'Coinage of Akbar in Bengal'

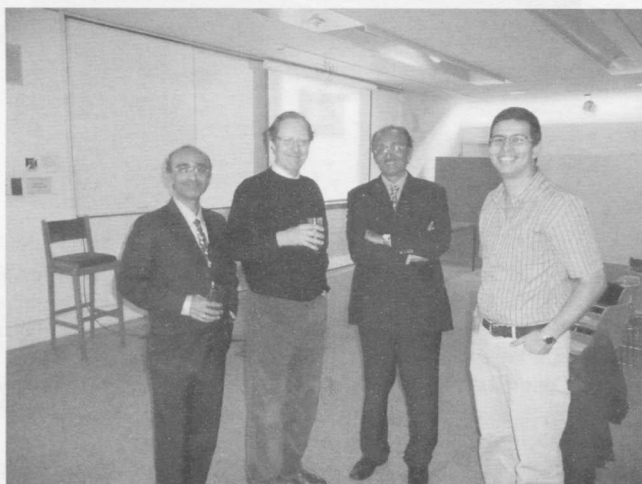
Our thanks to Dr Shailendra Bhandare for organising this meeting.



Dilip Rajgor examining something of great interest with Malcolm, Nick, Shailendra and Sanjay Gosalia looking on.



Group photo in front of the museum entrance. Your editor can be seen somewhere among them.



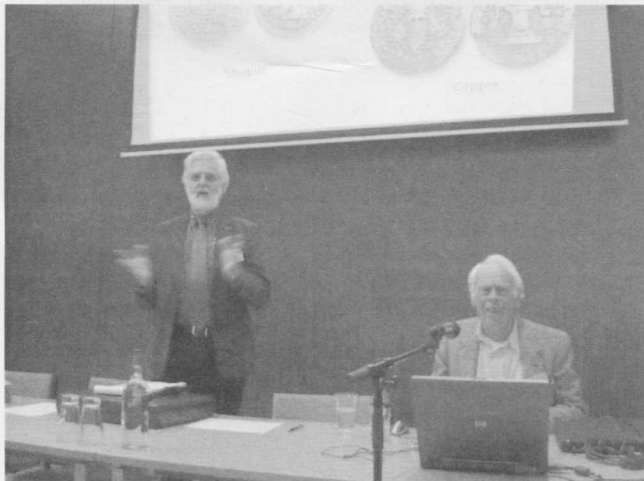
Dilip Rajgor, Nick Rhodes, Prashant Kulkarni and Malcolm Todywalla during a break in proceedings at Oxford.

Utrecht Meeting

The annual ONS meeting took place on Saturday, 18 October 2008 at the premises of the Geldmuseum, Utrecht. Almost thirty members found their way to the venue, including participants from Belgium and Germany.

After the usual welcome with tea and coffee in the museum café, the meeting got underway in the museum's auditorium. Drs Anne van 't Haaff presented a brief overview on the coinage of Persis. While working on a new catalogue, he had found similarities in the history of the coinage of Persis and Elymais.

Both kingdoms were, at certain periods, vassals of or at least strongly influenced by the Seleucids and later by the Parthians. The parallels and differences are to a large extent due to the geographical situation. Elymais was in a geographically open situation and relatively easily accessible to outsiders, friends or enemies. Persis was isolated on the south-western Iranian plateau, bordered by the Persian Gulf in the south, in the west by the Zagros mountains and there were deserts in the north-east. An important similarity was their desire for independence. In Elymais it was outwardly oriented, involving conflicts with neighbours. Early Elymais rulers went on campaigns in Mesopotamia. There was no affinity with Achaemenid history. In Persis the urge for independence was not outwardly oriented. The early Persis rulers considered themselves the keepers of the Achaemenid heritage, which is reflected in their coins. There were no actions outside Persis. Persis coins were not used in international trade and are not found outside the territory of Persis. Five dynasties ruled in Persis from the 3rd cent BC till the beginning of the 3rd cent AD, a period known as the "Dark Ages of Persis" about which nothing is known except what is on the coins. No rock inscriptions or written material exist. There is no information about the regions where the kings ruled. Twenty-nine rulers have been identified, 26 with a name attributed to them. For most of the Persis kings, more than one name is used in the numismatic literature, sometimes even 3 or 4. The reading of the legends is complicated. The writing of the letters varies, different alphabets are used and often letters and even words are left out or written backwards. Research still continues in this matter. In at least three periods their relative independence was lost, first to the Seleucids and later to the Parthians, who then ruled directly.



Jan Lingen introducing Anne van 't Haaff

A number of identified kings issued distinctly different types, which may indicate different mints or it may be that father, sons or brothers were co-rulers in different regions. Persis coins are of good silver, from the beginning till the end. The weight, however, gradually decreased over time, which is not uncommon. Some rulers issued coins with lower than expected weights. Probably this was caused by an uncertain political situation: possibly they were rebels or client kings ruling in some region. There is no information on these matters. It is surprising that the weight of the coins of the last five kings started to rise again. This can be an indication of an increased self-confidence and stronger position in their relations with the Parthians and a prelude to the defeat of Parthia by the last Persis ruler, Ardashir V, who is also known as the Sasanian first "King of Kings" Ardashir I. The five dynasties and their kings were discussed with slides showing the images of 42 significant coin types. The study of the coins of Persis will result in a publication on this subject, similar to his earlier book *Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage, ca 147 BC – AD 228*, published by CNG. The proposed catalogue on Persis will be published by the same company.

'The real Hermaios – an enigmatic king', was the subject of the next talk by Dr Ruud Schüttenhelm. All that is left of king

Hermaios are huge quantities of coins. The speaker reviewed the position of Hermaios in the Indo-Greek series, a matter of debate for more than a century. But the most intriguing aspect of his coinage is the, by now, general opinion that some/part/most of his coins were struck later and by others. The views of two leading experts on the matter i.e. Bopearachchi and Senior were summarised and evaluated. The conclusion seems to be that coins undoubtedly struck during his reign and on his orders constitute only a very small percentage of the total and that the great majority was struck by various Indo-Scythian groups.

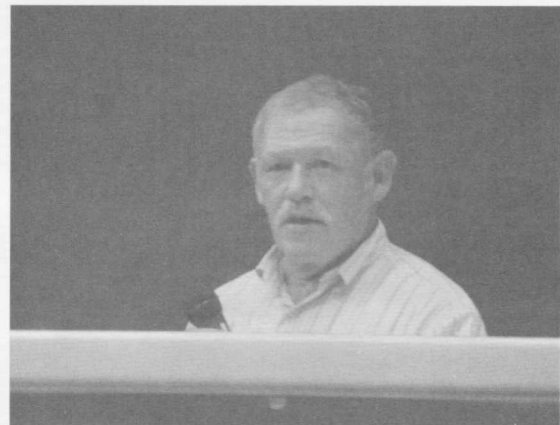


Ruud Schüttenhelm talking about Hermaios

Francois Gurnet gave a short introduction to Sasanian numismatics with the presentation of some interesting Sasanian coins. The coins discussed will be the subject of publication in future issues of JONS.

During the lunch break, the librarian of the Geldmuseum, Drs Ans ter Woerds, made it possible to pay a visit to the library where, specially for this occasion, a large selection of books on oriental coinage was put on display. In addition, a busy trade and exchange of coins among the members took place during this period.

The afternoon session started with a short talk by Dr Tjong Ding Yih on the (numismatic) occurrence of the central Asian ornamental Bodom (almond) motif. For further details see the article on this subject in this issue of JONS.



Tjong Ding Yih during his talk on the Bodom motif

Rob de Raaij gave a report on two numismatic conferences he had attended this year. The first conference was in Trieste on 29 – 30 August. The second conference he attended was on the Coins and Monetary Circulation in the Mongol States of the 13th-15th Centuries. This was the 7th International Numismatic conference, dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Prof. Elena A. Davidovich, Bakhchisaray (Ukraine), 7 –13 September 2008.

After a tea break it was time for the traditional auction of oriental coins and related books. The auction consisted of 175 lots for which there was keen interest, by postal bidders and room bidders alike. Some of the lots were donated to the ONS, others were auctioned on commission and altogether generated over 1400 euros for the ONS. An all-time record.

Thanks are due to all those who supplied and donated material for the auction as well as those participating in the bidding. The day ended in a cosy atmosphere in a nearby Asian restaurant.

Our thanks are also due to the Geldmuseum, who most generously enabled the facilities to be made available for this meeting. The next meeting will take place at the same venue, the Geldmuseum, Leidseweg 90, Utrecht, on **Saturday 17 October 2009**. Please make a note of this in your diary.

Pakistan



Members of the Pakistan chapter at a recent meeting. From left to right: Dr Nadeem Sheikh, Shafqat Mirza, Mobin Ahmad, Muhammad Yousaf, Haroon Tareen, Dr Abdul Shakoor.

Members' News

Stephen Lloyd is currently compiling material for a catalogue of the silver coins of the First and Second Saffarid Dynasties of Sijistan. He would welcome information from members who own or know of interesting or unusual Saffarid dirhams from this period, and can be contacted by email at steve@mortonandeden.com

New Members

European Region

Revised addresses, interests etc.

Lists Received and Auction News

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 236 (August 2008), 237 (September 2008) and 238 (October 2008)
2. Tim Wilkes (PO Box 150, Battle, UK, TN33 0FA; tel ++44 (0)1424 773352, tim@wilkescoins.com) fixed price list 2, September 2008, of mainly Islamic and Indian coins.
3. Morton & Eden's 11-12 December sale in London will include roughly 200 lots of Islamic and Indian coins. Catalogues can be requested from Morton & Eden (45 Maddox Street London W1S 2PE; tel ++44 (0)20 7493 5344) address at end of this email) and are also available online at www.mortonandeden.com.

New and Recent Publications

MI Mochiri's book *Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage* has been reprinted and is available from Editions Peeters, Bondgenotenlaan 153, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium; order@peeters-leuven.be

L. Lazarov *A 16th Century Coin Hoard from Bulgaria*, hard cover, pp 272, well illustrated. Contains details of a hoard of Islamic and Venetian gold coins and Ottoman silver akches. Available on-line from eBay seller 'Vist'.

Gere Bacharach reports that the American University in Cairo Press has republished his *Islamic History through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage* incorporating all the errata and a few other corrections. The price in Egyptian pounds remains at 120 LE.

Akches VI by Slobodan Sreckovic will shortly come off the press. It will catalogue the last Ottoman rulers to produce hand-made akches up to 1691. This volume will be about 150 pages long and contain roughly 260 photos, accompanied by more than 400 line drawings. The cost will be around \$30.

In the near future, *Akches VII* will appear, and will list and illustrate the concluding machine-made akche types struck after 1691. However, an *Akches Supplement* may first appear which will contain all newly discovered akche types/mints found in the 10 years since the various volumes were released.

For more information please contact Tom Clarke, Box 290145 Davie FL 33329-0145, USA ocl-tom@ix.netcom.com or the author.

Praful Thakkar, *Chapras: Collector's Guide to Belt Buckles, Badges and Badge plates of India*, published by Thakkar Numismatic and Art Foundation, Cary, USA, 212 pages, soft bound with hundreds of black and white photos and 16 colour plates.

Dilip Rajgor comments: "Mr Praful Thakkar has once again come out with an authentic book on a little-known subject of paranumismatics, namely badges and buckles. This is an important guide-book for novices as well as seasoned collectors in this field. The book begins with the term *chapras* itself and slowly guides the reader into the different classes, types and varieties including the issuing authority, purpose, types of clasps, style of wearing, and a list of various officials wearing *chapras*, numbering as many as 73 from bailiff to sweeper.

The catalogue includes an exhaustive list of items from British India, 78 princely states and estates, the Government of India, semi-governmental authorities, other organisations, private issues and other types. Each *chapras* in the catalogue is nicely illustrated with the details of its issuer, designation, language, weight, size, metal, inscription and rarity.

The book can be had from info@indiannumismatics.com or thakkar34@yahoo.co.in It is priced at INR 600 and US\$ 30.00.

The book was released at the 92nd annual conference of the Numismatic Society of India at Indore and as a welcome gesture

on the part of the author, half of the proceedings from the sale of books at the conference was donated to the Society.

Another important thing to be mentioned is the felicitation of Shri Praful Thakkar with the Life-Time Achievement Award on 22 September 2008 at the Conference. The other awardees were: Dr D Raja Reddy, Prof. Samresh Bandyopadhyay, Prof. Jai Prakash Singh, Prof. P N Singh, Dr Amiteshwar Jha, Shri Devendra Handa and Shri Kishore Jhunjhunwalla.

Issue no. 45 of the Indian Coin Society Newsletter (Oct-Dec. 2008) has been published. This contains various items including one on a 'New hoard of copper coins of Bhānuśarmaṇa from Saharanpur' by Prashant Kulkarni. The newsletter is published by Reesha Books International: info@reesha.com; www.reesha.com

Work in Progress

Jan Lingen is making good progress with his work on the coinage of Jodhpur state. What was originally planned as a JONS supplement has now reached book proportions. More on this in due course.

Other News

The Delhi Coin Society is holding its annual exhibition of coins, banknotes & medals this year from 28 to 30 November 2008 at Bapu Sewa Sadan, Panchkuian Road, (opp. metro pillar no.40) New Delhi, India. There will be a souvenir publication for the event. Contact: www.delhicoinsociety.com

The Numismatic Society of Kolkata is organising an exhibition of coins, medals, tokens and bank notes from 25 – 27 December 2008. Dealers, collectors, scholars and visitors from all over India are expected to attend this exhibition, which will take place in the auditorium of Salt Lake Stadium.

Book Review

"*Traversing Travancore through the Ages on Coins*" by Beena Sarasan. Published by Poorna Publications, GH Road, Calicut, Kerala, India, 2008; 123 pages. Price Rs.850 / \$60.

Following on from the author's earlier book "*Coins of the Venad Cheras*" (2000), this hardback book is a more advanced work in many ways. It contains Beena's recent thinking on the coins of the area now known as south Kerala and south-west Tamil Nadu and is lavishly illustrated in colour by coins from her own extensive collection on almost every page. It also contains a useful (for those who can read Malayalam) 14-page appendix listing the known references to coins found in the Kerala State Central Archives, Trivandrum.

After briefly covering issues of the "Sangam Age" and types of Roman coins found in Kerala, chapter 2 considers the medieval period, a subject closer to the author's heart. The 12th century silver coins of Vira Kerala and Udayamarthanda Varma that feature a spider and a crocodile are usually familiar to collectors of South Indian coins, but a similar coin with the legend *Sri Jayasimhasya* is less well known. The implications of this legend for the early (and largely unknown) history of this area provide the subject for a detailed study. Starting with the fact that Jayasimhanad was the name given to the land around Kollam (Quilon) at this time, and that the Jayasimhanad line was probably named after the father of Ravivarma Kulasekhara (AD 1299-1314), the discussion moves on to suggest that this dynasty was of Chalukyan origin. This is an interesting and original argument that certainly opens up the subject for discussion and puts the coins in a pivotal position for determining the true history of this region, surely an advance on re-hashing the overworked legends of the *Keralopatti*.

This chapter also considers the origins of the *kaliyugarama panam*, confirming the view long held among Keralan

numismatists that the flower-like design on the Kaliyugan *panam* is a representation of Vishnu's footprints, by illustrating an early copper coin with Tamil legend *kaliyugaraman* that features a clear image of two feet crowned with a royal umbrella.

Chapter 3 considers the copper coins of the Venad Cheras, a subject for which the author is justly famous for her exposition on the symbols found on these coins. Her comparison with similar images on stone inscriptions of the 15th century held at the Padmanabhapuram Palace museum has given a firm date to these otherwise anonymous issues. Chapter 4 gives a useful review of the period when Venad was a vassal of Vijayanagara, linking known Venad coins to this period by means of comparing their designs with those on the coins of Vijayanagara. Coins of Nayaka and Nawab times are also considered in the same light. The latter half of the book is given over to the coins of the emergent Travancore State with many new varieties of copper cash being illustrated, together with an explanation of the term "Thira Cash."

This book will be a useful addition to the library of any collector of South Indian coins, and not only because there are very few books at all on this subject and none of them are comprehensive. Although largely a compilation of her recent articles on the coinage of this area, Beena's thoughts are always original and interesting to read, and she is one of the few collectors in this area to really look at her coins and ask questions of them. She will then follow this up by thorough research into the historical sources, then return to her coins and expect answers! This makes her work sometimes controversial, and productive of much heated debate among the South Indian numismatic community, but surely this is the purpose of a good book.

Barbara Mears

Articles

MORE ON TIRIDATES

By Dr Gerd Gropp

In ONS 157, page 8, Eduard Khurshudian published a coin of a hitherto unknown ruler of the Caucasus region. Two weeks ago, I saw another such coin in a private collection in Hamburg¹. The Aramaic inscription of this coin is much more legible and I am now able to make some new suggestions about how it should be read. The coin is made of copper or bronze, 22 mm diameter and weighs 7.43 g (fig. 1).



Fig. 1

Obv: bearded bust in profile, to the right

Rev: inscription *trdt MLK' 'r'[n] = Tiridates², King (batriq)³ of Arran⁴*

¹ Bernhard Horde gave his permission for me to write about his coin. In this article, I call his coin (A) and that of Khurshudian (B). Another coin (C) was sold at Peuß auction 376, lot 780.

² The form of both the 't's is clear, with a vertical stroke on the left-hand side (A), but on coins (B) and (C) the second 't' at the edge of the coin is fragmentary and only the circle can be seen. This should not have been read as 'p' by Khurshudian because, at this time, the Aramaic 'p' had a vertical stroke on the right-hand side. The two signs in the middle of the word I read as 'rd': there is no joining stroke between them to justify Khurshudian's suggestion of an 's'.

³ The reading 'MLK' on (A) is clear, but difficult on (B) and (C). the signs 'lk' on (B) are in deed close together and could be construed as a 't' if you add a circle at the bottom. The *alif* here and in the inscriptions of Lake

These coins should be dated, as Khurshidian has already suggested, to the second century BC, to the period of the Armenian king, Artashes I (190-160 BC), whose inscriptions at Lake Sevan⁵ are written in the same style of Aramaic. This makes it much older than the Armenian king, Tiridates I (52-59 AD). A King Tiridates of Arran was not hitherto known and is not mentioned in the chronicle of Movses Daskhuranci-Kalankatuk, so this coin is the earliest historical record of Albania-Arran.

The Kingdom of Arran (Aran) was called Albania by the Greeks and is the northeastern part of Transcaucasia, today the Republic of Azerbaijan⁶. The land became Christian in 300 AD and in about 400 AD they obtained their own script. The language is related to Georgian and Cherkassian. The land is the homeland of wine, and legend states that Zoroaster was born there.

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THE COINAGE OF JA'FAR III B. 'ALĪ, EMIR OF TIFLIS

By Severian Turkia and Irakli Paghava

This article is to report two coins which we consider to be issued by Ja'far III b. 'Alī, Ja'farid emir of Tiflis⁷, whose coinage was hitherto unknown. These coins were found in Tbilisi (formerly Tiflis), Georgia, in the Mtkvari (Kura) riverbed, in 2007⁸. Both are now preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

The legends of the first coin (type I, Fig. 1) are as follows (portions off-flan, illegible or hardly legible are underlined if reconstructed by us, if not they are rendered with ellipsis):

Sevan is formed like a Latin 'N', and is well preserved on (A) and (C). Khurshidian read this as 'rd'. According to Frye (1960), the local rulers had the title "Batriq of Arran", so this gives us the Albanian word for 'king'.

⁴ The reading 'r'n is well preserved on coin (C); on coin (A) the final 'n' is missing. At the lower edge of coin (B), only part of the initial *alif* can be seen. Khurshidian could not possibly have been able to reconstruct the name of the land from this.

⁵ Dupont-Sommer 1948, Perixanian 1966, Tiratsian 1959: the *alif* and *mim* on the coin are identical with those in the Lake Sevan inscriptions.

⁶ Georgian 'Rani'; Greek 'Albanoi'; Armenian 'Alwank'. Frye 1960, Tomaschek 1893, Treidler 1979.

⁷ Reverting to the history of Arab rule in Georgia, while the first incursion of Arabs into Georgia presumably dates back to 643-645 [12, p.73], they did not exercise firm control over east Georgia until somewhat later: the creation of the Emirate of Tiflis is presumed by the 730s [22, p.186] or 770s [1]. However, the existence of an Umayyad dirham minted in Tiflis in 704/5 (AH 85) [32, pp. 38-39] shows that some Arab administration was already active in the city even earlier: we deem it less probable that a Kufic dirham dated AH 85 could be minted by a Georgian administration.

⁸ We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Jemal Shatirishvili for his remarkable contribution to numismatic research of the history of Georgia, and, generally, of the Orient.

Obverse:

Legend in the central area within beaded circle (the latter is visible in the bottom part of the obverse).

Only the right part of the two bottom lines is on the flan:

لا شريك له
القايم بامر الله

*He has no associate
Al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh*

Three dots.

Marginal legends, if any, mostly off-flan. Traces of marginal legend in the right bottom quadrant?

Reverse:

Legend in the central area within beaded circle (visible in the bottom right part of the obverse).

Only the right part of the two bottom lines is on the flan:

المنصور
جعفر بن

*The triumphant (al-mansur) ...
Ja'far b. ...*

Two or three dots. Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Æ? (no composition analysis performed); weight⁹: 2.35 g; diameter: 12.8-13.8 mm; thickness: more or less uniform, maximum 2.5 mm; die axis: 12 o'clock.

Both coins were struck from dies much bigger than the flans, and were additionally struck off-centre on both sides.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

The legends of the second coin (type II, Fig. 2) are as follows (portions off-flan, illegible or hardly legible are underlined if reconstructed by us, if not they are rendered with ellipsis):

Obverse:

Legend in the central area (within some cartouche of which arcs are visible in the bottom?).

لا اله الا
لا

There is no god, but

.....

⁹ Neither coin was cleaned.

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Reverse:

Only parts of the two bottom lines are on the flan:

المنصور ابو ...
جعفر بن علي

*The triumphant (al-mansur) abū ...
Ja'far b. 'Alī*

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Æ? in some areas, traces of silver washing seem to be visible (no composition analysis performed); weight: 2.62 g; diameter: 13.6-14.2 mm; thickness: more or less uniform, maximum 2.2 mm; die axis: 4:45 o'clock.

The obverse die was somewhat bigger than the flan; the reverse die was much bigger than the flan. Struck somewhat off-centre on both sides. Calligraphy is remarkably sloppy.

Only a fraction of the legends fits onto the flan of the first coin, whereas the preservation of the second one leaves much to be desired: the legends were seemingly struck in low relief and the coin had also suffered much from the waters of the river Mtkvari, hence much of what is on its flan is not discernible.

Nevertheless, we would seem to have enough information to deduce who issued these coins. Our reasons are as follows:

1. The name of Ja'far (the personal name, *ism*) is indicated on both coins. This name is highly characteristic of the late Ja'farid emirs of Tiflis but not of other dynasties of the region. The *nasab* of the ruler on the second coin seems to be 'Alī, or at least the letter ξ in its initial form is present.
2. Three members of the Ja'farid dynasty¹⁰ of Tiflis emirs named Ja'far are known to history:
 - a. Ja'far I¹¹ b. 'Alī, mentioned in connection with the invasion of "Abu'l Qasim" (908-914 = AH 295/6-301/2) [22, p. 196]. Coins minted during his rule (or maybe in the beginning of the reign of his successor as well) bear the name of the Abbasid Caliph alone; dirhams minted in AH 287 (900), 294 (906/7), 295 (907/8), 297 (909/10), 298? (910/1), 304? (916/7), 307 (919/20), 311 (923/4), 312 (924/5), 314 (926/7), 321 (933), 323 (934/5), 330

¹⁰ The Emirs of Tiflis are divided into three dynasties, namely Shuabids, Shaybanids and Ja'farids [22], but only the latter attained the level of independence from the caliph that enabled them to issue coins also in their own name regularly. Their coins were minted in Tiflis from AH 342 (953/4) through AH 418 (1027/8) [3; 4; 5; 6, pp. 175-179; 8, pp. 62-67; 9; 10; 11; 13, pp. 55-58; 14; 15; 17; 19, pp. 13-16; 27; 28; 29; 32, pp. 46-49]. Further coins tentatively dated AH 438-461 (1046/7-1068/9) were recently published [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006].

¹¹ We assign to him this sequence number as he was the first representative of this dynasty whom we know from historical sources: "one should think that by the 80s of the ninth century a certain emir Ja'far rules in Tbilisi, who originates the Ja'farid dynasty of Tiflis emirs." We meet the first representative of this dynasty during the invasion of Abu'l-Qasim (908-914) [22, p. 196]. However, for some reason the same author also lists two separate individuals: firstly, the emir Ja'far, and secondly, the Ja'far b. 'Alī mentioned in connection with Abu'l-Qasim's invasion [22, pp. 200-201]. To our knowledge there is no evidence for the existence of this hypothetical "Ja'far" preceding Ja'far b. 'Alī. Thus, in our opinion there is no ground for speaking of "the first two emirs" of the Ja'farid dynasty, or for claiming that they existed but minted no coins, as is sometimes stated in numismatic literature [6, p. 175; 8, p. 63;]. It seems rather that Ja'far b. 'Alī was the only emir whose existence is proved by the available sources, and who did issue coins, albeit not in his own name but in the name of the Abbasid Caliph only. However, his rule might in fact have started in the 80s of the ninth century. Ibn al-Azraq wrote that the Ja'farids possessed Tiflis for about 200 years, the administration later reverting "to the population" for forty years until Tiflis was conquered by Davit IV the Restorer in 1122 [19, pp. 16-17; 21, pp. 87-88; 22, p. 198; 24, p. 245; 25, pp. 31-32;]. Subtracting 40 and then 200 from 1122 gives us a date of 882.

(941/2), 331 (942/3), 335 (946/7) have survived¹² [4, pp. 161-162; 5, p. 62; 6, pp. 173-174; 8, pp. 60-61; 13, pp. 56-57; 19, pp. 12-13; 32, pp. 41-46].

- b. Ja'far II b. Mansūr, who started minting classical Kufic silver dirhams bearing his name along with the name of the Abbasid Caliph. Coins with the following dates have survived: AH 364 (974/5), 366 (976/7), 367 (977/8), 370 (980/1), 374 (984/5) [4, p. 162; 5, p. 62; 6, p. 176; 8, pp. 63-64, footnotes 211-212, 215, 217; 13, p. 57; 15, p. 63; 27; 28; 29; 31, p. 81, find #271; 32, pp. 48-49].
- c. Ja'far III b. 'Alī, who became the Emir of Tiflis after his father and whose last coins bear the date AH 418 (1027/8) [9, pp. 140-142, plate, ##5-7; 10, pp. 101-102, plate, ##5-7; 11, pp. 210-211, plate 1, #3]. Ja'far III b. 'Alī was referred to in a Georgian chronicle as "Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis", and participated in the campaign of Georgian and Armenian kings against Fadl I b. Muhammad, the Shaddadid emir of Arran, which presumably took place in 1030¹³ [34, pp. 191-193]. He died before the spring of 1046, perhaps in 1045 [12, p. 144; 18, p. 111; 21, pp. 74-75; 22, p. 197]. The coinage of his father, 'Alī b. Ja'far is well represented in various museums [9, pp. 133-134; 10, p. 98, footnotes 5-7; 11, p. 205, footnotes 6-8; 28; 29, p. 8], but Ja'far b. 'Alī's own coins were not known hitherto [9, p. 149; 10, p. 106; 11, p. 216]. It is noteworthy, however, that two coins of Ja'far b. 'Alī's son, Mansūr II b. Ja'far were recently published [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006], in contrast to the supposition that late Ja'farids might have had to stop issuing their own coins [9, p. 149; 10, p. 106; 11, p. 216].

3. The legends and their arrangement on both obverse and reverse of these two coins seem to follow the pattern set by the coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, another representative of the Ja'farid dynasty and father of Ja'far III b. 'Alī.

The obverse of the last five out of six types (II-VI) of 'Alī b. Ja'far coins features the Shahada in three lines and the name of the contemporary Caliph, Al-Qādir bi'llāh in the bottom line¹⁴:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله

[9, pp. 137-149; 10, pp. 99-106; 11, pp. 208-216]

The first coin under discussion is clearly similar in bearing the Caliph's name in the bottom line and part of the Shahada

¹² In addition to the well-known Tiflis Umayyad and Abbasid silver coins, there also exist Tiflis fulus, which were discovered and published recently [33, p. 233; Tübingen University Collection, AM10B3; 35].

We did not provide an exact reference for a gold Islamic coin minted in Tiflis in the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Muttaqi (940-944 AD) in [35, p. 7], but fortunately can now do so: [Collection White-King. The third part. Coins of Arab Caliphs, from Morocco and Egypt etc. Collection of Dr. White-King sold in Amsterdam on June 26, 1905, Amsterdam, 1905, #2139] (in French: Collection White-King. Troisième partie. Monnaies des Khalifes Arabes, de Maroc et d'Egypte etc. Collection du Dr. White-King vente à Amsterdam le 26 juin 1905, Amsterdam, 1905, No. 2139), as cited in [9, p. 132, footnote 2; 10, p. 97, footnote 2; 11, p. 205, footnote 2].

¹³ Minorovsky dated this event to some time prior to that [26, p. 43], but was apparently wrong: the king of Kakheti and Hereti, Kuirike III is now believed to have died in 1037, not 1029, and in 1027/8 (AH 418) 'Alī b. Ja'far, Ja'far b. 'Alī's father, was still ruling the emirate, as proved by the extant coins. For further discussion please refer to [34, pp. 191-193].

¹⁴ The first type, published by Kapanadze back in 1944, bore only the Shahada on the obverse, while the reverse featured the name of the Caliph al-Ta'i, who had been deposed five years earlier [9, pp. 134-135, 137, plate, #1; 10, pp. 98-99, plate, #1; 11, pp. 207-208, plate 1, #1; 17; 19, p. 14].

above. On type II لا is seemingly at the end of the second line and not at the beginning of the third.

There are similar legends on the obverse of Shaddadid¹⁵ coins (cf. the coin of 'Alī Lashkari II (AH 425-441 /1034-1049) of type 2¹⁶ [20, p. 39, #2]), whereas the coins of Fadl I (AH 375-422 /985-1031) feature his *laqab* 'al-Mansur' [20, p. 71]. However, the Shaddadid coins are different in their alloy and size, and the legends of the reverse do not mention the names "Ja'far b. ..." or "Ja'far b. 'Alī" [20].

The reverses of all six types of 'Alī b. Ja'far's coins feature the name of the emir, usually in the bottom line, with one or more epithets and sometimes his *kunya* as well. The gradual evolution of the legends and their arrangement is expounded below:

- I. On the early coinage of AH 386 (996/7) of 'Alī b. Ja'far the bottom two lines of the reverse have the emir's epithet "victorious" (al-muzaffar) for the first time, and read:

الامير المظفر
على بن جعفر

The emir, the victorious (al-muzaffar)
'Alī b. Ja'far

[9, pp. 134-135, plate, #1; 10, pp. 98-99, plate, #1; 11, pp. 207-208, plate 1, #1; type I]

- II. On the following type, dated either AH 394 or 404¹⁷ (1003/4 or 1013/4), the bottom lines of the reverse feature not only the emir's epithet "victorious" (al-muzaffar) but his *kunya* also (the name is effaced):

الله
محمد
رسول الله الامير
المظفر ابو ...
على بن جعفر

To Allāh
Muhammad
the messenger of Allāh, the emir,
the victorious, abū ...
'Alī b. Ja'far

[19, pp. 15-16, plate I, #10; 9, pp. 137-138; 10, pp. 99-100; 11, p. 208; type II]

- III. Another type will have been minted in AH 400-412 /1009/10-1021/2, i.e. before or after the type dated either 394 or 404 [9, p. 148; 10, pp. 214-215; 11, p. 105]; it features yet another epithet, "triumphant" (al-mansur), in addition to "victorious" (al-muzaffar), but lacks the emir's *kunya*:

¹⁵ Tiflis had to endure pressure from neighbouring Georgian Christian states and was in contact with the Shaddadids, the closest Muslim rulers. Both the Georgians and the Shaddadids considered themselves prospective successors to the territory of the declining emirate [26, p. 42; 34, p. 202]. In 1030, at the beginning of his reign, Ja'far b. 'Alī, Emir of Tiflis, took part in the campaign of Georgian and Armenian kings against Fadl I b. Muhammad [34, pp. 191-193]. However, his relationship with the Shaddadids seemingly improved thereafter so that when Tiflis was besieged by the armies of Bagrat IV and the king of Kakheti and Hereti in 1039-1040, Ja'far was building rafts to escape by river and go to Ganja [12, pp. 141-142; 26, p. 46; 34, p. 194]. After Ja'far b. 'Alī died, the Shaddadid Lashkarī married his widow, Shāh-Khosrovān [26, p. 46].

¹⁶ The obverse bears the following legends:

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له القا

يم بامر الله

¹⁷ Only the unit of the date is visible on the sole published specimen [19, pp. 15-16], but the coin is datable by the peculiarities of its legends and the fact that the type was not represented in the Tbilisi/Metekhi hoard; this was accumulated after AH 413, hence the date AH 414 should not be an option [9, p. 138; 10, p. 100; 11, p. 208].

عدل
محمد رسول
الله الامير
المظفر المنصور
على بن جعفر
منصوري

'adl (justice)
Muhammad the messenger
of Allāh, the emir,
the victorious, the triumphant,
'Alī b. Ja'far
*mansūrī*¹⁸

[9, pp. 146-148, plate, ##8-9; 10, pp. 104-105, plate, ##8-9; 11, pp. 213-215, plate 1, #4; type V¹⁹]

- IV. Yet another type, also probably minted somewhere between AH 400-412/1009/10-1021/2, i.e. before or after the type dated either 394 or 404 [9, pp. 148-149; 10, pp. 105-106; 11, pp. 215-216]), features both epithets and *kunya* in the three bottom lines:

الامير المظفر
المنصور ابو الحسن
على بن جعفر

The emir, the victorious (al-muzaffar)
the triumphant (al-mansur), abū'l-Hasan
'Alī b. Ja'far

[9, pp. 148-149, plate, ##10-11; 10, pp. 105-106, plate, ##10-11; 11, pp. 215-216, plate 1, #5; type VI]

- V-VI. On what seem to be the last coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, minted in AH 413 and 418 (1022/3 and 1027/8) respectively, the three bottom lines in the central area of the reverse repeat the legends of the previous type, again featuring both epithets and *kunya* arranged in the same way [9, pp. 138-142, plate, ##2-7; 10, pp. 100-104, plate, ##2-7; 11, pp. 209-213, plate 1, ##2-3; types III-IV].

On type II of the coins published here, the two bottom lines of the reverse are the same as the two bottom lines of the reverse of the last three types of the coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far (IV-VI), except that the name is now Ja'far b. 'Alī (the *kunya* is not legible and seems to be at least partially off-flan). Coin type I also features the name Ja'far and the epithet "triumphant"²⁰.

4. The debasement of the originally silver Kufic dirham coinage illustrated by these two coins fits well with the situation in the Caucasus in the eleventh century, when the silver crisis was already in full swing [7; 20, pp. 75-77]. For instance, Shaddadid coins at the turn of the eleventh century were already affected by the imminent silver crisis. Coins of Fadl I b. Muhammad (AH 375-422 /985-1031) contained only up to 40-50% of silver, although the silver on the surface was enriched by up to 60-100%. His coins were struck *al marco*, with the weight range 1-5 g [20, pp. 89-90, 93-94]. By the

¹⁸ "The latter word is given as a relative adjective", various words in similar forms frequently appear on Ghaznavid, Qarakhanid, Anushteginid, Chaghatayid and other coins. The reasons for using it on the coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far remain unclear [9, pp. 147-148; 10, p. 105; 11, p. 214].

¹⁹ We fully agree with G. Japaridze that the coins of this type, as well as those of the following, were minted before the coins dated 413 and 418 AH. However, he considered it technically easier to describe the former after the latter [9, p. 146; 10, p. 104; 11, p. 213]. For present purposes we decided to present coins of different types and years in chronological order, as far as possible illustrating the evolution of the emir's legends. Thus, Japaridze's types V and VI are our types III and IV, and Japaridze's types III and IV are our types V and VI.

²⁰ It should be also noted that the coins of Ja'far III b. 'Alī's son, Mansūr II b. Ja'far, bear the *kunya*, but no longer the epithets "victorious" and "triumphant" [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006].

time of Shāvur b. Fadl (AH 441-459 /1049-1067) the content of the precious metal in his dirhams did not change, remaining at about 50% on average, but the surface silver content was no longer deliberately enriched, and the weight fluctuated further with the range widening to 1.5-8 g [20, pp. 102-104].

Shirvan coins of the mid-eleventh century were also debased: coins of the Shirvanshah, Salar b. Yazid AH (441-455/1049-1063), contain up to 50-70% of silver at the surface and roughly the same proportion at the core. The weight range is at least 2.19-6.09 g according to the sample [20, pp. 114-115].

As for the Emirate of Tiflis, by contrast with the Shaddadid lands, it seems that a steady but rapid debasement occurred beginning in the reign of 'Alī b. Ja'far (996/7-1027/8, judging by the earliest and the latest dates indicated on his coins) and which was characteristic of his coinage [9, pp. 144-145; 10, p. 103; 11, pp. 212-213]. There is inconclusive evidence that already his earliest type I dirham of AH 386 (996/7) [9, pp. 134-135, plate, #1; 10, pp. 98-99, plate, #1; 11, pp. 207-208, plate 1, #1] is of a low silver standard, which may not be true²¹, but the silver standard of the subsequent types certainly seems diminished. The type II coin is "of thick, somewhat crude fabric" [19, p. 15], which may indirectly point to diminished silver content, although the silver standard is seemingly still high enough for the coin to be described as an 'AR dirham' by the publisher [19, p. 15]. For a type III specimen the silver standard is equal to 700, and for two coins of type IV it is 500-700; the data, despite the small and hence untrustworthy sample size still seem to be significant. On the other hand, the size of the type III and IV coins is evidently also diminished and variable: two specimens of type III and two specimens of type IV are respectively 27 and 18mm, and 17.5 and 11mm in size. As well as the size, the weight also varies: two specimens of type III and two specimens of type IV weigh respectively 4.75 and 1.84g, and 3.82 and 0.98 or 0.99g²² [9, pp. 146-149; 10, pp. 104-106; 11, pp. 213-215]. With the latest AH 413 and 418 coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far the variability in weight and size becomes blatant. The range for the AH 411 coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far from the Metekhi hoard²³ published by Kapanadze [14] is 5-30 mm and 0.12-5.23 g, some coins being of quite a peculiar shape²⁴ cf. [14, pp. 72-73,

illustration #7]. As for the silver standard of the AH 413 and 418 coins, this is very low if not virtually zero. In a sample of ten coins bearing these dates the silver standard was below 500, and micro-examination of two out of those ten coins revealed that they had been made from "bronze" and plated with a silver layer less than 100 microns thick. On some of the coins the silver has worn away from the surface and the reddish copper colour is visible with the naked eye [9, p. 144, footnote 32; 10, p. 103, footnotes 27-28; 11, p. 212, footnotes 26-27]. The coins of Mansūr II b. Ja'far, son of Ja'far III b. 'Alī and the grandson of 'Alī b. Ja'far, are copper (described as AE) and remarkably irregular in shape [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006]. Thus if we take into account their alloy, both of the coins published here seem to be a natural continuation of the series of 'Alī b. Ja'far's coins, and the natural predecessors of the coins of Mansūr II b. Ja'far (copper even at the surface, silver-plated in case of the type II coin?).

5. It is noteworthy that the political and economic situation of the Emirate of Tiflis became quite complicated during the reign of Ja'far b. 'Alī, son and successor of 'Alī b. Ja'far. The very existence of the emirate was imperiled by the *reconquista* policy pursued by the Georgians.

In 1032, when already in the first years of his reign, Ja'far b. 'Alī was captured by the Georgian nobles, Liparit son of Liparit, and Ivane son of Abasa, and delivered to the 12-year old West-Georgian King, Bagrat IV (1027-1072). The emir was eventually released, having been imprisoned for an unspecified but lengthy period, but had to cede the important fortress of Birtvisi [12, pp. 140-141] which defended Tiflis from the south-west [30, pp. 20-21]. From 1037/8 (429AH) Bagrat IV and Gagik, King of Kakheti and Hereti, besieged and blockaded Tiflis for two years, causing famine and price rises (at least for foodstuffs). By the end of the siege Ja'far b. 'Alī was already making preparations to desert the city and escape to Gandza (Ganja) by river, but was rescued when the Georgians themselves raised the siege, possibly after finding out that Seljuks were coming to aid the Tiflis Emirate [12, pp. 141-142; 26, p. 46; 34, p. 194]. Nevertheless, Ja'far b. 'Alī lost Orbeti and Partskhisi, two more fortresses [12, 141] defending Tiflis from the south and the south-west [30, pp. 20-21]. The difficulties faced by the Emirate of Tiflis as well as the strength of the West-Georgian Kingdom (which also dominated territories in east Georgia) favoured a pro-Georgian party within the emirate [21, p. 74; 24, p. 238], which was urged to cede the city to Bagrat IV²⁵ in 1046 in an attempt to avoid civil discord after the death of Ja'far b. 'Alī [12, p. 144; 18, pp. 111-112; 21, pp. 74-76; 22, p. 197; 26, p. 57].

The Emirate of Tiflis was seemingly in a more difficult situation than Shirvan or the Shaddadids of Ganja, and the setbacks described above might well have caused a more strongly pronounced deterioration of the coinage²⁷, as illustrated by these two coins.

6. The silver standard gives a good general idea of when these two coins could have been minted, but for the first coin we have also an explicit chronological indication: it cites al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, who was Caliph in 1031-1075 (AH 422-467) [2, p. 29].

thirteenth centuries when silver was no longer circulating in the region [32, pp. 85-86; 13, p. 71].

²⁵ For similar reasons, one year earlier in 1045, "the Elders" of Ani also ceded this Armenian city to Bagrat IV [12, p. 143; 21, pp. 74-75].

²⁶ The latter made a triumphal entry into Tiflis, garrisoned it and appointed his own administration; however a part of the citizenry fortified itself in the city district of Isani and put up a strong resistance. Eventually the King had to vacate the city [12, p. 144; 18, pp. 111-112; 21, pp. 74-76; 22, p. 197; 26, p. 57].

²⁷ The turbulence of Ja'far b. 'Alī's reign might well have led to a reduction in mintage output, explaining why his coinage was previously unknown.

²¹ The cupel of the AH 386 (996/7) dirham is indicated as 56% [9, p. 144, footnote 33; 10, p. 103, footnote 29; 11, p. 212, footnote 28], but the reference is to [14, p. 75] which does not provide any exact figure. This in turn refers to two sources: [17], although we did not find anything relating to the silver standard here; and also to E. Pakhomov, possibly quoting [31, p. 24] (footnote 8? the footnote number proper omitted in the text), although there is nothing specific on the Ja'farid coinage there. Therefore, the issue remains unresolved and open to further research. Was the composition analysis of the AH 386 (996/7) dirham perhaps performed by Kapanadze, without including the results in the paper [17], but carelessly indicating them in [14, p. 75]?

²² The light-weight specimens in each pair come from the Mtkvari riverbed and probably lost some weight through abrasion and corrosion, but the difference still seems to be considerable [9, pp. 147, 149; 10, pp. 104-105; 11, pp. 214-215].

²³ The hoard is alternatively called the "Tbilisi Hoard" [9, p. 133, footnote 5; 10, p. 98, footnote 6; 11, p. 207, footnote 7], as it had been found in Tbilisi, but Jalaghania's designation of the hoard as the "Metekhi Hoard" [8, pp. 65-67] is in our opinion preferable as being more precise. The hoard was apparently found at one of the abutments of the ancient bridge over the river Mtkvari (Kura), only two or three meters from the modern Metekhi bridge [14, p. 77].

²⁴ Does it mean that these coins were struck *al marco*, but each piece retained a pre-defined and constant purchasing power although overstated for their real silver content (at least in case of the light-weight specimens)? Or did they constitute irregular coinage, this term implying that the coins are valued in accordance with their weight [32, p. 85; 13, p. 71]? For instance, copper coins of Georgian kings were seemingly irregular already in the eleventh century [16], and certainly so later in the twelfth and

We have already seen that Ja'far b. 'Alī was emir of Tiflis in 1030 if not earlier, and died in 1045-1046 [12, p. 144; 18, p. 111; 21, pp. 74-75; 22, p. 197; 34, pp. 191-193]. He had two sons, Mansūr and Abu'l-Hayjā [26, pp. 19-20, 23], but some nobles preferred to hand the city over to the West-Georgian King Bagrat IV in 1046²⁸. Bagrat was not able to retain the city, however, and in due course had to leave it [12, p. 44; 18, pp. 111-112; 21, pp. 74-76; 22, p. 197; 26, p. 57].

We do not know who ruled in the city in the subsequent two or three years, probably the local oligarchy, as it was "Tiflisians" who repeatedly invited Bagrat IV a little later [12, p. 147; 21, p. 77; 24, p. 239; 26, p. 57, 61]. In 1048 or possibly in 1049 the Seljuk Turks captured Liparit [12, p. 146; 26, p. 61, footnote 2; 34, p. 194], a Georgian noble contesting the Georgian king's power, which certainly favoured Bagrat IV [12, p. 146-147; 26, pp. 56-57, 61, footnote 2]. In the wake of a successful joint Byzantine-Georgian campaign against Ganja in 1047-1048 [12, p. 147; 26, pp. 59-64; 34, pp. 194-195] the inhabitants of Tiflis again invited Bagrat IV to take possession of the city [12, p. 147; 21, p. 77; 24, p. 239; 26, p. 57, 61]. But Tiflis remained under Georgian rule till 1051 only, when Bagrat IV had to vacate it once more to withstand Liparit, now released by the Turks and backed by Byzantium [12, pp. 147-148; 21, p. 77; 24, p. 239; 26, pp. 57, 61-63].

We do not know who ruled the city for the years 1051-1062, but at some point during this period the city might have come under the control of Ja'far b. 'Alī's sons, "Mansūr and Abul-Hayjā"²⁹, "between whom fierce disputes had arisen with regard to the government" of Tiflis in 1062 (AH 454), when "the inhabitants turned them out" and invited Shāvur b. Fadl to govern Tiflis. But this latter Shaddadid dynasty rejected the proposal and the city was ceded to the Georgian King Aghsartan, son of Gagik, King of Kakheti and Hereti. Aghsartan in his turn sold Tiflis to Bagrat IV for a large sum of money, and Bagrat IV then garrisoned the city again [21, pp. 78-79; 26, pp. 19-21, p. 31, endnote 2; 34, p. 196]. It is unclear who was in possession of Tiflis in 1062-1067/1068, but by the time of the second invasion of Alp Arslan (1067-1068 or 1068-1069) we again meet the sons of Ja'far b. 'Alī when Alp Arslan "arrested Abū-Mansūr and Abu'l-Hayjā, the two lords of Tiflis" [26, p. 23]. If we trust this source, this might mean that they had come into power in Tiflis at some point between 1062 and 1067/1068. There are two versions of how that could have happened [21, p. 80]. According to one of the versions, the city had at some point been returned to Ja'far b. 'Alī's sons by Bagrat IV [18, p. 114; 21, p. 80]. Another account tells that Mansūr and Abul-Hayjā recovered Tiflis, taking advantage of Alp Arslan's first invasion (1064 or 1065) and enjoying his support³⁰ [21, p. 80; 24, p. 241]. Alternatively, the source might imply that the Ja'farids "Abū-Mansūr and Abu'l-Hayjā" either were not actually in possession of the city, or else were ruling it on behalf of Bagrat IV. A Georgian source says that "this [Georgian?] kingdom" was deprived of the cities of Tiflis and Rustavi [12, p. 155; 24, p. 243; 26, p. 57]; while according to another source Alp Arslan had to *conquer* Tiflis [26, p. 58]. On the other hand, both Muslim and Georgian authors mention "the emir of Tiflis" in Alp Arslan's suite [12, p. 154; 18, p. 117; 26, p. 57], who joined the sultan at the beginning of his march against Bagrat IV [12, p. 154]. However, the relation of this "emir" to these brothers remains unclear³¹, as does the power exerted by the former on Tiflis.

²⁸ Quite apart from the Georgian pressure on the inhabitants of the city, the sons of Ja'far b. 'Alī may also have been too young to hold Tiflis at that time.

²⁹ That might have been when Mansūr II b. Ja'far was striking coins in his name [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006].

³⁰ The former version seems to us somewhat more plausible, since in contrast to the second invasion, Alp Arslan's route during his first invasion bypassed Tiflis [30, pp. 22-23].

³¹ Kiknadze considered this emir to be one of the sons of Ja'far b. 'Alī [18, p. 117].

One way or another, Alp Arslan gave Tiflis to Fadl II b. Shāvur in 1068 or 1069, who even carried off its artisans [12, p. 155; 26, p. 66; 34, p. 196]. However, Shaddadid rule in Tiflis turned out to be rather short-lived. The Georgians defeated Fadl II, who fled to King Aghsartan; the latter forced the imprisoned Shaddadid ruler to cede some fortresses in favour of the Georgian Kingdom of Kakheti and Hereti, and then sold Fadl II to Bagrat IV for the price of two more fortresses. Bagrat IV in his turn forced Fadl II to cede Tiflis and the fortress of Gagi [12, pp. 155-156; 26, pp. 66-67, footnote 1; 34, pp. 196-200]. It turned out to be difficult to seize the city, as the man ruling there then (the Shaddadid governor?), whose name we do not know, had ambitions to become emir himself [12, p. 156; 18, p. 118; 21, p. 81; 22, p. 198; 24, pp. 243-244].

Nevertheless, Bagrat IV did not keep Tiflis, but left it again in Muslim hands. The king gave Tiflis to a certain Sitaraba (Sayyid al-'Arab?) from Dmanisi (a city not far from Tiflis), possibly a scion of the Ja'farid family [18, p. 118; 22, p. 198; 24, p. 244; 25, p. 29; 26, p. 67].

We have no information on the rulers of Tiflis after 1068/1069. It seems that by 1081 there was no longer an emir in the city which was governed by representatives of the city's population. Referring to Tiflis in AH 515 (1121/2), Ibn al-Azraq wrote: "Its possessors had been a family of local people called the Banū Ja'far for about 200 years, after which the senior members among them became ruined and (their affairs) got into confusion, so that the administration of Tiflis reverted to the population of whom every month one member administered its affairs. Thus they carried on for forty years", until Tiflis was conquered by Davit IV the Restorer³² (1089-1125) [19, pp. 16-17; 21, pp. 87-88; 22, p. 198; 24, p. 245; 25, pp. 31-32].

Thus we see that Ja'far III b. 'Alī is the only individual who could have minted coins with the names "Ja'far b. ..." and "Ja'far b. 'Alī" during the caliphate of al-Qā'im.

7. The find-spot of these base or copper coins (Tbilisi, formerly Tiflis in Georgia,) also points to their local provenance. It is remarkable that one type III and one type IV coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, constituting 50% of the known specimens of these types, were extracted from the same source as the coins under discussion: i.e. from the Mtkvari riverbed [9, pp. 147, 149; 10, pp. 104-105; 11, pp. 214-215].

In conclusion, we therefore feel that we have adequate grounds to suggest that this coin was issued by Ja'far III b. 'Alī.

Neither coin has preserved the date, if there ever was one on the dies; on both coins (types I-II) the marginal legends are seemingly off-flan. To judge by the arrangement of legends on the coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Ja'far b. 'Alī's father, the dates were probably not in the central areas. Thus we cannot specify exactly when they were issued, but the coins should date back to 1027/8-1030-1045-1046, being the hypothetical years of Ja'far b. 'Alī's reign.

We think that the type I coin was the first to be struck, based on the fact that the calligraphy of its legends is much better than on the type II coin, and is stylistically much closer to the last coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, dated AH 413 and 418. As the type I coin bears the name of the caliph al-Qā'im (1031-1075), we can narrow down the time span and claim that the coins of both types were minted between 1031-1045/1046, with the type II coins after those of type I. If our conjecture of the sequence of the types is wrong, that would imply that type II was issued between 1027/8-1030-1045/1046 and type I in 1031-1045/1046.

³² Minorsky mentions that even after the conquest of the city by Georgians "the names of local 'amirs', apparently offspring of the house of Ja'far, are mentioned even in later times" [25, p. 29]. The Ja'farid origin of the latter is in our opinion disputable.

Coins of type I and II are similar but not identical. We would like to suggest reconstructions of both here:

1. Type I coin is struck on a flan evidently much smaller in size than the die, as shown by the presence of the outer margin in the bottom right part of both the obverse and, especially, the reverse. Hence we think that there would have been more legends in the top part of the obverse, most probably the initial part of the Shahada, in two lines, the legends being arranged thus:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القايم بامرالله

if imitating the obverse of the last five out of six types (II-VI) of the coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Ja'far b. 'Alī's father; or the legends being arranged:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القايم بامرالله

as on the coins of Mansūr II b. Ja'far, Ja'far b. 'Alī's son [23, pp. 110-111, ##1005-1006].

The reverse should in our opinion resemble that of the last coins of 'Alī b. Ja'far (types IV-VI), featuring Ja'far b. 'Alī's *kunya*, the word "emir" and perhaps the epithet "victorious" (al-muzaffar). The central legends are in a plain, beaded circle. It seems that there were no marginal legends and hence, perhaps, there was no date indicated.

2. The obverse legends of the type II coin are quite peculiar. The first line is definitely the beginning of the Shahada:

لا اله الا

while the second line is badly preserved but surely can only be the continuation of the Shahada:

الله وحده لا

However, it is remarkable that we see something like an *alif* to the right of the *la* ligature, which does not fit into the Shahada.

The first line is evidently complete, but the vertical extent of the two lines present on the obverse is equal to their horizontal extent, together forming a square. Unless the legends form a vertically elongated rectangle, which in our opinion is unlikely, there is no more space left on the obverse for the rest of the Shahada or the name of a caliph. They may perhaps have been placed on the reverse.

Comparing the space occupied by the legends on two different sides of this coin we conclude that the reverse die was much bigger than the flan, even in comparison with the obverse die, which was also bigger than the flan although to a lesser extent (such a discrepancy in the size of the working area of the dies looks very peculiar). We cannot specify what was on the top part of the reverse die, though the continuation of the Shahada, the name of a caliph, more epithets of the emir and the word "emir" itself are all plausible candidates.

The legends on the type II coin seem to be bordered by a cartouche on both sides of the coin, but as the major part of the design is off-flan we shall refrain from attempting to reconstruct it for the time being.

In terms of minting technique, the planchets for the coins of Ja'far III b. 'Alī could have been produced by cutting blanks off a cylinder-like bar and flattening them by striking at the butt end. Another method of casting pellets which were then later flattened before being struck by dies could also have been used (cf. [20, pp. 89-92, 103]). These two coins are of more or less uniform thickness and round shape, which may speak in favour of the latter. Once struck, the coins could be silver-plated.

By way of conclusion we would like to note that the future discovery of another, better preserved specimen might yield more information on these coins, and would perhaps further confirm their attribution to Ja'far III b. 'Alī.

We have attempted to establish the chronology of minting, reconstruct the legends, and conjecture on the minting technique for these coins.

Based on the available data set forth above, we consider these coins to be the only examples so far known of the Tiflis coinage of Ja'far III b. 'Alī. For all of his difficulties, the latter apparently managed to mint his own currency, which elucidates the political ambitions of this emir and refines our knowledge about the economic situation in the Tiflis Emirate at this stage of its existence.

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ON THE COINAGE OF DAYSAM IBN IBRAHĪM IN ADHARBAYJĀN AND ARMENIA IN THE 10TH CENTURY AD³³

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According to literary sources, the last Sājīd ruler of Adharbayjān, Fath ibn al-Afshīn, died in AH 317. His lands were inherited by the Sājīd military generals who were able to control the region till AH 323. This is confirmed by both historical sources and coins.³⁴ The coins show that in AH 324 Ardabil was controlled by Abdallāh ibn Mahfūz and Bāldū ibn amīr al-mūminīn, whose historical identification has proved impossible so far.³⁵ Nevertheless, Ardabil belonged to them for only a year and soon the entire region was ruled by Daysam ibn Ibrahīm. Being of Kurdish origin, Daysam managed to gather the support of the Kurdish tribes and took advantage of a short period of anarchy in Adharbayjān to invade. The sources provide no details about Daysam's establishment in the region, but it seems as if he met no military resistance in Adharbayjān. Daysam's subsequent rule in the region was closely connected with his struggle against the Sallārīds, the Daylamites, who also aspired to take over Adharbayjān and Armenia. This struggle continued for fifteen years until Daysam was finally defeated by the Sallārīds in AH 341 and killed soon afterwards.

Before 1955, when Bykov published two dirhams of Daysam,³⁶ there had been no special publication on the coinage of that ruler. Bykov published two further dirhams of Daysam in 1971, and these two publications made scholars pay more attention to Daysam's coinage while also increasing interest in how coins can contribute to our knowledge of the political history of the region in the tenth century.³⁷ However, the rarity of Daysam's coins did not allow Bykov to draw any firm conclusions on the nature of his rule in Adharbayjān. Today, the number of published coins of Daysam is significantly larger, many of which have appeared in auction catalogues during the last decade. A few others have also been described in other publications and are to be found in several public collections which recently enriched their holdings from Baltic and Scandinavian hoards. This material provides important information on the history of Daysam's rule in Adharbayjān and adjacent areas. This article is an attempt to find out whether the coins can alter our current knowledge of the tenth century history of Adharbayjān.

1. Historical background.

Abū Sālim Daysam ibn Ibrahīm al-Kurdī (ca. AH 284-346) came from Kharijite ancestry. His mother was a daughter of a Kurdish chieftain but his father was an ally of the renowned Mawsil Kharijite leader Hārūn al-Wāzīkī. Like his father, Daysam also adopted Kharijite ideas and remained true to them.³⁸ Daysam had a bright career as a military commander at the court of the Sājīd

³³ I express my deep gratitude to Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for his permanent assistance during my stay in Tübingen.

³⁴ A comprehensive catalogue of Sājīd coins with its historical review is being prepared by the author and will be published soon.

³⁵ The coins of these rulers were offered by SO 1985, No. 389 (2.64g) and BA 40, 2005, p. 94, No. 1073 (3.71g) respectively.

³⁶ Bykov A., *Daysam ibn Ibrahīm al-Kurdī i ego monety*, Epigrafika Vostoka, X, 1955, pp. 14-37.

³⁷ Bykov A., *Dva novykh dirkhema Daysama ibn Ibrakhima al-Kurdī*, Epigrafika Vostoka, T. XX, 1971, pp. 74-6.

³⁸ Bykov, 1955, p. 26.

Abū al-Sāj Muhammad while the latter was governing in Syria. The sources are silent about his activities while the Sājids were controlling Adharbayjān. It is also unclear what happened to him after the fall of the Sājids when the region was in the hands of the Sājid military generals.

In the post-Sājid period, we first hear of Daysam in Ibn Miskawayh's account of the events of AH 326, when a certain Lashkarī ibn Mardī captured Adharbayjān. Lashkarī was a deputy of the Ziyārid ruler, Mardawij, in the district of Jibāl. Ibn Miskawayh says that Adharbayjān had already been ruled by Daysam by the time of Lashkarī's invasion. He further says that Daysam collected a big army and fought twice with Lashkarī over the next two months but was defeated on each occasion. Lashkarī seized Daysam's lands with the exception of Ardabīl which was well-fortified and stoutly defended by its inhabitants. The siege of Ardabīl was long and unsuccessful, and the inhabitants sent a letter to Daysam asking him to join them in fighting Lashkarī. Daysam came that day and a battle took place near the walls of Ardabīl. Lashkarī was defeated and fled to Mūqān,³⁹ which was ruled by an Ispahbad prince named Ibn al-Daula. He received Lashkarī with honour and put a new army in his disposal. Lashkarī invaded Adharbayjān once more and this time defeated Daysam who fled North over the Araxes river. Although Daysam seemed out of reach, Lashkarī nevertheless sent part of his forces to the far bank of the river. This attack was entrusted to Lashkarī's nephew, Lashkarīstān, who forded the river and pursued Daysam further, attacking his camp and defeating him yet again. Many of Daysam's officers were killed but he himself was able to escape. Lashkarī's victory was complete and he took over all Daysam's territories.⁴⁰

After this setback Daysam made for Rayy, where the Ziyārid ruler, Wushmgir, agreed to help him in his struggle against Lashkarī in exchange for a special annual contribution. Ibn Miskawayh relates that Daysam was to make an annual payment of 100,000 dīnārs to Wushmgir, plus a further 10,000 dirhams for his cavalry, Kurds and other retainers on his arrival at Khunj (a small town on the border with Adharbayjān on the road to Rayy). Daysam was also to include Wushmgir's name in the *khutba* throughout Adharbayjān.⁴¹ Daysam was still preparing his forces for their departure to Adharbayjān when the news came that the Ispahbad Ibn al-Daula and many of his allies had died during an outbreak of small-pox. The rest of his army went into the service of Lashkarī who dispatched one of his commanders called Balsūwar ibn Malik ibn Musāfir (this was a nephew of the Sallārid Muhammad ibn Musāfir) to take control of the main roads and to check everyone travelling on them. Soon Wushmgir's correspondence with his officers was intercepted by Lashkarī's spies, from which Lashkarī learned that his own subordinates had plotted against him: they were to desert him and join Daysam when the troops sent by Wushmgir approached them. As Daysam went out from Rayy with an army led by a certain Shabushti, Lashkarī immediately sent a message to Wushmgir, explaining that he had not intended to rebel against him and had planned to leave Adharbayjān for Armenia.⁴² Ibn al-Athīr preserves the exact location of the place where Lashkarī intended to invade: a district called Andzevats'ik (arab. *az-Zawazān*) in Vaspurakan Armenia.⁴³ Lashkarī also had plans to pillage Mawsil and the region of Diyār Rabī'a. Lashkarī made for Andzevats'ik where he found the peasants working in the fields, as the invasion had taken them completely by surprise. Lashkarī pillaged the region, took many prisoners and set up camp in the lands of the Armenian *ishkhan*

(prince) Atom, the son of Gurgin who was also called Ibn al-Dayrani (the son of Derenik). Lashkarī seized his fortress Kanguar (see: in Yāqūt's narration under the name *Kinkiwār*).^{*} Atom sent a message to Lashkarī offering him money if he would leave his lands. Lashkarī agreed and concluded a peace with Atom.

T'ovma Arts'runi has left an account of Lashkarī's campaign. In chapter ZHA he relates that one part of the Daylamite army wished to make for the "*ashkhar of Asorestan*".^{*} They reached the town of Hadamakert in the district of Albak, pillaged the inhabitants and imprisoned as many women and children as they could. The king of Vaspurakan Gagik moved to meet the invader who by that time had set up camp in Andzevats'ik.⁴⁴ Ibn Miskawayh says that an Armenian *ishkhan* (?) prepared an ambush for Lashkarī in the mountains where the road went through a ravine. When Lashkarī was passing through it, the warriors of this Armenian *ishkhan* attacked his garrison and killed Lashkarī.⁴⁵ When the rest of Lashkarī's army learned that their commander had been killed, they elected his son, Lashkarīstān, as their new chief. Lashkarīstān decided to go through the steppes of Dragon's Ridge to the town of Atom ibn Jurjin (Gurgin).^{*} However, Atom prepared a further trap for Lashkarīstān in one of the defiles that lay en route, so that when his forces entered it they were bombarded with rocks hurled by Atom's men stationed on the heights. Many of Lashkarīstān's warriors were killed. Lashkarīstān himself and one part of his army went to the Hamdānid ruler Nāsir ad-daula in Mawsil, while the rest made for Baghdād. The Hamdānid Nāsir ad-daula took advantage of the prevailing anarchy in Adharbayjān and appointed his cousin Abū 'Abdallāh Husayn ibn Sa'īd as its governor (*mu'awiya*). The latter went to Adharbayjān at the head of 500 warriors supplied by Nāsir ad-daula. However, the Hamdānid occupation failed when Daysam quickly returned and defeated Abū 'Abdallāh who hastily left Adharbayjān. Daysam restored his position there and duly became the sole ruler of Adharbayjān.⁴⁶

Arts'runi has an interesting passage on the wider context of the struggle between Daysam and Lashkarī. In chapter ZH of his narration (preceding the events of chapter ZHA described above), we find a passage describing a commander of Arabic origin who once attacked Dvin as the period of anarchy was over in the "*Persian lands*".⁴⁷ The historian does not tell us the name of that commander^{*} but describes him as a brave warrior who wished to rule independently over the whole country. He says: "*He collected a big army and suddenly invaded Goğtn, then marched through Nakhijawān and, reinforcing his army with the warriors of the gavař (district) of Shařuř, reached the capital Dvin*".⁴⁸ Then Arts'runi continues: "*he sent his *vostikans* (governors) to the country of Ayrarat and to the district of Aragatsotn and made them pay a contribution to him*".

Arts'runi says that those lands partly belonged to the Armenian king 'Abbās. As the king saw that he was not able to defend his lands alone he asked Gagik of Vaspurakan for help. Being connected to 'Abbās by blood ties, Gagik therefore agreed

^{*} In the original the name is given as كنگور - "*The well-fortified fortress near al-Jazīra ibn Omar which is one of those that constituted the chain of fortresses of az-Zawazān district and which belonged to the owner of Mawsil*" (Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān ta'lif*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Vol. I, Cairo, 1325 (1907), p. 104 (in Arab.)).

^{*} "*Ashkhar of Asorestan*" literally means "*the world of Assyria*". Under this geographical meaning Arts'runi meant either Iraq or the Northern Mesopotamia (see: T'ovma Arts'runi and Anonym, *Patmutjun tan Artsrunjats*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 304, (in Arm.)).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁴⁵ Ibn Miskawayh, I, p. 402; Arts'runi, op. cit., p. 305.

^{*} Ibn Miskawayh, I, p. 403. Ibn al-Athīr relates that in order to attack Atom al-Armani, Lashkarīstān's army marched through the pass of Tinnī (Tinnīn) which was situated near the mountain of Jūd (Ararad) (Ibn al-Athīr, 1982, p. 182).

⁴⁶ Ibn Miskawayh, I, p. 404.

⁴⁷ Arts'runi, op. cit., p. 302.

^{*} Arts'runi calls that commander either "*foreigner*" or "*an Arab*".

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁹ On Mūqān see: Le Strange G., *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate, Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 175-6.

⁴⁰ Abū 'Alī Ahmad ibn Muhammad Miskawayh, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate*, trans. by H. Amedroz, D. Margoliouth, Vol. I, London, 1921, pp. 398-400.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 401.

⁴³ Ibn al-Athīr, *Otar aghbjurnery Hajastani ev hajeri masin*, Vol. XI, ed. by A. Ter-Ghevondian, Yerevan, 1981 p. 182 (in Arm.).

to help 'Abbās and marched to Dvin. However, before Gagik reached the town, 'Abbās had nevertheless made an unsuccessful attempt to engage with the invader. As he came up to the valley, which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Vařarshapat (today, Etchmiatsin), the "foreigner" attacked him with a few warriors and defeated him. 'Abbās left around 400 people dead on the battlefield and had to flee to Georgia while the "foreigner" returned to the town (?) with huge treasures. Gagik was still on his way to Dvin and placed his army on the hill of Gino, which is on the left bank of the Araxes near the monastery of Khor Virap'. Having 13,000 warriors at his disposal, the Arab commander attacked Gagik but lost the battle. Around 8,000 of his men were killed and many others were taken prisoner by Gagik in the fortress of Daroyink. Gagik then prepared to burn the town but the old men of the town implored him not to, giving him many hostages and agreeing to pay an annual contribution. Afterwards Gagik returned to Daroyink.⁴⁹

The history of Adharbayjān and Armenia from AH 327–330 is not illuminated by the narrative sources at all. One concludes that during those years the power of Daysam was stable and undisputed throughout the whole region. Only in AH 330 was Daysam's rule interrupted by a Sallārid invasion of Adharbayjān, when Daysam was defeated and subsequently imprisoned somewhere in Daylam.

Daysam spent around seven years in the Sallārid prison and was released either in AH 337 or in the beginning of the next year. This was prompted by the occupation of Adharbayjān by a Buyid commander, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq. The Sallārid Marzubān ibn Muhammad launched an unsuccessful campaign against Rayy in the middle of AH 330, and was captured and imprisoned by Buyid ruler of Rayy, Rukn al-Daula. Marzubān and several of his generals were consigned to the fortress of Sisajān, while Rukn al-Daula sent his own commander to rule over Marzubān's lands. It seems that he made Marāgha his residence but sent his sub-governors to other major towns throughout the region. Wahsūdān, the brother of Marzubān, then began planning how to drive the Buyid commander from Adharbayjān, and so released Daysam from prison. The latter was supplied by the Sallārids with money and troops, even including the rest of Marzubān's troops led by one of his generals, 'Alī ibn Fadl. Daysam accordingly made for Adharbayjān and first obtained some reinforcements in a small town of Warthān (near Barda'a). He then engaged Muhammad, and although the battle went against Daysam the Buyid left Adharbayjān voluntarily: according to Ibn Miskawayh he got weary of it and returned to his master.⁵⁰ Daysam thus took Adharbayjān back without winning a battle, and so his second period of rule in the region began.

Describing the events of the year AH 342, Ibn Miskawayh wrote that one of Marzubān's faithful commanders, 'Alī ibn Mishakī, escaped from prison.⁵¹ Collecting an army in Jibāl, he joined Marzubān's brother, Wahsūdān, to make an attack on Daysam. At the time 'Alī ibn Mishakī set out for Ardabīl, Daysam was in the neighborhood of Zanjān, leaving in Ardabīl his nephew, Ghanim, and wazīr, Nu'aimī. The latter, however, took advantage of Daysam's absence and put to death his opponent, 'Alī ibn 'Isā, the former wazīr of Daysam. Nu'aimī also poisoned the mind of Ghanim against his uncle Daysam, and taking treasure from Ardabīl with him deserted to 'Alī ibn Mishakī. Hearing of this, Daysam hurried to Ardabīl and, taking the remaining gold ornaments and other treasures, went off to Barda'a for hunting. He also sent his emissaries to Vaspurakan Armenia to ensure the loyalty of the Armenian princes, Ibn al-Dayrani and Ibn Gagik. However, after hearing that 'Alī ibn Mishakī was approaching Ardabīl, Daysam hurried there as well. In the battle that took place nearby the Daylamites "turned their shields round towards his

face, and went over to the side of 'Alī ibn Mishakī, with the exception of Justān ibn Sharmazan. This person stood loyally by Daysam, and was arrested by the Daylamites".⁵² 'Alī ibn Mishakī duly took Ardabīl and Marzubān, who by that time had captured the fortress of Samiram, joined him there and seized Daysam's treasures. He put 'Alī ibn Mishakī at the head of his army and sent him after Daysam, who fled to Vaspurakan Armenia. 'Alī ibn Mishakī continued in pursuit of Daysam, driving him first to Mawsil and then Baghdād, where he arrived later that year and was generously received by the Buyid, Mu'izz al-Daula. However, in AH 343 the allies in Adharbayjān began encouraging Daysam to return and restore his power in the province. Mu'izz al-Daula provided Daysam with everything he needed and the latter made for Syria to visit the Hamdānid, Sayf al-Daula. On his back way to Adharbayjān he seized Salmās, where the inhabitants began to read the Khutba in the name of Sayf al-Daula. Then he made for Vaspurakan Armenia to his ally Derenik, the son of Gagik. Derenik received Daysam with honour but soon a letter came from Marzubān demanding that Daysam be bound and sent to him. Derenik accordingly sent him off to Marzubān who imprisoned Daysam and then blinded him. Following the death of Marzubān in AH 346, Daysam was murdered by the latter's dependants.⁵³

2. Numismatic background.

It is possible to distinguish two different chronological periods for the coinage of Daysam ibn Ibrahīm. The first phase began in AH 325 when Daysam occupied Adharbayjān, and lasted till AH 330 when the Sallārid Marzubān drove Daysam out of Adharbayjān. The second period began in AH 338 when Daysam recovered his power in Adharbayjān and ended in AH 341 when Marzubān retook Adharbayjān again. The first period is characterized by the appearance of Daysam's coins in both northern ("Armīniya" and Barda'a) and southern mints (Ardabīl, Marāgha and "Adharbayjān"). The second period of Daysam's coinage is connected with the town of Ardabīl and the mint of "Adharbayjān". No coins of the second period are known so far from the mints of Barda'a, "Armīniya" or Marāgha. A remarkable feature in the coinage of Daysam is the reappearance of standard 'Abbasid coins mentioning the name of the caliph alone; such issues are known for the year of AH 327 only. This phenomenon had a political background and will be considered further. Daysam did not accept the features of the previous coinage implemented by the Sājids and struck his coins according to one type. Also, while Daysam appointed wazīrs and sub-governors (see: Appendix) their names were never cited on coins. The stylistic design of Daysamite coins was carried out very skilfully; the inscriptions often had elements of zoomorphic decoration and sometimes bore the signs of a "flowering" Kufic script. Both gold dīnārs and silver dirhams were struck by Daysam. Exactly 30 (out of 36) coins of that ruler were weighed, giving an average weight for his dirhams of 3.35 g and 4.15 g for his dīnārs.

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة ... و... وثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / ... (با) لله / ديسم بن ابراهيم

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.

2a. The first period of coinage of Daysam ibn Ibrahīm (AH 325 - 330)

For the most part, the coins of Daysam confirm the historical accounts found in our written sources. However, some of his issues adjust and provide more information on the history of Daysam's rule in the region. After his power in Adharbayjān was

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 302-4.

⁵⁰ Abū 'Alī Ahmad ibn Muhammad Miskawayh, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, trans. by H. Amedroz, D. Margoliouth, Vol. II, London, 1921, p. 159.

⁵¹ Here we are dealing with a broken chronology; the activities of 'Alī ibn Mishakī should be dated AH 341.

⁵² Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 159.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 150-1.

established, Daysam immediately began striking his own coins in his lands. One of his first issues appeared in Barda'a in AH 325.

1. AR Dirham. Barda'a AH 325.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لاشريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببردعة سنة خمس و عشرين و
ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: الله / محمد / رسول الله / الراضي بالله / ديسم بن ابراهيم

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Bykov (b), p. 74, No. 1 (2.15 g; 23 mm) = Azimova, pp. 89-90;⁵⁴ SHM inv. No. 19090/7.

These coins confirm that Daysam had assumed control of Adharbayjān as early as in AH 325. Therefore Ibn Miskawayh was right in his claim that Daysam had already been ruling in the region when Lashkarī ibn Mardī invaded Adharbayjān.

Coins of Daysam were also struck at this mint in AH 326 and 327. In this context one dirham struck in Barda'a in AH 326 is of particular interest and has become the subject of a long debate among numismatists.

2. AR Dirham. Barda'a 326 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لاشريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببردعة سنة ست و عشرين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: الله / محمد / رسول الله / الراضي بالله / ديسم بن ابراهيم

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.

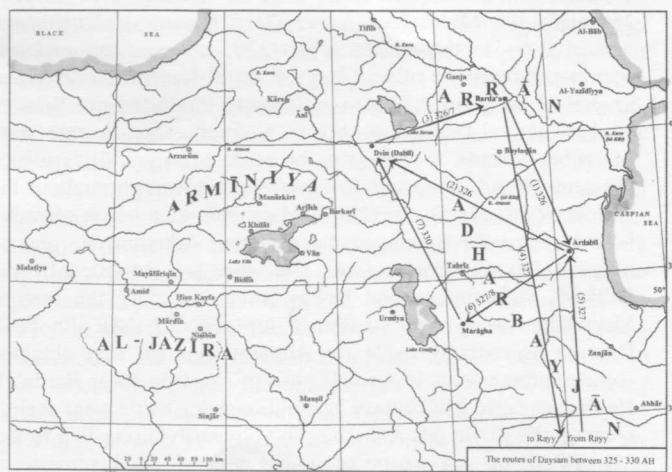
Ref: Tornberg, p. 229, No. 38 = Tiesenhausen, p. 292, No. 2931 = Pakhomov, p. 154.

The specimen has standard obverse and reverse inscriptions. The reverse side bears the name of a ruler engraved beneath that of the contemporary caliph, al-Rādī billāh. Tornberg was the first to described that coin and tried to read this name, but came up with completely different readings: *al-Mu'izz ibn* or *Abū Ahmad*, neither of which can be identified historically.⁵⁵ The same coin was later mentioned by Tiesenhausen, who left the question of its attribution open,⁵⁶ and also by Pakhomov who stated only that the readings of Tornberg could hardly be acceptable historically.⁵⁷ Leaving these previous attempts aside, from a purely historical standpoint one could suggest that either Daysam ibn Ibrahīm or Lashkarī ibn Mardī could have been cited on that coin. According to our sources, Lashkarī ibn Mardī invaded Adharbayjān in AH 326 and briefly expelled Daysam. The latter fled north across the Araxes but was nevertheless pursued by Lashkarī's nephew who attacked Daysam once again. There is no evidence so suggest that Lashkarī's nephew captured any towns in Arrān or Armenia, and it seems that he returned to Lashkarī immediately after attacking Daysam. On the other hand it is known that around 325 AH the Hamdānid, Nāsir al-Daula, appointed his cousin, Abū 'Abdallāh

Husayn ibn Sa'īd, as his deputy in Adharbayjān.⁵⁸ This Husayn ibn Sa'īd also invaded Adharbayjān around AH 326,⁵⁹ but according to our sources he never went further north and had no aspirations beyond Adharbayjān.

To summarise, we can assume that the name of Daysam ibn Ibrahīm was cited on that dirham from Barda'a. As already mentioned, all Daysam coins conform to an arrangement of legends where the ruler's name was always placed beneath that of the caliph on the reverse. This fits with the layout of the dirham of AH 326 from Barda'a, suggesting that the unclear words on this piece could have been the parts of the proper name of Daysam ibn Ibrahīm. Careful examination of the dirhams struck at Barda'a in AH 325 and 327 shows that, because of the coins' bad condition, the *nasab* ibn Ibrahīm could have been simply misread as *Abū Ahmad* as Tornberg suggested. It must also be noted that coins of Daysam were unknown to these previous scholars, making it impossible to identify the coin.

Examination of the coinage of Daysam in subsequent years throws up an interesting observation. The distribution of mints and years of the coins shows that the coinage of Daysam struck between AH 325–330 was concentrated in mints located in the towns where Daysam was residing at the time. Briefly stated, the issue of coins in one mint ceased when Daysam left that town, while a new mint was quickly organised in the place where Daysam next arrived. The map shows the approximate routes of Daysam's movements within his realm during AH 325–330 according to both his coinage and sources.



Thus during AH 325-326 Daysam was staying in Barda'a, and was still there when Lashkarī invaded Adharbayjān. He fought twice with Lashkarī, lost both battles and had to retreat. According to our written sources Lashkarī could not capture Ardabīl, demonstrating that the inhabitants of the town stood loyally by Daysam and against Lashkarī. However, after the inhabitants asked Daysam to come to their aid once more, Lashkarī was defeated near the walls of Ardabīl and fled to Mūqān. This could have been the time when Daysam briefly stayed in Ardabīl while Lashkarī was collecting a new army in Mūqān. During that short period the following coins appeared in Ardabīl:

3. AV Dīnār. Ardabīl AH 326.

The same type as No. 1.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باردبيل سنة ست و عشرين و
ثلثمائة

⁵⁴ The italicized references indicate the provenance of the image.

⁵⁵ Tornberg C., "Decouvertes recentes de monnaies koufiques en Suede," *Revue Numismatique Belge*, T. II, 1870, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Tiesenhausen V., *Monety vostochnogo khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 292, No. 2931.

⁵⁷ Pakhomov Ye., *Monety Azerbaydzhana*, Vyp. II, Baku, p. 154.

⁵⁸ Bikhazi R., *The Hamdānid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254-404/868-1014*, Vol. I, Michigan, 1981, pp. 565-6.

⁵⁹ Ibn Miskawayh I, p. 404.



Ref: IC 10, 2005, No. 279 (4.23 g).

After getting reinforcements in Mūqān, Lashkarī returned and defeated Daysam, who fled north across the Araxes. Before his departure to Rayy, Daysam went to his residence in Barda'a where he issued both dirhams and dīnārs. The coins are dated AH 327, showing that either the battle between Daysam and Lashkarī had already taken place by the time they were struck, or else that Daysam stayed in Barda'a till that year.

4. AV Dīnār. Barda'a AH 327.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببردعة سنة سبع و عشرين و
ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.

Ref: ANS No. 1966.31.4 (4.16 g; 22 mm).

5. AR Dirham. Barda'a AH 327.

The same type as No. 1.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببردعة سنة سبع و عشرين و ثلثمائة



Ref: SYC.

The sources relate that after Daysam moved to Rayy, Lashkarī finally seized his all lands. He also occupied Ardabīl, whose inhabitants apparently gave up their resistance and yielded themselves to Lashkarī. Seeing himself as sole ruler of Adharbayjān, Lashkarī ordered coins to be struck in the name of the caliph, without mentioning his own name on those coins.

6. AV Dīnār. Ardabīl AH 327.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باردبيل سنة سبع و عشرين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / الراضي بالله

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.

Note: Arabic letter *ه* beneath the Kalima on the obverse. A sign cited beneath the name of the caliph on the reverse.



Ref: IC 10, 2005, No. 135 (4.47 g); ME 18, 2006, no. 28 (4.31 g).

By omitting his own name from the coins, Lashkarī perhaps wished to show his loyalty to the caliph in the hope of being formally appointed governor of the province. The presence of the letter *ta-marbuta* engraved beneath the central legends on the obverse also perhaps supports the view that these Ardabīl dīnārs were struck by Lashkarī rather than Daysam. The significance of this letter is unclear, but it is to be noted that such Arabic letters or symbols were never placed on the coins of Daysam.

The dīnārs of Ardabīl of AH 327 were not the only anonymous issues of that time; dīnārs bearing the date AH 327 but struck in Marāgha are also known today. These coins are similar to the Ardabīl issues with the only difference that they bear neither letters nor signs beneath the legends on both sides.

7. AV Dīnār. Marāgha AH 327.

The same type as No. 6 but without signs or letters beneath the legends.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بامرأعة سنة سبع و عشرين و
ثلثمائة



Ref: IC 10, 2005, No. 139 (4.00 g); ME 17, 2005, No.764 (4.57 g).

Were these coins struck by Lashkarī also? We know that Daysam was still on his way back to Adharbayjān when the news came that Lashkarī had made for Andzevats'ik. It seems likely that, during his journey eastwards, Lashkarī arrived in Marāgha, which lay on his way to Vaspurakan Armenia. Manandian, using the geographical works of Ibn Hauqal, Istakhrī and al-Muqaddasī, proved that one of the main routes from Ardabīl to the west passed through Marāgha on the way to the towns of Khūy, Berkrī, Arjīsh and Akhlāt.⁶⁰ In those years Marāgha evidently served as a crossroads on the main trade routes passing from east to west.

It is also possible that these coins were struck under Abū 'Abdallāh Husayn ibn Sa'īd, who around that time was sent to Adharbayjān as governor by the Hamdanid Nāsir al-Daula. There is no direct proof in the sources that Husayn ibn Sa'īd ever reached Marāgha. However, there is evidence that Husayn ibn Sa'īd went from Mawsil in the direction of Adharbayjān, suggesting that Marāgha could have been his first destination. But if even Husayn ibn Sa'īd did seize Marāgha briefly it seems unlikely that he would issue coins without citing at least the name of his uncle, Nāsir al-Daula, who was politically significant in the caliphate at the time.

⁶⁰ Manandian Ya., *O torgovle i gorodakh Armenii v svjazi s mirovoy torgovley drevnikh vremen*, Yerevan, 1954, pp. 234-6.

Therefore, it is suggested that the *dīnārs* of Marāgha, like the Ardabīl issues of the same year, were struck anonymously under Lashkarī.

When Daysam reached Adharbayjān, Lashkarī had already met his death in Vaspurakan Armenia. Daysam re-established his power first in Ardabīl and then in Marāgha. Wishing to demonstrate his control over the entire province, Daysam initiated an issue of gold *dīnārs* in his name bearing the mint-mark "Adharbayjān" rather than the name of a town.

8. AV *Dīnār*. Adharbayjān AH 327.

The same type as No. 1.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا باذربيجان سنة تسع و عشرين و ثلثمائة
Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.
Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: ME 14, 2005, No. 666 (3.65 g); PE 384 2005, p. 111, No. 1127 (3.16 g).

The subsequent issue of coins in Marāgha in AH 328 was not a coincidence. Daysam had to move to Marāgha to restore his power there also. The appearance of *dīnārs* and *dirhams* in AH 328 proves that Daysam arrived in the town that year.

9. AV *Dīnār*. Marāgha AH 328.

The same type as No. 1.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بامرأعة سنة ثمان و عشرين و ثلثمائة



Ref: ME 14, 2005, No. 667 (3.41 g); ME 17, 2005, No. 896 (3.76 g) = IC 13, 2007, No. 232.

10. AR *Dirham*. Marāgha 328 AH.

The same type as No. 1.⁶¹

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بامرأعة سنة ثمان و عشرين و ثلثمائة
Ref: Album 179, 2002, p. 3, No. 186.

It seems as if Daysam stayed in Marāgha for a further year also. *Dīnārs* of AH 329 from that town are known as well.

11. AV *Dīnār*. Marāgha AH 329.

The same type as No. 1.

⁶¹ The description of this coin was provided by S. Album in 2004. I am thankful to Mr Album for that information.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بامرأعة سنة تسع و عشرين و ثلثمائة



Ref: IC 6, 2003, No. 409 = IC 10, 2005, No. 280 (4.51 g); ME 18, 2006, no. 48 (4.50 g).

The *dirhams* bearing the mint-name "Adharbayjān" are also known for the year AH 329. This shows that in AH 329 Daysam either left Marāgha for Ardabīl, or else remained in Marāgha but produced coins with the mint-name "Adharbayjān" to demonstrate his control over the entire province, as he had done in Ardabīl two years previously.

12. AR *Dirham*. Adharbayjān AH 329.

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باذربيجان سنة تسع و عشرين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / المتقي لله / ديسم بن ابراهيم

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: MHA inv. No. 27513 (3.44 g; 24 mm) = Azimova, p. 90; SO 1985, No. 390 (3.37 g).

The *dirham* of Daysam struck at "Armīniya" in AH 330 and first published by Bykov⁶² gives important proof that Dvin was also then under Daysam's rule.

13. AR *Dirham*. Armīniya AH 330.

The same type as above.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارمينية سنة ثلثين و ثلثمائة



Ref: Bykov (a), No. 1, p. 15, Tab. I a (2.63 g; 26.5 mm) = SH = Azimova (b), p. 90.

Unfortunately, there is no direct mention in the sources of a campaign by Daysam to Dvin. It is also regrettable that the lack of any other published coins of Daysam from the mint of "Armīniya" between AH 325-330 means we have no numismatic evidence for when Daysam was holding Dvin. However, one passage in

⁶² Bykov, 1955, p. 15, No. 1.

Arts'runi's narrative answers the question of when Dvin was first held by Daysam. As described above, an "unknown commander of an Arabic origin" marched on Dvin, at which point king Gagik of Vaspurakan hurried to help the Bagratid king, 'Abbās. Gagik defeated the invader in battle near Dvin and entered the town, which he was about to burn before being persuaded to change his mind. Unfortunately, Arts'runi gives neither the commander's name nor the composition of his army, so that it is unclear whether they were Daylamites or Kurds. It is also unknown where this commander had come from before travelling to Dvin.

The answers to these questions can be found in the detail of chapter ZH, which gives information about this campaign. Chapter ZH, which immediately precedes chapter ZHA, covers the campaign of Lashkarī to Andzevats'ik which can be securely dated to AH 326 from the account of Ibn Miskawayh.⁶³ Therefore, the events described in chapter ZH can have taken place no later than AH 326. Ter-Ghevondian was therefore right in suggesting that the Dvin campaign had been led by either Daysam or Lashkarī, who were the main historical figures of that time.⁶⁴ From chapter ZH we learn that Gagik killed in the battle near Dvin 8,000 out of 13,000 warriors of that "commander", taking many others with him as prisoners to the fortress of Daroyink and only releasing 200 of them soon afterwards. However, the chapter ZHA begins with the following sentence: "At that time one part of the *Daylamite* troops wished to go to the World of Assyria".⁶⁵ Obviously, Arts'runi hardly can have meant those 200 defeated warriors when he opens the beginning of chapter ZHA with an account of the remaining *Daylamite* troops which soon invaded Andzevats'ik. Another significant piece of information given by the historian here is the composition of the army that invaded Andzevats'ik. They were the Daylamites! According to Ibn Miskawayh the main bulk of Daysam's army at that time was made up of Kurds.⁶⁶ The same passage also makes clear the route chosen by that "commander" for reaching Dvin, which passed through the *gavařs* of Goghtn (Arts'runi's *Goghtmastan*), Nakhijawān and Shařuř. All these places were on the left bank of the Araxes, running in a north-westerly direction to Dvin from the south. Arts'runi says that on his way to Dvin the "foreigner" got reinforcements in the *gavař* of Shařuř.⁶⁷ This implies this district then already belonged to that commander, and the army of Shařuř just joined him when called upon to do so. However, it must be admitted that the district of Shařuř had never previously belonged to Lashkarī.

Taking all of this into consideration, we may reach the following conclusions:

1. Chapters ZH and ZHA are not directly related. They each deal with different events, and chapter ZHA is not a continuation of the chapter ZH;
2. The Daylamite troops which devastated Andzevats'ik did not also attack Dvin;
3. The battle of Dvin must be dated *before* the campaign of Lashkarī to Andzevats'ik;
4. By the time "the Arab commander" attacked Dvin the town did not belong to Daysam, otherwise Arts'runi would undoubtedly have mentioned it. On the contrary, Arts'runi has evidence proving that Dvin was subject to the Bagratid king, 'Abbās, when he first hurried to meet the enemy. Apparently, no Muslim governors were sitting in Dvin that time. The town was ruled by a local aristocracy consisting of city elders, which is why Gagik negotiated with them collectively rather than with a specific governor.

Thus the campaign against Dvin was undertaken by Daysam and not Lashkarī. Daysam, having being defeated by Lashkarī in AH

326, crossed the Araxes and fled to Armenia. Lashkarī sent his nephew there who attacked Daysam once again with insufficient forces, and who afterwards returned to Lashkarī. What happened to Daysam after this? Ibn Miskawayh says that he went to Rayy. However, somewhere between these two events Daysam obtained reinforcements from the *gavař* of Shařuř before making an unsuccessful attempt to capture Dvin. Only after this did he go first to Barda'a and then to Rayy. Thus the campaign of Daysam against Dvin took place after Lashkarī had driven him out of Adharbayjān but before he went to Rayy. At all events, this took place in AH 326. Therefore, Daysam might have taken possession of Dvin after AH 326, perhaps in the year AH 330 when dirhams of "Armīniya" citing the name of Daysam first appeared.

2b. The second period of coinage of Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm (AH 338 - 341).

After spending several years in prison, Daysam was finally released. The Buyid, Muhammad, left Adharbayjān and Daysam became sole ruler of the province. It remains unclear whether Daysam had retaken control of Adharbayjān in 337 or in the following year. There are no coins of Daysam bearing the date AH 337, and his first issues of that period were the dirhams struck in Ardabīl in AH 338.

14. AR Dirham. Ardabīl AH 338.

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة ثمان و ثلثين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: الله / محمد / رسول الله / المطع للة / ديسم بن ابراهيم

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Bykov (b), p. 74, No. 2 (2.09 g; 26 mm) = Azimova, p. 91; SHM inv. No. 6 (1.49 g).⁶⁸

After regaining control in his lands, Daysam went north. He crossed the Araxes and re-established his authority both in Dvin and Nakhijawān (in the text: *Nashawā*) which had been previously ruled by the Sallārid governors, al-Fadl ibn Ja'far al-Hamdānī and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dabī.⁶⁹ Afterwards, Daysam appointed Abū 'Abdallāh Nu'aimī as wazīr following the death of his former secretary, the Christian Ibn al-Saqr.⁷⁰ Daysam took out of his estate 100,000 dirhams.⁷¹ However, the wazīrat of Abū 'Abdallāh Nu'aimī was very short; he was soon arrested and replaced with a certain 'Alī ibn 'Isā. But Nu'aimī was soon able to persuade Daysam not only to restore him to his post but also to surrender his rival, 'Alī ibn 'Isā, to him. In exchange for these favours Daysam received from Nu'aimī one million dirhams.⁷² Thereafter things went well for Daysam, who was the sole ruler of the whole province. The coins support this view. Both dīnārs and dirhams

⁶⁸ The specimen of the SHM survived in pieces.

⁶⁹ This Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dabī was once mentioned by Ibn Miskawayh in the context of Marzubān's imprisonment by Rukn al-Daula in AH 337.

⁷⁰ He originated from the neighbourhood of Khūy and Salmās. Apparently, he came into Daysam's service in the days of the wazīr Ibn Mahmūd (ca. 338 AH). However, he became a wazīr only after Ibn Mahmūd had come over to Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq's side (Ibn Miskawayh, II, pp. 141-2). He was also a co-wazīr of Abū 'Abdallāh Nu'aimī for a short time.

⁷¹ Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 157.

⁷² Ibid., p. 158.

⁶³ Ibn Miskawayh, I, pp. 401-2.

⁶⁴ Ter-Ghevondian A., *Arabakan amirajutjunjery bagratunjats Hajastanum*, Yerevan, 1965, p. 142 (in Arm.).

⁶⁵ Concerning that geographical name, see above.

⁶⁶ Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 31.

⁶⁷ Arts'runi, op. cit., p. 302.

citing the name of Daysam on the reverse are known from Ardabīl and “Adharbayjān” for the years AH 340 and 341.

15. AR Dirham. Ardabīl AH 340.

The same type as above.

Obv. I: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة ثمان و ثلثين و ثلثمائة



Ref: Markov, p. 304, No. 1 = Vasmer (a), p. 171, No. 2 = Vasmer (b), Tab. I c = Bykov (a), Tab. I b (3.62 g; 28 mm) = Azimova, p. 91.

16. AV Dīnār. Adharbayjān AH 341.

The same type as above.

Obv. I: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باذربيجان سنة احدى و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: *Centuries*, p. 53, No. 156 (4.89 g; 18 mm).

17. AR Dirham. Adharbayjān AH 341.

The same type as above.

Obv. I: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باذربيجان سنة احدى و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: Pakhomov IX, 1966, p. 34, No. 2106 = Azimova, p. 91 (4.75 g; 25 mm) and (3.43 g; 26.5 mm); Molvogin, p. 214, No. 10 (4.37g); SO 1987, p. 60, No. 863 (3.28 g); VP 75, 1989, p. 52, No. 425 (3.28 g; 26 mm); *PE* 367, 2000, p. 17, No. 1794 (2.58 g); SHM inv. No. 15589, No. 2; SHM inv. No. 26697, No. 20; LMC.

18. AV Dīnār. Ardabīl AH 341.

The same type as above.

Obv. I: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باردبيل سنة احدى و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: CCVA No. 5E:2 (4.36 g; 27 mm).

19. AR Dirham. Ardabīl AH 341.

The same type as above.

Obv. I: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة احدى و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: Pakhomov IX, 1966, No. 2107 = Azimova, p. 91 (3.29 g; 24,5m) and (3.91 g; 25 mm); Rajabli, p. 61, No. 51 (3.10 g); *Leimus*, No. 3606, p. 424 (4.37 g).

The dirhams of AH 338 begin the second period of Daysam’s coinage, characterised by a concentration of minting at Ardabīl and a lack of coins from the northern mints of “Armīniya” and Barda’a.

Although our sources confirm that Daysam re-established his control over Dvin, no coins from that town are known so far. Can this be explained by the changes in the political or economical situation in the north? A possible political reason could be the appearance of another power in the region. Thus Minorsky, citing Munajjim Bāshī, stated that in AH 340 the Shaddādids made an attempt to establish themselves in Dvin. The transition of power in Dvin took place without bloodshed when the townsfolk, tired of never-ending anarchy and political chaos, invited the Shaddādīd amīr Muhammad to Dvin.⁷³ Ter-Ghevondian, in his turn, suggested that Dvin was nevertheless under the control of Daysam till AH 341.⁷⁴ The appearance of the Shaddādids in the region might explain why Daysam struck no coins in Dvin, but this would only apply for the period after AH 340. This does not tally with Ibn Miskawayh’s statement that Daysam had recovered his power in Dvin and Nakhijawān before this date. What, then, could have prevented Daysam from striking his own coins in Dvin from AH 338-340? Apparently, after re-establishing his power in Dvin Daysam immediately left the town. He could have gone to Barda’a or Ardabīl and made one of these his residence for certain economic circumstances.

There is no direct evidence in our sources that Daysam retook Barda’a after defeating the Buyid, Muhammad. There is only a short note by Ibn Miskawayh that Daysam retreated to a small town, Warthān (in the neighbourhood of Barda’a), where he obtained reinforcements before engaging the Buyid commander. Did Daysam make a further attempt to retake Barda’a afterwards? If he did, why were no further coins struck there in his name? Only two explanations can be suggested: 1. Daysam had to hurry to Ardabīl to fight Muhammad and had no time to set up a mint; 2. that economic factors led to the abandoning of minting in Barda’a. It is quite possible that both these factors applied, so that Daysam initially failed to establish a mint in Barda’a because he was in a hurry to reach Ardabīl, but having retaken Ardabīl decided not

⁷³ Minorsky V., *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953, p. 38.

⁷⁴ Ter-Ghevondian, 1965, pp. 233-42.

to strike coins in Barda'a for economic reasons. This second opinion seems more probable, particularly in the light of other events. Ibn Miskawayh wrote that when the Rus campaigned against Barda'a in AH 332 the town had been ruled by one of Marzubān's governors, who unsuccessfully tried to repulse the attacks of the invaders.⁷⁵ The town was occupied by the Rus till the middle of AH 333. Yakubovsky agreed with this chronology and considered that the Rus had stayed in Barda'a less than a year.⁷⁶ In the middle of AH 333 the Sallārids restored their power in the town, but, having done so, struck no coins of their own there. Nor are Sallārid coins known from this mint from the period 341-350 AH, when they controlled not only Barda'a itself but also the wider area. From the available numismatic material it seems that the mint of Barda'a stopped functioning somewhere in the AH 330s, and in the writer's opinion this followed the campaign of the Rus. The Arabic geographers report that Barda'a was seriously damaged in this campaign, so that it was almost completely destroyed. When it fell to the Rus, more than 20.000 inhabitants died and thousands more were taken hostage.⁷⁷ Mas'ūdī says: "... It (Barda'a) is wonderful, although its environs have been destroyed, it is not well populated but its fortress came to fall".⁷⁸ Ibn Hauqal writes: "It (Barda'a), despite the destruction which touched it, (is still) full of markets, hotels and bath-houses. The destructions came one after another beginning with the Rus (Barda'a) and continuing to the present day, because of the rulers' tyranny ...".⁷⁹ Yāqūt, repeating Istakhri, says: "I am saying – this description is old. As far as the present time is concerned, nothing exists from that. I have met people from Barda'a in Adharbayjān and I have asked them about their town. They have told me that there was much evidence of destruction in the town, and nothing was now there apart from what (usually) existed in the villages. There were few people there, but disturbance, obvious poverty and much neediness, the houses completely collapsed ...".⁸⁰

Thus the general cessation of the mint's activity in Barda'a can be connected with economic circumstances. The capture of Barda'a by the Rus devastated the town, so that for years afterwards it became only a town of minor significance. Barda'a needed a long time to recover from this crisis, which is why during this period neither Daysam nor the Sallārids produced coins there until AH 350.

APPENDIX

1. The officers of Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm

SHABUSTI – led the army of Daysam against Lashkarī around AH 326.

SU'LUK IBN MUHAMMAD IBN MUSĀFIR – a Daylamite chieftain.

ASFAR IBN SIYAKULĪ – a Daylamite chieftain.

'ALĪ IBN FADL – a former officer of Badjkam from Mawsil. A Daylamite chieftain. This is, likely, the same 'Alī ibn Fadl, the commander of Marzubān ibn Muhammad.

The above-mentioned individuals were taken by Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm in exchange with the Kurds after he returned the army to Wushmgir.

⁷⁵ Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 62.

⁷⁶ Yakubovskiy A., "Ibn-Miskawayh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 332 g. = 943/4 g.", *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, T. XXIV, 1916, p. 72.

⁷⁷ Abū al-Faraj from Dorn B., *Caspia*, Memoires de l'Acad. Imp. D. Sciences de St. Petersburg, T. XXIII, No. 1, p. 515.

⁷⁸ Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Vol. VIII, Lugduni Batavorum, 1969, p. 375.

⁷⁹ Abū al-Qāsim ibn Hauqal, Kitāb surrat al-Ard, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Opus Geographicum, Vol. II, ed. by J. Kramers, Lugduni Batavorum, 1967, p. 241 (in Arab.).

⁸⁰ Yāqūt, I, p. 559.

ABŪ AN-NASR JUSTĀN IBN SHARMAZAN – the general of Daysam between AH 337/8-341. Arrested by 'Alī ibn Mishakī in AH 341.

2. The wazīrs of Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm

ABŪ AL-QĀSIM 'ALĪ IBN JA'FAR AL-SULĪ – ca. AH 325-330. ABŪ AL-QĀSIM 'ALĪ IBN JA'FAR AL-SULĪ (second time) – in AH 330.

ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD NU'AIMĪ – in AH 330.

ABŪ JA'FAR AHMAD IBN 'ABDALLĀH IBN MAHMŪD – AH 337.

ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD NU'AIMĪ (second time) – with a Christian clerk Ibn al-Saqr held a post of a wazīr in ca. AH 338.

ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD NU'AIMĪ (third time) – ca. AH 338.

'ALĪ IBN 'ĪSĀ – ca. AH 338. Killed by Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī in 338 AH.

ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD NU'AIMĪ (fourth time) – AH 338-341 (?).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR THE CATALOGUE

a) Literature

Album - Album S., Price List, Santa Rosa.

Azimova – Numizmaticheskie dannye ob emirakh – preemnikakh Sadzhidov, *Izvestija Akademii Nauk AzSSR*, No. 1, 1979, pp. 88-93.

Bykov (a) - Bykov A., *Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī i ego monety*, Epigrafika Vostoka, T. X, 1955, pp. 14-37.

Bykov (b) - Bykov A., *Dva novykh dirkhema Daysama ibn Ibrākhima al-Kurdi*, Epigrafika Vostoka, T. XX, 1971, pp. 74-6.

Centuries - Centuries of Gold. The Coinage of Medieval Islam, ed. by Darley-Doran R., London, 1986.

Leimus - Leimus I., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins (710/1 – 1013/4 AD)*. Estonian Public Collections, Tallinn, 2007.

Markov - Markov A., *Inventarny katalog Gosudarstvennogo Imperatricheskogo Ermitazha*, T. I, St. Petersburg, 1896.

Molvogin - Molvogin A., *Die Funde Westeuropäischer Münzen des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts in Estland*, Hamburg, 1994.

Pakhomov - Pakhomov Ye., *Monety Azerbaydzhana*, T. II, Baku, 1963.

Pakhomov IX - Pakhomov Ye., *Monetnye klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza*, T. IX, Baku, 1926-1966.

Rajabli - Rajabli A., *Numizmatika Azerbaydzhana*, Baku, 1997.

Tiesenhausen (a) - Tiesenhausen V., *Monety vostochnogo Khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873.

Tornberg - Tornberg C., *Decouvertes recentes de monnaies koufiques en Suede*, *Revue Numismatique Belge*, T. II, 1870, pp. 221-45.

Vasmer (a) - Vasmer R., *Zur Chronologie der Ğastaniden und Sällāriden*, *Islamica*, Bd. III, 1927, pp. 165-86.

Vasmer (b) - Vasmer R., *Dva klada kuficheskikh monet, Gosudarstvennaja Academia Istorii Materialnoy Kultury*, *Trudy Numizmaticheskoy Komissii*, T. VI, 1927, p. 1-57.

b) Auction catalogues

BA - Baldwin's Auction Catalogue, London.

CCVA – Catalogue of Coins of the Viking Age Found in Sweden, Stockholm.

IC - Islamic Coins Auction Catalogue by Baldwin's, London.

ME – Morton & Eden Auction Catalogue, London.

PE - Dr. Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung Auktion Katalog, Frankfurt am Main.

SO - Sotheby's Coins, Medals and Numismatic Books, London.

VP - Jean Elsen Auction Catalogue "Vente Publique", Brussel.

c) Numismatic collections

- ANS – The American Numismatic Society, New York.
- LMC - Leimus collection, Tallinn.
- MHA – Museum of the History of Azerbaijan, Baku.
- SHM - Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.
- SYC – Systematic collection of the Königl. Münzkabinett, Stockholm.

THE ACCESSION OF HARUN AL-RASHID

By Yahya Jafar

This article introduces an hitherto unpublished new format for the well known dinars of Harun al-Rashid and recounting events leading to his accession to the caliphate.

The third Abbasid caliph, al-Mahdi (AH 158-169), had two sons from his favourite wife, al-Khayzaran, Musa and Harun. He initially appointed Musa as heir, with Harun after his brother. However, in 169, al-Mahdi decided to remove Musa and appoint Harun, who was his mother's favourite, as his heir. Al-Mahdi summoned his son, Musa, who was in Jurjan at that time, to Baghdad in order to inform him of his decision. When Musa did not respond, the caliph decided to travel to him. Al-Mahdi, however, mysteriously died, possibly poisoned, on his way. Thus Musa succeeded as the new caliph and became known as the caliph, al-Hadi.

Al-Hadi was a tough caliph who started his reign by punishing all those who were unkind to him during his father's reign. He even reprimanded his mother, al-Khayzaran, who had been highly influential during the reign of al-Mahdi, which angered and alienated her. Moreover, contrary to the wishes of his father, al-Hadi decided to appoint his young son, Ja'far, as heir instead of his brother, Harun. He also became convinced that it would be necessary to get rid of his brother in order for this appointment to succeed.

Al-Khayzaran, fearing for Harun's life as well as already alienated and estranged by al-Hadi, arranged for some of her concubines, who were serving the caliph, to assassinate him. This was successfully accomplished in Rabi' Awwal 170.

The supporters of Harun quickly seized al-Hadi's son, Ja'far, and forced him to renounce his appointment. Hence, Harun became the new caliph. Initially, he was given the *laqab* al-Mardhi, then quickly changed to al-Rashid (170-193).

Possibly, it was because of the resulting confusion as to the identity of the new caliph that Harun al-Rashid decided to place his name on the coinage. Up to then, although some dirhems had carried the names of ruling caliphs, it was the first time that a caliph's name appeared on Abbasid dinars.

Although such dinars are known and published for the years AH 170 and 171, where the name of Harun appears in the middle of the reverse in the caption (محمد رسول الله/مما امر به) as in the dinars illustrated in Figures (1)¹ and (2)², this article describes another unpublished variety with the same caption appearing as an inner margin on the reverse as shown in Figure (3)³. This type of design was chosen for the dirhems of Madinat al-Salam for the years AH 170-178.



Fig. 1

¹ In the Author's collection (4.15g, 18mm)
² In the Author's collection (4.17g, 19mm)
³ In the Author's collection (4.19g, 19mm)



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

This new version appears to be well executed in comparison to the relatively cruder style of the other known type of dinars. This new type may have been produced as presentation pieces for the caliph to give away or as an initial design that was rejected in favour of the other already known type.

HAZARSAP b. BANGHIR

By Yahya Jafar

This article shows that Hazarsap b. Banghir issued dinars at Ayday incorporating his name as well as that of the Seljuk sultan, Tughrul Beg and Caliph al-Qa'im

Taj al-Muluk Abu Kalijar Hazarsap b. Banghir b. Iyadh al-Kurdi (d. AH 462h) was first mentioned by Ibn al-Athir in his al-Kamil in the year 443. By that time he was the Governor of Ayday, as a Buwayhid vassal, and a prominent figure in the conflict between the sons of Imad al-Din Abu Kalijar al-Marzaban (AH 415-440). Hazarsap was set on the side of Abu Mansur Folad Sultan (d. AH 454) and his brother, Abu Ali, against Abu Kalijar al-Marzaban's other sons, al-Malik al-Rahim Abu Nasr Khusro Fairuz (AH 440-447), the successor to his father, and his brother, Abu Sa'ad. However, after some confrontations and a series of defeats between the years 443 and 445 in Khusistan and Fars, the forces of al-Malik al-Rahim proved superior. These defeated their opponents and occupied Basra, Arrajan and al-Ahwaz, which belonged to Abu Ali. It is likely that it was on that occasion that al-Malik al-Rahim issued the well known dinar of al-Ahwaz AH 445 (Treadwell Ah445G) signifying the capture of al-Ahwaz.



In 445, Hazarsap and Abu Ali went to the Seljuk Sultan, Tughrul Beg (AH 429-447), seeking his help, which was promised to them. It was in that year that this unpublished dinar (3.82g, 22mm) was struck. Moreover, its type is not previously known because although it carries the Seljuk *tamgha* (emblem) on the reverse, it cannot be categorized as a Seljuk issue but must be considered an issue of Hazarsap, similar to the Kakwayhid coins issued by Faramurz (AH 433-443), some of which also carried the Seljuk emblem as well as his name.

عدل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
القائم بامر الله
تاج الملوك
ابو كالجار

محمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
شاهنشاه
طغرلبك
ابو طالب

Obverse inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بايدج سه خمس و اربعين واربعمانه

Obverse outer margin (Quran XXX, 4-5): الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Reverse margin (Quran IX, 33): محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

This dinar* is very likely to have been part of the money carried by Hazarsap to Sultan Tughrul Beg in return for the support and protection that he was asked for by the former. From then on, Hazarsap became a vassal of the Seljuks and, seemingly, a very important figure to Tughrul Beg as he gave him his niece, a daughter of Chaghri Beg, in marriage. Such a marriage would have been a great honour to Hazarsap, a significant symbol of the sultan's support being married to such a Seljuk princess. In fact, Caliph al-Qa'im later married her sister in AH 448.

In 447, Sultan Tughrul Beg rented Basra and Ahwaz to Hazarsap for 360,000 dinars yearly. When the caliph, al-Qa'im, attended in 448 for his marriage contract to Tughrul Beg's niece, Hazarsap was present together with the sultan's wazir, al-Kundari, and other Seljuk princes. In 449, Tughrul Beg also rented Balad to Hazarsap and ordered his troops not to harm anyone who took refuge with Hazarsap in Balad.

When the Daylamite General, al-Basasiri, occupied Baghdad in 450-451, he went to Hazarsap in Basra asking him to intervene with Tughrul Beg, who refused to accept al-Basasiri's conditions. Other examples are known when other dignitaries used Hazarsap to intervene on their behalf with Sultan Tughrul Beg, who must have regarded Hazarsap very highly.

In AH 462, Taj al-Muluk Abu Kalijar Hazarsap b. Bangir died when he was returning from Isfahan after visiting the then Seljuk sultan, Alp Arslan.

TWO BUWAYHID REBELS

By Yahya Jafar

This article describes an important unpublished dinar issued by two Buwayhid rebels in Shiraz in AH 389 as well as the events in that period.

As the power of the Abbasid Caliphs diminished in the early fourth century, the Buwayhids, a rising Daylamite clan entered Baghdad and seized power there rendering the caliph a mere figurehead.

Initially, the Buwayhids were led by three brothers, the eldest was Imad al-Dawla Abu al-Hasan Ali (AH 322-328) who occupied Fars, then Rukn al-Dawla Hasan (AH 335-36h) who took central Iran and the youngest, Mu'zz al-Dawla Ahmed (AH 328-356), who took Iraq and Khuzistan.

It was Mu'zz al-Dawla who entered and captured Baghdad in AH 334, deposed the then caliph, al-Mustakfi, and replaced him with his cousin, al-Muti'. Mu'zz al-Dawla assumed full control of the temporal powers of the caliph, which had anyway been mostly

lost during the control of the various Amir al-Umaras. Mu'zz al-Dawla's rule of Baghdad was precarious and he died in AH 356. His son, Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar, became his successor. Bakhtiyar was a terribly irresponsible ruler who was immersed in his own pleasures. He got into frequent disagreements and confrontation with his Turkish army generals and asked his cousin, Adud al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla, to bail him out. Eventually, Adud al-Dawla marched to Iraq and took Baghdad, agreeing with Bakhtiyar that the latter would relinquish Baghdad to him and go anywhere else he chose. The latter, however, reneged on what was agreed and, with the help of the Uqaylid ruler of Mosul, raised an army against Adud al-Dawla. Bakhtiyar was defeated and, as a result, was beheaded in AH 367.

Adud al-Dawla ruled Iraq until his death in AH 372 and was succeeded by his son, Samsam al-Dawla.

After Bakhtiyar's death, Sharaf al-Dawla b. Adud al-Dawla became the protector of Bakhtiyar's six sons and treated them kindly. However, after his death in AH 379 they were imprisoned in a citadel in Fars, but managed to escape in AH 383 and form a force composed mainly of their father's men, to challenge Samsam al-Dawla. Samsam sent a force, defeated them and re-imprisoned them after ordering the execution of two of the brothers as punishment.

In AH 388, Abu Nasr Shahfairuz and Abu al-Kasim Aspam, sons of Bakhtiyar, again managed to free themselves from their imprisonment and raise an army which clashed, killed and beheaded the Buwayhid ruler, Samsam al-Dawla, then went on to occupy Shiraz in AH 389. It was there that they struck the dinar described in this paper, which is a one-off and one year type.

Samsam al-Dawla was succeeded by his brother, Baha' al-Dawla, who sent a force to Shiraz seeking Bakhtiyar's rebel sons. Realising their inability to meet Baha' al-Dawla's army, Bakhtiyar's sons, Abu Nasr and Abu al-Kasim, escaped from the city of Shiraz. Abu Nasr went to the area of the Daylam and Abu al-Kasim took refuge with Badr b. Hasnawayh. Eventually, Abu Nasr managed to raise yet another force and, after some success, was defeated and beheaded by the forces of Baha' al-Dawla in AH 390.

This gold dinar* (4.11g, 21.6 mm) that the two brothers struck in Shiraz is interesting in that their names appear on coinage for the first time and it does not show any allegiance to any of the senior Buwayhid ruling family. Both brothers are equally described as "malik". On the obverse of the dinar, Abu al-Kasim describes himself as *al-Malik al-Adil* (The Just King), *Husam al-Dawla* (The Sword of the State) and *wa Sayyid al-Umma* (The Master of the Nation). Whereas his brother, Abu Nasr, who should not be confused with Baha' al-Dawla Abu Nasr b. Adud al-Dawla, is also described as *al-Malik al-Adil* (The Just King), *Noor al-Dawla* (The Light of the State) and *wa Muhyi al-Umma* (The Resurrector of the Nation). It was struck in Shiraz in the year 389.

It is not clear how they assumed their titles, as in those times, a fair portion of the caliph's income was based on selling such titles. It could be that their father, Bakhtiyar, in his lifetime, bought these for his sons, or, more likely, they simply assumed these titles without the caliph's approval. At any rate, they used these grandiose titles which were, obviously, designed to challenge the existing Buwayhid king, Baha' al-Dawla, for power.



* In the Author's collection (3.82g, 24mm)

* In the author's collection

ن لاله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الملك العادل حسام الدولة وسيد الامة ابو القسم	الله محمد رسول الله القادر بالله الملك العادل نور الدولة و محي الامة ابو نصر
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Obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بشيراز سنة تسع وثمانين و
ثلاثمائة

Reverse Margin (Quran IX, 33):

محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على
الدين كله و لو كره المشركون

THE NUMISMATIC AND NON- NUMISMATIC OCCURRENCE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN ORNAMENTAL BODOM (ALMOND) MOTIF

By Dr T.D. Yih

Introduction

While studying the Xinjiang silver pieces inscribed "obdan gumush/besh fung" I encountered a number of pieces dated AH 1294 and AH 1295 that had the legends within a reeded circle with a loop that contained some decoration. It has been suggested that this peculiar border decoration is related to the well-known central Asian flower motif referred to as the bodom (= almond) motif⁸¹. In central Asia special powers are attributed to the almond flower. In Uzbekistan young children, especially infants but also women in childbirth, are protected from the evil eye by using amulets with almonds inside them.

The almond motif is also considered to be a symbol of life and fertility. Depending on the region, the almond pattern has different names: bodom, badam, badom. There is a longer, slender form of the bodom motif called "kalampir", which can be translated as capsicum or chili pepper. This motif is sometimes also referred to as the "kvilon" motif. Apart from coins, it can be found on a large number of different articles necessary for daily life or for special occasions: embroidered textiles such as robes, wall-hangings, girdles and skull-caps, jewelry such as forehead and temple pendants, ceramics and copper ware. Nowadays the bodom motif can be encountered on a large number of folk-art articles from Uzbekistan.

In this short paper, a survey is given of the numismatic and non-numismatic occurrence of the bodom motif.

The bodom motif is known from coins of Malla Khan (AH 1275-78) of Khoqand. It is present on the obverse of some of his gold tillas. They are dated: AH 1275 (ZN30606), AH 1276 (ZN61780); AH 1277 (ZN18575) and AH 1277/78 (ZN32666). It is also present on the obverse of some of the silver tankas dated AH 1275 (ZN39881) and AH 1276 (ZN19303), but, as far as I know, not on the tanka pieces dated AH 1277 (ZN7019/40678). It should be mentioned that, apparently in AH 1276, a gold tilla was also issued without the bodom motif. Ivanhanov⁸² illustrates an AH 1276 gold tilla (fig. 5-4) and AH 1276/77 gold tilla (fig.5-8) without the bodom motif.

⁸¹ T.D. Yih, "Typology of Xinjiang silver half miscal pieces inscribed Obdan gumush/besh fen", Numismatic Chronicle 166 (2006)

⁸² S.H. Ivanhanov, Catalogue of Khoqand coins XVIII-XIX century, Tashkent 1976

Table 1 Numismatic Occurrence

	Khoqand Malla Khan (AH 1275-78)	Xinjiang Yaqub Beg (AH 1290-95)	Xinjiang Obdan Gumush/ Besh Fung
Gold	AH 1275 (ZN30606)* AH 1276 (ZN61780) AH 1277 (ZN18575) AH 1277/78 (ZN18565)	AH 1292 (ZN10123) AH 1293 (ZN25447) AH 12xx (ZN48617)**	AH 1294 (ZN4311) AH 1294/95 (ZN43029) AH 1294 (ZN32066)
Silver	AH 1275 (ZN39881) AH 1276 (ZN19303/61245)		

* Reference to Zeno numismatic database

** Reference to Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (AH 1293-1327) instead of Abdul Aziz (AH 1277-93)

Furthermore, the Zeno database contains another type of tanka dated AH 1275 (ZN39645). Unfortunately, the part on which the bodom motif may be present, is off the flan. Thus far, the bodom motif has not been observed on any coins of the khans before and after Malla Khan.



Tilla of Malla Khan of Khoqand, AH 1275

For other numismatic occurrences of the bodom motif we have to go to Xinjiang. The second occurrence can be found on some gold tilla pieces of Yaqub Beg, the Khoqandese adventurer who wrested that area from the Chinese and issued coins during the period AH 1290-95. In the official numismatic literature the border decoration is often referred to as a "reeded loop border". It is present on the obverses of gold tilla's dated AH 1292 (ZN10123) and AH 1293 (ZN25447). Strangely, however, it has not yet been found on Yakub Beg's silver tanka pieces.



Tilla of Yaqub Beg, Kashghar, 1292

The third occurrence is on the "obdan gumush/besh fung" pieces already mentioned above. These coins are thought to have been issued at the Kucha mint by the Chinese after the defeat and death of Yaqub Beg. However, it is still not clear why, if it is indeed a Chinese issue, the Chinese adopted for these new coins a style that was based on the examples from Khoqand and Yakub Beg, their former enemies.



Kucha, AH 1294

Table 2 Non-Numismatic Occurrence

Item	Examples	Reference
Jewelry	Pendants (Bodom-oy)	Sychova(1984) www.advantour.com
Textiles	Robes (Chapan; Kamzul) Embroideries/Ikat	www.sanat.orexca.com www.artcraft.uz
	Shawls	www.textileart.com
	Girdle (Kamar)	eBay 18028363225
	Skull-caps (Tubeteikas)	www.orexca.com
	Wall-hangings (Suzanis)	www.museums.artyx.ru*
	Wedding-bed curtains	www.powerhousemuseum.com
	Shoes	www.bukhara-carpets.com
	Horse covers	www.marlamallett.com
Ceramics	Dishes (Lagans)	www.arzhang.tajik.net www.ceramic.freenet.uz
Copperware	Water vessels	www.museums.artyx.ru

* Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow

There follows a survey of the various classes of articles mentioned in table 2.

Jewelry

Uzbek jewelry was generally intended for women and only occasionally for men. Jewelry played an important role in everyday dress as it not only indicated status or wealth, but served a magical purpose as well. Hence, it is not surprising that the bodom motif is present in jewelry, especially pendants.

Sychova⁸³ illustrates a so-called bodom-oy (bodom = almond, oy = moon) temple pendant from Khiva. It consists of 3 almonds supported by a moon. According to some, it is a forehead ornament; according to others, it is a pair of pendants that were suspended over the temple and ears. Some researchers believe that the bodom-oy is the symbol of the goddess Anahyta, who is thought to embody the fertility of the soil and the waters of the Oxus river.

An illustration of another bodom-oy, comprising 4 almonds, can be found on the site of the Uzbekistan travel agency Advantour⁸⁴. Furthermore, a bodom-oy was pictured on an Uzbekistan stamp of 2007 from a set devoted to jewelry.



Textiles

The silk Uzbek ikats (made by a special dyeing and weaving method), embroideries on suzanis (wall hangings), horse-covers and especially, the traditional garments often included the bodom motif. The close connection of the bodom motif in textiles with

the Uzbekistan people is evidenced by the introduction of this motif in the famous Kashmir shawls. This is reported to have been introduced by weavers from Turkestan invited by Zain-ul-'Abidin (1420-70 AD)⁸⁵.

Suzanis (wall hangings) were an essential part of a dowry and were prepared by the bride and her family long before the wedding. In fact, mothers would start making suzanis shortly after the birth of a daughter. Once the daughter reached the age of about six, she would learn the art of embroidery.

The Marla Mallett collection, devoted to ethnographic textiles⁸⁶, contains a beautiful piece of embroidery from Samarkand. In the centre are four large bodom figures, the centres of which are also decorated. The same collection contains a nice horse cover with bodom motifs.

The traditional Uzbek robe (chapan) is also often decorated with the bodom motif. A beautiful chapan from Bukhara (19th-20th century) is illustrated in the electronic Uzbek culture journal San'at⁸⁷.

Indirect evidence for a talismanic function of the bodom shape can be found in the collection of the Kent State University Museum (Ohio). This collection contains a woman's ceremonial robe (munisak) possibly from Bukhara, late 19th to early 20th century, that has "bodom amulet with pendants" motifs⁸⁸.

The bodom pattern often referred to as "botoh" motif, is a common border motif in carpets, but also sometimes occupies a central position. On carpets it often has a stylised shape.

Last but not least, the bodom pattern is often a decorative motif on the well-know central Asian skull-caps (tubeteikas). The name is derived from the tatar word "tubete", meaning top or summit. In Uzbekistan they are called "doppi" or "kalpoq". As a head-dress, they became popular by the 19th century. Each region had its own distinct shape and motifs for decoration passed from generation to generation. They can be further differentiated depending upon whether the user is a man (old and young), woman or a child. The most widespread male tubeteikas come from Chust in the Ferghana Valley. Their decorations have a special symbolic meaning. They have a contrasting combination of four white patterns in the shape of a variant of the bodom motif (kalimpir), against a black background, typical of tubeteikas from this region. The four flowers on the top of a tubeteika are supposed to protect a man's health from four sides, while sixteen small patterned arches, located along the edge of the cap, mean a desire to have a lot of offspring (16!). Traditional Uzbek robes like chapans often show the bodom motif in all kinds of variation. So do kamizoles (kamzul), worn over a dress and introduced only at the beginning of the 20th century. Nowadays both are often offered on eBay.

There are undoubtedly more textile articles that are decorated with the bodom motif, but I will end this section by referring to two pairs of beautiful Turkmen Ersari shoes dated around 1880 and 1910 on the website of Bukhara-carpets⁸⁹.

Ceramics

Ceramics in Uzbekistan have a tradition dating back more than a thousand years due to the presence of large deposits of potter's clay and the minerals used for dying. Well-known are the centres of traditional blue ceramics of the villages of Rishtan and Gurumsaray in the Fergana valley. They developed a kind of semi-faience with white glaze and dark blue painting, the so-called "chini" (Chinese) ceramics. They were in great demand along the whole length of the Silk Road. The national Uzbek dish, "palov", is always presented on a large ceramic platter called a "lagan". Lagans are often decorated with "chorbarg" (quatrefoil) or "bodomgul" (almond) motifs. At the end of the 19th century,

⁸⁵ http://www.textileasart.com/exc_kash.htm

⁸⁶ www.marlamallett.com/uzbek.htm

⁸⁷ San'at 2, 2002 (www.sanat.orexca.com)

⁸⁸ Kent State University Museum, Silverman/Rodgers collection, KSUM 1983.1.1990

⁸⁹ www.bukhara-carpets.com items A5081 and A5083

⁸³ N. Sychova, *Traditional jewelry from Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan* (Moscow, 1984), fig. 10.

⁸⁴ www.advantour.com/uzbekistan/culture/jewelry.html

the laboriously handcrafted ceramics from Rishtan could no longer compete with the mass-produced, imported Russian china ware and almost disappeared from the market. Only recently, has there been a revival, and ceramics are again made following folklore traditions. Illustrations of lagans can be found at the references mentioned in table 2.

Copper ware

The main centres of manufacture of engraved articles were located in Bukhara, Khiva, Khoqand, Samarqand, Karshi, Shahrisabz and Tashkent. The articles were decorated with ornamental patterns based on long traditions. From the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries the tastes of consumers were influenced by imported Russian goods, and the demand for these luxury articles increased. But the embossed and chased metal objects of that time were valued not only for their decorative qualities; as with jewelry, they were also indicators of social status and wealth. Clear illustrations of the decorative motives on copper ware are difficult to find. An illustration of an "aftoba" water vessel from Khoqand, 2nd half of the 19th century was found on the website of the Moscow Oriental art museum⁹⁰. According to the description, the vessel is decorated with a plant motif, the so-called climbing plant (*convolvulus islimi*). However, it may be related to the bodom motif.

In summary, as mentioned earlier for ceramics, there is nowadays also a revival of the production of traditional jewelry and textiles for tourists. Modern clothing with the bodom motif can now be seen in women's wardrobes or on men's shirts in the western world⁹¹.

AZES: AN UNPUBLISHED AND IMPORTANT TETRADRACHM S86.1T

By R C Senior

In the first century BC in north-western India there were several ways to become king but thereafter whether one prospered or not was due to one's personal qualities and probably a measure of luck. Most kings inherited their position but it would appear that some rose to that role by sheer force of personality, while others, probably from royal households, struggled to gain ascendancy from a position of inferiority. Maues and Gondophares I seem to have created their own status as 'King of Kings' but left successors who may have had to fight amongst themselves for their positions - e.g. Artemidoros as son of Maues competing with various Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings such as Apollodotos II, Hermaios and probably Strato I, Azilises and Vonones.

One king who probably inherited his position, though not straightforwardly, was Azes. The earliest Azes coins would seem to be those struck as joint, and probably junior, king with Spalirises - S74. These coins may indicate a father-son relationship, though not stated. One point to note on these joint coins, and also the previous coins of Spalirises as sole king, is the use of a square omega. The same coins also use a square sigma and Azes' coins struck in his sole name, as King of Kings, continued this use of the square sigma, but *not* the omega (S80.10 - 14).

On taking the title King of Kings, Azes seems to have rapidly expanded his kingdom and he issued some rare new types alongside his main type and one fairly common one. These new types seem to be adopted from rulers who had used them previously and who he almost certainly replaced or competed with. The coin types and the monograms found on them are, therefore, probably indicative of his early expansion and conquests. Though the monograms cannot definitely be fixed to particular locations or be called expressly 'mint' monograms, they

do seem to have been restricted to general geographical locations or provinces.

One of these early types was the short-lived Zeus/Nike type S76 imitating the coins of Maues and may represent a province that Azes lost to Azilises. Examples are known overstruck on coins of Apollodotos I (c. 85 - 65 BC) and Hippistratos (c. 65? - 55 BC). The earliest coins in the silver issue show Zeus with thin parallel diadem ties (S76.1) as opposed to the flowing broad ribbons on all subsequent issues (S76.2-4).

One of the rarest issues of Azes is S86/7 with king mounted right holding a spear and Zeus on the reverse holding a sceptre in his left hand with right hand outstretched holding a torque. The tetradrachms usually bear a Kharosthi letter in the obverse exergue and, on the reverse, the Kharosthi letter *Ma* in one field and monogram 108 (ISCH Vol. II p. 207) in the other. These latter monogram and field letter are found only on one other series - that of Hippistratos (c. 65? - 55 BC). Hippistratos had two reverse types on his silver coins - a mounted figure and a City deity holding a cornucopia. This latter figure appears on Azes issues 112 and 123 while a reverse on Hippistratos' copper of female deity with mural crown and palm (BN série 12) seems to be the inspiration for Azes common issue S.82 as well as Azilises issue S.52.

It is too easy to create imaginary history by postulating events from a little numismatic evidence, but here the likelihood is that Azes temporarily acquired some territory that belonged to Hippistratos, but lost it again.



The coin published here is a tetradrachm of issue S86.1 which was previously known from just one unique drachm. Presciently, I did suggest that a tetradrachm might exist (ISCH Vol. II p. 41 note 2). I would suggest that this issue is the earliest of the type series, and was struck right at the beginning of Azes' sole rule for the following reasons.

1) The coin is the only issue of Azes as sole king to bear the square omega found on the joint and sole issues of Spalirises - which pre-date Azes' issues as King of Kings. The use of this square letter is only elsewhere found on the coins of Zeionises (whose reign may begin c. 45/40 BC as successor to Azilises) and Gondophares I (whose reign also began c. mid 40's BC but who did not arrive in Gandhara until, or shortly before Azes' demise in the second decade BC)). These last two rulers were on the extreme east (Kashmir) and west of Azes' territory. The use of the square omega appears on coins in Gandhara only after Azes' death and is common on issues struck in his name posthumously by minor rulers or satraps.

2) The use of monogram 108 and *Ma* on Hippistratos' coins is *always* with the monogram in the *right* field, as on this coin, and not in the left field as on issue S87 (though his *Æ* does have them reversed!).

3) The parallel and thin diadem ties of Zeus correspond to those on the earliest issue of S.76 mentioned above. This reverse type was also used by Azilises (S. 32) but with the broader, flowing diadem ties. The figure of Zeus facing right or left is not down to the engraver's whim as can be shown by the fact that Zeus *always* bears the torque in his right hand and the sceptre in his left - the die engraver must have been copying an image of Zeus and it, therefore, required a *different* engraving, not just a mistaken reversal. It may be that the Zeus left issue S. 87 was intended to parallel that of issue S.76.

The use of exergual field letters was also adopted from the coins of Hippistratos and on issue S.87 I have recorded 5

⁹⁰ Museum Oriental Art Moscow (Inv. No. 8711 III)

⁹¹ KRO Magazine TV-week 39, 27 sep - 3 okt 2008, Front page.

different letters used. The field letter *Si* on this tetradrachm was not one of them.

This reverse type is only revived after Azes, sometime in the 40's BC, acquired the territory of Azilises and introduced a new obverse type (King mounted with whip) in some of his provinces. The reverse type S.99 is to all intents the same as this coin apart from the sceptre ending in either a trident or three balls (and not a pointed spear end as on this coin).

Another indication of the early date of this coin's issue is the depiction of the king's right arm which hangs limply, and straight, by his side - only found on other early issues (see S.85 and most S.90 coins).

There are signs that the coin is overstruck on another type and there has been some slight corrosion (from cleaning?) which might explain its being a little underweight at 8.98 g.

This so far unique and important coin fills a gap in an otherwise rare series and helps illustrate the rise to absolute power of one of India's greatest kings.

THE FINAL NAIL IN THE COFFIN OF AZES II

By R C Senior

When we try to appreciate just what history *is*, we have to know who is presenting the information to us, in what period and what sources were at their disposal - and how much they chose to use. The past does not change but our understanding and appreciation of it does. The facts concerning the past can also change and in some cases have to be speculated about since there can be a paucity of evidence about what may have happened, or indeed when it may have happened. The history of the NW Indian sub-continent is a case in point. In some of the most crucial periods of its ancient history there has been a virtual absence of accurately datable material and what has existed has not only been open to interpretation but subject to distortion for cultural reasons.

This is intended to be neither a history lesson about history itself nor the particular part of it concerning NW India but to present some further evidence, in the form of an overstruck coin, to support a theory already expounded elsewhere. A little background, however, will help present a picture in which this evidence plays a part. The historians of the past, when trying to allocate a chronology to this period and place, fell into two camps - those on the ground who had experience of where material surfaced, in what quantity and in what sequences - and those in museums and institutions who tried to interpret whatever of this material was acquired for preservation. In both cases, the material was infinitely smaller and less understood than what we have today and the result was a plethora of conflicting theories, often with elements of brilliant insight from both parties - but far from accurate on the whole and with no general agreement about chronology. In this oriental part of the world, Christianity had played almost no part in ancient times but it was a dominant force determining the culture of the ruling powers who not only controlled the area in the 19th and early 20th century but also was a strong element in the education of the scholars investigating this uncertain history. When coins bearing the name 'Gondophares' were identified and related to the 'Apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas' concerning a king of that name who met that saint on his mission to India after the crucifixion, it was generally agreed that, for once, a ruler could be fixed to a definite period. This was confirmed when an inscription was discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, dated seemingly in the Vikrama era of 58 BC, which effectively stated that a Gondophares ruled from c. AD 20 to sometime after AD 45. All the subsequent theories of chronology had to take in this fact and this, I believe, is what led to the problems that have occurred ever since.

Until I did so, no-one questioned that this Gondophares of the inscription was other than Gondophares I, the Great. Since another king, Azes, was considered to have reigned, and probably been the founder of the Vikrama era of c. 58 BC, this left too long

a reign between him and Gondophares I, with whose coins some of those bearing the name Azes seemed to be contemporary. The solution was to create a second Azes and since, in simple terms, the issues bearing the name seemed to fall into a roughly chronological sequence, it was accepted that this was the case, and, in the 1950's, K. Jenkins wrote a paper identifying the coins of the two Azes, which has been accepted ever since. Of course, placing Gondophares I so late meant that the gap between his reign and that of Kanishka I, the Great, the Kushan, considered to be the founder of the Saka era of 78 AD, was now impossibly small. Rather than considering moving Gondophares, every attempt has been made to shift the reign of Kanishka. One other dynasty, the Western Satraps, who actually dated their coinage, was tied to this Saka era primarily in the beginning because they were thought to be subservient to the Kushan and would use the same era. Though some scholars have now settled upon a later date for Kanishka, no-one has moved the Satraps with them but left them as sole users of this era when in fact their dynasty has closer links to Gondophares and Azes than the Kushan.

When someone proposes a substantial change in the chronology and history of a period it naturally meets with some opposition, and any acceptance of the change can be slow in arriving. For over a decade I have proposed that there was only **one** Indo-Scythian king called Azes and that this fact significantly affects the history of the first century BC in the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. I think it is generally accepted now that, as I proposed, the coinage allocated by K. Jenkins to Azes I and Azes II is *not* separated by the coinage of a third king, Azilises, in between the two. That the coin types bearing the name of Azes run consecutively, without a break, has yet been interpreted by some that the coinage could *still* represent the output of *two* kings - the so-called Azes I and Azes II, and that the period of issue covered could be much longer than one lifetime would allow. This new coin find will demonstrate that this cannot be the case and is the proof required that my original hypothesis was correct - that a *single* king Azes ruled from c. 58 - 12 BC.

Accepting the chronology based upon there being **one** Azes, as shown in "*Indo-Scythian Coins and History*" [Vols I-III pub. 2000, Vol. IV pub. 2006] has important ramifications for other dynasties, e.g. Zeionises/Jihonika - as a successor of Azilises, the latter whose reign overlaps the *start* of Azes's reign - must be placed c. 40 - 10 BC, much earlier than most previous authorities would have him; Gondophares I was a *contemporary* of Azes though probably survived him by a decade and his chronology impacts upon that of the succeeding dynasties, particularly that of the Kushan. Even more significant perhaps is the chronology of the Kshaharata Satraps and their successors, the Western Satraps. I proposed, based upon the chronology of Azes, that the initial Kshaharata coinage was contemporary with that of Azes (see pp 23-25 Vol IV ISCH) and that Nahapana's inscriptions were, therefore, probably dated in the Azes/Vikrama Era. The corollary to this was that the dated inscriptions of the Western Satraps must be detached from the 'accepted' link to the Saka Era of 78 AD and be dated instead in an era beginning around 20 AD. These are major upheavals in the accepted chronology of the period.

One important step in cataloguing the lifetime issues of Azes was to distinguish them from the posthumous issues bearing a semblance of his name, struck by some of his successors. Crucial amongst these latter coinages was the imitative issues of the Apracarajas and particularly the unnamed issues of Vijayamitra (S175). By allocating a sensible period of rule to Azes and calculating the date for Vijayamitra's successor, Itravasu (S177), from his known inscriptions and rare coinage, I suggested that Azes' death and Vijayamitra's first regnal year occurred in the second decade BC, though it was impossible to be more precise than that. Knowing that it must be around then, I opted for interpreting the mention of a 'year 25' on the Indravarma Casket inscription (Vol. I ISCH p. 89 - Salomon and Schopen 1984) as being a regnal year of Vijayamitra. I noted that, if this were not the case, then some small adjustment might be necessary in the future. A prescient observation, since this was not long in coming

when the 'Yona Inscription' published by Richard Salomon did just that a few years later and gave an *exact* date for the inception of the reign of Vijayamitra as being 12 BC! [Vol IV ISCH p vii], proving that my calculations had been correct! I have no doubt that further inscriptions and coin evidence will surface to confirm or support the proposals that I have made concerning the chronology of this period but here I shall only deal with this new evidence concerning the final elimination of any doubt concerning the coinage of Azes - that there really was only **one** king of that name and not two.

The coin types of Azes were struck to **regional** patterns and his authority over the various regions did not begin simultaneously but was acquired as he replaced his predecessor, Azilises, in some of those provinces. Azilises' coinage, like that of Azes can be divided into two main obverse types, the 'King Mounted holding Spear' (KMS) and the 'King Mounted holding Whip' (KMW). These, too, were regional coinages and for Azilises, put simply, the former type KMS were issues for his western provinces whilst KMW were issued contemporaneously in the eastern province of Hazara. Azes, on the other hand, struck initially only KMS issues (being restricted to western provinces) until he finally replaced Azilises and then later struck only KMW issues - so there *is* a chronological element to the issues of Azes obverse type. However, the transition from KMS to KMW for Azes was not abrupt but overlapped in the various provinces and, in some places, there were transitional issues that combined elements of *both* types but with mainly KMS obverses - issues S93 - S94 in ISCH. The crucial point is that the KMS to KMW transition of Azes' coinage does not take place at the *same time* in all regions and this is what precludes there being two kings with the same name. If the types overlap then there would have to be two kings of the same name ruling at the same time - without distinguishing one from the other. This is patently not the case and there is no historical evidence for it - the creation of an Azes II was simply based upon his two different obverses - and the need to extend the period of issue of the coinage in order to make the reign of the contemporary Gondophares I fall into a period when he could be made to fit the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of 'Gondophares' with a regnal inception of c. 19/20 AD. There were several kings who used the title Gondophares in succession to the first king [pp 108 - 126 Vol I ISCH] and the one whose reign began in c. 19 AD was almost certainly Gondophares-Sases S240 - 246. The simplification of the classification of Azes' coinage into two main types - KMS and KMW - and giving each type to a separate king was rather arbitrary and not consequent since Azilises' coinage of both KMS and KMW types was not similarly divided into the issues of two separate kings nor that of the dynastic founder, Maues, into the issues of two or three separate kings.

In the Pushkalavati region I showed how the 'Pallas' reverse coinage of Azes, which developed from KMS to KMW issues, was accompanied by a Æ series that actually *overlapped* the two types [Vol. I pp. 71/2 Tables 8 and 9] and that some issues of the Æ KMS/Bull series exist as lower denominations of both KMS and KMW issues. The next point to note was that [see ISCH table 9] the silver KMW issues have a sequence with the earliest issue being 'Pallas left with arm raised' - S95, which followed directly after the similar 'Pallas left' KMS issues. Next came the 'Pallas facing' series S96, before the common 'Pallas right' issues - S97. Though the silver content of these issues hasn't been analysed I suspect that the first two KMW issues correspond strongly in silver purity to the KMS issues, whereas, during the S97 series, there may have been some slight debasement over the period of issue. The next thing to note is that the **second** issue KMW silver - the 'Pallas facing' type has three accompanying lower denomination types struck sequentially during its period of issue; 1) Elephant/Bull - S100, 2) Seated Deity/Hermes - S101 (in just one officina) and 3) Bull/Lion - S102 issues. This latter issue becomes the ubiquitous lower denomination for all the subsequent 'Pallas right' - S97 issues. We know that the S101 issue *followed* those of the S100 series because so many of them are found

overstruck upon them and never vice versa. One of the monograms found on issue S96.40 - 66 continues on the S97 series. This identification is important for showing that the undertype of the following overstruck coin is not a *first* issue of Azes' KMW series (the so-called Azes II) but the *second* issue of the type.

All references, e.g. S82 are to ISCH where the full references to the articles above-mentioned can also be found.

The overstrike of 'Azes I' on 'Azes II'

We know that Queen Victoria was followed by Edward VII and that a coin of Victoria struck **over** one of Edward VII would be impossible - unless it was a fake or mint sport. There is no possibility that this coin is either of the latter and the statement it makes is quite clear - that it is impossible for the so-called coins of Azes II to follow those of Azes I if the latter overstruck coins of the former, and the former's *second* issue to boot!



Overtyping issue S84.5

Obverse: Greek legend

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥΥ on four sides with AZOY alone in lower field. King mounted right holding spear with letter *Ma* before horse.

Reverse: Kharosthi legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa* on three sides. Bull standing right with monogram 10 above left and letter *Si* above right. Weight 10.355 g, 25 x 23 mm. This conforms to the weight of other coins of this group.

Undertyping issue S101.1

Obverse: Greek legend as last but in circle around enthroned female deity holding a cornucopia.

Reverse: Kharosthi legend as last but around Hermes-like deity standing facing, holding a caduceus-ended sceptre, right arm outstretched. In left field is monogram 173 and in the right is monogram 43.

The undertyping obverse lies under the overtyping obverse, turned about 170° clockwise - and the reverse similarly but about 200° clockwise, clearly seen in the line drawings above where the undertyping is drawn with thinner lines.

The undertyping was issued in the Pushkalavati province on a slightly heavier weight standard around 12.5 gm and this coin flan was originally round. The flan was cut or filed to reduce the weight and alter the shape to square before being restruck.

Issue S84 was struck as the lower denomination to the silver issue S82.300 - 330 using the same reverse monograms. This latter issue also used the same four obverse field letters *Sam, Sa,*

Dhra and *Ma* as the copper denomination (though *Sam* is uncertain on S84 - but see S84.4). These field letters were probably some form of method to control the output of the mint and an extension to the system was to add dots in the obverse or reverse field in addition to the letters (S82.310-330). It is worth noting that issue S96.40-66, which is the silver denomination to the undertype S101, also uses these additional field letter dots - S96.50-66. This use of dots does not continue on the later KMW issues apart from S99.20-24 with 'Zeus right' reverse, which uses the same monogram and letter as issue S82.300 - 330 and 'Pallas right' issue 98.120-128 using monogram 43, as on the aforementioned issue S96 related to the undertype here.

To me this would suggest that issues S101/96 (so-called Azes II) were, at the latest, contemporary with issues S82/84 (Azes I) and probably even predated them, and that, when the coinage was reformed with a standard obverse KMW type, these issues were respectively replaced with issues S99 and S98.

I must thank our fellow member, Shafqat Mirza, for bringing this coin to my attention. Usually when one coin has been identified like this we all look at our coins afresh and discover more similar examples. Should anyone find a similar or different overstrike in these series I would hope that they will publish it here or bring it to my attention. In summary, we can now show that there is no need to create a separate King Azes II; instead, we can demonstrate that the coinage bearing that king's name can clearly have been the output of one reign and that the simple division of the coinage into two consecutive periods based on the obverse types was wrong since they can clearly be demonstrated to have overlapped. The reign of Azes is, therefore, since we have fixed dates for it, a solid and fixed base from which all the other chronologies can be calculated. One has to abandon, as a result, trying to fix the reign of his contemporary, Gondophares I, to that of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, otherwise one is forced into desperate measures which contort all the chronology of the period. There is enough evidence now to confirm that the Azes era and the Vikrama are one and the same and I am positive that, whatever else surfaces in the future, will only serve to verify the fact - and that Azes the Great, the one and only, ruled from c. 58 - 12 BC.

GONDOPHARES-SASES AND NAHAPANA

By R C Senior

In the ancient history of north-west India, the period following the death of the Indo-Scythian king, Azes, circa or just before 12 BC, until the rise of the Kushan, in the latter half of the first century AD, is the most interesting and complicated to unravel. There is no simple sequence of rulers of known dates to guide one through the period but, instead, a series of lesser or greater kings and rajas of different ethnic allegiances jockeying for power and position in geographical provinces the control of which sometimes switched from one party to another. Amongst these rulers the one who called himself 'Gondophares-Sases' is perhaps the most intriguing and his coinage is amongst the most varied of the period. He seems to have been a scion of the Apracaraja clan though not the son of one of the main lines, but a side-shoot who rose to prominence through ability alone.

On the death of Azes at the end of the second decade BC, his empire seems to have fallen into the hands of three principal groups of rulers.

1) Mainly in the eastern territories - Hazara/Kashmir and parts of the Punjab - were smallish 'kingdoms' ruled by Rajas and former satraps of Azes, such as Zeionises, the Kharahostes family, Rajavula, and a dynasty of Kshaharata satraps (see ISCH Vol. IV pp. 22-25).

2) In the northwest - Pushkalavati/Bajaur/Swat region, other rajas founded independent states, among them the Apracarajas who struck coins imitating those of Azes and later struck them in their own names.

3) In the southwest and stretching to Taxila the ruler of Seistan/Arachosia, Gondophares I, a contemporary of Azes, saw

his opportunity to seize control of much of the latter's empire and fill the power vacuum following his death.

That Gondophares I was a contemporary of Azes, I have demonstrated in ISCH pp. 123/4 based on coin hoard, type and overstrike evidence. Gondophares I also initiated a slightly heavier weight standard in his debased silver coinage in the conquered provinces that was also adopted by the Apracarajas. The first Apracaraja king was Vijayamitra who, we know from inscriptions, ruled from 12 BC to c. 19 AD. It seems likely that Gondophares I came to some accommodation with the Apracarajas and perhaps, in return for recognising his suzerainty, they were left to rule their province in peace. At some time during the early part of Vijayamitra's reign, Gondophares I died and his empire was split between members of his family.

The supreme title 'Gondophares' ['Winner of Glory'] went to Sarpedones, who was possibly his son. His rule seems to have been shaky and he struck coins in Sind and an extensive though scarce series in Arachosia plus a few coins issued in his name in Pathankot, in the eastern Punjab. The main heir, however, was Gondophares I's nephew, Abdagases, who inherited the Indian provinces previously held by Gondophares I. He *never* used or aspired to the title Gondophares. It is possible that Seistan was even at that time in the hands of King Orthagnes/Gadana since Gondophares II-Sarpedones seems to have struck no coins there.

Gondophares II-Sarpedones reign was probably short-lived and he was succeeded in Arachosia by Othagnes/Gadana whose earliest coins do not bear the title Gondophares (ISCH S257.10-13) but, thereafter, he issued a long and varied series bearing that title - Gondophares-Gadana - i.e. Gondophares III.

The situation in the first decades AD had the Gondopharid empire divided between Orthagnes/Gondophares-Gadana in Seistan and Arachosia, with Abdagases holding the rest (including northern Arachosia) except for Sind, where minor kings prevailed. But what of Nahapana and Gondophares-Sases?

Nahapana

A group of satraps, probably of Iranian origin and Zoroastrian, were the Kshaharatas, who seem to have had some control along the Indus with a northern and a southern branch.

Nahapana was a Kshaharata satrap who ruled in Gujerat, the third in succession after Abhiraka and Bhumaka. The first of these, Abhiraka, struck coins with a Nike obverse that resembles the Nike found on coins of Gondophares I and he also overstruck coins of both Apollodotos II (Indo-Greek king who ruled c. 86 - 65 BC) and another satrap from the Punjab - Yapurajaya (see ISCH IV pp. 22-5) whose coins also seem related to those of Apollodotos II. Two other northern Kshaharata satraps who struck coins in the Punjab and who were predecessors or contemporaries with Abhiraka were Hospises (imitating coins of Azes but with a remarkable fire-altar reverse type) and Higaraka (who imitated the coins of Apollodotos II, one example being overstruck on a coin of Yapurajaya). In other words we have a dynasty of Kshaharata satraps that can be firmly located in the middle to late first century BC. A coin of Higaraka was found together with coins of the late Indo-Greeks (and Rajuvula) at Chakwal confirming the general chronology (ISCH Vol. IV pp 137 - 170).

Nahapana is mentioned in inscriptions bearing the years 41 and 46 which I equate to the Vikrama era of 58 BC (i.e. in the lifetime of Azes) placing him c. 17/12 BC, which would accord with the above chronology. The fact that his coins have been found in hoards together with the coins of Apollodotos II means that this would make more sense than if he was to be dated some 50 or more years later. If in fact he is the Manbanos mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* then the mention in it of a king Malichus would also make sense if it referred to Malichus I of Nabataea c. 60 - 30 BC (see ISCH Vol. I, p. 132).

Gondophares-Sases (Gondophares IV)

When the Apracaraja Vijayamitra died c. 19 AD, he was immediately followed by his son, Itravasu, who struck some

extremely rare coins (ISCH S177-179), which indicated a very short reign. His successor was Aspavarma, son of Indravarma, the latter being a cousin of Itravasu. Aspavarma struck an extensive coinage over a long period of time ending only when he was replaced by the Kushan under 'Soter Megas'. It would seem that a nephew, Sases, was allowed to carve out some territory of his own and it may well have been during a time before AD 19 that he intervened in the province of Sind - as *Aspabhrataputrasa* - the son of Aspa's brother. Sind province was obviously unstable and, apart from the rare Sarpedones coins struck there, coins of other ephemeral rulers are also known, such as Satavastres (S250), Agata (S36 -Vol IV) and other uncertain rulers (S251). A coin of one of these latter kings was overstruck by Nahapana (Cribb 20), which Cribb allocated to Satavastres because the only attributed drachm with right-facing Nike reverse known at that time was his. Sases made his mark and issued coins there as a simple 'Maharaja' but, perhaps taking advantage of a power vacuum, extended his power westwards and struck coins in the heartland of the late Gondophares I issuing coins in Seistan stating that he was now 'Gondophares' but called 'Sases' (S240.2). He also issued rare tetradrachms in Arachosia (S244) with the title 'Gondophares-Sases'. This power vacuum may have come about since, not only did Sarpedanes and possibly Orthagnes/Gadana lose control in Sind, but Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophares I had probably died too - in c. AD 19. This allowed Sases to occupy the Punjab and all the other territories previously ruled by Abdagases. In fact this may have happened shortly before his expansion west since some very rare issues of Sases (S238-241) are known without the Gondophares epithet. All the Indian provinces were now in the hands of the Apracaraja family - Aspavarma in their homeland where, probably as a matter of respect, he maintained his position, whilst his nephew became the de facto ruler of the rest of the territories. As to the date of Gondophares-Sases, the only clue is that his main reign began around the same time as that of Aspavarma - which was c. AD 19/20, after the demise of first Vijayamitra and then Itravasu.

The Takht-i-Bahi inscription (Konow) mentions a 'Gondophares' whose 46th year of reign was in year 103. In the Azes era (which was the only era used by the Apracarajas) this would give the first regnal year of 'Gondophares' as AD 20. This can only refer to Gondophares-Sases since Gondophares I had died about a quarter of a century earlier and *no* king using the title 'Gondophares' occupied the area near Takht-i-Bahi until Gondophares-Sases came to power. No doubt, in such a minor inscription and after 46 years of reign, there was no need to give the king his full titles - the main one would suffice.

We now come to the coin illustrated here. This is a Sind drachm of Sases similar to S245 and bearing the 'Gondopharid' symbol before the bust and on the king's tiara. The obverse legend variety and reverse monogram show that it is closest to the coin S37 illustrated in ISCH Vol. IV. This new example for the first time confirms the full reading calculated from several part readings on other specimens - *Maharajasa Aspabhrataputrasa Tratarasasasa*. The most important aspect of this coin, though, is that it is the second known example to be discovered overstruck on a coin of Nahapana. Courtesy of K. Walton Dobbins, I illustrated the first (S245.1Dii) though a better illustration of that coin is in Mitchiner Vol. 8, Type 1104 (coin 6) where the particular lighting shows the portrait of the undertype quite clearly. On this present coin, the outline of Nahapana's portrait can be seen about 45° from the vertical on the reverse, turned clockwise.

The fact that Nahapana overstruck the Sind coin of a predecessor of Sases and that Sases overstruck *his* coins would suggest that Nahapana was still regnant before and possibly circa 19 AD. It may well be that the setback Nahapana suffered at the hands of the Satavahana King, Gautamputra Satakarni, was completed by Sases and that the inception of Gondophares-Sases' reign in 19/20 AD began a new era. Nahapana was replaced by a different dynasty under Chastana, son of Ghsamotika (in view of the -ka suffix, indicating a racial link to the Kshaharatas -

Higaraka, Abhiraka, Bhumaka?) and inscriptions used a new era, and what more sensible than one beginning in AD 20, inaugurated by Gondophares-Sases, the new supreme ruler?

Of course this hypothesis does not solve every problem; in fact it creates new ones, but it seems to me that this is far more secure ground on which to build a new chronology than the old one which, however you contort it, has never provided anything close to a satisfactory answer to all the questions of dynastic sequence.



The Nahapana undertype

Illustrations enlarged

The coin - [GONDOPHARES] SASES

Obv.: Bearded bust left in tiara decorated with Gondopharid symbol, wearing bunched hair; diadem tied with fan bow and two trailing ends. The king wears a chain necklace and his costume has a clasp on the shoulder. Before the bust is a Gondopharid symbol and around is a corrupt Greek legend. Traces of the legend of the undertype can be seen along the lower left edge.

Rev.: Winged Nike walking left holding wreath and palm, wearing a helmet. *Bhu* with foot turned right in right field and Kharosthi legend around: *Maharajasa Aspabhrataputrasa Tratarasasasa*. The undertype clearly shown as a portrait bust of Nahapana with hooked nose and small hair bun behind.

1.83 g, 16 mm dia.

All references are to ISCH "Indo-Scythian Coins and History" Vols. I-III pub 2000, Vol IV, 2006 published by CNG London though the following have been specifically mentioned:

- Cribb J. 1992. "Numismatic Evidence for the date of the Periplus." *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture - essays in the Honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*. D. W. MacDowall and S. Garg (eds), Vol. 1, 131-145.
- Konow, S. 1929. *Kharosthi Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Asoka. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 2, part 1. Calcutta, Government of India.
- Mitchiner, M. 1975/6 *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic Coinage*. 9 volumes. London, Hawkins Publications.

COINS OF A NEWLY IDENTIFIED MEMBER OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPA FAMILY - ISVARADEVA, SON OF RUDRASIMHA I

By Dr Alexander Fishman & Showkat Yazdanian

Since the publication of the last comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas (also known as "Western Satraps") by Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor in 1994 ("Studies

in the Coinage of the Western Kshatrapas”) many new types, varieties and dates have been identified. The recent discovery of coins of some new members of the Western Kshatrapa royal family, namely of Visvasimha, son of Rudradaman; unnamed son of Vijayasena; and of Jivadaman, son of Rudrasimha I, has increased our knowledge of the royal dynasty of the Kardamakas.

Another member of the dynasty, Isvaradeva, son of Rudrasimha I, is known only from two extremely rare silver drachms. There is no other historical evidence of his existence.

This new Western Kshatrapa ruler was only recently identified by Dr Shailendra Bhandare, Asst. Keeper of Coins at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University, but he could not obtain a photograph of the coin or publish it. The specimen identified by Dr Bhandare resides in a private collection in Ahmadabad, and has never been photographed or published.

The second specimen (fig. 1), shown below, was recently discovered and is published here for the first time. It measures 16mm in diameter and weighs 1.96 grams



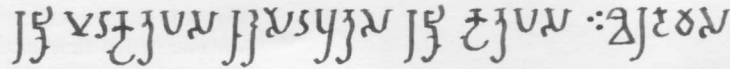
Fig. 1 (enlarged)

Obverse: Bust of Isvaradeva, right, with collar showing, wearing a satrapal cap, date in Brahmi numerals behind bust, corrupt Greek inscription

Reverse: Crescent on a hill over a wavy line, sun in the left field and crescent in the right field, Brahmi inscription around:

Isvaradeva bears the title of a Kshatrapa. Although the word “KśaTraPaSa” is struck mostly off flan on this coin, the partially visible word “RaJno” is immediately followed by “KśaTra[PaSa].

Brahmi inscription: RāJño MaHāKśatrapasa RuDraSiHaPuTraSa RāJño KśaTraPaSa
 ĪSvaRaDeVaSa
 English translation: Raja Satrap Isvaradeva, son of the Great Satrap Rudrasimha



On the pictured coin the Brahmi inscription on the reverse begins at 3 o'clock.

The name on this coin appears as “[I]SvaRaDeVaSa”. The letter “I” (••) is almost completely unstruck, but faint traces of the letter are visible under a x10 magnifying glass. However, the “I” is clearly defined on the other known coin.

It is an early form of an “I”, very different from the later form, as it appears on the coins of Isvaradatta (J), but is in line with what is expected for this time period. The letter “Sva” is shorter than it appears on the coins of the later Kshatrapas and can be easily confused with “Va” or “Vi” (giving the impression that the name on this coin reads as “ViRaDaMaSa”), but this is consistent with the current state of knowledge about Brahmi inscriptions from this period. The reading of the name is unambiguous, even though the name “Isvaradeva” is quite unusual

for a Kshatrapa ruler. In fact, no other Kshatrapa ruler bearing this name (or indeed any name ending with “Deva”) is known.

Even though the first two digits of the date on this coin are clear (“100” and “20”), the entire date is not completely visible on either of the known coins, with the last numeral partially obscured. The date can be read as SE “124”, “125” or “127” (AD 202, 203 or 205), though the latter reading (SE 127) is most likely the correct one, since no trace of the horizontal lines bisecting the last numeral is discernible. In SE 127, Isvaradeva’s brother, Rudrasena I, was the legitimate Mahakshatrapa, and Rudrasena’s reign for this year is believed to be uninterrupted. It is impossible to know how Isvaradeva’s short rule as Kshatrapa fits into political events of the time. He may have served as a Kshatrapa under his brother Rudrasena or he may have been engaged in revolt against his brother. There is very little to go by. However, close inspection of the coins of Isvaradeva reveals that they were probably minted at a “secondary mint” – the style of these coins is much cruder, the symbols on the reverse are inverted and the sun is depicted as a large dot surrounded by small dots. This rendering of the sun-symbol was used at a “secondary mint” in the 120’s but was adopted by the “primary mint” only in the SE 130’s. Coins of Rudrasena from the “primary” and the “secondary” mint shown here, are from the same year as the coin of Isvaradeva - the difference in style is quite profound.



Fig. 2 Coin of Rudrasena I from the “primary mint” dating to SE 127 (AD 205)



Fig. 3 Coin of Rudrasena I (as Mahakshatrapa) from the "secondary mint" probably dating to SE 127 (AD 205) – the bust and the reverse are of the style almost identical to the coin of Isvaradeva shown above.

Since the coins of Isvaradeva are from the "secondary mint", it is possible that he was briefly appointed to rule a part of the Kardamaka realm by Rudrasena. If this is the case, then it is likely that he issued coins both in his own name and in the name of his Mahakshatrapa brother, which would account for the coin in fig. 3 shown above.

We are indebted to Dr. Bhandare for his assistance in attributing this interesting coin.

PRACANDENDRA, NOT PRACATUNDE: AN IMPROVED READING OF SOME COINS OF THE YASHAADITYA SERIES

By Pankaj Tandon⁹²

In JONS 195,⁹³ I published coins of a new king belonging to the Yashaaditya series, whose name I tentatively read as *Pracatunde*, noting that "this reading is highly tentative and subject to change when better specimens emerge."⁹⁴ It turned out we did not need to wait for better specimens. Within a day or two of seeing the article, Shailendra Bhandare e-mailed me with what I believe to be a definitive reading: *Pracandendra* (where the letter *c* represents the sound "ch" as in "chess"). Not only is this reading very consistent with the letters we see on the coins, but it also yields a sensible meaning (*pracaNda* = terrible, furious, violent, mighty + *indra* = lord). The name also links with the name of the other known ruler of this dynasty, Yashaaditya. The name Yashaaditya means "the sun or glory of fame or honour," while the word *caNda*, which no doubt serves as a root to the word *pracaNda*, means "sun." Both rulers may therefore well have been devotees of the solar deity. Harry Falk concurred with this new reading.

The reading is best seen in coin 10 from my previous paper, reproduced below. At the top is the word *Sri* and there are then



four letters. Let us call them letters 1-4 reading clockwise after the *Sri*. My mistake was to attempt to read them in that order, yielding *pra, ca, tu* and *nde*. However, the letters should be read in the

⁹² Thanks go to Shailendra Bhandare for his improved reading and further comments, and Harry Falk for his kind assistance.

⁹³ Pankaj Tandon: "More early medieval silver portrait coins of the Yashaaditya series," *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 195 (Spring 2998), pp. 17-23.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

order 1, 2, 4, 3, and in that case they yield *pra, ca, nde* and *ndra*. So the only difference in the reading is in letter 3, which I read as *tu* in order to make sense with the other letters, but which Shailendra has pointed out should be read as *ndra*. The letter forms are admittedly unusual, but, once this reading is suggested, one wonders how one could have read it any other way!

In Table 4 of my paper, I looked at the arrangement of letters on a sample of coins of the Yashaaditya series and noted that there were eleven different legend arrangements, some of which were clockwise, some anti-clockwise and some neither. Leaving out the Pracandendra coins, 15 out of 24 coins were read clockwise in the order 1-2-3-4; only one coin was read in the order 1-2-4-3. So it seemed reasonable to read the Pracandendra coins in the order 1-2-3-4. However, we now see that the correct order is 1-2-4-3. Both coins that I initially identified as belonging to a king other than Yashaaditya had this legend arrangement. Subsequently, other Pracandendra coins with different legend arrangements have come to light. Of these, four are indeed read clockwise in the usual order. Thus the Pracandendra coins display the same diversity of legend arrangement as the Yashaaditya coins.

In his comments to me, Shailendra also endorsed the attribution of the coins to the Sind/Gujarat region with a likely date early in the time frame of 6th-9th centuries. He emphasized the relationship to the coins of the Maitrakas of Vallabhi, which Wilfried Pieper had pointed out in his original paper identifying these coins.⁹⁵ Further, Shailendra suggested a connection to the famous Sun Temple of Multan. Although in the Punjab, Multan is close to the border with Sind. We know that worship of the solar deity was important there in the period of interest. Further, Multan was one of the first cities to come under Islamic control in the early part of the 8th century, after the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim. This suggests an outer limit of the 7th century for the Yashaaditya-Pracandendra coins. Unfortunately, I could not find any reference to these kings in the *Chachnama*, a history of the coming of Islam to Sind.⁹⁶

One question remaining in my mind is, what does this new reading tell us about who these kings were? In my paper, I had suggested that the coins "were issued in Sind in the 6th century by a Hunnic or post-Hunnic minor dynasty."⁹⁷ The identification of the name of this king as Pracandendra does not do much to change that view. Perhaps this name sounds Indian. Certainly the Rai dynasty, ruling in Sind prior to the Islamic invasion, was not Hun. I might only re-emphasize that there may not have been a clear distinction at this time between Huns and Indians, as the two peoples may have inter-married and inter-mingled to the point where the dividing lines between them were quite obscure.

A NEW DENOMINATION FROM THE NEPALESE MINT OF NAHAN IN SIRMUR

by Nicholas Rhodes

The coins struck by the Nepalese in Sirmur are very little known. One piece was initially published by C.J.Rogers in 1897⁹⁸, and a half denomination was published by Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro in 1989⁹⁹. It is now worth recording a new denomination that has recently been discovered in a private collection in Delhi, which seems to be a third of the full piece. Whether the full coin should be called a *paisa* is uncertain, but in the absence of any better information, I have used that word in this article. The new coin is illustrated below:

⁹⁵ Wilfried Pieper: "New Types of Early Medieval Silver Portrait Coins from Northern Pakistan", *ONS Newsletter* 181, Autumn 2004, pp. 17-20.

⁹⁶ Ali bin Muhammad Kufi: *Chachnamah*, translated by Mirza Kalichberg (1900), reprinted by Rana Saad, Maryland, 2004. See also Gobind Khushalani: *Chachnamah Retold*, New Delhi: Promilla & Co., 2006.

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁹⁸ *PASB* 1897, pp.84-86.

⁹⁹ *The Coinage of Nepal*, London 1989, pp.200-01.



A 1/3 paisa struck by the Nepalese in Nahan, Sirmur

The coin is similar in design to the full and half paisa denominations, perhaps struck with a die used for the other denominations, except that the diameter of the flan and the weight are smaller. The coin can be described as follows, the legends being in Persian script, except for the numeral '69' on the reverse (not visible on this piece), which is in Nagari script:

Obv: [Siri] Mahārajah Gir[bān Judah Shah Bikram Bahādur], in 3 lines, reading from the bottom to the top in Urdu letters.
 Rev: Zarb Nāhan, [12]27 Sambat [69], Katar in centre, pointing upwards.

Diam: 18mm. Wt. 5.7g.

The full legend has been reconstructed with the help of the coins previously published. The full paisa weighs c17.3 g, while the two examples of the 1/2 paisa weight 8.3 g and 8.7 g. The weight of this new coin is consistent with it being 1/3 paisa denomination.

Girvan Yuddha ruled Nepal from AD 1799 to 1815, and in the years just prior to, and during, his reign Nepal extended its territory both to the east and to the west. A settlement was reached between Rana Bahadur of Nepal and the Raja of Sirmur in 1792, after the latter was defeated while helping Parduman Shah of Garhwal. It was only in 1806 that Nepalese troops reached Nahan, which accepted them without resistance, as the suzerain power. Few records are available regarding Nepalese administration in Sirmur, and we have located no records regarding the mint or regarding the circulation of coins. Thus, these coins represent the only evidence that coins were struck by the Nepalese during their occupation. No coins are known to have been struck in the period before the arrival of the Nepalese. The weight standard is totally different from that used in Almora and Garhwal, where copper coins called fulus (c10 g) and taca (c 4.5 g) respectively, were struck. The c17.3 g weight standard of these coins must have been a local standard, but further research on this matter is required. It is certainly interesting that it was divided into 1/2 and 1/3 subdivisions, implying that this local weight was normally subdivided into units of 1/6 or 1/12. The only known coins struck in Nahan by the Nepalese are all dated AH 1227 & VS (19)69, both dates being equivalent to AD 1812.

In AD 1815, after the Nepalese were defeated by the British, the territories to the west of the present boundary of Nepal were annexed by the East India Company, and Sirmur was returned to the rule of Fath Shah as Raja. He struck coins of the same 17 g weight standard in 1820. Although the full paisa struck by Fath Shah is more easily available than the Nepalese issues, minor denominations have not been noticed.

SIKH COINS OF AMRITSAR MINT: A SERIES PARALLEL TO THE FROZEN YEAR SERIES

By Gurprit S. Dora (Gurprit Gujral)

Anyone who has had any interest in Sikh numismatics must be aware of the frozen year series vs 1884 and vs 1885 coins from Amritsar and Lahore mints. These are among the most commonly available Nanakshahi coins of the Sikhs from Amritsar mint. It is said that, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh fell violently ill in the year AD 1827 (vs 1884), his astrologers suggested to him to have the year on the coins frozen. This, they said, would help increase his life span. Being a highly superstitious person, Maharaja Ranjit

Singh ordered the year on the coins of the Sikhs to be frozen in the year vs 1884. Thus began the frozen year series vs 1884.

These coins have the actual year of minting on the obverse, i.e. the side on which the couplet appears, in small numerals. From vs 1885 to 1899 only the last two digits are inscribed to denote the year of minting, whereas from vs 1900 onwards the year is depicted with all four digits. Apart from the coins of actual years vs 1895 to 1905 in the vs 1884 frozen year series, which have the Gobindshahi couplet on their obverse, all coins have the Nanakshahi legend on the obverse. These 'Gobindshahi' coins are somewhat scarcer than the Nanakshahi coins, particularly the later years, which become progressively rarer.



An Amritsar coin of the vs 1884 frozen year series with the actual year of minting, vs (18)85, represented by '85' in small numerals on the obverse



An Amritsar coin of the vs 1884 frozen year series with the actual year of minting, vs 1900 represented by all four digits '1900' in small numerals on the obverse

In vs 1893 (AD 1836), a new frozen year series was started with the main year of minting shown as vs 1885. On these coins also, from vs 1893 to 1899, the actual year of minting was represented by the last two digits in small numerals on the obverse and from vs 1900 till the end of the Sikh empire, all four digits in small numerals were placed on the obverse.



An Amritsar coin of the vs 1885 frozen year series with the actual year of minting, vs 18(97), represented by the digits '97' in small numerals on the obverse



An Amritsar coin of the vs 1885 frozen year series with the actual year of minting, vs 1903, represented by all four digits in small numerals on the obverse

Apparently, this order remained confined to Lahore, the political capital of the Sikh empire, and Amritsar, the religious and commercial centre of the then Punjab. Thus generally, no coins were supposed to have been minted from Amritsar and Lahore with the full year vs 1885 onwards. However, some coins with the Amritsar mint name are known to exist with the full years vs 1885, 1886, and 1888. Coins of vs 1887 have not yet been noted but may exist. These coins are extremely rare. Since it is unimaginable that such coins were knowingly minted despite Ranjit Singh's explicit orders, they must have been struck at some other mint located some distance from Amritsar or Lahore.



A rupee with full year date vs 1888
(Image courtesy: Coins of the Sikhs by Hans Herli)



Sikh rupee vs 1888/1904 with the mintname Amritsar

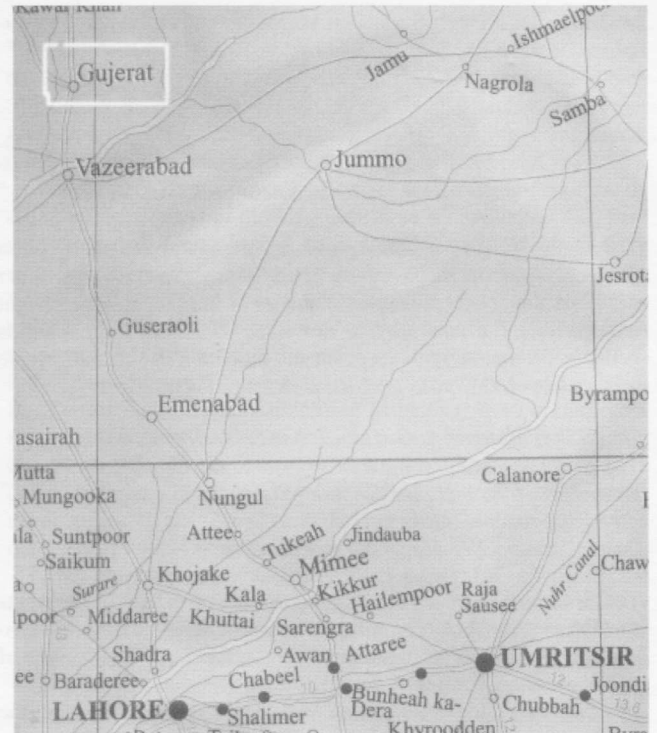
The placement of the actual year, vs 1904, indicates that, by vs 1888 (AD 1831), the mintmasters of the mint where these coins were minted became aware of the explicit order that the year on the reverse of the coin was to be frozen. Under the circumstances, it would not be surprising if, in future, vs 1888 coins surface with other actual years.

As for the mint name being "Amritsar" on these coins, I have quite convincingly concluded in an article entitled "Zarb Sri Amritsar Jiyo – A Broader Perspective" published in Volume LVIII (1996, Parts I & II) of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, that the coins with the mint name "Sri Amritsar Jiyo" were struck at several mints other than Amritsar.

Now comes the vital question. Where were these coins actually struck? While coins of the mint "Jhang", although the mintname on them has been retained as "Sri Amritsar Jiyo", are made distinct by the addition of "Dar Jhang" in the lām of "Akāl" on the reverse (i.e. the mint side), the coins with the full year vs 1885 onwards with no digits on the obverse, have no distinctive feature on them to signify any particular place of minting. The only distinctive feature is the full years that were not supposed to be put on coins from Amritsar mint. Therefore, we are left with no other option except to depend on whatever little historical evidence we can gather from the records of that particular period.

I am reproducing below an excerpt from page 31 (part of the fourth paragraph) of the book 'Chronicles of Gujrat', authored by Capt. A. Elliot, then lately Deputy Commissioner, Gujrat, published in 1902:

'It is near Islamgarh, where at that time the fort was garrisoned by the Sikhs. Later the fort of Islamgarh became a mint of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and was established by him in 1828 A. D. when he was on a visit to Gujrat. The "Nanak Shahi" rupees of Sambat 1885 were all coined at Islamgarh.'



Location of Gujrat, where the Islamgarh fort was situated, with respect to Lahore and Umritsar (Amritsar). From a map drawn by James Wylde.

From the above, it is clear that the coins starting with the year vs 1885 must have been struck at this mint. However, these coins have to be different from the continuous series being struck at Amritsar.

As we know, Ranjit Singh had ordered the year on the coins to be frozen in vs 1884 and no coins from Amritsar mint and Lahore mint were minted with the full year, vs 1885, in the subsequent years, till vs 1893, when the first coins with the full year, vs 1885, on the reverse and the actual year vs 1893, denoted by the last two digits, i.e. 93, in small numerals on the obverse, were minted. Necessarily these coins had to have the actual year on the obverse in small numerals.

The existence of the coins with full years vs 1885, 1886 etc. without any digits on the obverse indicates the existence of another mint. The very absence of the actual years on the obverse indicates that the ones in charge of this mint were not aware of the freezing of the year; at least till the year vs 1888, implying that this mint was not close to Amritsar or Lahore. The only mint that agrees with all these facts is the mint at the fort of Islamgarh, where we have definite evidence of the establishment of the mint under the explicit orders of Ranjit Singh. The fact that the coins of vs 1885 were minted from this mint, as mentioned in the book, helps to reaffirm the fact.

Thus, in view of the existing facts as we know them, there is good reason to believe that the coins with the full years vs 1885, 1886, 1888 (and possibly also 1887, if they exist), were struck at the Islamgarh fort mint.

JAMGAON, HARDA AND KHACHROD – THREE NEW MINTS UNDER THE SINDHIAS OF GWALIOR

By Shailendra Bhandare

This paper brings to notice coins of three new mints that functioned in the late 18th-early 19th centuries in the domains of the Sindhias. Jamgaon was already noted as a mint-town of the Sindhias in the seminal monograph 'Coins of the Sindhias' (Hawkins, 1978) by Jan Lingen and Ken Wiggins. However, they

maintained it was a mint for copper coins and did not assign any coins to it. It will be shown below that varieties of the 'Chandori' rupee can be convincingly attributed to this mint – so it is not entirely true that only copper coins were produced there. The other two mints, namely Harda and Khachrod, are located in Malwa and coins struck there are being noted for the first time.

Jamgaon

A new variety of 'Chandori' rupee

While going through the contents of a cabinet aptly named 'Desperanda Orientalia' at the Ashmolean Museum's Heberden Coin Room, I came across a rupee that betrayed similarities with a category of Maratha rupees known as the 'Chandori' (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1

These coins were discussed in detail by Jan Lingen in his paper 'Chandori Rupee and Its Imitations', published in ND, vol.5, part II, 1981, pp. 57-65. Coins of this category were principally struck at Chandwad or Chandor, now located in the Malegaon subdivision of Nashik district in Maharashtra. Chandor belonged in fief to the Holkars and, as such, the mint was run under a license issued by their administrators. Lingen commented on the Maratha character of the coin; it was indeed a very popular coin of late 18th-early 19th century Maharashtra and was recognised as a 'potechal' coin, i.e. a coin accepted for payment of taxes and revenue by the treasury of the Peshwa's government. In Lingen's view, 'Chandori' rupees were struck not only in Maharashtra but also in other places like Gwalior, Indore and Mewar. In Maharashtra, mints located at two places, namely Chandor and Vaphgaon ('Waubgaom') struck 'Chandori' rupees that can be distinguished conclusively. These coins feature in two near-contemporary sources dealing with currency in general – Clunes' 'Memorandum' on Maratha coins and Prinsep's list of rupees in 'Useful Tables'. The details of these can be found in Ken Wiggins and KK Maheshwari's monograph 'Maratha Mints and Coinage' (Nasik, 1989), which also gives a systematic description and classification of the 'Chandori' coins. In addition to these, several references in Maratha archives indicate that the 'Chandori' rupee was also struck at Pune, Chinchwad and Chakan. Whether these coins had any extra features that enabled their identification is yet to be ascertained. I published a few other varieties of Chandori rupees, which may well foot the bill (Numismatic Digest vol. 23/24, 1999-2000) but nothing more can be said about them at the moment.

The feature that characterises the rupee discovered in the 'Desperanda Orientalia' cabinet is, however, not mentioned by any previous authors who have contributed to the subject. It has a small mark, just above the vowel sign of the 'u' added above the *jīm* of 'julūs' on the reverse – it is clearly the Persian character *jo*. Similar coins were subsequently noted in other collections, most notably of Jan Lingen (Lekkerkerk, the Netherlands) and Raghuvēer Pai (Mumbai). The character is rather insignificant in terms of the coin design and one could indeed question its identification – until one sees the next rupee in the series (Fig. 2), where the same character is now inscribed in Devanagari, below the word 'Julus', in an upside down fashion.

This coin, from the Raghuvēer Pai collection, is matched by another specimen in Barry Tabor's collection (Fig. 3). more Another private collection in Mumbai, which also boasts of a half rupee of the same variety. Unfortunately, I could not document it so that it can be illustrated, but I have certainly seen it and can vouch for its existence. Conceivably, coins of both these varieties

with *Jo* added to the design are exceedingly rare and seem to have been struck only very sporadically. Both the coins with *Jo* inscribed on the reverse



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

are very similar in fabric and appearance to a particular kind of 'Chandori' rupee, struck at Vaphgaon (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4

The placement of the character, on one variety in Persian and on the other in Devanagari, is important and contextual evidence of the design of 'Chandori' rupees indicates that it was not without an attributive significance. The Persian character is placed near the RY and the Devanagari near to the 'dot' that appears below *Julus* – both these were attributes that helped the Shroffs to ascertain which variety of 'Chandori' rupee they were handling and charge a suitable discount. These observations make it certain that the character *jo*, in both its avatars, served as a distinguishing mark and was intentionally put there. The fact that an additional vertical stroke appears after the character, when it is written in Devanagari, signifies it is an abbreviation.

So, if this is so, what does it stand for? *Jo* could well stand for 'Jotiba', the name of the patron deity of the Sindhia family. He is a pastoral god and the main centre of his worship is situated on a hilltop near Kolhapur in south Maharashtra. He is often worshipped in an aniconic form and also as a *sui generis* flame but in his iconic form he is shown astride a horse carrying a sword, befitting a *Kshatriya* warrior. It is, therefore, conceivable that it stands for 'Jotiba' and that there is a direct Sindhia connection to be noted here. It is not the first time we have come across coins with a connection to Jotiba – among the uniface copper coins betraying a 'countermarked' appearance, there are some that bear a stamp with the legend 'Sri Jotiswaroopa' (see my article in ONS 160, 164). This is a variant name of Jotiba.

The 'Jo' Rupees – struck at Jamgaon

After establishing that these coins almost certainly are Sindhia issues, we need to determine where they could have been struck. As we have seen, the 'Chandori' rupee was the coin of choice in these tracts and the most popular varieties were struck at the behest of the Holkars at Chandwad and Vaphgaon. By far the only place under Sindhia control in the vicinity was Jamgaon, situated in close proximity to Vaphgaon. It is therefore conceivable that the mint producing the 'Jo'-marked rupees of the 'Chandori' category were struck there. What mint-name was inscribed on

these rupees is not yet known, essentially because the coins are so rare. It could either have been 'Ja'afarabad 'urf Chandor' as seen on other varieties of 'Chandori' rupees, or 'Jamgaon' – particularly the latter if the coins are following the model of Vaphgaon coins which had 'Vaphgaon' as the mint-name rather than 'Chandor'. Indeed, on the specimen with *Jo* written in Devanagari, the upper part of a 'kaaf/gaaf'-like letter is visible just below the *Jo* and it may well be the '...gaon' part of the mint-name. The specimen from Barry Tabor's collection clearly shows the 'ga' and a letter preceding it, which could be a *mīm* but it is more likely to be *fe*. The mint-name on these coins is thus more likely to be Vaphgaon, like its precursor. The RY details are truncated on all coins illustrated here but, from the remnants, it can be seen that they, too, are faithful continuations of RY 12 or 13, as seen on their Vaphgaon models.

The small village of Jamgaon rests in Parner taluka (subdivision) of Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra State, located at 19°3'42"N 74°31'12"E. It is not certain how and exactly when the Sindhias got hold of it, but various references (see further) indicate that it was part of an 'ancestral' tenure that the family enjoyed, long before it came into any political prominence in the mid-18th century. The Sindhia family originated from a village named Kanerkhed in the Satara district of Maharashtra. They served as *siledars* or 'cavalrymen who furnished their own horses' under the Bahmani Sultans in the 16th-17th centuries ('A Social History of the Deccan 1300-1761', by Richard Eaton, Cambridge, 2005, p. 188). It is likely that Jamgaon was part of a tenure they held in subsequent years while they served under the successor dynasties to the Bahmanis.

Mahadaji Sindhia, on gaining a powerful position in the Peshwa's court built a bastioned mansion at Jamgaon. A 'walled town', totally derelict now, seems to have grown around it, as seen from the 'Google Earth' image (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5

Some images of Mahadaji's mansion are also shown here (Figs. 6-8)



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

I am grateful to my friend Padmakar Prabhune who, at my request, took the trouble of going to Jamgaon to take these pictures. Currently the mansion shelters a school. Jamgaon was a *muqam*, or 'halting place' for the Sindhia camp when it moved to and from Pune.

Jamgaon remained in the possession of the Sindhias well into the middle of the 19th century. At the end of the successive Anglo-Maratha Wars (1802-1805 and 1817-18), Sindhia signed a number of treaties with the British and ceded large tracts of land under his control eventually to accept total British suzerainty in matters of policy, both administrative and military. Jamgaon, however, was spared each time – even from the 1844 treaty which saw the governance of Gwalior placed under the direct authority of the British resident. Some of the Sindhia territories were restored in recognition of his neutrality during the Revolt of 1857-59 and it is only in the finer reworking of this treaty, ratified in 1861, that we find Jamgaon finally being given over to the British.

Coinage at Jamgaon – Historical Context

In the last few years of the 18th century, Jamgaon witnessed considerable political activity. The Peshwa's court became a hive of intrigue after the sudden death of the Peshwa, Madhav Rao II, in 1795. As he died heirless, a serious succession dispute erupted after his death in which Nana Phadnavees, Daulat Rao Sindhia and Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan played key roles. The legitimate claimant to the Peshwa-ship in order of succession was Baji Rao II but Nana Phadnavees, who had been steering the affairs of the Maratha Confederacy under his own steam keeping the young Peshwa virtually under his control, was not at all agreeable to him being appointed the Peshwa. I will not go into the details of what happened in during 1795-96 – suffice it to say that Baji Rao II succeeded in being appointed the Peshwa but the

intrigues that brewed in Pune and spread to other towns in Maharashtra like Wai, Mahad and Satara in their wake, decidedly steered the Maratha Confederacy to its eventual doom.

In the years that followed his adoptive father, Mahadaji's death in 1794, Daulat Rao Sindhia, the heir to the Sindhia fortunes, stationed himself in the Deccan and played a major part in the intrigues that involved the investiture of Baji Rao II as the Peshwa. Daulat Rao was not without his own troubles – three of his adoptive father's wives had stood in open rebellion against him and they were aided by some elder statesmen who were afraid of losing their authority, particularly in north India, in the wake of Daulat Rao's succession. As he kept himself busy with the intrigues brewing at Pune, his north Indian domains were virtually ignored and were in disarray on several counts. As a consequence, Daulat Rao's finances came under severe pressure and he found himself with inadequate funds. The fact that money was not readily available to pay the troops may have precipitated the need for specie. It is therefore conceivable that the mint at Jamgaon may have been opened during this period and coins struck to alleviate the scarcity of money.

A remark made by Clunes (cf. Wiggins & Maheshwari, p. 99) with regard to the Vaphgaon mint would also be pertinent here, especially in view of the fact that Vaphgaon and Jamgaon were located quite close to each other. Clunes attributed the running of the Vaphgaon mint to 'Tookooji Holkar' and further mentions that the rupees struck at Vaphgaon were "brought in any quantity to Poona by Nana Furnovees in 1795-96 when Dowlat Rao Scindia came to Poona and Bajee Rao was proclaimed Peshwa, at which time more specie was required than the Poona mint could furnish". It is very likely that the mint at Jamgaon was also opened under similar circumstances, but under Sindhia authority – particularly when Holkar, his political rival was running one in the vicinity!

Lingen & Wiggins indicated that the mint at Jamgaon was established in 1797 and remained operational until 1802, but only produced copper coins. If 1797 is accepted as the inception of minting activity at Jamgaon, it fits neatly into the historical context as well as Clunes' remark, as described above. The closure of the mint in 1802 would also corroborate the course of events, because Sindhia left the Deccan in late 1801 and, without his presence, there would not be much reason for the mint to function.

Lingen & Wiggins further stated that the mint was reopened in 1830 and the Bombay Government asked Sindhia to stop issuing coins at Jamgaon in 1833. The remark about only copper coins being struck at Jamgaon, however, needs some clarification. From the coins, it is seen that, in all likelihood, the mint functioned in 1797-1802 producing rupees. We do not know if any copper coins were struck during this period. During the second stint (1830-33), the mint may well have struck only copper coins. Copper coins, if at all struck at Jamgaon, remain unidentified and unattributed. In stating that 'only copper coins were struck at Jamgaon', Lingen & Wiggins have either confused the data in their hands, or this has been a case where information was muddled in the sources they consulted. Unfortunately, Lingen & Wiggins do not give adequate reference to their information, so it becomes rather difficult to ascertain what the facts are.

Harda

Discovery of the coins

It is not a very frequent occurrence that family histories link up with numismatics, particularly so in India where the majority of families do not know their history beyond a couple of generations. In view of this situation, if it should happen in a numismatist's family, such would indeed be a very fortunate occurrence!

Some twenty-odd years ago, I met a gentleman named Mr Jayant Naik, resident of Harda (Hoshangabad district, Madhya Pradesh) and related to me in a distant way, who told me his ancestors worked a mint at Harda and struck coins in the 19th century. As no coins were known with such a mint-name, I

ignored him and thought his information was, at best, garbled or perhaps he was just pulling my leg! Several years later, I found what he said, was in fact true – there had been a mint at Harda and it had struck coins – only that they did not have the mint-name on them as 'Harda'.

The first clue came from two coins in the BM collection (Figs. 9 - 10).



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

The tickets accompanying these coins have interesting details – one of them says 'Hurda (Scindiah) Prinsep' (Fig. 11) while the other reads 'Hurda Prinsep' (Fig. 12).



Figs. 11 & 12

These tickets indicate the coins are from James Prinsep's collection. Prinsep, in his 'Useful Tables' does list a 'Hurda' rupee (pp. 29 and 55) and comments that it was 'Hali in Malwa' ('Hali' here denotes 'current' or 'acceptable') and ink rubbings of one of the coins from the BM collection is to be found in his folios which are now in the Ashmolean (Heberden Coin Room) collection. The coins and the rubbings both help us to come to a quick conclusion – that coins were indeed struck at Harda and they were copies of the Ujjain rupee minted under Sindhia authority for little more than a century. Apart from the two BM pieces, a third Harda rupee exists in the collection of Raghuveer Pai, Mumbai (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13

It would be worthwhile to do a comparison and ascertain the differences between the Ujjain prototype and the Harda copy. Firstly, the calligraphy of the Harda rupee is decidedly inferior and so are its metallic contents. As for dates, the 'Prinsep' tickets mention one of the coins having RY 55 and the other, 67. Of the two Prinsep coins, the second is even more degenerate than the

first and the first also shows traces of a '7' next to the two circles that have been interpreted as '55', so it is not certain whether the second piece bears RY 67. The specimen from the Pai collection clearly shows '55', with no trace of the '7'. Also noteworthy are two clusters of three dots each, located within the word *Julius* on the reverse and which are seen on all three specimens. The mint-mark, a horizontal sword, obviously copied from the Ujjain coins, is executed in a stumpy fashion and is only partly visible on all three coins. It is possible that, being a copy of another highly successful coin, such important features as mint-marks may not have been regarded worth a view and the lack of attention paid to the execution and the placement may have been intentional. Lastly, the mint-name is a crude rendition of 'Dar al-Fateh Ujjain' but judging by the visible traces, it is evident that it, too, has been engraved without due attention.

Prinsep identifies the Harda rupee as a 'Scindiah' issue as seen from the remark on one of the tickets. If RY 55 is a true chronological detail (and there is a good chance that it may be because, on the prototype Ujjain rupees, the RYs of Shah Alam II run posthumously up to 100, and are then replaced by the regnal years of the 'British Raj'), it will mean that at least two of the three coins were struck about 1815. This would corroborate Prinsep's observation – made most likely a little before 1819 when he was working as the assay-master at the Benares mint – that it was the 'current' or 'acceptable' coin in Malwa. It is indeed true that Harda lay in Sindhia hands at this juncture and the coins were struck under a licence farmed out by the Sindhia's administrators.

Harda – a short history

Harda, also known as Harda Khas, is presently the headquarters of an administrative sub-division (*tehsil*) of the same name in Hoshangabad district, Madhya Pradesh. However, as the 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' mentions (p. 182), it is a 'modern town'. It is often referred to by the joint name 'Harda-Handia'. The place of historical significance, if any, is Handia, located about 12 miles to the north, where lay a very ancient ford to the Narmada River. Handia thus served as a nodal point on the trade route that linked north India with the Deccan and areas further afield. It had a considerable religious significance as well – the river Narmada is one of the 'holy rivers' of India and at Handia supposedly rests her 'navel' or the centre of her spiritual powers, as described in various Hindu scriptures. Harda overshadowed Handia in the 19th - 20th centuries with its rapid growth as a commercial centre, mainly catering for the cotton trade.

Akbar's armies probably won control over Handia consequent to his campaign against the Gond kingdom of Garha after he annexed the Malwa Sultanate in 1562. During Akbar's reign, Handia became the headquarters of a *sarkar* (administrative division), and a Mughal *faujdar* (commandant) along with troops and a *diwan* (executor) were stationed there. In the 18th century, the area reverted to the Gond kings of Devgarh and petty Gond rulers were in charge at Makla and Makrai. The tract was first traversed by the Marathas in 1742, when Peshwa Balaji Rao undertook a campaign to Mandla. In 1750, Raghujji Bhonsla of Nagpur won control over regions to the immediate south of Handia. It remained under Maratha control for much of the 18th century and was governed by *kamavisdars* or revenue officers appointed from Pune, the Peshwa's capital. It became part of the Sindhia's domains only towards the end of the 18th century when the authority of the Peshwa became non-existent as intrigues brewed in Pune, as we have already seen. In the famed 'Troubled Times' (*Gardi ka Waqt*) – the period between the end of the second Anglo-Maratha War in 1805 and the beginning of the third, or 'Pindari War', in 1817 – the Harda-Handia tract saw considerable anarchy as it lay on the route of the Pindari expeditions and was a borderland region for two other regional powers, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur.

The Harda-Handia region was made over to the British according to a treaty imposed on Gwalior in January 1844, after an unsuccessful rebellion of the 'Gwalior Contingent Army' was

quelled at the battles of Maharajpur and Punniar. As part of another treaty, signed between Gwalior and the British in 1860 (ratified 1861) ostensibly to reward the Sindhia for maintaining neutrality during the Revolt of 1857-58, the handover of the Harda-Handia tract was confirmed once again, but the Sindhia was compensated for it.

Khachrod

A copper coin of this mint was recently offered in a sale-list of Scott Semans. Although I had seen one before, this specimen (Fig. 14) has a much clearer mint name and is therefore worthy of note.

The coin is struck, most likely, in the name of Shah Alam II and the mint, inscribed on the reverse below the usual mint-indicator 'Zarb', can be easily read as '(K)hachrod', with only the initial slant of the letter 'Kaaf' being truncated.



Fig. 14

In my initial response to the image in Scott's list I had suggested that the coin may be linked with the 'Ratlam' series (cf. SACG message no. 13716, quoted on Scott's website www.coincoin.com/seIVVor.htm), but further research indicated that this was, indeed, a Sindhia mint. Even though the mint is clear, the coin bears no clear date and therefore its time of issue requires some investigation.

Khachrod is the headquarters of an administrative division (*tehsil*) in the Ujjain district of Madhya Pradesh, located 23.42N, 75.28E. John Malcolm, in his 'Memoir of Central India' (1832 edition, p. 499-500) refers to it as 'Katchrode' and states that it was 'a city in Malwa' where, in 1820, there had been 10,000 houses and a 'well-supplied bazaar'. It was also 'the capital of a *pergunnah* belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia'.

The area around Ujjain was one of the first tracts of Malwa to come under the control of the Sindhias in the mid-18th century (see my article in JONS 190) and remained a part of Gwalior state until the state's accession to India in 1948. In fact, Ujjain was the original seat of the Sindhias; Gwalior became the main seat only after 1802. Ujjain had been a mint-town under the Mughals and from the establishment of Sindhia's authority, production of silver and copper coins at Ujjain became an even more regular feature. If this was the case, what prompted minting activity at Khachrod, a seemingly insignificant town located very close to Ujjain, is another interesting question, which, in turn, is linked with proposing a chronological context for the coin.

The coin, in all probability, was struck in the early 19th century – more specifically in the period 1815-1830. During these years, the area of north-western Malwa, north-eastern Gujarat and south-eastern Rajasthan saw a spurt in production of the infamous cash crop, opium. An excellent study of opium cultivation and its political and economic context was done by Amar Farooqui in his book entitled 'Smuggling and Subversion: Colonialism, Indian Merchants and the Politics of Opium, 1790-1843' (Lexington Books, 2005). The specific links between 'monetisation' brought about by the opium trade and proliferation of locally active mints in Malwa were probed by Frank Perlin ('Money Use in Late Colonial India and the International Trade in Currency Media', in 'Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India', ed. JF Richards, OUP, 1987, pp. 232-373) who sees a correlation between these two phenomena. However, Farooqui does not agree with Perlin's assessment, arguing on the basis of what he observes as the 'contraction of money transactions among the common people during the early nineteenth century'. ('Smuggling as Subversion', p. 85-86)

Both these arguments suffer from the fact that neither of their promulgators are numismatists – if at all, Perlin’s views indicate that he is at least more familiar with the monetary landscape of the region than Farooqui, who seems to have based his views entirely on archival evidence and not objects such as coins. A numismatist would readily recognise the list of mints mentioned by Perlin (Ujjain, Indore, Bhopal, Kota, Pratapgarh, Sironj) as those principally producing silver rupees. Numismatists would also agree that there is a proliferation of unidentified, unattributable or ‘gimcrack’ (to borrow Perlin’s term used in his treatise ‘The Invisible City: Monetary, Administrative and Popular Infrastructures in Asia and Europe 1500-1900’, 1993) copper coins in the region during this period. This proliferation is attested by John Malcolm (‘Memoir...’, 1832 edition, p.85-86) who states that copper coins are ‘rudely cut pieces with a show of stamp’ and ‘both its size and established value are continually changed by local officers for illicit profit’. Malcolm further says that the copper circulation of most places, excepting that of ‘Oojein, Indore, Kotah and Bhopal pice, which have some character, is confined to its immediate district or town...the character of the coin is so deteriorated that it will not pass two miles from where it is coined’.

There is a great likelihood that it was mainly the proliferation of these copper coins – encountered even today in great numbers but lost to furnaces in the smelting trade – that underpinned the opium trade in Malwa. The phenomenon therefore may not have been simply of ‘monetisation’ as Perlin argues, but of ‘deep monetisation’ – involving the use of coined money in the lowest stratum of a transaction system based on the introduction of a cheap, low-denomination coinage. It is possible that ‘microcosmic’ money economies existing at small, village market or ‘bazaar’ levels may have thrived on the supply of cheap copper specie. But it is also true that transactions happening in such a low stratum may not have left a sufficient trail of archival evidence, especially when the commodity they were involved with was potentially semi-legal, like opium. As such, historians like Farooqui, who base much of their research on archival material, will not have found any reference to it in the sources they employed. Hence Farooqui’s inference about ‘constriction’ in the money market, which numismatists will indeed find difficult to agree with.

The coin of Khachrod must be seen against the backdrop of such economic events. The very fact that it was struck even though a prolific mint such as Ujjain, where copper coins ‘of some character’ – to quote Malcolm – were produced, indicates how great the demand was for such low-denomination copper coins.

It will also be interesting to see what the political happenings in Khachrod during this time were. It is a well-known fact that the Maratha polities such as the Peshwas, Sindhias and Holkars appointed revenue-farmers known as ‘kamavisdars’ to govern territories under their control (see Stewart Gordon, ‘The Slow Conquest’, in ‘Marathas, Marauders and State Formation in Eighteenth-century India, OUP, 1998). As the tenures that were given for administrators were often long, it resulted in the settlement of the *kamavisdar* in the region under his control. In turbulent political times when central authority waned – as had been the case in the first two decades of the 19th century – these officers became practically independent. Malcolm (‘Memoir...’, *ibid*, p. 40) mentions that a *kamavisdar* turned landlord named Appa Gangadhar had been in charge of Khachrod. His family had rented the tract for the previous seventy years; he was the son of ‘Wuttoba’ and the grandson of ‘Balouba’, the ‘Dewan and sole manager of Madhaje Sindia’. ‘Balouba’ must be Balaji Anant Pingay, alias Baloba Taty Pagnees, who was a senior statesman and became the chief advisor to Daulat Rao Sindhia after he succeeded his adoptive father, Mahadaji, in 1794. ‘Wuttoba’ would be his son, Vitthal Balaji Pingay. Farooqui mentions that Appa Gangadhar was also a prominent opium farmer and many details of his activities in that respect are to be found in Farooqui’s masterly survey.

In all probability, the coin was struck under Appa Gangadhar’s authority. The fact that he was actively involved in the opium trade would thus further strengthen its connection with ‘deep monetisation’ as a phenomenon witnessed as the opium trade flourished in the early decades of the 19th century. The coin perhaps carries the name of Shah Alam II, whose reign ended in 1806 – but even if it does, this can be easily disregarded when placing the coin in this period as striking coins posthumously in his name was a matter of common practice.

Acknowledgments:

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THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CALCUTTA MINT, 1757 TO 1765

By Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

For many years prior to 1757 the EIC had attempted to obtain the right to mint coins in their own mint, which they hoped to establish in Calcutta. In this they were not successful and it was not until Robert Clive recaptured Calcutta in January 1757 that the Nawab could be induced to grant this right. Pridmore has provided a comprehensive review of events occurring at that time with regard to the Calcutta mint and the coinage, and initially my intention in re-examining the records pertaining to these events was merely to identify the sources of the many quotes used by Pridmore, for which he failed to give references. However, a number of new facts have emerged from this work and they provide an interesting addition to the story for those interested in the numismatics of the EIC.

Background

For reasons that are not relevant here, in 1756, Siraj al-Dowla, the Nawab of Bengal, attacked and captured Calcutta. He renamed the city Alinagar and issued coins bearing this mint name, either from a mint established in the city or from his mint at Murshidabad.



‘Alinagar’ Rupee, RY 3 of Alamgir II

These coins are extremely rare but the example shown here (photo from Baldwins) clearly shows the mint name, Alinagar, in the top line on the reverse and regnal year 3 of Alamgir II.

A British army led by Admiral Watson, with Robert Clive in charge of land forces, was despatched to retake the city, and this they did on 2 January 1757 and followed this with a series of demands to the Nawab, including the rights to issue coins from their own mint.

The Alinagar Kalkutta Coins

On 10 January 1757, only eight days after retaking the city, the Bengal Council decided that they would establish a mint¹:

Agreed that we do establish a mint and coin sicca rupees with the name of the Moghul on one side and the Company on the other, to be of the same weight as Muxadavad rupees and to pass in the town for 2 p cent more.

This was put to the Nawab, inter alia, through an intermediary, Coja Wajid, on 21 January²:

4. That he suffer the Company to erect a mint in Calcutta, endowed with the same priviledges with the mint at Muxadavad, and that if the rupees of Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with those of Muxadavad they may pass current without any deduction of batta.

but the reply was not encouraging³:

4. As regards the fourth article he says that, seeing that the English nation has never had this priviledge in Bengal, it is not right to demand it, and further the Nawab is not able to grant a right which depends upon the Mogul and which might damage the currency of that Prince.

As well as Coja Wajid, the British appear to have been negotiating with the Nawab through the French because, in a letter from the Council at Bengal to the Court of Directors in London later in January, they stated⁴:

The demands we verbally made the French deputies were in substance: to have the restitution of our losses and satisfaction for the damages and charges sustained in consequence of the suba's violences, to have permission to erect such fortifications as we might think proper in whatever part of the country we chuse to settle a factory, and to be allowed a mint in Calcutta.

By 1 February the Bengal Council was able to report to London⁵:

I have little to observe on the terms obtained from the Nabob except that they are both honorable and advantageous for the Company. The grants of a mint and the villages hereto detained from us are very considerable and the abolishing of the duties lately exacted by the chowkies as well as confirming the free transportation of goods without customs of any kind, and the rest of the priviledges of the royal phirmaund, are no small points gained.

On 6 February, Clive received confirmation that the Nawab would grant the right of minting⁶:

...The Nawab agrees to give you back Calcutta with all the priviledges of your phirmaund and whatever goods you lost at Cossimbuzar or elsewhere, and will grant you permission to coin siccas in your mint at Calcutta or Allenagar,...

and Clive conveyed this to the Select Committee at Fort St George Madras on the same day⁷:

... The Nawab has decamped with his whole army, has wrote me a letter that he will comply with all our demands except a sum of money for the inhabitants, viz. that he will put us in possession of everything granted by the royal phirmaund, liberty to fortify Fort William as we please, and liberty of a mint.

The next day Clive submitted his draft treaty and the Nawab again agreed to the proposal for minting coins⁸:

Article 5. That we shall have liberty to coin siccas both gold and silver, of equal weight and fineness as those of Muxadabad, which shall pass current in the province, and that there be no demand made for a deduction of batta.

The Nawab endorsed this article

I consent to the English Company's coining their own bullion into siccas. English coin shall be stamped in the name of Allenagar.

An important point to note from this extract is that the Nawab consented to the English striking coins but with the mint name Alinagar.

The final treaty was laid before Council on the 14th February⁹:

That siccas shall be coined at Allenagar, Calcutta in the same manner as that at Muxadabad, and that if the money struck at Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with that of Muxadabad, there shall be no demand made for a deduction of batta.

But this was still not sufficient for Clive, and Mr Watts was asked to clarify the matter further¹⁰:

...Secondly. You must get the article of the mint explained in fuller terms and extend the liberty of coining to all bullion and gold imported into Calcutta by the English.

This extract implies that the minting rights were somewhat limited, probably to bullion imported by the Company (and not, therefore, by private individuals) and that the authorities at Calcutta wanted this extended to all bullion.

By 23 February the Calcutta Council felt that the matter had advanced far enough for them to ask for an Assay Master to be sent out from England¹¹:

The establishment of a mint being consented to by the Nabob, we have to request your Honors will send us out an Essay Master with other persons and materials for the better managing of that branch of business.

Mr Watts, meanwhile, had been negotiating with the Nawab and was able to report back on 10 March¹²:

The Nawab says you may coin siccas in Calcutta whenever you please, and swore this morning before me by God and his Prophet he would comply with every part of his contract

Clive was still not happy and on 10 April he wrote directly to the Nawab¹³:

It is a long time since Your Excellency promised to fulfill everything in 15 days... I therefore take the liberty of putting down in writing what parts of the treaty so solemnly sworn to I desire to be complied with...3rd Parwannahs for the currency of siccas coined at Calcutta alias Alinagore

On 17 April Mr Watts finally managed to get the treaty (perwannah) but it was still not quite satisfactory¹⁴:

On the 24th we received a letter from W Watts Esq dated the 18th instant... That he had the day before [17th April] received a perwannah for coining of siccas in Calcutta, but as it only mentions Allenagore he returned it, and hopes to get it altered -that he is applying for a general perwannah for the currency of our trade in the three provinces...

And on 26 April the Nawab told Clive that he had acceded to Mr Watts demands¹⁵:

... The several perwannahs for the currency of the Company's business, which are wrote agreeable to Mr Watts's desire, together with that for erecting a mint in Calcutta Alinagar have been put into his hands, of which you have no doubt been informed by his letter.

It is interesting that the Nawab now refers to Calcutta Alinagar and not just Alinagar. Perhaps this was the compromise that Watts was able to negotiate. The actual Perwannah was as follows¹⁶:

Perwannah of the Nabob Serajah Dowlah to the Company for erecting a mint in Calcutta

From the date of the first of the moon shaboon [21st April, 1757] the 4 sun siccas are begun to be stamped, and through all the mint houses, the new siccas of the 4 sun are coined. Take care, and erect a mint in Calcutta (called Allenagore)

and stamp gold and silver rupees, out of bullion and gold imported by your nation, of the weight of the gold and silver coined at Muxadavad, under the name of Allenagore, Calcutta, shall you coin your money. It shall pass for land revenues etc and nobody will ask, or set, any batta upon them; only to take care not to coin the gold and silver of other nations.

At last, they had the authority to strike their own coins and now all they needed were people with the necessary skills to undertake the work, and the rules and regulations to make it happen. By June, skilled workmen had arrived from Murshidabad and a committee was established to look into the operating procedures¹⁷:

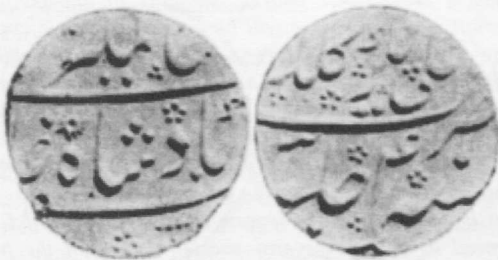
The coiners and others for carrying on the mint business being arrived from Muxadavad the Board took into consideration the establishing of that privilege upon a proper and beneficial foundation, but as it is utterly impossible for them to judge how it ought to be conducted for the advantage of our Honble Masters till the method of coining, assaying etc is ascertained and known, the Board are of opinion that a committee should be appointed to inspect into the fineness of silver proper for siccas, how much a hundred ounces of the different kinds of bullion produce and what the charge of coining will be. This, once known, we can with greater propriety establish the mint under proper regulations.

Agreed the President, Mr Frankland and Mr Boddam be appointed to inspect into the forementioned particulars and report them to the Board as soon as possible

By early July, 4000 (not 40,000 as stated by Pridmore several times in his work¹⁸) rupees had been produced¹⁹:

The Committee appointed for coining of siccas inform the Board a sum of 4000 R has been coined from new Mexico Dollars and that as soon as they have coined two or three other kinds of bullion they will deliver in the Acc't

The coins struck at this time must have been the very rare rupees with the mint name Alinagar Kalkutta



عالمگیر
 ابادشاہ غازی
 سکہ مبارک

عالمگیر کلکتہ
 ضلع جلوس
 بیسٹھن سٹریٹ
 مانوس

'Alinagar Kalkutta' Rupee, RY 4 of Alamgir II
 (Photo from Pridmore)

A gold mohur has also been reported although the records contain no reference to gold being struck at this time²⁰.

On 23 of June, Clive won the battle of Plassey and the Nawab was replaced by Mir Jafar Ali Khan (though not until 29 June when he also confirmed the right to have a mint in Calcutta²¹)

Coins with the Mint Name Kalkutta

The new Nawab was required to confirm the coining rights of the Company again, and this he duly did on 15 July²²:

... A mint is established in Calcutta, coin siccas and gold mohurs of equal weight and fineness with the siccas and gold mohurs of Muxadavad they shall pass in the King's treasury...

and on 28 July he signed a Perwannah confirming the Company's right to strike coin, this time with the mint name Calcutta²³:

Perwannah from the Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan

To the High and Mighty, the bold and valient Commanders, the greatest of merchants, the English Company in whom may the King's favour rest forever. A mint has been established at Calcutta; continue coining gold and silver into siccas and mohurs, of the same weight and standard with those of Moorshedabad; the impression to be Calcutta; they shall pass current in the province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and be received into the Codganna; there shall be no obstruction or difficulty for Cussore...11th Zeerlaida [Zilkada] 4th of the King's reign [= 28th July 1757]

(for a slightly different translation see reference below²⁴)

The Company's servants at Murshidabad had been discussing the minting rights with the Nawab, Jugganat Seth and Dulab Ram and their attention was drawn to the fact that although the minting rights would allow the Company to mint bullion brought to Calcutta by any means, the Nawab and his advisors would not be pleased if all of the bullion imported by native Indians was dealt with in this way and that none of it reached the mint at Murshidabad. If that happened, then the mint at Murshidabad would have no work and the Nawab might be obliged to withdraw the rights of coinage that he had granted to the Company²⁵.

By 8 August the mint had begun producing the new coins and fifty new coins were shown to the Calcutta Council²⁶:

The Committee appointed for essaying the coinage of the different sortments of bullion lay before the Board 50 rupees coined from Dollar silver agreeable to the Perwannah received from Jaffir Ally Cawn

Ordered them to be transferred to Muxadavad for a trial, and agreed our mint be established on the same footing as that at Madrass

And on 20 August, Calcutta reported the new arrangement back to London²⁷:

In the packett to the Honorable the Court of Directors translate of the general sunnud and the perwannah for the mint are forwarded. You will observe by the last, the impression is to be Calcutta only, without the addition of Allenagore.



Silver 'Kalkutta' Rupee, RY 4

In September 1757, Messrs Frankland and Boddam were appointed joint Mint Master²⁸ and the mint swung into full operation sending 3050 Rs to Cozimbazaar for the approval of the Nawab and five to London²⁹. At the same time the mint was supplied with 35,000 old (Sonaut) rupees and 805 Persian rupees for recoinage, and in October a further 50,000 old rupees were sent to the mint³⁰. Also in October a significant amount of gold that had been received from the Nawab was sent to the mint where it was to be coined into Fooley (i.e. star or flower) mohurs³¹.



Gold 'Kalkutta' Mohur, RY 5

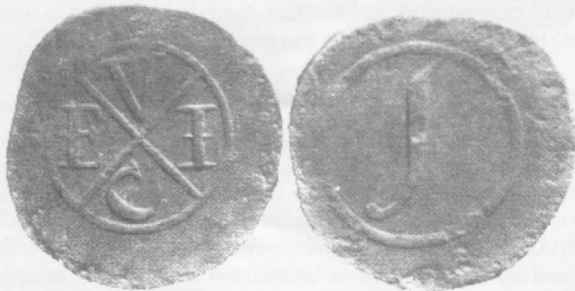
(Photo from Pridmore)

A further entry from a meeting held in October instructs Mr Frankland (now apparently the sole Mint Master) to produce copper tickets for the use of the labourers rebuilding the fortifications of the city³²:

The Committee of works represent to the Board that it will be extremely troublesome and inconvenient to pay the cowleys, labourers and bricklayers, to be employed on the fortifications, in cowries. They recommend therefore that copper, brass or tutenague tickets may be stamp'd of different values for the payment of those people, which shall be taken back at the value stamp'd on the respective tickets.

Ordered: Mr Frankland to stamp a number of such tickets.

Pridmore has identified two denominations of these copper tickets/coins. A one anna (shown here) and a six pice.



Copper 1 Anna Ticket

and a smaller denomination has been identified by Kathotia³³



Copper 2 Pice Ticket

(Photo from Rhodes)

By January 1758 the mint was working flat out sending 80,000 Rs to Cossimbazaar to be used as a trial in purchasing the investment for that year, but some difficulty had been encountered in getting them into circulation³⁴:

We have been constantly employed in coining both for the Company and some private persons, but as yet there is some difficulty in passing our siccās, of which we have complained to the durbar, and have the satisfaction to learn from Mr Scrafton that the currency of them has been ordered by beat of the dandurra through the streets of Muxadavad and a mutchulka given by the principal shroff that they shall be received the same as Muxadavad siccās. We therefore flatter ourselves that our money will very shortly be as current as that coined in the metropolis of the subaship, when we have hopes the Company will reap very considerable advantages

from their mint, as will likewise the private inhabitants of this place. In order to make a tryal of the force of the late orders and proclamation we have sent eighty thousand Calcutta siccās to Cossimbuzar for the ensuing year's investment and shall advise Your honors if they are received without difficulty or if any objections are made to them...

By February 1758, the problem of getting the coins into circulation was getting worse and even British residents were refusing to receive the coins in payment³⁵:

...Mr Charles Douglas...Upon his application of the discharge of those notes we ordered the Committee of the Treasury to pay him the amount of the principal and interest of the bonds in his possession – being in all current rupees 119643 – which they offered him in Calcutta siccās, but he peremptorily refused taking the amount of his bonds in that coin, and on 12th January wrote a letter to the Board upon that subject protesting against the Company and their representatives for all loss of batta, interest and risque if he was not paid in some other species of rupees.

Nevertheless, the mint had produced quite a large number of coins with the mint accounts showing the following outputs³⁶:

December	220,275
January	101,337
February	243,890

These figures show the value of the output of the mint not the actually number of coins produced, some would have been rupees and some mohurs.

In March 1758, the Court wrote to Calcutta with instruction about how the mint should be run³⁷:

This branch must be by contract, one month's public notice or more to be given, that you will receive proposals in writing and sealed for the coining of gold and silver, the lowest bidder to have the contract. Each party to put down the price of one hundred ounces of gold and silver of every specie that has or may be brought into Calcutta; this will clearly enable you to determine the preference. They are previously to be acquainted that the Mint House and its repairs shall be at our expence, every other charge whatever on the contractors' account. As the coinage will be a great trust, we apprehend none but persons of large capitals or credit will offer themselves, for you must exact security in a sum equal to the amount you may judge will at one time dwell in the mint. If two or more distinct families of opulence and character could be brought to join in their proposals, and should obtain the contract, it would be pleasing to us for many reasons. And for your better guidance we transmit to you under No. [] what is allowed us for the several species coined in the mints of Bombay and Madrass. When the contractors are chose, and the prices of bullion fixed, you are then to enter upon the following regulations: a Mint Master must be appointed from servants below Council, whose business will be to attend all receipts of bullion, and issue of rupees; no person is to send silver or gold to the mint but by application in writing to the Mint Master expressing species and quantities, who must then give his order to the contractors for receiving the same, and when such bullion is coined, a second order from the Mint Master must be obtained for delivery of the rupees. These methods pursued will prevent our being defrauded of our duties.

The coinage you are to collect on all silver is two and half per cent upon the contractors' prices, which you are to appropriate in the following manner: one per cent bring to our credit, one per cent we indulge our Governor for the time being, and half per cent to the Mint Master as an encouragement to discharge this trust with fidelity and application; but if this coinage should raise the silver to a higher rate than at Bombay where the like duties are collected, you are then to lower the coinage until you give the trader equal to what he receives at our other Presidencies.

Otherwise we cannot expect this mint to flourish. And in this case let our duty be one per cent and what may remain divide to our Governor and Mint Master in the above mentioned proportion.

The Mint Master is to enter in one book the persons, species, if silver or gold, they deliver to the mint, their amount, the coinage duty, and the several payments; in another book the receipt and delivery of all the Company's silver; monthly accounts of each are given into the Board, and the Mint Master in the same distinct manner is to transmit us those distinct accounts annually, which are to be signed by him. We settle no duties on the coinage of gold; it's left to you; and you have liberty to lessen them in such manner as may preserve the credit of your mint.

It will require great care and circumspection that the rupees are kept up to their standard, and it's not in our power to send you a capable Assay Master. However, if our Governour will frequently, in a private manner, deliver a few rupees of different coinages to goldsmiths intirely independent of the contractors, their assays will be a better check upon the mint than any person we can procure here. Your secretary must also annually take himself of four different coinages forty rupees, from each ten promiscuously. These are to be sealed up separately and transmitted to us to be assayed at the Tower.

We will suffer no bullion imported at Calcutta to be coined or sold elsewhere. It shall be coined in our mint only, and those who do not chuse to do this may carry or return the same to the place it came from. But as the indulgence may be abused and under pretence of carrying back, may convey it to our European or other neighbours, we order that all such bullion shall pay us a duty of half per cent when exported. And for the better knowing what gold and silver is brought into Calcutta, our Sea Custom Master must certify to our Mint Master the persons and quantities imported; and though bullion pays no customs, still let the same be entered on our customs books as regularly as merchandize.

And at a consultation in December 1758 the Calcutta Council, having spent several months examining the Court orders, agreed that they would be complied with³⁸ although it was not immediately put into practice.

In the meantime the problems of getting the coins into circulation were continuing. The gold mohurs that had been struck from the Nawab's gold were stuck in the mint and a decision was taken to send 100 to the Ballasore factory where it was believed they might be sold for a good price³⁹.

This problem of getting the coins into circulation seems to have caused the mint to be little used during 1759 because, at the end of that year, Calcutta wrote to London⁴⁰:

Our Mint is at present of very little use to us as there has been no bullion sent out of Europe this season or two past, and we are apprehensive that it will never be attended with all the advantages we might have expected from it, as the coining of siccas in Calcutta interfere so much with the interests of the Seats that they will not fail of throwing every obstacle in our way to depreciate the value of our money in the country, notwithstanding its weight and standard is in every respect as good as the siccas of Muxadavad, so that a loss of batta will always arise on our money, let our influence at the Durbar be ever so great.

The lack of use of the mint seems to have continued in 1760, although rupees with the mint name Kalkutta continued to be struck and they exist with regnal years five and six of Alamgir. This is confirmed by an entry in the records of June 1760⁴¹:

Notice to be given that after the 23rd inst. Five sun siccas will be rec'd into the Company's treasury at 13 p cent batta only and that six sun siccas will be struck & pass current from that day



Five sun 'Kalkutta' Rupee



Six sun 'Kalkutta' Rupee

Coins with the Mint Name Murshidabad Struck in the Calcutta Mint

Up until this point in the story, everything written in this paper, with a few minor additions and corrections, agrees with the account laid out by Pridmore. However, Pridmore seems to have missed the important point about the inability to get the Kalkutta coins into circulation and the actions taken to correct this problem. This led to a very different outcome to that supposed by Pridmore.

By December of 1760 the Calcutta Council had decided that they would never succeed in getting the Kalkutta coins widely accepted into circulation and they agreed to approach the Nawab and ask for permission to strike Murshidabad rupees⁴²:

And as we find that notwithstanding our frequent application to the Nabob concerning the want of currency of our rupees in the country from whence many inconveniencies proceed such as their being frequently refused for goods, the risk of carrying them from place to place to be exchanged (by which a boat passing from Malda to Murshudabad with 4000 Calcutta siccas for that purpose was lost in the Great River) & the loss in exchange. Those evils have never been remedy'd, the only means to effect it is to gain the Nabob's consent to our coining Muxadabad siccas in our mint in the same [way] as Arcot rupees are coined at Madras. Agreed therefore that the President endeavour to prevail on the Nabob to give his consent to our coining Murshudabad siccas in our mint.

At the same meeting they agreed that they should also strike Arcot rupees, which, at that time, were produced in the Madras mint and sent to Calcutta:

And as the want of Arcot rupees in the place has raised their value to 3 p cent above the usual currency & that specie is very useful for many occasions of the Presidency.

Agreed we coin Arcot rupees of equal weight & fineness with those of Fort St George.

The right to strike Murshidabad rupees was granted by the end of December 1760 and the authorities in Calcutta finally felt able to implement the instructions about the operation of the mint that they had been sent in 1758⁴³:

The President acquaints the Board he has at last after much solicitation prevailed upon the Nabob to consent to our coining Murshudabad siccas in our mint.

Agreed we now establish the mint on the footing directed by the Honble Company in their commands of 3rd March 1758, that the dollars be valued at the rate mentioned in the letter of 1st April, but as the bullion of this country is of no

stated fineness arising from the prodigious variety of coins in the country which are after melted in a heap & offered to be coined, it is impossible to determine on that.

That the mint be put up for contract on the same footing as that at Madras, that is, the contractor shall bear all the charges of the mint, except the house and repairs for which he shall receive a certain allowance per cent. & whoever offers for the smallest allowance, giving sufficient security, shall have the contract.

The contractor, there being [no] refin'd standard of bullion in this country, shall deliver the exact produce of the gold & silver given in to be coined according to its value by assay, which we shall effect in the best manner we can for the present.

Agreed in the meantime we recommend it to the Company to send us out a capable Assay Master by the first opportunity.

Ordered the Mint Master to prepare stamps for coining the Muxadabad rupees.

In March, 1761 the mint was duly put up for contract⁴⁴:

Ordered the secretary to draw out an advertisement setting forth the conditions and according to the regulations contained in the Company's General Letter dated 3rd March 1758, giving notice that the mint will be put up for contract, which advertisement he is to lay before us next council day.

But by June it became obvious that nobody was prepared to bid for this contract⁴⁵:

The Secretary reports to the Board that nobody has hitherto made any application or proposals for the farm of the mint, altho' it was advertised for the first of May last.

And this seems to be because the mint had actually made a loss, of 227 rupees 6 annas, between January 1760 and April 1761⁴⁶:

...We also gave publick notice for receiving proposals from any persons who would manage the mint by contract upon the footing directed in your commands of the 3rd March 1758, but no proposals were made altho', more than two months were allowed, & upon examination of the mint account from 1st Jan 1760 to 30th April 1761, it appears that the Company are loser in that term of Current Rupees two hundred twenty seven & six annas by undertaking the coinage at two per cent so that it was not to be expected that any private persons would accept the contract, but this loss is plainly owing to the small quantity of bullion that was delivered into the mint in that period of time....

Henceforth there is no further discussion of putting the mint out to contract, and it seems that it continued to be operated directly under the control of a Mint Master appointed by the Calcutta Council with workmen from Murshidabad.

In July, the Calcutta Council received notice that the Nawab had begun striking coins in the name of Shah Alam II, regnal year 2 and they agreed that coins issued from the Calcutta mint should follow suit⁴⁷:

...The Nabob supplied him [Shah Alam] with considerable sums of money during his residence at Patna, & at the time of his departure [for Dehli] caused siccas to be struck in his name throughout these provinces of which, having advised the President, it was agreed that the siccas in the name of Shah Allum should also be struck in our mint on the fifteenth of July which was accordingly done, the usual notice being first given.

From the above disussion, it seems clear that the Calcutta mint starting producing Murshidabad rupees early in 1761, before agreement was reached to produce coins in the name of Shah Alam II. During the first half of 1761, therefore, these Murshidabad rupees would have been struck in the name of Alamgir II, regnal year 6. The question is, can we differentiate those coins struck at Calcutta from those struck at Murshidabad? A typical Murshidabad sicca rupee is shown below



Murshidabad Rupee, Alamgir II RY 6
(Photo from Nick Rhodes)

An example exists with three extra dots below the Shah of Badshah on the obverse, and an extra group of dots next to the star on the reverse. Perhaps these represent the marks of the Calcutta mint but this is mere speculation at present.



Murshidabad Rupee, Alamgir II, RY 6. Three dots below Shah and extra dots on reverse (Photo from Nick Rhodes)

From July 1761, the Calcutta mint started striking Murshidabad rupees in the name of Shah Alam II and these coins showed his second regnal year. Again, the question arises, how to distinguish between those coins struck at Murshidabad and those struck at Calcutta? A normal Murshidabad rupee is shown below:



Normal Murshidabad Rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 2
(Photo from Nick Rhodes)

However, a very rare rupee exists with a somewhat different style that could represent the output of the Calcutta mint although, once again, this is mere speculation:



Murshidabad Rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 2, with Unusual Arrangement of Legend. (Photo from Shailen Bhandare)

By September 1761, the dies for the Arcot rupees had been received and it was resolved that from then onwards the army would be paid in Arcot rupees. This, as well as the fact that the Arcot rupees had become the accepted medium of exchange in several parts of the Presidency (e.g. Chittagong) explains why the Arcot rupee became the major coin produced in the Calcutta mint for the next few years⁴⁸:

As Arcots will pass current at Dacca, Luckypore and some of the Aurangs equal with the Sicca, there will yet be a gain of 7 per cent by employing the Arcots on all such occasions and it is therefore resolved to pay the military in future in Arcots instead of sonauts, which through the scarcity of the other specie have been used for some years past without any deduction of batta so this will be a further considerable saving.

Ordered therefore that the Mint Master coin all the short wt Arcots with all possible expedition, and that he take all opportunities of purchasing bullion for that purpose



Six sun Arcot Rupee

In November 1761, attention turned to the production of gold coins. The records make it clear that gold coins had not been produced for some time past and the mint no longer had the skills to do this⁴⁹:

There being several parcels of gold which the proprietors are desirous of coining in the Company's mint & there being at present no servants in the mint acquainted with the coinage of gold

The President is desired to write to Muxadabad to procure such as may be necessary and the Mint Master is sent for and directed to lay before the Board an estimate of the charges of gold coinage in order that the charges and customs thereupon may be settled in proportion to the silver coinage which has already been done.

Earlier, in March of 1761, a new Mint Master had been appointed as revealed in a letter from Calcutta to London, and at the same time a request was made for the necessary utensils to assay gold⁵⁰:

Immediately on receipt of your letter of 13th March 1761 we appointed Mr Beaumont to the charge of that office, & we hope in consequence of our representation last season you will send us out a capable Assay Master with all proper utensils without which it is impossible that the fineness of bullion more especially gold can be ascertained to a sufficient exactitude.

These entries are the only ones that refer to gold during this period and it must be assumed that the coins struck would have been mohurs with the mint name Murshidabad.

In January 1761, the Calcutta Council was informed that the Nawab had begun striking coins showing the third regnal year of Shah Alam II, and they resolved to follow suit, starting on 20 February. In the meantime, the Treasury was ordered to send all two sun siccas to the mint for re-stamping into three sun siccas before 20 February⁵¹:

Three sun siccas having been struck at Murshedabad agreeable to the notice before given us by the Nabob as per Consultation December.

Agreed that three sun siccars be issued in our mint and become current the 20th of next month. That advertisement be made thereof, and that two suns will be reduced to thirteen per cent and all others to sonauts.

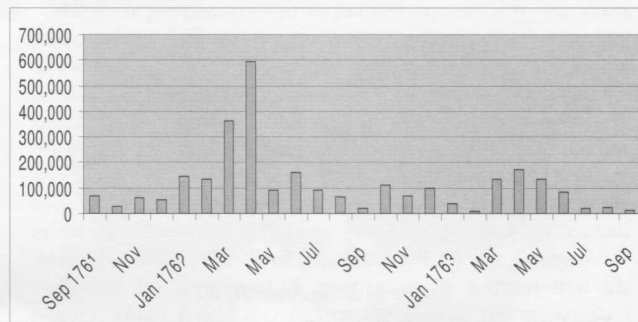
Agreed that the Committee of Treasury be directed to deliver to the Mint Master all the two sun siccars to be restamped into three suns and that the Mint Master be directed to get as many struck as possible against the 20th February.

The Mint was not able to coin all of the money sent by the treasury because of the additional work generated by private people asking for their money to be re-coined. It was agreed that the mint should concentrate on the requirements of the Treasury and that private individuals would have to wait⁵²:

The Mint Master representing there is a vast quantity of money delivered to him from the Treasury to be re-coined in order to prevent the loss of batta, which it is not in his power to get done while private merchants send in money daily to be re-coined also.

Ordered him to defer coining for the private traders till he has finished the whole of the Company's money delivered him from the treasury to be re-coined.

The large amount of work undertaken by the mint is shown in the output figures published sometime later. A clear peak can be seen in the graph in March and April 1762⁵³



Mint output from September 1761 to September 1763

By May, most of the coins from the Treasury had been re-stamped and the mint was re-opened for private traders.

In December 1762, the Calcutta Council was informed that the Nawab had started striking four sun siccas and, as with the two sun siccas, it was decided that the three sun siccas should be sent to the mint for re-stamping as four sun siccas and that from 1 February, all new coins would show the fourth regnal year⁵⁴. Before this work was started, the Council reconsidered the practice of re-stamping coins and it is clear from the entry in the records that up until that time the practice had been to literally re-stamp the old coins i.e. use the old coins as blanks. This caused the coins to have a larger diameter and to be thinner than those struck at the Murshidabad mint. They could therefore be easily recognised as Calcutta mint issues, and were not so easily passed in currency. It was therefore agreed that henceforth the coins should be re-coined, i.e. melted down and then re-coined⁵⁵:

The Board now taking into consideration the practice of re-stamping rupees in the Company's mint, and the many complaints made thro-out the country regarding the Calcutta Siccas, apparently owing to the custom of re-stamping, which as it draws the rupee broader & thinner & leaves the stamp less perfect & distinct, renders it very [easy to] distinguish them from the rupees struck at Moorshedabad, & obstruct their currency – think proper to prevent in future the many bad effects, which arise therefrom, to call upon the Mint Master's opinion concerning the expense of re-coining siccas...

It is therefore agreed to abolish the custom of re-stamping & instead thereof to recoin in the mint all rupees of the sicca standard at the rate of 2 ¼ per cent – whereby there accruing a profit of 14 annas

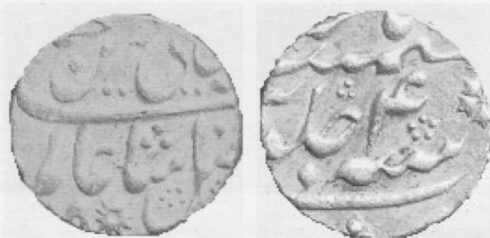
Ordered that eight annas thereof (the same sum that was gained by re-stamping) be paid to the Company – and the remaining six annas to the Mint Master

Several times in this paper the problem of distinguishing those rupees struck at Calcutta from those struck at Murshidabad has been discussed. The above archival extract appears to offer a possible means of arriving at the answer to this question, at least

for coins dated regnal year 2. Specimens that are thinner and of greater diameter are likely to be from the Calcutta mint and may help substantiate or refute an hypothesis advanced by Nick Rhodes (personal communication). He has found that coins of the early years of Shah Alam II might have been marked with different groups of dots and it is possible that these represent the different mints.



Rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 3



Rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 4



Rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 5

The three pictures above show that different coins have different dot arrangements in the top line of the obverse. The first has two dots to the right and three to the left, the second has two dots to the right and two to the left, and the third has three dots to the right and two to the left. The full set of information discovered so far is given in the following table:

Regnal year 2	2 dots right	3 dots left
Regnal year 3	2 dots right	2 or 3 dots left
Regnal year 4	2 dots right	2 or 3 dots left
Regnal year 5 and later	3 dots right	2 dots left

Regnal years 3 & 4, at least, have two sets of patterns, though which might represent which mint (if any) is not known. More information is required to help address this issue.

In 1763, the British deposed the existing Nawab and replaced him with 'the Old Nabob', Jafir Khan, whom they had deposed some years earlier. In July he signed a treaty that included a commitment to ensure that the Calcutta coins passed equal to the Murshidabad rupees⁵⁶:

9thly I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorsheadabad without any deduction of batta and whosoever shall demand batta shall be punished.

Despite the fact that Calcutta had switched from minting the rupees with the mint name Kalkutta to those with the mint name Murshidabad, a rupee with the mint name Kalkutta exists dated AH 1175, RY3 (see Wiggins sale, Baldwin (2001), sale 25, lot 618)

and another dated AH 1176, RY 4 (see Pr 14). Both coins appear to be very neatly struck and could possibly have been a presentation pieces for the Nawab.

In January 1764, the Nawab informed the Council that he had begun striking 5 sun siccas in his mints of Murshidabad and Patna, and Council agreed that, from 25 February, the same regnal year would be put onto the coins of the Calcutta mint.



Rupee of Shah Alam, AH 1176, RY 4. Mintname Kalkutta
(Photo from Pridmore)

Mr Beaumont had ceased being Mint Master late in 1763 or early in 1764⁵⁷ and had been replaced by Mr Middleton. He lasted less than a year and by October 1764 in was agreed that Mr Marriott should take up the post⁵⁸. For some reason this never happened and in November Mr Leycester applied to be appointed Mint Master⁵⁹. However, there seem to have been a number of problems with the mint during 1764, not least was a complaint from the Nawab that the Calcutta coins were inferior to those of Murshidabad⁶⁰, although this was shown to be untrue⁶¹. However, the President of the Calcutta Council (Vansitart) considered that the mint should be put onto a more professional basis and that the Assay Master, Mr Campbell, was the only person capable of understanding the processes needed to achieve this⁶². Campbell was asked to prepare a set of regulations for controlling the mint although Mt Leycester was appointed Mint Master in the meantime.

Within a few days Campbell had produced his suggested regulations⁶³ and by 22 Novemeber he had been appointed Mint Master⁶⁴. The proposed regulations were as follows:

1. *That books be kept open in the Assay office at regular stated hours in which shall be entered the receipt, delivery, assay and produce of all moneys sent to the mint, in so easy and distinct a manner that every proprietor of bullion may be satisfied by inspection that he has received the full produce. The utility of this regulation which has hitherto been totally neglected, is evident, as by resting the whole on the Mint Master and rendering him responsible, it not only deprives the minters of every opportunity of committing frauds but likewise gives reputation to the mint by the fairness and equity of the proceeding.*
2. *That all bullion be of sufficient purity to be coined into siccas or Arcots without the process of refining, be issued within 15 days after the receipt, or to the amount of 22,000 Rs per diem when it shall happen that larger entries are made than can possibly be coined in the time limited. In the neglect of this obviously useful regulation, consists one of the principal defects of our mint, which has brought it into some degree of disrepute & occasioned repeated, fruitless complaints.*
3. *That whereas in the present imperfect state of our coinage not more than 2000 sicca weight of bullion can be refined in one day, the Mint Master shall, in order to avoid the loss, charge & delay consequent on this tedious process, undertake to issue siccas or Arcots at the option of the proprietors to the amount of 11000 per diem provided the bullion to be coined into Arcots does not exceed 14 Dwts nor that for siccas 7 Dwts worse than English Standard. This regulation, which will be attended with little difficulty to a person well acquainted with the methods of assaying & mixing metals will save half the time, charges & loss*

incurred by refining bullion as is now practiced, of much greater purity than is here specified.

4. That for refining bullion of a lower standard (of which no vary considerable quantity is imported), there shall be erected under the direction of the Mint Master, flues, furnaces, [fests?] & the other necessary apparatus for refining, that this branch of the coinage may be conducted as in Europe whereby a saving of one, two or more per cent agreeable to the purity of the bullion will accrue to the merchant, as is demonstrable from the assay, besides a reduction in the wages paid to servants who will then be unnecessary.
5. But as some time must be allowed for establishing an undertaking attended with considerable trouble & labour in a country where the process is utterly unknown, the Mint Master shall in the meantime apply the only possible remedy to this capital defect in the present method of refining, by adjusting to the purity of the metal the quantity of lead to be used in [Flusing?] and directing the due management of the fire, in which [con...?] the great art of assaying and refining. By this single regulation it is evident a saving will ensue to the merchant, when the money refined happens to differ from the required standard; a case that must frequently occur & of which there is now an instance in the mint
6. That as soon as a competent number of assays can be made, the prices for all bullion usually imported shall be adjusted with the most scrupulous exactness to the mint produce and assay, whereby the merchant may judge at a glance of his eye whether he shall reap more advantage by disposing of his bullion to the mint for ready money or by waiting the time prescribed for coinage.
7. That previous to adjusting the price of bullion, it will be expedient to fix upon some invariable standard for the sicca by which alone the real value of bullion to the purchaser can be ascertained, the iniquitous practices of shroffs in enhancing the price of silver beyond its intrinsic worth prevented & the frivolous unjust clamours raised by artifice against the quality of the Calcutta rupees effectively silenced.
8. That the Mint Master shall introduce some improvement in the method practiced of casting bullion into ingots, whereby a considerable loss ensues to the merchant, distinguished among the minters by the name of nearah.
9. That an immediate reduction take place of the monthly charge incurred by unnecessary servants about the mint, a charge which in the space of three years has increased, if I am not mistaken, from little more than twenty to thirty six thousand rupees per annum & which will continually decrease as the mint approaches perfection.
10. That all the necessary regulations for the coinage of gold be established with the same degree of accuracy & to the same advantage as silver. A branch of mintage with which we are at present perfectly unacquainted [with] to the great prejudice of merchants who are obliged to dispose of their Chequins & Ducats to considerable disadvantage or run the hazard & expense of sending their gold to be coined at Muxadabad, by which the Company also are deprived of their duties

During 1765, Campbell worked hard to implement his regulations and to finally get the mint onto a professional and profitable basis and in this he appears to have succeeded so well that by September 1765 he was able to inform the Council that the mint was now more profitable than it had ever been⁶⁵

The accompanying accounts will explain the advantages to the Company & the publick arising from the late regulations established in the mint for the particulars of which I had the honor to present to the Board in the month of January last.

It is difficult to render descriptions of the several processes used intelligible to persons who are not conversant with the business of coinage. I apprehend therefore the most satisfactory exemplification of the above regulations will be

to show that they are profitable. Accordingly I have stated the charges and profits on coinage for this & the preceding year, by comparing which it appears that a clear gain of 461399.11 arises from the mint, besides the duty to the Governor & Mint Master, and the profits are encreased this year to the amount of 18887.3.6

Of this sum the Company gain by duty & the extraordinary produce of their own moneyer 13,000 rupees & the merchants the remainder, being a neat [nett?] gain more than ever produced at any former period.

It further appears from the accompanying accounts that the Company's own coinage for this year exceeds that of the proceeding by 856,599.13.3 besides near double this sum of encreased coinage for the merchants as is evident from the encreased dutys. Yet are the extraordinary charges for coinage no more than 2053.8.8. Hence it is demonstrable there must have been a great reduction of charges, an article which likewise ought to be brought to the Company's credit.

All these particulars will be further explained by the assay book, which I now have the honor to lay before you. This diary shows the daily issue and receipt of money, the time it is detained in the mint, the fineness of the metal entered & the neat [nett?] produce delivered. By this measure every proprietor of bullion is enabled to determine whether he has received the full amount either by comparing the produce with the assay, or with the produce of the same money at the mints of Bombay & Madras, which will prove the easiest method unless he is skilled in calculations of this nature.

Permit me, my Lord & gentlemen, to request that the papers which I now lay before the Board, the memorial I delivered in January last, the assay book, & my letter to the Select Committee on the subject of batta now before you, may all be transmitted to England by the Admiral Steevens, where by consulting the Tower office, the Honble Court of Directors may be satisfied of the nature of the improvements I have made, and how far my appointment to the direction of the mint has answered expectation.

I must beg leave to observe further that I begin the accounts from the month of June in order to complete the year, altho' I was not appointed Mint Master until the month of November. Yet, as Mr Middleton left the whole business to my direction, I claim to myself the merit of all advantages obtained for the Company from the time I first took charge of the Assay Office.

In the middle of 1765, the battle of Buxar between the British and Shah Alam II, supported by the Nawab of Awadh, led to the East India Company being granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in consequence, control of all the mints in those territories, including Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. The focus of attention shifted to the problems created by the *batta* system and how to ensure the outputs of the various mints were identical, as well as the shortage of silver for the mint, a story for another time.

Conclusion

In conclusion therefore, the EIC mint of Calcutta was established in 1757 and initially produced rupees (and possibly mohurs) with the mint name Alinagar Kalkutta. Later in 1757, following the battle of Plassey, they obtained the right to strike coins with the mint name Kalkutta but they found great difficulty in getting these coins into circulation. In 1761 they obtained the right to mint coins with the mint name Murshidabad and they continued to strike coins with this mint name throughout the time under consideration. However, they also began to strike rupees with the mint name Arcot and these coins appear to have represented a large proportion of the mint output. By 1765 a new Mint Master had managed to get the mint onto a more professional and profitable basis just as the Board of Directors in London began to question the *batta* system and the battle of Buxar led to the acquisition of more mints in the Bengal Presidency.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Stan Goron, Nick Rhodes and Shailendra Bhandare for many helpful discussions and ideas as well as photos shown in this paper.

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- ² Hill SC (Ed) (1905). Indian Records Series. Bengal in 1756-1757. A Selection of Public and Private Papers Dealing with the Affairs of the British in Bengal During the Reign of Siraj-UdDaula. John Murray, Albemarle Street. Vol II. p126. Proposals to the Nawab enclosed in letter from Clive to Coja Wajid, dated 21st January 1757
- ³ Hill, *ibid*, p127. Translation of Coja Wajid's reply to the Gentlemen of Council, Chandernagore
- ⁴ Sinha HN (Ed) (1957), Fort William-India House Correspondence, Vol II (1757-59), Government of India pp179-180
- ⁵ Sinha, *Ibid*, p201. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 1st February 1757
- ⁶ Hill, *ibid*, p214. Letter from Ranjit Rai to Colonel Clive, dated 6th February 1757
- ⁷ Hill, *ibid*, p214. Letter from Colonel Clive to the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, dated Camp, 6th February, 1757
- ⁸ Hill, *ibid*, pp215-217. The Treaty as finally signed by the Nawab on the 9th February, 1757.
- ⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p43 (also numbered 47), 14th February 1757
- ¹⁰ Hill, *ibid*, p225 Letter from Select Committee Fort William, to Mr Watts dated 16th February 1757
- ¹¹ Sinha, *Ibid*, p206. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 23rd February 1757
- ¹² Hill, *Ibid*, p278. Letter from Mr Watts to the Select Committee, Fort William, dated Moorshedabad, 10 March, 1757.
- ¹³ Hill, *ibid*, p320. Letter from Clive to Nawab dated 10th April, 1757
- ¹⁴ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p106-7. 28th April 1757
- ¹⁵ Hill, *ibid*, p359. Letter from the Nawab to Colonel Clive, dated 26th April, 1757
- ¹⁶ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p112 (also called p76), 27th April 1757
- ¹⁷ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p167. 13th June 1757
- ¹⁸ The number of 4000 is confirmed by an report from Calcutta to the Court of Directors (Sinha, *ibid*, pp273-275. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 10th January 1758)
...*This Committee on the 4th July informed the Board they had coined four thousand (4000) siccas from Mexico dollar bullion and that as soon as they had made a trial of two or three sorts of bullion, they would deliver in their report...*
- ¹⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p199. 4th July 1757
- ²⁰ Reported in SCMB 1949 p372. Described as: unique gold mohur of Alamgir II regn. Year 4 with mint name Alinagar Calcutta. From a talk presented by Dr. R.B. Whitehead No Photo, & whereabouts of coin now unknown
- ²¹ Hill, *Ibid*, p459. Letter from Clive to the Secret Committee London, dated Muxadavad, 26th July 1757
- ²² Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/30, p9-10. Translation of a Sunnud under the seal of Jaffer Ally Cawn, 15th July 1757
- ²³ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p259, 4th August 1757
- ²⁴ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/32, p715.
A slightly different translation occurs in this extract
Translation of the Nabob's Pervannah for a mint in Calcutta To the Noblest of Merchants, the English Company, be the Royal Favour. In Calcutta a mint is established. You shall coin gold & silver of equal weight and fineness with the Ashrefees & Rupees of Murshidabad in the name of Calcutta. In the subahs of Bengala, Bahar & Orissa, they shall be current & they shall pass in the Royal Treasury. And no person shall demand or insist on a discount upon them.
- Dated the 11th of the month [Zilkada] in the 4th year [28th July, 1757]
- ²⁵ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p255. 4th August 1757
- ²⁶ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p261. 8th August 1757
- ²⁷ Sinha, *ibid*, p249. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 20th August 1757
- ²⁸ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p330. 26th September 1757
- ²⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p331. 26th September 1757
- ³⁰ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p339. 3rd October 1757
- ³¹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p383. 24th October 1757
- ³² Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/29, p384. 24th October 1757
- ³³ Kathotia IK (2006), JONS 188, p23. See also Rhodes N (1999), ONS NL, 159, p15-16
- ³⁴ Sinha, *ibid*, pp273-275. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 10th January 1758
- ³⁵ Sinha, *Ibid*, p314/15. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 27th February 1758
- ³⁶ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/30, p266. Mint account for December 1757, Jan & Feb 1758
- ³⁷ Sinha, *ibid*, pp79-80. Letter from Court to Bengal dated 3rd March 1758
- ³⁸ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/30, p389. At a Committee meeting called to decide what to do about the letter from the Board in London, not clearly dated but about 27th November 1758
- ³⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/30, p232. 6th July 1758
- ⁴⁰ Sinha, *Ibid*, p444. Letter from Bengal to Court dated 29th December 1759
- ⁴¹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/32, p263. 9th June 1760
- ⁴² Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/32, p712. 25th November 1760
- ⁴³ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/32, p846. 31st December 1760
- ⁴⁴ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/33, p291. 16th March 1761
- ⁴⁵ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/33, p465. 22nd June 1761
- ⁴⁶ Sethi RR (Ed) (1968), Fort William-India House Correspondence, Vol III (1760-63), Government of India p359. Letter from Bengal to Court, dated 12th November 1761.
- ⁴⁷ Sethi, *ibid*.
- ⁴⁸ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/33, p829. 14th September 1761
- ⁴⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/33, p1065. 5th November 1761
- ⁵⁰ Sethi, *ibid*.
- ⁵¹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/34, p23. 21st January 1762
- ⁵² Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/34, p143/220. 1st March 1762
- ⁵³ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/36, p389. 21st November 1763
- ⁵⁴ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/35, p18. 21st December 1762
- ⁵⁵ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/35, p140. 24th January 1763
- ⁵⁶ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/36, p168. 11th July 1763
- ⁵⁷ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/36, p389. 21st November 1763
- ⁵⁸ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, p390. 30th October 1764
- ⁵⁹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, p425. 15th November 1764
- ⁶⁰ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, p400. 1st November 1764
- ⁶¹ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, facing p422. 12th November 1764

- ⁶² Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, p425. 15th November 1764
- ⁶³ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, facing p442. 19th November 1764. Letter from the Assay Master (Alex Campbell) to Bengal Council, dated 17th November, 1764
- ⁶⁴ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/37, facing p449. 22nd November 1764
- ⁶⁵ Bengal Public Consutations. IOR P/1/38, p370 also numbered p737. 25th September 1765

THE "WHITENING" OF TIBETAN TANGKAS IN THE DODE MINT

By Wolfgang Bertsch

After striking, the Tibetan silver tangkas received a special treatment which made them appear white and contributed to the creation of their popular name in Tibetan: *tang ka dkar po* ("white tangka"). This layer of white colour normally disappeared when the coins had circulated for some while. However, occasionally one can see specimens which still have the original aspect which they must have had after treatment. Below, I illustrate one example of a Kong-par tangka, dated 15-24 (AD 1790) and one example of an undated Gaden tangka which are almost uncirculated and show the original white colour. The whitened Kong-par tangka is evidence for the fact that the treatment of the coins with a specially prepared solution must have been common practice already much earlier than 1921 when it was recorded by Charles Bell. Considering that the Kong-par tangkas dated 15-24 and 15-25 (AD 1890 and 1891) probably continued to be struck for several years after 1890, we can assume that the practice of whitening the Tibetan tangka coins started already around 1900 or, at the latest, in 1907, when the Dode (*dog bde*) mint started operating (Rhodes, 1978, p. 3). Walsh, writing in 1906, reports that he found some specimens of Kong-par tangkas with the date 15-25 which looked as though they had been recently struck (Walsh, 1906, p. 15). Probably the Kong-par tangka with the date 15-24 also continued to be struck until well into the 20th century and was whitened, as can be seen on the specimen which I illustrate as fig. 1.

The whitening process was described by Charles Bell in his unpublished diary under January 9, 1921 (I am grateful to Nicholas Rhodes, who kindly made this extract from Bell's diary available to me):

"With Kennedy and MacDonald visited Mint at Do-te, 7 miles from Lhasa on the road to Changtang via Sera Monastery and the Pem-La.

We are received with the utmost hospitality by the two managers of the mint at Do-te and their staff, among whom is Ismael, who was the first Indian to come to Lhasa and manufacture arms and ammunition for the Tibetan Government. The mint is divided into upper and lower positions in close proximity to each other and in the same enclosure. Both are managed by elderly monks, one a Ken-chen, the other a Ken-chung, each of whom appears shrewd and capable, and each is very friendly towards us.

The mint turns out silver and copper coins, ngu-sangs and tangkas among the former, che-gye and kar-ma-nga among the latter. The only mechanical power is that of a large water wheel, driven by the stream hard by. It works a machine on each side; the remaining thirty or forty machines being worked by hand. It would seem that by using belts a good many more of the machines could be harnessed to the water-wheel.

There are about 80 to 100 men and women at work. They receive for the most part 1½ tangkas (6 annas) a day and no extras. There are four holidays in each month, i.e. 8th, 15th and two last days of each month, but no pay is given on holidays.

The machinery has all been made in Tibet; it is crude but does the work sufficiently well. The copper comes from Tibet and India; the former is in lumps, the latter is in sheets and easier to work.

I am told that the tangkas are ⅔ silver and ⅓ copper. To whiten them they are first mixed with a kind of stone¹⁰⁰ - that is found on the hill close by - in boiling water, this takes the dirt of them. They are then mixed with lumps of borax in another cauldron of boiling water, which has a chalky appearance. From this cauldron they emerge very white, though a good deal of the whiteness comes off, I am told, after they have been a few years in circulation."

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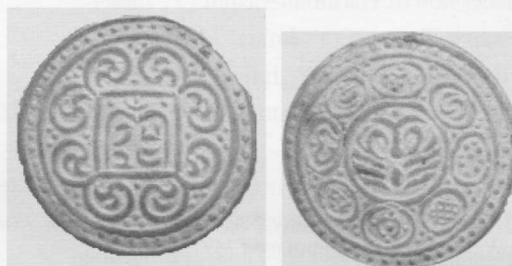


Fig. 1 Kong par tangka, dated 15-24 (AD 1890)



Fig. 2 Gaden tangka, Rhodes type F IX (Rhodes, 1983), probably struck between 1912 and 1918.

ANOTHER COIN OF FIRUZ SHAH SURI

By Stan Goron & Paul Stevens



When Islam Shah Suri died in AH 960 (AD 1552) the nobles enthroned his 12-year old son, Firuz, at Gwalior to succeed him. His reign lasted but a month as Islam Shah's nephew, Mubariz

¹⁰⁰ The Director Geological survey of India informs me that this stone is Pyritiferous (FeS₂) sandstone or powdery quartzite. He adds "It is possible that the decomposed pyrite is partly sulphate. This, when boiled in water, hydrolizes giving free sulphuric acid, which, having an acid action, attaches [sic] the surface of silver and so 'cleans it'".

Khan, went to Gwalior, seized Firuz and killed him, ascending the throne as Muhammad 'Adil Shah.

In *Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, the authors published and illustrated the only coin of Firuz then known. Another specimen in

better condition has now come to light which shows some more of the obverse legend. In the upper line the words *shāh sulṭān* can be clearly seen. The coin weighs 20.53 g.

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