



ONS News

Members' News

Shams Eshragh receives prize

On 28 May, which coincided with World Museum and Cultural Heritage Day, at a ceremony performed in Chehelsotoun Palace and Museum, Isfahan, Shams Eshragh received a prize from Dr Zāker Isfahani, Governor-General of Isfahan province, for his recently published book *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* (reviewed in JONS 202). Our congratulations to Shams on this award.



Shams Eshragh receiving his prize

Michael Robinson has copies for sale of his two publications with Lewis Shaw. The price of *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma* will shortly rise to £32 but he is offering it to ONS members at the reduced price of £20 including surface postage. He also has copies of their booklet *The Die Varieties of Nineteenth Century Burmese Copper Coins* for £5 including postage. In addition there are some books on Burmese history and numismatic books on various oriental and non-oriental topics. For further information please contact him at michael-robinson@tynonline.co.uk

Annual ONS Meeting Utrecht 16 October 2010

The annual meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society in the Netherlands will be held on Saturday, 16 October 2010, at the premises of the Geldmuseum (Money Museum) Leidseweg 90, Utrecht. Members from continental Europe will receive information separately with this Journal. All others and those who have not received the programme for the meeting can find it at the ONS website (www.onsnumis.org).

The program of lectures has not yet been finalised, but presentations on Sasanian, Islamic and Indian subjects are foreseen.

In addition, the Geldmuseum has, as always, some very interesting exhibitions. These exhibitions can be viewed during the lunch-break, when the museum library, too, can be visited. As is the tradition, at the end of the meeting a small auction of oriental coins and related books will be held. The proceeds of this auction is a welcome addition to ONS funds. All the lots of this auction will, be uploaded to the ZENO.RU Oriental Coins Database, by the middle of September.

Members who wish to attend the meeting are invited to contact Jan Lingen, the Regional Secretary for continental Europe, lingen@wxs.nl no later than 12 October 2010.

ONS Meeting Cologne

The regular meeting in Cologne is planned for Saturday, 13 November 2010. For more information, please contact Mr N. Ganske (e-mail: nikolaus.ganske@ra-ganske.de).

New Members

No new members are reported for this issue.

Lists Received and Auction News

1. [REDACTED]

New and Recent Publications

A catalogue of the Islamic gold coinage of the first three centuries of the Hijra era has just been published, entitled *Arabic Gold Coins. Corpus I*. The author is Giulio Bernardi. Cloth-bound, A4, 410 pp, well-illustrated. The book is published by EUT (Edizioni Università Trieste). ISBN: 978-88-8303-284-4 Price: 80 € plus shipping.

This first volume covers the period from the Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan, until the deposition of the Abbasid caliph, al-Mustakfi at the beginning of the Buwayhid domination (AH 334 / AD 946), with a comprehensive compilation and guide analysing in detail all issues listed with their rulers, mints and dates. About 20,000 examples from about 500 collections are meticulously recorded, with illustrations and legends provided. The author has also added indications of the coins' availability and rarity.

Purchases can be made through Giulio Bernardi S.R.L., via Roma 3, I 34121 Trieste (Italy). www.numismaticabernardi.com; e-mail: [REDACTED]

Other News

Islamic Reference Works Change Ownership

The copyrights of two important publications in the field of Islamic numismatics have been acquired by Celator, Inc., a registered corporation in the state of Wisconsin. Wayne G. Sayles, president of Celator, Inc. made the announcement on 22 May 2010 following the signing of an agreement with Emine Nur Diler, widow of the acclaimed Turkish numismatist, Ömer Diler. The works involved in this transfer of ownership include *Ilkhans: Coinage of the Persian Mongols*, published in 2006 (now out of print) and *Islamic Mints: Islam Darp Yerleri*, published in 2009. The first of these two extraordinary works, *Ilkhans*, is a 655 page + 12 colour-plate large format study of more than 7,000 types and variations known to the author. It is a work that is unparalleled in this field and will undoubtedly be the standard reference for many years to come. *Islamic Mints* is a magnum opus of 1,818 pages in three volumes detailing every known mint in the Islamic world. The bibliography alone lists some 2,000 works.

Ömer Diler was educated as a chemical engineer, but became interested in coins at the age of 27 when he received a rare Ottoman gold coin as a gift. Primarily a collector in his early years, Diler evolved into a consummate researcher and scholar. Sayles first became acquainted with Diler and his wife, Emine Nur, at their home in Alanya in the early 1990s. He and the late William F. Spengler were travelling in Turkey at the time doing research for their book *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography*. Ömer Diler died on 18 March 2005.

Note: The Celator journal, formerly published by Celator, Inc. is now owned and published by Paradigm Numismatics and Publishing, Inc. and is not a party to this agreement.

Book reviews

Auspicious Symbols and Ancient Coins of Myanmar by Than Htun (Dedaye), published 2007 by Avahouse Sdn Bhd, Selangor, Malaysia. ISBN 978-983-43555-1-7; paperback, 222 pages, 330 Plates in text, mostly in colour, 2 insert maps. Price: starting at 60 US dollars

The author is from Myanmar (Burma) and has been studying Burmese coins for twenty-five years. This book is the fruit of his labours. On the one hand he has the advantage of first-hand knowledge of coin finds in Burma over several years, and yet at the same time the disadvantage of not being able to keep fully abreast of developments outside Burma. It appears that in Burma there are very few numismatists, philately being more popular. As such, his book deserves every encouragement.

The book itself is well produced from a technical point of view, on good quality paper. The large number of plates are generally quite good, if sometimes rather on the dark side. Where there are multiple images on one plate the captioning is not always very clear and there are a few errors. The English has many minor mistakes in spelling and grammar but these do not cause any problems.

By far the greatest part of the book is devoted to the ancient symbolic coins of Burma (rising sun, throne/temple, bull coins of Arakan etc.) and there is also much discussion of the meaning of

the symbols. Useful information on find spots is given, including some Umayyad coins found at Sriksetra. For this alone the book is indispensable for students of ancient Burmese coins.

There is much less emphasis on the lead and tin coins of Pegu and Tenasserim, although they make an appearance here and there. Coins which are purely inscriptional, such as the silver of Arakan from the 15th to 18th century, are barely mentioned. There is an accidental inclusion of one quite modern piece, shown on page 58 and unfamiliar to the author. It is in fact a pattern Japanese coin from World War II which I discussed in an article in the Spink Numismatic Circular in 1982.

Also included are the coins of Bodawpaya to Thibaw, marking the end of the Konbaung dynasty in 1885, and the book closes with a discussion of forgeries and foreign coins found in Burma. The section dealing with the coins of Mindon and Thibaw unfortunately contains a large number of errors which could be very confusing to anyone new to the subject. Some are listed below but I hope I may be permitted to recommend chapters 8 to 11 of my book with Lewis Shaw, *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma*, for a clearer presentation of this period.

P179 The Buddhist date 2325 equates in Burma to AD 1781/2, the accession year of Bodawpaya, not 1852/3.

P180 The quotes from Richard Temple are erroneous, see our book for the correct information.

Pp181-2 The book states that the peacock coins were issued in 1852-3 whereas it was November 1865. Although the correct Burmese year 1227 is given under the picture of the Mint, the AD date would not be clear on a casual reading to someone new to the subject. A brief explanation of the Burmese year, eg that 1227 is from April 1865 to April 1866, would have been helpful.

P183 Mindon's copper coins are stated to be equivalent to 1/32 of a kyat; this should be 1/64.

P185 The lion gold coins were issued in BE 1228, not 1247, there are four not five denominations, and they were struck one year, not fourteen, after the gold peacocks. The date of 1214 on the peacocks is the accession year (see comment above).

P190 the date 1290 at the top of the page should be 1240.

My other criticism of the book is with the references. The list starting on page 212 contains many which are incomplete, for example missing the date. This is the case with references to my own book, where my co-author is also confused with William Shaw. Even when a date is given it is sometimes merely the date of a reprint, not the original. There is also often little or no link between the references in the list and the text itself. This makes it impossible to trace and follow up on any interesting statement made in the text. Finally, many recent relevant numismatic publications are not mentioned at all: there is for instance nothing from the ONS Newsletter/Journal. This is perhaps understandable given the author's isolated position.

In conclusion, then, the book is to be welcomed as a valuable addition of source material on ancient Burmese coins, and indeed also on the more modern coins. There is for example on page 180 a new small denomination of Mindon's *shwepyisoe* coins dated 2396, although the weight is not given. The reader should, however, ideally come to the book already having some knowledge of the subject.

Michael Robinson

Index Geographicus Indicus: being a list...of the Principal Places....Indian Empire, with notes.....With Maps by J F Baness.

This recent reprint by Newman and Co of Calcutta of a 112 page index of place names with over 200 pages of sundry notes, first published in 1881, is available in paperback from Amazon for around £18. The author was the chief draftsman with the Survey of India. Most of the data in it is nowadays also available in the official Gazetteers, which, being available on line, are now accessible to most coin collectors. There are statistics and notes in this book that are not all in the Gazetteers, and it has some value as a place-finder. In the original, there are a number of

maps, one for each section, that open out concertina-like. These contain all the places in the lists, and much of the value of this publication in relation to this hobby relies on the maps. Unfortunately, the maps were scanned into the reprint without being opened, and they are therefore worthless. If anybody can think of a dafter way to scan maps, I would be interested to hear about it. The description of this work in the advertising material does not mention this fact, and it is easy to believe that the buyer will get a useful reference work, but his hopes are certain to be disappointed because of that one incredible omission. If the 1881 original can be found at a reasonable price, it would probably be worth purchasing for the place list and maps.

Barry Tabor

Articles

THE STANDING CALIPH COINS OF DAMASCUS: NEW DIE LINKS – NEW QUESTIONS

By Ingrid Schulze

The Standing Caliph coins were introduced in Bilād al-Shām during ‘Abd al-Malik’s first money reform in the early 690s. They show the caliph on the obverse and the symbol on steps¹ on the reverse. Till now 17 named mints are known on Standing Caliph coins. In particular the coins attributed to the Umayyad capital, Damascus, raise a lot of problems, as will be demonstrated in this article.

The overwhelming majority of the Standing Caliph coins of Damascus are struck on flans with a diameter of about 17–18mm. The descriptions in the literature are content with the remark “blundered legends”. Beginning with the more interesting reverses of some selected examples² a closer look at the inscriptions and the images themselves leads to the following results:



Fig. 1: Typical reverses³

The marginal legend is the *shahāda* with some very special features:

The *lam-alif* ligature is turned 90° to the right or to the left at 1h and 2h.

The words *ilāh* and/or *allāh* are sometimes written retrograde at 1h (a) or at 1h and 3h (b).

Most striking and enigmatic is the sign \Rightarrow at 8h. In the position just before *rasūl* one would expect to read *muḥammad*. Walker mentions this unusual way of writing⁴, but might be wrong with his interpretation: he reads the “turned” *lam-alif* at 11h as the final *allāh*; but it is more probable that this is the beginning of the *shahāda* instead of usually at 1h – consequently the final *allāh* is missing. In addition the sign \Rightarrow could also serve as an

“abbreviation” of *wahdahu*. In the mint name *dimashq* the initial *dal* is missing on most of the coins.



Fig. 2: Typical obverses

The obverses too show the *shahāda*, again with the “turned” *lam-alif* – (b) at 1h, and the particular \Rightarrow – (c) at 8h. The figure, itself, is characterised by its headdress looking like a middle parting.

A closer look to the “girdle band” shows some details which seem to be unique:

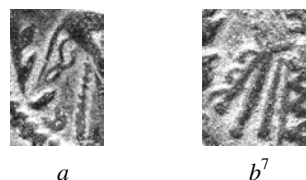


Fig. 3: Examples of “girdle band” details

On (a) the depiction of the object in question is like a wing, coming from the shoulder; (b) shows an additional decoration at the left strand looking like barbs.

To summarise: the majority of the Standing Caliph coins of Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads, do not mention the caliph’s name or title – as about 50% of the whole series do – but have the *shahāda* on both sides of the coin, probably with the final *allāh* missing, *ilāh* and/or *allāh* sometimes written retrograde, and the words *muḥammad* and/or *wahdahu* garbled beyond recognition. Additional details occur which are not known from any other series of Standing Caliph coins. Several die links are to be observed within this group. However, despite the faults in writing, the engraving looks to be carefully executed, and the coins are usually struck on neat, round flans.

Some other coins, connected by style to the described group:



¹ The mints of the jund Filastin form an exception: here the cursive **m** – adapted from Byzantine prototypes – remained in use.

² The examples shown in fig. 1 to 3 are picked out from different coins; obverses, reverses and details do not correspond to each other.

³ The size of all pictured coins is scaled about 1.5:1. The coins are from the Schulze collection if not otherwise stated.

⁴ John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, London 1956, p. 27 no. 88.

⁵ Private collection UK.

⁶ Other specimens from this die are SICA no. 709 – Tony Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, Volume 1: *The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford 2002, and Walker no. 89.

⁷ Same die as Bellinger no. 549 – Alfred Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928-1934*, NNM no. 81, New York 1938.



Fig. 4: Obverses a and b from the same die; reverse (a) with mint name, reverse (b) with star instead⁸



Fig. 5: Obverses a and b from the same die; reverses in different blundered style



Fig. 6: Tiny coins with 14mm diameter



Fig. 7: Obviously irregular coins imitating the described group

Finally there is also a stylistic relation to the mule with a standing emperor obverse and a standing caliph reverse, recently presented and discussed by Ramadan¹⁰.

⁸ Comparable combinations are to observe for the Standing Caliph coins of Amman and Qinnasrin.

⁹ Private collection UK.

¹⁰ Tareq Ramadan, "A rare Arab-Byzantine Hybrid coin of Damascus: an intriguing "mule" bearing a Standing Emperor obverse and a Sphere through pole-on-steps reverse", *ONSJ* 203, pp. 43 and 44.

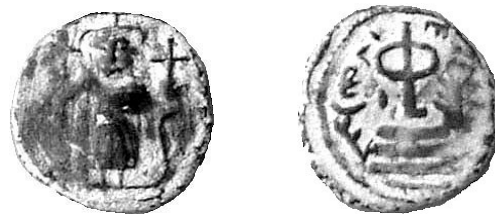


Fig. 8: "Mule" with standing emperor obverse and standing caliph reverse¹¹

To show the complexity of the subject it should be mentioned that there are also mules the other way round:



Fig. 9: "Mule" with standing caliph obverse and Umayyad Imperial Image reverse¹²

This combination exists from different dies. No die links have yet been identified between the normal Standing Caliph coins and either of these mules.

Last but not least I would like to present the die links, promised in the title:

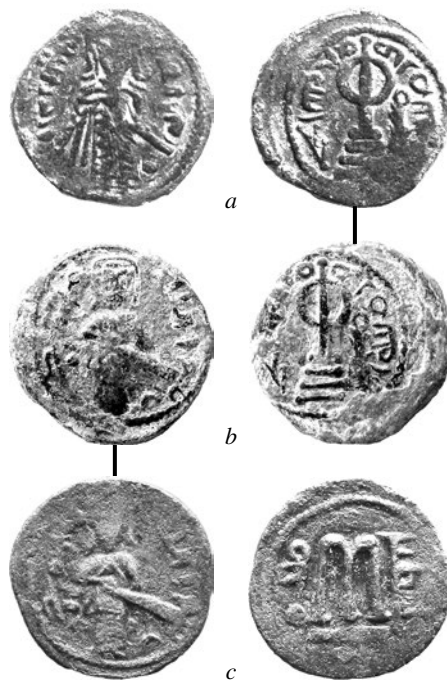


Fig. 10: Surprising die links

This linkage, discovered recently by a stroke of good fortune, seems to show nearly all the coins presented so far in a different light:

The reverse of coin (a) is already known from fig.1 (a); coin (b)¹³ with the same reverse shows an obverse with the inscription

¹¹ Goodwin collection. A similar "mule" is known from Yubna, cf. Khalili p. 199 nos. 1-3 – Tony Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage: Studies in the Khalili Collection*, Volume IV, London 2005.

¹² Collection of the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion, Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, 44679.

¹³ Goodwin collection. I am very grateful to Tony Goodwin for granting me the right of publication. See also Walker no. 91.

muḥammad / rasūl allāh. This obverse legend is the rule for the Standing Caliph coins from the mints in Filastin, with one significant difference: on the specimens of Filastin the word *rasūl* is divided with the *ra* remaining on the left side. Coin (c)¹⁴ from the same obverse die as (b) shows a “Filastin reverse” with the typical cursive *m* instead of the symbol on steps and *filastin* written to the right of the *m*. The word to the left remains an enigma: it might be read as *manjam* in the meaning of “mine” or “source”, but does not give a hint to a concrete location.¹⁵

If we considered coins (b) and (c) in isolation we would have no doubts about attributing them to an irregular mint, and if we do so, most of the Standing Caliph coins, hitherto attributed to Damascus, have to follow. In the forthcoming die study of the “Pseudo-Damascus” mint¹⁶ we will see a similar phenomenon: a lot of Umayyad Imperial Image coins attributed to Damascus will have to be re-attributed to the “Pseudo-Damascus” mint due to die links.

If we start from the premise that the majority of the Standing Caliph coins, naming *dimashq* as minting place were NOT struck there, the next question is inevitable: which coins finally were struck in Damascus?

Another isolated, larger group naming *dimashq* are the so-called “Amman-related” Standing Caliph coins:



Fig. 11: Examples of “Amman-related” coins

These coins are called “Amman-related” because they show some features typical for Amman: sometimes the robe is short with visible legs, and, on the reverse, the legend and/or mint name are written retrograde. Badly struck (b) and (c) share the same obverse. The attribution of these coins to the official mint of Damascus seems dubious as well.

There are another two coin types:



Fig. 12: A regular coin of Damascus?

This coin is carefully engraved with *bism allāh* preceding the *shahāda* and naming the caliph and his title – with one serious

flaw: the legend has changed sides and ‘Abd al-Malik’s name appears beside the symbol on steps and not – as usual – together with the figure. At least two different obverse and reverse dies are known with this interchange¹⁹.



Fig. 13: Examples of regular coins of Damascus

Finally only the coins of fig. 13 have the appearance of regular coins from the mint of Damascus: The obverse legend is *li-‘abd allāh ‘abd al-malik amīr al-mu’minīn*, the reverse legend is the *shahāda*, and the mint name is written correctly with the initial *dal*. The diameter of these coins is 22mm. They are extremely rare²¹, so that the output of the Umayyad capital seems to be comparable to the mint of Ba’albak – meagre.

The surprising die links, presented in fig. 10, make the attribution of most of the coins with *dimashq* to the mint of Damascus questionable. Presumably some other mints produced different groups of coins in the name of Damascus. Due to the fact that, on coins bearing the mint name of the Umayyad capital Damascus, the caliph’s name is missing we should consider the possibility that they were not struck under control of the central administration in Damascus but in a region governed with some independence. The stylistic connections to the mint of Amman and the die link to a coin in “Filastin style” point to a location to the south of Damascus, possibly to al-Urdunn, from where until now no Standing Caliph coins are known.

However, we also know of a stylistic relationship to the mint of Hims to the north of Damascus:



Fig. 14: Stylistic relationship in the obverses of a coin of Damascus (a) and Hims (b)²²

¹⁴ A second known specimen is in the Goussous collection in the Ahlibank of Amman – publication forthcoming in Yarmouk Numismatics.

¹⁵ Many thanks to Stefan Heidemann, Robert Hoyland and Lutz Ilisch for sparing time to think about this word.

¹⁶ Tony Goodwin and Rika Gyselen, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Collection of the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion, Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, 8443.

¹⁸ Collection of the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion, Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, 44921.

¹⁹ cf. Walker no. 122 and SICA no. 715.

²⁰ Collection of the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion, Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, 8444.

²¹ For example: There is none of this type in SICA, one in Walker (no. 121, same dies as fig. 13 (a)) and one in Khalili (p. 46 no. 57, same obverse die as fig. 13 (b)).

²² Both coins Goodwin collection.

The images of the obverses seem to have been cut by the same hand. The Hims coin (b) has the “regular” legend naming the caliph and his title. However, the large-module Damascus coin shows the *shahāda* on both sides.

As we have seen, the few selected groups of Standing Caliph coins bearing the mint name Damascus raise some new questions because they show a lot of irregularities in the legends, inscriptions and images; there are stylistic relationships to other mint places and mules. Currently we have no definitive explanations for these phenomena. Up to now it would appear that the mint name *dimashq* does not necessarily point to the Umayyad capital, but possibly to the province of Damascus. Unfortunately the size and the scope of the Umayyad provinces are not known; we only have unclear documentary sources from the ninth and tenth century²³.

This article aims to put a question mark against the attribution of most of the Standing Caliph coins with the mint name *dimashq* to this city. It opens the door for a new approach to the structure of mint places of these coins. The initial impetus for this article was the discovery of the die link shown in fig. 10, but, as this short survey has shown, the majority of Damascus Standing Caliph coins are to some extent “irregular”. What is now required is a comprehensive die study and an analysis of stylistic connections between the various groups of coins.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to Tony Goodwin for his valuable help and wise advice, to Andrew Oddy, Susan Tyler-Smith and Marcus Phillips for their input during our meetings, and to my husband, Wolfgang, for his patience and support.

A NEW ABBASID MINT

By Yahya Jafar

It is my pleasure to report yet another new Abbasid mint that appears on an important dirhem struck in “al-Dayr” in AH 184 (please see the next page for an illustration of the coin); “al-Dayr”²⁴ is a generic name that means “the Monastery” in Arabic and is defined as a community of Christian monks that includes at least one church. There are many such monasteries known during the Abbasid period (AH 132-656) that continued to function after the Islamic invasions of Syria, Iraq and Egypt where they mostly existed on river banks such as the rivers Tigris and the Euphrates or on higher hills for security purposes. In fact, various books by Arab scholars list many such “al-Diyarat” by “al-Shabisti”. Alcohol was permitted inside these communities, as they were Christian; hence drinking houses were available there for the enjoyment of any visitors who wished to take advantage of that. This, of course, was accompanied by music, singing and dancing. Thus, this was not only an important contribution to the entertainment structure of the time but it also generated revenue for the monks in addition to what they earned from agriculture.

At first sight and without anything specifying which “Dayr” is being referred to on the coin, one is rightly tempted to classify this mint as yet another one of many enigmatic Islamic mints which appear on coins the locations of which remain undetermined. However, looking into some of the events of the year AH 184, it appears that the Abbasid caliph, Harūn al-Rashīd (AH 170-193), was in the city of al-Riqqa²⁵ in Syria then. He is known to have spent many summers there escaping the heat of Baghdad. In fact,

he built a palace there called “Dar al-Salam”, where he was usually accompanied by his favorite cousin wife Zubaida (d. AH 226), also known as Umm Ja‘far, the daughter of Abī al-Faḍl Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr (d. AH 186). On their journey to al-Riqqa they would presumably pass some monasteries, the most famous of which is Dayr al-Rumman²⁶ (modern name: Dayr al-Zour) which is mentioned and described in Mu‘jam al-Buldan by Yaḥyā al-Hamawī as “A large city with markets situated between al-Riqqa and the al-Khabur river, on the caravan route from Iraq to Syria”

Today, Dayr al-Zour is a town located on the Euphrates river in Syria in a province of the same name. Like many cities in Syria, it has been known to exist, although by different names, at least, since Akkadian times. During Roman times, it was an important trading post between the Roman Empire and the East, and it was later on the caravan routes from Baghdad to Aleppo and from Damascus to Mosul etc. Dayr al-Rumman was, however, destroyed by the Mongols in their westward conquests but was resurrected by the Ottomans, provided with a proper administrative structure and became officially known as Dayr al-Zour from then onwards.

Dayr al-Zour or Dayr al-Rumman is approximately 125 km east of the old important town of al-Riqqa, also located on the Euphrates river, which was frequented by the caliph al-Rashīd (AH 170-193) who built an important palace there called Qaṣr al-Salām Ja‘far. Dayr al-Rumman was probably a resting place for the caliphal convoy. Although I cannot be certain, I suggest that the “al-Dayr”, cited on the present dirhem, is the old Dayr al-Rumman, the current Dayr al-Zour. It is interesting that, even today, it is simply referred to by its inhabitants as “al-Dayr”.

The inscription on the coin suggests that its minting was ordered by Zubaida, Umm Ja‘far through her servant, Yasir. Zubaida was one of the most powerful ladies in the Abbasid court and the favourite of the caliph, Harūn al-Rashīd. She managed to convince the caliph to announce her son al-Amīn (AH 193-198) to be nominated first heir in preference to his older paternal brother, al-Ma‘mūn (AH 198-218). She was the only Quraishi to bear a caliph and, on this dirhem, she boasts of her noble Quraishi Hashemite ancestry, being Umm Ja‘far, daughter of Abī al-Faḍl.

This dirhem shows an uncanny resemblance to another Abbasid dirhem of the same date but minted in “al-Kamiliya”²⁷, which is still a mystery mint whose location remains, as far as I know, unidentified. The obverse of both coins is similar except for the mint name, while the centre of the reverse is exactly the same. The margins, however, show differing Quranic verses: the dirhem minted in “al-Dayr” shows verse (56) Surat al-Ma‘da, while the other dirhem shows Verse (64) of Surat al-Zakhrāf.

This important donative coin, minted in al-Dayr, must have been issued to celebrate an, as yet, unknown, occasion. For instance it may have been ordered to celebrate the acquisition of a property, which could have been a whole town, bearing in mind that Zubaida was known to have been a major property owner, or simply, that the caliph gave orders that she should benefit from and receive all the revenue gained from that area. This, amongst other things, could have been the *jisya*, the tax paid by non-Muslims, since, by definition, “al-Dayr” indicates a Christian community. Moreover, perhaps the choice of the *Aya* on the reverse of the coin, which translates “*And whosoever takes Allah, his messenger and those who have believed, as protectors, then the party of Allah will be victorious*” suggests this. At any rate such inferences remain speculative.

This donative dirhem and the one minted in al-Kamiliya with the same date represent the first such issues by an Islamic lady.

²³ Robert G. Hoyland, Numismatics and History of early Islamic Syria, in: A. Oddy (ed.): Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East II, Proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009 (2010), p. 84.

²⁴ In the writer’s collection, 26.5mm, 2.88g.

²⁵ The strategic importance of *al-Riqqa* was recognised early on by the Greeks and the Romans as the gateway to the East. In fact, the Abbasids, from the caliph al-Manṣūr onwards, paid special attention to it being the gateway to Iraq from the West and was well developed accordingly.

²⁶ “Rumman” in Arabic means “pomegranate”, for which that area is still famous.

²⁷ Sold Sotheby auction 22-23, March 1990, lot 173.



لا اله الا
الله وحده

محمد رسوله
مما امرت به
ابنت ابي الف
ياسر
من يتول الله و
رسوله

A HOARD OF SILVER-WASHED DIRHAMS OF IBRAHĪM B. ḤUSAIN QARAKHANID (SECOND HALF OF 12th CENTURY)

By Anton Grachev (Moscow)

Introduction

In 2009, the author had the opportunity to research a small hoard of silver-washed dirhams. The precise place where the hoard was found is unknown, but the author was able to ascertain that the hoard was found somewhere between Samarqand and Tirmidh.

The Hoard comprised 39 coins which can be divided into two groups. The first group contains 37 coins with the title – “al-sultān al-salāṭīn”; the second group comprises two coins with the title – “qilich arslān khāqān”.

Some coins in the first group have visible dates and mints, and via them we can determine when and where they circulated. The earliest coin is dated AH 591, the latest coin AH 599. All the coins which have a visible mint name were struck in Samarqand. This information allows us to maintain that the coins with the title “al-sultān al-salāṭīn” are issues of the Qarakhanids: Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain and ‘Uthmān b. Ibrahīm.

Very little research has been undertaken into coin circulation during the reign of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain. The present author knows only of Shishkina's article about a hoard of coins with the title “al-sultān al-salāṭīn” published in 1964, and some publications by B.D. Kochnev about single coins of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain struck in Bukhara and Samarqand.

Historic information about Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain's rule is scarce too. It is known that Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain occupied the throne of Samarqand in AH 574, at which time he had the title - “arslān khāqān”. He took the title of sultan in AH 584 according to information on his coins. [Kochnev 1997, p.265].

There is a coin with the date AH 599 which may belong to both Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain and his son, ‘Uthmān b. Ibrahīm. Kochnev found out that Ibrahīm's reign ended in AH 599 [Kochnev 1997, p. 302-303; Kochnev 2006, p. 229] and that his son, ‘Uthmān, always put his own name on his coins [Kochnev 1987, p. 168]. However, we know of several silver-washed dirhams struck in AH 600 and 601 which do not have Uthman's name. (ZENO 16037, ZENO 16038); the title on these coins is analogous to the title on the coins of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain. Therefore, the question as to which of the two reigns this coin of year 599 was struck in cannot presently be answered.

It is understood that Ibrahīm's reign was quite peaceful, with no significant events being recorded in the annals of the time. Therefore, this hoard is most likely the contents of someone's money-bag, indicating the coinage that was in circulation at the moment the hoard was concealed, rather than the savings accumulated over a period of time to be preserved during some critical period of war or epidemic.

According to the historical chronicles, the following historical events in this region are known: Tekesh Khwārizmshāh undertook a military campaign to Bukhara in AH 578. As a result of this campaign the city was captured, and some time later the Bukharan sardars received a document from the Khwārizmshāh confirming their rule. [Bartold, p. 405-406]. The Bukharan sardars (the actual rulers of Bukhara), were vassals of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain, as confirmed by coins struck on his behalf in Bukhara. [Kochnev 2006, p. 240-241]. The Ghurids captured Balkh in AH 594 whereupon the Qarakhitays made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it. [Ibn Asir, p.283-284]. As Balkh was part of the Western Qarakhanid dominions, it is quite probable that troops of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain accompanied the Qarakhitay army in the attempt [Fedorov 2003, p. 274].

The second group of coins was a minting on behalf of “‘Alā-al Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilich Arslān Khān”. In Kochnev's list we can find a similar title on a coin. This coin was struck by the governor of Balkh [Kochnev 1997, p. 273, type 1149], but Kochnev stated that the date of issue must have been before AH 575, because the coin cited the caliph al-Mustaḍī.

In Fedorov's article, he describes a coin similar to the one in Kochnev's work (there is an image of the coin); however, the design, weight and size of the coin differ from that of the coins in the present hoard [Fedorov 2003, p. 273]. The attribution of this coin type, therefore, remains uncertain. Another similar coin is illustrated on the ZENO.ru site (ZENO 46020. The margin legend of this coin contains the date which can be read as 70 or 90.

Analysis of the coins

The contents of the hoard are listed in Table 1 at the end of this article.

For the purpose of the coin analysis we introduce the term ‘coin type’. In this respect, each coin type presents a particular set of features: the external decoration (arrangement of lines and borders, type of cartouche), content of the inscriptions, the titles of the ruler and any epithets.

There are a number of variants in the ruler's titlature in the first group. Characteristic of all the variants is the presence of the title “sultān al-salāṭīn”. Coins of AH 595 include the name of the ruler – Ibrahīm.

These variants are listed here:

- i. al-sultān al-‘adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn
- ii. al-sultān al-‘adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn sultān al-salāṭīn
- iii. al-sultān al-‘adl al-a‘zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn
- iv. al-sultān al-‘adl al-a‘zam ibrahīm ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn
- v. al-sultān al-a‘zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn
- vi. al-sultān al-... al-mu‘azzam al-sultān as-salāṭīn
- vii. as-sultān al-‘adl al-a‘zam nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn

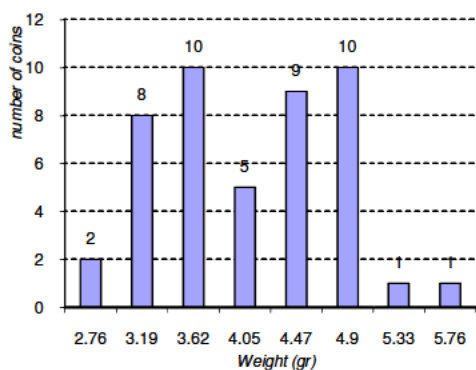
The second characteristic of the coins in the first group is the variety of epithets. The following epithets are noted: Burhānī, Maṣūrī, Mubārakī, Mu‘azzamī, Muṣaffarī, Qādirī, Qarārī, Ruknī, Shahānshāhī, Shāhī, Sultānī (?). It should be noted that the same epithet can be found on different coin types, but we have not yet found different coin types struck in the same year with identical epithets.

The precise role of the epithets is not yet clear. E.A. Davidovich suggested that the epithets could be titles or honourable nicknames to designate particular coin issues; to indicate that an issue represented a particular ruler; was some form of mint designation etc [Davidovich 1957, p. 96].

The statistical analysis of the first group of coins shows two peaks in the weight of the coins (see histogram 1). This result may indicate two different denominations in this first group of coins.

Unfortunately, the small sample and considerable corrosion evident on some of the specimens in the first group do not allow

us to draw any valid conclusions about a possible denomination set.



Histogram 1

Chemical analysis of the hoard coins

At the time of writing, the author knew of only one chemical analysis of the metal of late Qarakhanid coins, the one published in the Shishkina article.

Because of the lack of chemical analyses of coins in this series, a selective investigation of the coins from the hoard was undertaken. This investigation sought to answer the following questions:

- 1) Are the traces of white metal on the surface of the coins silver?
- 2) What is the composition of the core metal of the coins?
- 3) Are there any traces of mercury on the surface?

The last question relates to one of the methods for silver-plating dirhams, based on putting a layer of silver on the coin core and then annealing.

In the course of the investigation the surface analysis of the coins was made using a scanning electron microscope JSM-5610LV (EDS microprobe).

For this analysis, two coins of the first group were examined (the first coin, of type 10 with the “shahānshāhī” epithet, the second coin, of type 14 with the “qarārī” epithet). On both coins there were traces of silvering (white metal).

The result of the analysis is as follows:

Coin №1

1. The analysis point was on part of the surface showing red metal.
Result of analysis: Cu (97%), Ag (1.78%), Pb (0.5%), Sn (0.3%)
The silver in the analysed area is probably a residue from the applied silver surface layer.

2. The analysis point was on part of the surface showing white metal.

Result of analysis: Ag (90%), Cu (9.6%)

The presence of the copper on the surface reflects the composition of the metal core of the coin.

Coin №2

1. The analysis point was on part of the surface showing red metal.
Result of analysis: Cu (98.5%), Ag (1.1%)

2. The analysis point was on part of the surface showing white metal.

Result of analysis: Ag (79.8%), Cu (18.3%), Pb (1.6%)

From this analysis we can say that:

1. The white metal on the surface of the coin is sufficiently pure silver with a homogenous surface structure to enable us to affirm that the plating was done by a chemical or electro-chemical method but not by plating.
2. The basic metal of the coin is pure copper without impurities. This result is unexpected and leads us to suppose the use of native

copper for striking these coins. In Shishkina’s article, the results of the analysis of the basic metal also present a high percentage of copper (91-94%), a lead presence (1-4%) and insignificant traces of tin (<0.3%) [Shishkina 1964, p 122].

3. Because there are no traces of mercury on the coin surfaces, we can assume that some other method than mercury was used for the silvering process.

Description of the Ibrahim b. Ḥusain coins

Type 1. (Fig. 1a, Fig. 1b) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 591 (published in SNAT XVa 946)

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

ر كني
السلطان العادل
نصرة الدنيا
والدين الع
سلطان السلا
طين

Ruknī and title variant i).

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمرقند سنة اهلدى و تسعيت بسم الله

Reverse: Inscription in a plain circle

الا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمرقند سنة اهلدى و تسعيت بسم الله

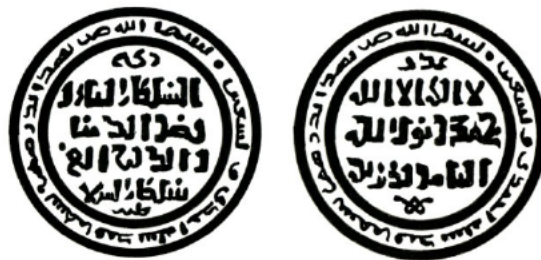


Fig. 1a: Reconstruction of type 1



Fig. 1b: Image of type 1

Type 2. (Fig. 2) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 592

Obverse: Inscription in plain circle

معظمى
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ
سلطان السلا
طين

mu'azzamī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse:

لدين الله
الا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
الناصر

Marginal legend: ضرب... قند سنة اثنتان و تسعيت ... لله

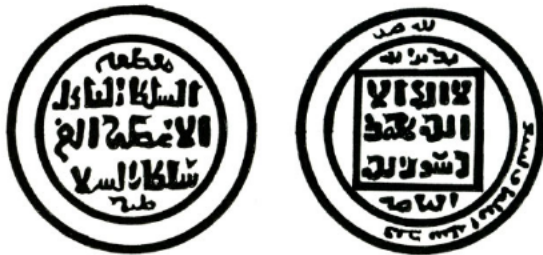


Fig. 2a: Reconstruction of type 2



Fig. 2b. Image of type 2

Type 3. (Fig. 3) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 593
(published on ZENO 55944 and ZENO 70341)

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

قادرى
السلطان العادل
الاعظم نصرة
الد نيا و الدين
الغ سلطان
السلا طين

Qādirī and title variant vii)

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمر قند سنة ثلاث و تسعيت بسم الله

Reverse: Inscription in a plain circle : Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: Inscription in segments

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمر قند سنة ثلاث و تسعيت بسم الله

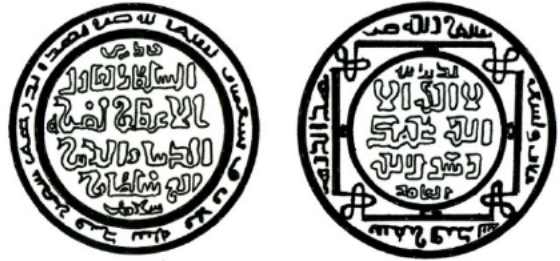


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of type 3

Type 4. (Fig. 4a, Fig. 4b) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 595

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

معظمى
السلطان العادل
الاعظم ابراهيم
الغ سلطان
السلا طين

mu'azzamī and title variant iv)

Marginal legend: ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمر قند سنة ... لله

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سمر قند سنة خمس و تسعيت بسم الله

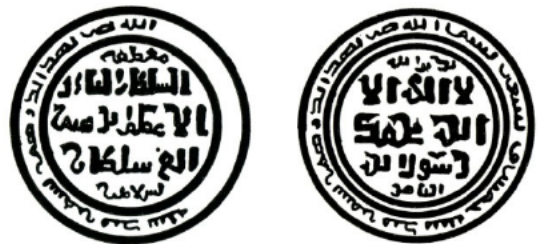


Fig. 4a: Reconstruction of type 4



Fig. 4b: Image of type 4

Type 5. (Fig. 5a, Fig. 5b) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 595

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

منصوری
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ
سلطان السلا
طین

manṣūrī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend: ...قند سنة خمس و تسعیت ...

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا الدرهم سمر قند سنة خمس و تسعیت بسم الله

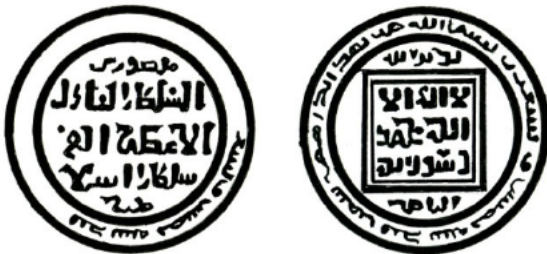


Fig. 5a: Reconstruction of type 5



Fig. 5b: Image of type 5

Type 6. (Fig. 6) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 597

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

شاهی
السلطان
الاعظم
الغ سلطان
السلا طین

Shāhī and title variant v)

Marginal legend: Inscription in the segments

... سنة سبع و تسعیت ...

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: Inscription in the segments

... سمر قند ...

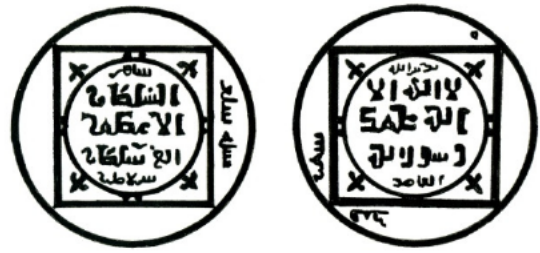


Fig. 6: reconstruction of type 6

Type 7. (Fig. 7a, Fig. 7b) Mint: Samarqand; Date: AH 599

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

برهانی
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ
سلطان السلا
طین

burhānī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا الدر... سنة تسع ... الله

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا... قند سنة تسع و تسعیت بسم الله

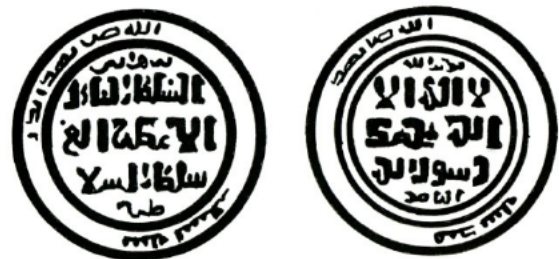


Fig. 7a: Reconstruction of type 7



Fig. 7b: Image of type 7

Type 8. (Fig. 8) Mint: Samarqand; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

مبارکی
السلطان العادل
نصرة الدنيا و
الدين سلطان
السلا طین

mubārakī and title variant ii)

Marginal legend: ... بهزا الدرهم سمر ...

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: not visible

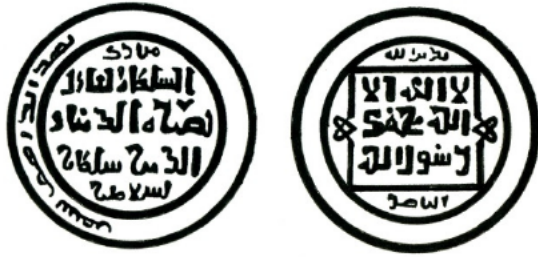


Fig. 8: Reconstruction of type 8

Type 9. (Fig. 9) Mint: Samarqand; Date: not visible (the digit is probably 1, 2 or 4)

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

منصوری
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ?
سلطان السلا
طین

manṣūrī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type #2

Marginal legend: ... سمر قناد سنة ا...



Fig. 9: Reconstruction of type 9

Type 10. (Fig10) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

شہاشاہی
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ
سلطان السلا
طین

shahānshāhī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse:

الله
الا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
الناصر لدين

Marginal legend: not visible

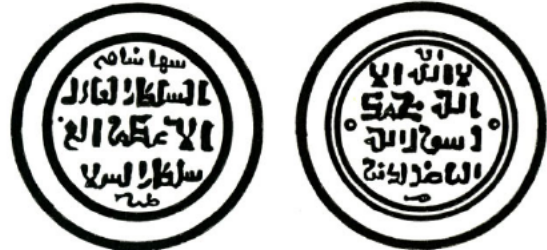


Fig. 10a: Reconstruction of type 10



Fig. 10b: Image of type 10

Type 11. (Fig11) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

معظمی?
... السلطان ا...
المعظم سلطان
السلا طین الناصر
لدين الله

mu‘aẓẓamī (?) and title variant vi)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse:

الا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Marginal legend: text illegible



Fig. 11: Image of type 11

Type 12. (Fig. 12) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

مظفرى
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ
سلطان السلا
طين

muẓaffarī and title variant iii)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: not visible



Fig. 12: Image of type 12

Type 13. (Fig. 13) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

[م] مظفرى
السلطان العادل
نصرة الدين
والدين الغ
سلطان السلا
طين

muẓaffarī and title variant ii)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: Inscription in segments not visible



Fig. 13: Reconstruction of type 13

Type 14. (Fig. 14) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

قرارى
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ ?

سلطان السلا

طين

qarārī and title variant iii (?)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: not visible

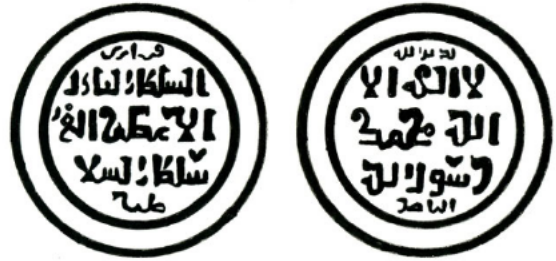


Fig. 14: Reconstruction of type 14

Type 15. (Fig. 15) Mint: not visible; Date: not visible

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

سلطان ?
السلطان العادل
الاعظم الغ ?
سلطان السلا
طين

suḷṭānī (?) and title variant iii) (?)

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Sunni kalima as on type 2

Marginal legend: not visible



Fig. 15: Image of type 15

Description of the Qilich Arslān khāqān coin:

Mint: not visible; Date: the digit is probably 5 and the ten is 70 or 90

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

عادلى
الخاقان العادل
الاعظم علا
الدين و الدين
قليج ارسلان
حان

'adlī / al-khāqān al-'adl / al-a'ẓam 'alā / al-dunyā wa'l dīn / qilich arslān / khān

Marginal legend: not visible

Reverse: Inscription in a plain circle

لدين الله
 الا اله الا
 الله محمد
 رسول الله
 الناصر

Marginal legend: not visible

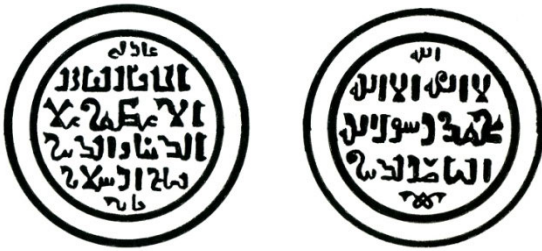


Fig. 16: Reconstruction of the Qilich Arslān khāqān type

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Table 1 Contents of the hoard

Coin No.	Titulature	Epithet	Mint	Date (AH)	Weight (g)	Size (mm)
The first group of coins						
1	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Ruknī	Samarqand	591	4.98	32
2	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mu'azzamī	Samarqand	592	4	34
3	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Qadiri	Samarqand	593	3.7	33
4	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mansuri	Samarqand	595	4.57	34
5	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ibrahīm ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mu'azzamī	Samarqand	595	4.59	35
6	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ibrahīm ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mu'azzamī	Samarqand	595	4.19	32
7	al-sulṭān al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shāhī?	Samarqand	597	4.67	33
8	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Burhānī	Samarqand	599	5.76	35
9	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			3.75	34
10	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			3.59	31
11	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			3.5	31
12	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			3.76	34
13	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			3.55	30
14	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Shahānshāhī			4.38	34
15	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Sulṭānī?			2.88	32
16	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mubarakī			4.14	30
17	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mubarakī	Samarqand		4.54	32
18	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Mubarakī			3.46	31
19	al-sulṭān al-... al-mu'azzam al-sulṭān al-salāṭīn al-nāṣir li-dīn allāh	Mu'azzamī			4.01	31
20	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Muzaffarī			3.91	32
21	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Qarārī			4.42	33
22	al-sulṭān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Qarārī			4.71	39
23	al-sulṭān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sulṭān al-salāṭīn	Qādīrī			4.57	31

24	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn	Manṣūrī			4.67	37
25	al-sultān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn	Manṣūrī?			4.75	34
26	al-sultān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn	Manṣūrī?			3.4	34
27	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				4.48	37
28	al-sultān al-'adl nuṣrat al-dunyā wa'l dīn ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				3.83	30
29	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				3.95	35
30	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				4.2	31
31	... al-'adl al-a'zam... sultān al-salāṭīn				3.6	32
32	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				3.68	31
33	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ulugh sultān al-salāṭīn				3.42	30
34	al-sultān al-'adl al-a'zam ...				3.92	31
35	al-sultān ... al-a'zam ulugh ...al-salāṭīn				4.74	34
36	... ulugh...				2.76	32
37	...al-salāṭīn..				3.48	32
The second group of coins						
38	al-khāqān al-'adl al-a'zam 'alā-al-dunyā wa'l dīn qilich arslān khān	'Adlī		xx5?	4.73	39
39	al-khākān al-'adl al-a'zam 'alā-al-dunyā wa'l dīn qilich arslān khān	'Adlī			4.85	36

COINAGE OF TOGHRIL BIN SUNQR, SALGHURID ATABEG OF FĀRS

A. Akopyan (Moscow) and F. Mosanef (Tehran)*

After the fall of the Buwayhids in Fārs in AH 454, this region was ruled by Seljūq governors for several decades. The following atabegs of Fārs are known for this period – Jamal al-Dīn Chavli, Rukn al-Dīn Khumartekīn, Saljūqshāh, Mengūbars, and Boz Aba (the last three known also from the coins struck in Fārs).

The last of them, Boz Aba, from the Oghūz Türkmens, was elected atabeg of Fārs in AH 541, but he soon started to rebel against the Seljūqs, and sultān Mas'ūd killed him in a battle near Isfahān in the same year. At this time, Sunqr b. Mawdūd, a nephew of Boz Aba, was in charge in Shīrāz. After the death of Boz Aba, Sunqr escaped to the mountainous area, and for less than two years Fārs and Shīrāz were ruled by the Seljūq prince, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. Sunqr, however, began a rebellion, attacked him and forced him to leave Fārs.

In AH 543 Sunqr founded a dynasty that ruled in Fārs and on the coast of the Persian Gulf for over a century as vassals first of the Seljūqs and then, in the thirteenth century, of the Khwārazm Shāhs and Mongols. Some of the Salghurids used the title *sultān al-bar wa al-baḥr* (king of land and sea) for themselves, while the most common kunya used by them was Muẓaffar al-Dīn. After the death of Sunqr in AH 556, his two successors, Zangī b. Mawdūd and Tekele (Takla) b. Zangī, ruled in Fārs until AH 591.²⁸

During Tekele's rule in Fārs, his cousin, Quṭb al-Dīn Toḡhril b. Sunqr, started to disobey him and rebel against him. Tekele died in AH 591 - al-Shabānkāra'ī wrote that he was killed in battle, and, although he did not name his enemy, it could well have

been Toḡhril b. Sunqr.²⁹ After Tekele's death, Toḡhril could not rule Fārs easily, because he was confronted with another Salghurid, Sa'd I b. Zangī. Toḡhril was involved in a long war with Sa'd that lasted eight years, during which time Fārs changed hands between them several times. This war was very hard for Fārs and its population. The war ended in AH 599 when Toḡhril was defeated, captured and killed by Sa'd I b. Zangī.

No coins of Toḡhril b. Sunqr were known before. In this article we want to describe two newly discovered types of dīnār of Toḡhril b. Sunqr, one bearing his name alone (*coin 1*), the other with the name of the Ildigūzid atabeg, Muḥammad Jihān Pahlavān (*coins 2-3*). Like all known Salghurid coins, they are made of pale gold, and, like most of them, bear a dynastic tamgha, a three-pronged fork-like object.



Coin 1

Coin 1: pale AV (2.09 g, 23 mm).³⁰

Obverse:

الله
 V I اله
 محمد رسول
 الله لنا [صر
 لدين الله

Obverse margin: illegible.

Reverse:


طغرل

*We would like to express our gratitude to Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for his very important comments during the preparation of this paper.

²⁸ See more about Salghurid history in: 'Abdallah b. Faḍlallah Waṣṣāf Shirāzī, *Tahrir-i ta'rikh-i waṣṣāf (Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tajziyat al-a'sār)*, Tehrān, SH 1383, pp. 88–89; Hamdallah Mostowfī, *Ta'rikh-e Gozīde*, Tehrān, SH 1381, pp. 503–504; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kh'āndemīr, *Ta'rikh Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehrān, SH 1353, vol II, pp. 559–560.

²⁹ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shabānkāra'ī, *Majma' al-ansāb*, Tehrān, SH 1376, vol. II, p. 183.

³⁰ Private collection (Iran).

There is a big Salghurid tamgha  between letters **ك** and **ب**.

Reverse margin: illegible.

In design, this coin is very similar to the coins of Zangī³¹ and Tekele,³² that also have the same Salghurid tamgha, located within the name of ruler but not within his title, as on the present coin.



Coin 2



Coin 3


Coin 2: pale AV (2.89 g, mm),³³ coin 3: pale AV (g, mm).³⁴

Obverse:

بخلوان
 اتابك
 الله
 VI اله
 رسول الله
 محمد
 بالله
 المستضي
 محمد

Reverse:

ظفر
 السلطان VI
 عظم ظفر
 [بن] ارسلان
 [بن] سنقر

Salghurid tamgha  after ظفر.

Reverse margin: illegible.

These coins are typical of the issues of Seljūq atabegs, with their inclusion of the ruling levels. On the coins are listed the ^cAbbāsīd Caliph (al-Mustaḍī, AH 566–575 – as *bi-Allāh* – sic!), the nominal Great Sultān of the Seljūqs of Iraq (Ṭoghriī III bin Arslān, AH 571–590), the Greatest Atābeg (Muḥammad Jihān Pahlavān Ildigūzīd, AH 571–582) and a person, who is known to us only by his *nasab*, [bin Su]nqur.

At first sight, the tamgha enables us unequivocally to identify this coin as Salghurid. The incidence of the known reign dates of the first three persons gives us the interval of AH 571–575 during which this coin was struck. By that time, Sunqur was dead, and the part of his name what we see on the bottom line of the reverse

should be interpreted only as part of the *nasab* – as **[bin Su]nqur*. As we already know, Ṭoghriī b. Sunqur struck coins (see no. 1), and no other person with such a *nasab* is known for that time from the sources. It is also remarkable that this coin is the first known gold coin with the name of Muḥammad Jihān Pahlavān Ildigūzīd. Among the other Ildigūzīds, only Abū Bakr struck gold coins.³⁵ Moreover, this is the first numismatic evidence of the relationship between the Ildigūzīds and the Salghurids.

Of particular interesting is the naming of Caliph al-Mustaḍī as *bi-Allāh*, but not as *bi-amr Allāh*. The irregularity in the second part of the name of the Caliph is known thanks to the sources. Thus he is named as *al-Mustaḍī bi-Allāh* by Ibn al-Āthīr³⁶ and Ibn Taghtaghī,³⁷ as *al-Mustaḍī bi-nūr Allāh* by Hamdallah Mostowfī³⁸ and Ibn ^cAlī Ḥusaynī,³⁹ and as *al-Mustaḍī bi-amr Allāh* by Bindarī Iṣfahānī⁴⁰ and Ibn Khaldūn.⁴¹ As can be seen, this inconsistency was not something unusual in sixth century Muslim history.

This inconsistency is known from other Seljūq coins. Thus, a silvered copper dirham of Balkh names him as *al-Mustaḍī bi-Allāh*. Another specimen of similar type of Balkh, AH 571, names him as *al-Mustaḍī bi-Allāh* on the obverse, and *al-Mustaḍī bi-amr Allāh* on the reverse.⁴²

According to *Ta'riḫ-i waṣṣāf*, during the rule of Tekele, Muḥammad Jihān Pahlavān attacked Fārs and captured Shīrāz in AH 575, where many people were killed.⁴³ It is possible that, during this campaign, Ṭoghriī bin Sunqur was chosen as ruler of Fars by Jihān Pahlavān, in opposition to Tekele. If that is so, the word *ẓafar* (victory) on coins 2 and 3 can be directly linked with the victory in Shīrāz, and maybe these coins were struck in that town.

THE MINTING OF GOLD SHAURIS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GEORGIA: MONETARY EVIDENCE

By Irakli Paghava

In this short paper we would like to publish a previously unresearched and actually forgotten gold coin issued in late 18th century Georgia, namely in the kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti, which formed the eastern part of the country.

Eighteenth century Georgian gold coinage is extremely rare; one can list only a very limited number of

- Gold coins of various denominations issued in Tiflis during the Ottoman occupation (1723-1735)⁴⁴;
- Gold issues in the name of the Afsharid rulers: Nādir Shāh, Shāh Rukh and Ibrāhīm⁴⁵; and also
- Two electrum (previously, often thought to be gold) coins struck with the dies intended for minting the Tiflis silver and copper currency; most probably, they were issued somewhere within the Russian Empire (St. Petersburg?) and are *novodels* for collectioners, dating back to the 1st third of the 19th century.⁴⁶

³⁵ Kouymjian D. K., *Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries*, Ph. D. Diss., Columbia Univ., 1969, pp. 349–357.

³⁶ Ibn al-Āthīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'riḫ*, vol. VII, Tehrān, SH 1355, p. 292, 298.

³⁷ Ibn Taghtaghī, *Ta'riḫ Fakhri*, Tehrān, SH 1384, p. 427.

³⁸ Hamdallah Mostowfī, *Ta'riḫ-e Gozīde*, Tehrān, SH 1381, p. 364.

³⁹ ^cAlī Husaynī, *Zubdatu al-tavāriḫ*, Tehrān, SH 1380, p. 189, 191.

⁴⁰ Bindarī Iṣfahānī, *Zubdatu al-nuṣra va nukhbatu al-ʿusra*, Tehrān, SH 1356, p. 349, 364.

⁴¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Kitāb al-ʿibār*, Tehrān, SH 1383, vol. IV, p. 172.

⁴² Fedorov M., *Qarakhanid Coins of Tirmīdh and Balkh as a Historical Source II* NC 163 (2003), pp. 273–4.

⁴³ *Tahrir-i ta'riḫ-i waṣṣāf*, p. 89; Mīr-Kh^wānd, *Rawzat al-safā*, Tehrān, SH 1383, p. 775.

⁴⁴ We are currently researching this issue; the results will be presented separately in due course.

⁴⁵ Paghava-Turkia-Janjgava 2010; Paghava 2010:517-520,528-529.

⁴⁶ Paghava 2008.

³¹ Zeno.ru Oriental Coins Database, no. 42085.

³² Zeno.ru Oriental Coins Database, no. 41031.

³³ Baldwin's Auction, *Arabian Coins and Medals (L.L.C.)*, Islamic Coin Auction 15, 17 March 2009, lot no. 599. This was described as a coin of "Jihān Pahlavān and Ṭoghriī III".

³⁴ Steve Album list no. 212, lot 82 (item no. 45685). This was described as a coin of "Sunqur and future ruler Ṭoghriī III b. Arslān".

In addition to the coinage listed above, we have accumulated and analysed (together with co-authors) the documentary and literary data on the Kartl-Kakheti authorities issuing yet another currency group: the so-called *gold shauris*⁴⁷ (*shauri* is the Georgianised form of the standard Persian denomination *shahi*).

No matter how cogent the data, there was no actual monetary evidence for the minting of gold shauris in Kartl-Kakheti. Now, however, we are pleased to say we have such evidence.

Already by about 1910 (?) Ye. Pakhomov knew about a gold coin issued during the reign of Giorgi XII (1798-1800): he had been notified of its recent purchase by H. Nützel, the director of the "Berlin Museum"⁴⁸. Pakhomov made an appropriate note about this in his still unsurpassed treatise on Georgian coinage⁴⁹. Unfortunately, supposedly due to the onset of the First World War and living in the Soviet Union later on (probably having only limited opportunities for communicating with foreign countries) he evidently did not manage to get any more information on that coin. Its further fate was unknown. Luckily, it survived the Second World War and seizure of Berlin by the Soviet troops. We have managed to obtain images and metrological data of this coin⁵⁰ and would like to publish and analyse it here.



Obverse⁵¹: Within a cartouche surrounded by a plain circle:

ياكريم
yā karīm - O, Karīm or O [God the] All-Bountiful

Reverse: Within a border (composed of 2 plain circles with a circle of dots between):

۱۲۱۳
تفليس
ضر
ب
(ضرب تفليس ۱۲۱۳)
Struck [in] Tiflis [in] 1213

AV. Weight 0.72 g, dimensions 15.7-16.8 mm, die axis about 3 o'clock⁵². Thickness is unknown, but the coin should be very thin.

It is evident, that the blank was not thick enough for the metal to fill in the hollow parts of the surfaces of both dies; the high relief elements of the obverse "sucked out" the metal leaving the sunk projections on the reverse, and vice versa. Hence perhaps also the gaps.

There is no doubt that this coin is the *gold shauri* mentioned in the contemporary sources⁵³. Its weight (0.72 g) corresponds very

well to the theoretical 1 dang weight of the contemporary Georgian shauri (0.768 g)⁵⁴, whereas both the obverse and reverse design is absolutely identical with the contemporary Kartl-Kakheti AH 1179-1213 *silver shauris* of sirma type⁵⁵ (cf. Fig. 2)⁵⁶.



Fig. 2

It is quite possible, that both gold and silver shauris were minted with the same dies⁵⁷ (it was a relatively common practice at Tiflis mint to use the same dies for striking a multitude of denominations throughout the 18th century, in the late Safavid and Afsharid time as well as when minting the sirma coinage⁵⁸).

The amount of gold (with its higher specific gravity compared to silver) intended for minting the gold shauri and equal in weight to the amount of silver intended for minting the silver shauri had to have a lesser volume; no wonder it could not fill in the hollow parts of the die surface adequately.

Unfortunately, we have not had any opportunity to study the alloy standard of the gold shauri preserved in Germany. Its colour speaks in favour of high standard gold. The documentary source confirms that⁵⁹.

H. Nützel considered this gold shauri to have been minted in the time of Giorgi XII (1798-1800)⁶⁰. This is true: the coin bears the date AH 1213, which started on 15 June 1798, whereas Erekle II, Giorgi XII's father and predecessor died on 11 January 1798. However, the documentary sources leave no doubt that the production of gold shauris had already started during Erekle II's reign (1744-1762-1798), in 1783 at the latest⁶¹.

Thus, to sum up, the production of the gold shauri, i.e. the native Georgian gold coin, in late 18th century Kartl-Kakheti is finally proved by the material evidence presented in this article.

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⁴⁷ *Bichikashvili-Paghava-Chaganava*.

⁴⁸ "Директор Берлинского музея Д-р. Н. Нützel сообщил мне, что им приобретена недавно золотая монета, битая при Георгии XII." [Pakhomov 1970:251, footnote 1].

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* However, although the first part of Pakhomov's famous *Coins of Georgia* (covering the pre-Mongol period) was published already in 1910 [Pakhomov 1910], the second part had to wait till 1970, when it was printed along with the first [Pakhomov 1970].

⁵⁰ We would like to express our gratitude to the staff of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Münzkabinett* for their kind assistance.

⁵¹ In contrast to other authors, we consider this side the obverse because it evokes Karīm Khān Zand's, i.e. the overlord's name. Although this type of *sirma* coin became 'frozen' and lasted long after the death of Karīm Khān in AH 1193 (1779), the initial selection of the formula was doubtless inspired by the political influence exerted by this Persian ruler.

⁵² Established by analysing the obverse and reverse images.

⁵³ *Bichikashvili-Paghava-Chaganava*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Cf. *Turkia-Paghava 2008*; *Pakhomov 1970:249-250* for the chronology of issuing the sirma silver currency of Kartl-Kakheti.

⁵⁶ We conjectured that the *gold shauri* of Kartl-Kakheti, being equal in weight to the *silver shauri*, could have been minted with the silver shauri dies and, like the latter, could hardly bear the name of the Georgian monarch [Bichikashvili-Paghava-Chaganava]. Clearly, our hypothesis has come true.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Paghava-Turkia-Bennett 2007:21-22*; *Paghava-Turkia-Janjgava 2010*; *Paghava 2010:526*; *Pakhomov 1970:249*.

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Æ COIN WITH GANDHARAN AND MAURYAN SYMBOLS

By Hans Loeschner

The flat c. 17 mm diameter Æ coin enlarged in Figure 1 is so far unpublished.^{62, 63, 64} The coin shows on one side a 6-armed "Gandharan symbol"⁶⁵ (Figure 2a) and on the other side, above an elephant walking to right, there is a "Mauryan symbol", consisting of a three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent (Figure 2b).

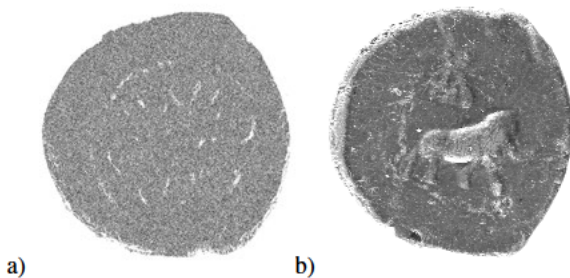


Figure 1: Æ coin, c. 17 mm Ø, 3.32 g

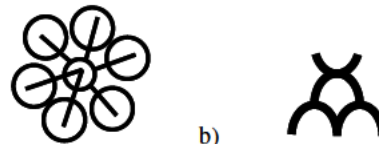


Figure 2: a) Gandharan symbol, b) Mauryan symbol

Whereas uniface silver scyphate coins with the Gandhara symbol are quite common⁶⁵ and some uniface Æ scyphate coins (imitating the silver units) have been found and published,⁶⁶ flat Æ coins with a Gandharan symbol as shown in Figure 1 are so far unknown.

The combination of an elephant and the Maurya symbol is well known from Taxila Æ coins⁶⁷ which are allocated to ca. 200 BC⁶⁸.

Scholars disagree about the time period of Gandharan "bent-bar" and scyphate coins; some opine that they were in use over a very long time period, stretching from as early as the 6th/5th century BC⁶⁹ to possibly into the early 2nd century BC. In contrast to this, through the study of ancient coin hoards, Joe Cribb^{70, 71} came to the conclusion that the minting of the Gandharan silver bent-bar and scyphate coins should be allocated to c. 350 - 250 BC.

Thus, without additional information, this Æ coin with Gandharan and Mauryan symbols can, for the time being, only be attributed to a broad time span from the 3rd century BC to the first half of the 2nd century BC. The possible issuers are authorities from the Mauryan empire, from the post-Mauryan Gandharan city state of Taxila, or early Indo-Greek rulers.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Robert Bracey and Bob Senior for valuable discussions on this coin.

A SPATE OF NEW, TOOLED FORGERIES OF KUSHAN AND PĀRATARĀJA COINS

By Pankaj Tandon⁷²

One of the banes of the coin collector is the presence of forgeries in the coin market. Forgeries can come in many forms. Some are complete fantasies, purporting to be unique, exotic new types such as the coin pictured in Figure 1.⁷³ Others are very well-made copies of known coins, perhaps high-pressure cast copies of actual examples, where the best, maybe even the only, way to recognise the fakes is to spot mould replicates – exact copies of one another.

⁶² The coin shown was obtained in April 2009 from a well respected vendor at low price. There is no indication that the coin is false.

⁶³ Bob Senior, private communication April 17th, 2009: "The coin is as far as I know unpublished and probably extremely important with the reverse symbol coming from the bent-bar silver coins."

⁶⁴ Robert Bracey, private communication April 22nd, 2010: "The danger with this as with all unique or previously unpublished items is that they are not what they seem to be. A colleague suggested to me that someone could take a genuine coin and add other marks to make it appear rarer. That certainly does happen. This possibility should be acknowledged."

⁶⁵ Alexander Fishman, "Previously unknown Gandharan punchmarks from a recent hoard", *JONS* No. 222, pp. 26-28 (*Oriental Numismatic Society*, London, Winter 2010).

⁶⁶ Dilip Rajgor, "Punchmarked Coins of Early Historic India" (Reesha Books International, California, 2001), p. 105, Type 566 and 567.

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⁶⁸ Zeno.ru website, #29384

⁶⁹ Osmund Boppearachchi and Wilfried Pieper, "Ancient Indian Coins", *Indicopleustoi Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean Vol. 2* (Brepols, Turnhout, 1998), pp. 7-10.

⁷⁰ Joe Cribb, "Dating India's Earliest Coins", pp. 535-554 in *South Asian Archaeology*, edited by J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei (Naples, 1983).

⁷¹ Joe Cribb, "Money as a Marker of Cultural Continuity and Change in Central Asia", pp. 333-375 in "After Alexander – Central Asia before Islam", edited by Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann, *Proceedings of the British Academy Vol. 133* (Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2007), p. 336 and p. 342, Fig. 4.

⁷² I wish to thank Peter Linenthal for many helpful discussions centering around Buddha coins and for sharing some photographs with me.

⁷³ According to Joe Lang, coins such as this one are being manufactured in western China.



Figure 1: Fantasy "Indo-Parthian" gold coin
Weight = 1.25 g, Diameter: 10-11 mm.

The two coins in Figure 2 present an example of this that was discussed recently on the South Asia Coins Discussion Group.⁷⁴ No two ancient coins are exactly alike. With die-struck coins, there were always at least small differences in the centering and depth of the strikes, and even with cast coins there would always be some differences in the casting. Moreover, on all ancient coins there would be differences in wear over the years. Thus when we see two coins as identical as the two in Figure 2, we can be quite sure they are modern forgeries. A third type of forgery is the tooled forgery, and that is the subject of this brief note. I have noticed a number of tooled forgeries recently of Kushan and Pāratārāja coins, and I thought it worthwhile to bring these to the attention of collectors.

A tooled forgery is a coin where a forger has taken a genuine coin and has then used tools to either "enhance" the detail on the coin or to alter the coin in some significant way. Tools are also sometimes used to clean coins. Some coins may emerge from the ground so heavily encrusted that it is impossible to tell what the coin is.



Figure 2: Mould Replicate Forgeries of a Satavahana coin

Cleaning such coins may sometimes involve picking away at the encrustations with fine tools such as dental picks, and this process can leave scratches on the coin, particularly if the cleaning is being performed by a relatively unskilled worker. Thus it can sometimes be difficult to spot a tooled forgery, as the presence of scratch marks around the details of the coin may not be conclusive evidence of chicanery. But when one gets to know a coinage well, it becomes easier to distinguish tooled forgeries from simply badly cleaned coins. The first example I will offer is a silver drachm of the Pāratārāja king, Miratakhma.⁷⁵ The first panel in Figure 3 shows the coin photo as I first saw it, while panel (b) repositions the obverse by turning it slightly. We see that the forger mistook the coin to feature a right-facing bust⁷⁶ and tooled it to enhance the

portrait. But he had misunderstood the coin, which in fact features a left-facing bust. We can see it quite clearly in panel (b), particularly when we compare it with the coin in panel (c), a genuine coin struck with the same obverse die. In retrospect, the portrait in panel (a) now looks obviously tooled. Note the tell-tale "edge" created in front of the face in the right field, marking the point on the surface of the coin where the forger commenced "digging" into the coin to create the face. The details of the portrait also look obviously incorrect. This coin tipped me off that there was at least one workshop where Pāratārāja coins were being tooled, and led me to examine other coins with a greater sense of scepticism.



(a) Tooled coin with right-facing bust



(b) Same coin with obverse turned to emphasize actual left-facing bust



(c) Genuine coin struck with the same obverse die

Figure 3: Tooled and genuine drachms of Miratakhma

The second example is a similar one: a Pāratārāja coin where the portrait has been tooled in an attempt to enhance its detail, seen in panel (a) of Fig. 4. This time the coin is a billon drachm of the Pāratārāja king, Bhimarjuna.⁷⁷ Once again, the reverse has been left untouched, only the obverse portrait has been tampered with to "improve" its appearance. Although there is not enough original detail on the coin to identify a die match, panel (b) of the figure shows a genuine version of the same type. We can see the outline of the hair on the tooled coin, but little else. Compared to the genuine coin, we see immediately that the details of the portrait are wrong. We also see the tell-tale "edge" where the forger started to modify the surface in front of the face on the tooled coin. Some might say that this coin is not a forgery at all, but just one that has been heavily tooled to enhance its appeal. I would say, however, if the tooling has been so heavy as to significantly change the coin to the point where it might be regarded as a new type, that we should regard it as a forgery.

⁷⁴ The first coin was presented by Wilfried Pieper and the second coin by Shailendra Bhandare, who noticed they were mould replicates. My thanks to Wilfried and Shailendra for permission to publish the coins here.

⁷⁵ I thank Jan Lingen for showing me this coin and permitting me to publish it.

⁷⁶ In a way, the forger's mistake is understandable and shows a decent knowledge of Pāratārāja coinage. All silver Pāratārāja coins other than this

Miratakhma type feature a right-facing bust. Thus, it would be natural to assume or look for a right-facing bust on this coin, too.

⁷⁷ My thanks to Alex Fishman for permission to publish this coin.



(a) Tooled billon drachm



(b) Genuine coin of same type

Figure 4: Tooled and genuine drachms of Bhimarjuna

A third example is another Pāratārāja coin that had me fooled enough that I published the coin as genuine.⁷⁸ But after seeing the previous two coins, I decided to re-examine it, and I have now concluded that it is false. I believe the coin was originally a normal quarter drachm of the Pāratārāja, Yolamira. Figure 5 shows the coin in panel (a) along with a genuine coin struck with the same obverse die (and possibly the same reverse die) in panel (b). Here, both sides of the coin have been heavily tooled. We see the now-familiar “edges” on both the front and the back. Details around the neck and the back of the head show that the obverse die matches the one on coin (b), but the facial features have been entirely created.⁷⁹ More egregious is the reverse. When it emerged from the ground, the reverse must have been very heavily encrusted: we see the remnants of that encrustation around the edges of the coin even now. So the coin presented a blank slate and the forger had to decide what to create on it. Since almost all Pāratārāja coins have a swastika on the reverse, it must have seemed logical to the forger to insert a swastika here as well. But the Yolamira quarter drachms actually do not have a swastika reverse, as we see from the coin in panel (b). Unfortunately the actual reverse design has been obliterated in the process of tooling the coin.



(a) Tooled coin



(b) Genuine coin

Figure 5: Quarter drachms of Yolamira

⁷⁸ See Pankaj Tandon: “New Light on the Pāratārājas,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 166, 2006, coin T9 (p. 177).

⁷⁹ I suspect some very slight tooling around the nose of the coin in panel (b) as well.

The little information I have about the origin of these coins is that they are found in the area of Loralai in Pakistani Balochistan, but they then make their way to the bazaars of Peshawar. It could well be that the forgery workshop is active in the Peshawar area, not far from the village where the famous 19th century “Utmanzai” forgeries were made. These examples suggest that collectors buying coins that may have been sourced in that area of the world should watch carefully for signs of tooling, particularly for the “edges” created when the forger starts to dig into the coin surface in order to create a sculptural element.

It was this awareness that has also led me to identify, within the past year, a number of Kushan bronzes with “Buddha” reverses that appear to have been manufactured by tooling other coin types. Given the big price disparity between the Buddha coins and other bronzes, this would certainly be a lucrative activity if successful. Exposure of these forgeries is therefore desirable as a way to warn collectors.

All these coins were circulating in the trade market. Coin 6(a), offered as a Buddha coin, is quite clearly not one at all, but a more common reverse such as Miirō or Mao. Here, rather than re-carving the coin to “enhance” detail, the forger has attempted to smooth down elements of the coin, such as the normal raised right arm, in order to make it appear as a front-facing Buddha. Coin (b) may have been a Buddha to start with, but the area around the tamgha is clearly tooled and the tamgha itself is not the original. This casts doubt on the entire coin. Close examination reveals a change in the patina of the coin around the figure, marking a sort of “edge” where the tooling took place. Coins (c) and (d) are clearly tooled, with noticeable changes in the surface patina and identifiable “edges” around the figures showing where the genuine parts of the coins end. Coin (e) has had the entire reverse re-engineered, even to the extent of a created legend BOΔΔO, which appears on the gold coins but never on the bronzes. Finally, coin (f) is a smaller denomination drachm or quarter unit, on which the original deity has been carved away to be replaced by a seated Buddha and the BOΔΔO legend. Incidentally, none of these reverses matched any of the dies shown in the detailed study of Buddha bronzes by Cribb.⁸⁰

Since these coins are normally found quite worn, it is not unsurprising to see examples in poor condition such as the ones shown here. Readers are advised to exercise care in buying these coins!



(a)



(b)

⁸⁰ See Joe Cribb: “Kanishka’s Buddha image coins revisited,” in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6, 1999/2000, pp. 151-189.



Fig. 6: Tooled "Buddha" bronzes of Kanishka

Lastly, I recently saw the photo of a rather unusual coin that had been sent to the British Museum for identification.⁸¹ The coin, seen in Figure 7, is a normal Kanishka tetradrachm or full unit, with a deity, most probably Athsho, on the reverse, but with an additional seated figure (a "Buddha" according to the person who sent it to the Museum) at right.



Fig. 7: A tooled Kanishka bronze with created additional figure

If genuine, this coin would be unique, and would cry out for an explanation and interpretation of its reverse. However, it is probably not genuine, but rather a new type of tooled forgery where an entirely new design element has been carved onto a genuine coin. In the colour photograph I had at my disposal, the patina around the seated figure and the head of the deity is a fresh

⁸¹ I thank Robert Bracey for bringing this and the next discussed coin to my attention.

copper colour, entirely different from the rest of the coin, which is a normal dark green. Since I have not held the coin in hand, I cannot be absolutely certain about my conclusion. In hand, one could check to see whether the seated figure is in relief or whether the high points are lower than a proper relief would indicate. But the change in patina around the seated figure serves to provide the tell-tale "edge" that the tooled forgeries all seem to have. Further, I am fairly certain that the reverse is actually struck from the same die as Göbl 772.5,⁸² a Kanishka bronze with Athsho reverse. The seated figure on the coin in Figure 7 has been carved onto the area of the flan where the legend ΑΘΒΟ would have been. I believe I detect the bottom of the letter O below the seated figure, just where it would have been on the die of Göbl 772.5. If I am correct, this would be conclusive evidence that the coin is a tooled forgery.

This coin calls to mind another unusual Kushan coin that was recently published as genuine: an elephant-rider Huvishka bronze showing "Siva cursing Apasmarapurusa,"⁸³ and one begins to wonder if this also is a tooled forgery. The coin's reverse showed a normal four-armed Siva, with the legend ΟηβΟ at right, but a seated figure at left where the tamgha normally would be. The presence of this figure is what was interesting and unique about this coin and made its publication worthwhile. But, after seeing the coin in Figure 7, it behoves us to question the genuineness of the Huvishka coin also — it could be the product of the same workshop, working with the same idea of adding figures to otherwise normal coins. The figure on the Huvishka coin interrupts the circular dotted border of the reverse design, rendering it clear that the figure was not an element of the original design. Was it added as an afterthought by the original die-cutter? Or was it added by a modern forger, attempting to create an interesting, unique, coin out of a common bronze? If the latter, it was obviously done well enough to fool experts such as Bopearachchi and Pieper.



Figure 8: A genuine Huvishka bronze with a die flaw

In Figure 8, I illustrate a coin from my collection, a bronze Huvishka elephant-rider with ΟηβΟ reverse. I was looking to see if I had a die-match to the Bopearachchi-Pieper coin and I do not think this is one, although it is very close. What caught my eye on my coin was the die flaw that has developed around the tamgha area on the reverse. Quite possibly a pit developed in the die as the tamgha details broke down, giving rise to a protuberance on the coins once struck. On my coin, the result is a shapeless blob of metal on the surface of the coin. But I could imagine that, in the hands of a forger bent upon creating new and interesting coin types, such a blob of metal could be turned into a seated figure similar to the one on the Bopearachchi-Pieper coin or the one in Figure 7.

Knowing that there is a workshop, perhaps somewhere in the Peshawar area, hard at work at altering ancient coins is a sobering thought, and one that makes it incumbent upon all collectors of coins from the area, especially Kushan coins, to be very cautious in evaluating new or unusual coin types that appear in the market.

⁸² Robert Göbl: *Münzprägung des Kusānreiches*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984.

⁸³ Osmund Bopearachchi & Wilfried Pieper: "Siva cursing Apasmarapurusa on a Huvishka coin," *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 200 (Summer 2009), pp. 35-6.

NEW DISCOVERIES AND VARIETIES IN GUPTA COINAGE

By Sanjeev Kumar

One of the most exciting aspects of numismatics is the continuous and ongoing challenge to decipher, discover and describe new types and varieties in coins. This is especially true in the field of Gupta numismatics where one is never disappointed. Some key new discoveries are presented below.

A new hoard of Ramagupta coins

Ramagupta was either the brother or the elder son of Samudragupta, who attempted to take over as king at the end of the reign of Samudragupta but was outsmarted by Chandragupta II. While no gold coins have ever been found of Ramagupta, from time to time, some copper coins have come to light. The largest hoard of Ramagupta coins to date was found in Madhya Pradesh and it consisted of 24 copper coins.

This group included twenty one coins of the lion type, three coins of the Garuda type and a lone coin of the Asvamedha type¹. The weights range from 0.5 g to 1.8 g. The variation in the weights is no doubt due to the deterioration of the coins from oxidation over time.

LION TYPE: The obverse of these coins shows a lion in full splendour, standing, facing left, with a full mane, and a big, curled tail held high, on the right. The reverse shows the legend as *Ramagupta, Ramaguptah or Ramaguptam*.

GARUDA TYPE: The three coins of this type in this hoard all show the Garuda bird on the obverse and the legend *Ramagupta* on the reverse.

ASVAMEDHA TYPE: This lone coin in the hoard features a sleek horse facing left and represents the first Asvamedha coin discovered so far. The design features a Yupa on a tapered base, with pennons flying over the head and body of the horse. The horse is standing on a platform. This design is very similar to the Asvamedha coins of Samudragupta, who was most definitely his contemporary.



(Shivlee Collection)

The weight of this coin is 0.6 g. The legend on the reverse is *Ra Ma Gu*.

All of these coins are part of the Shivlee Collection and the entire hoard can be seen at www.shivlee.com

Skandagupta – Purugupta: the Imperial title revealed

Altekar dates this king from AD 469-471 while Allan dates this King from AD 480-485.

Purugupta was the son of the mighty king, Kumaragupta I, and assumed to be the same as Skandagupta. Very few coins of Purugupta have been discovered but the few specimens that have come to light (as compared to the extensive coinage of Kumaragupta I) points to a short reign for this king.

The majority of these coins have been wrongly attributed to Purugupta based on the incorrect reading of the biruda on the reverse as *Sri Vikrama*.

Recently an important coin came to light. Initially, the reading on the reverse of this coin was misread as *Sri Vikrama*. However,

a careful review of the coin has shown that the biruda used on the reverse of the coin below is *Parakrama*¹. This is truly an amazing discovery and I am grateful to Dr Dilip Rajgor, Director, Dinesh Mody, Institute for Numismatics and Archaeology, University of Mumbai.



Up to now we were not aware of any other king other than the mighty Samudragupta using this title. This was based on all of the epigraphic evidence from inscriptions and coins previously available.

On the other hand, It is not unusual to see later Gupta kings reusing titles copied from earlier, mighty Gupta kings. For example, Chandragupta II's title – *Sri Vikrama* was copied on the coins issued by Budhagupta.

Now this heavy-weight coin has been found in mint condition bearing a biruda that was up to now exclusive to Samudragupta who used the title *Parakramah* extensively on his coins:

Standard Type - Parakramah - "All Powerful"

Asvamedha Type - Asvamedha Parakramah "One who is all powerful to perform the Asvamedha sacrifice"

Tiger Slayer Type - Vyaghra Parakramah – "Powerful like a Tiger"

This coin shows an excellent rendition of a nimbate king standing left, resting his left hand on the top of a bow, his right hand holding an arrow, a Garuda standard in field left. The weight of the coin is 9.46 g, typical of the heavy-weight coins of the later Gupta Kings.



(Shivlee Collection)

Obverse: Parahitakari..... Sri Parakramaditya "The all powerful King 'Sri Parakramaditya..... benefactor to others"

Reverse: Parakrama in field right, nimbate goddess Lakshmi seated facing cross-legged on lotus, holding long-stemmed flower in her left hand and ribbons in her right hand, tamga in field, left.

This specimen is of excellent style, with the care expended on the design details reminiscent of the coins for the earlier Gupta kings like Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I.

Even the most powerful of the Gupta Kings – Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I, at the height of the Gupta empire, refrained from using this imperial title. It was reserved as an honour for the mighty Samudragupta who created the vast Gupta empire. For a later Gupta king to use this major title on his coins would point to a king with huge ambitions.

Skandagupta, son of Kumaragupta I, ascended the throne after Kumaragupta I and used the title *Parakramaditya*³.

In Gupta history there is a pattern where the kings were referred to with various names during their reign. Chandragupta II was referred to as Devagupta and Kumaragupta I as Govindagupta².

The Nalanda Clay seal of Narashimagupta refers to Purugupta as the son of Kumaragupta I and Anantadevi and father of Narasimhagupta (no mention of Skandagupta in the lineage).

The Nalanda Clay seals of Kumaragupta III refer to Purugupta as the son of Kumaragupta I and Anantadevi with no mention of another son, Skandagupta.

The Bihar stone pillar inscriptions of Budhagupta refers to Skandagupta as the son of Kumaragupta I and Anantadevi, (with no mention of Purugupta).

Prior to this coin's discovery, Skandagupta was given the pre-eminent position right after Kumaragupta I in the Gupta genealogy. Now it is possible to place Skandagupta - Purugupta as the successor of Kumaragupta I, as it is very probable that both Purugupta and Skandagupta are one and the same person, as initially proposed by the authors in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*³.

¹ The credit for the correct reading of the biruda as Parakramah on this coin goes to Ms Ellen Raven, indologist and art historian at the University of Leiden. This correct reading was also then confirmed by Dr Shailendra Bhandare - Assistant Keeper South Asian Numismatics at the Ashmolean Museum, Univ. of Oxford. In addition, Ms Raven helped with the deciphering of the obverse legend that was further confirmed as Parahitakari... Sri Parakramaditya by Dr Bhandare. My thanks to both Ellen and Shailendra.

²Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, 1981.

³Readings in Political History of India, ancient, mediaeval and modern, Ramesh Chander Majumdar, 1976.

Kumaragupta II – A correct reading of his Imperial Title

The biruda (title) used by King Kumaragupta II (AD 472-475) was so far assumed to be *Sri Karamadityah* – mainly derived from incorrect readings of coins struck with very poor quality dies.

A new coin has now come to light, weighing 9.23g. This coin was first thought to be a heavy-weight coin of Chandragupta III. The loop created by the sash around the king's waist resembles the character 'Cha' for Chandra. However, a further study of the obverse led to an observation by Ms Ellen Raven that there was a slight die shift on the obverse which caused the bottom part of the bow string to move, further leading to the top of K of the *Ku* becoming dislocated from the bottom part of the character. By correcting for this die shift, we can clearly read *Ku* for Kumaragupta.



(reconstructed)

This in itself was quite interesting, given that this specimen was of excellent style and condition for a heavy-weight coin from a later Gupta king, something that is very rare for coins of the later Guptas. While quite a few heavy-weight coins with *Kumara* on the obverse are available for study, a clear reading of the biruda had been impossible so far due to their poor condition.



(Shivlee Collection)

A further study of the biruda on the reverse of this coin led to the discovery by the present author that this legend is indeed very different from the accepted norm for KII coins. Altekar, in his *Corpus, Coinage of the Gupta Empire*¹, concluded that the reading of the biruda was *Sri Karamaditya*. This was considered true up to now as the biruda on the majority of the coins from KII was very difficult to read. This coin clearly shows that the true reading is *Karama Jita*.



This correct reading of *Karamajita* helps explain the significance of the letters *Ji* between the legs of the king on the obverse on some of the KII Archer coins.



It is important to note here that his great grandfather, Kumaragupta I, also used a similar biruda on his horseman coins - *Ajitamahendra*.



(Shivlee Collection)

¹Altekar, A.S., *The coinage of Gupta Empire*, Numismatic Society of India, 1957

SOME UNUSUAL COINS OF RANBIR SINGH, DOGRA RULER OF KASHMIR

By Nicholas Rhodes

The coins of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir are generally rather uninspiring, being mainly anonymous silver and copper coins, struck at the Srinagar mint. They were first described by myself and Ken Wiggins in 1975⁸⁴, and little, if anything, has been written about them subsequently. However, two rare pieces have appeared which stand out as being of particular interest, and these pieces do raise some new points and some unanswered questions.



Fig. 1

Obv: *Srī Raganath Jī Saha'ī Zarb Srīnagar 1927 JHS*, with a pipal leaf at the top and an apparently redundant letter 'ī' above the last line.

Rev: *Srī Ragha/natha Jī Saha Ja/rava Srīnagarī, Sam 1927*.

Diam: 22.2 mm, Wt.7.48 g.

Fig.1 is a machine-struck rupee dated VS 1927 (AD 1870). The Persian script on the obverse seems to be of high quality, but the Dogra script on the reverse looks rather stilted, and totally different in style from the other Dogra coins, although the legend is the same. The redundant letter on the obverse also appears on the machine struck rupee dated VS 1929 which is in the British Museum collection and was published in our 1975 article. Clearly the dies of this new coin were not the product of a native Gurmukhi-speaking die engraver, but they are of good quality, and the striking is also of a high quality. The unanswered question is where was this piece struck? The edge is plain and of even thickness, c2 mm, so it does not look like the product of one of the main British-Indian mints, and it may have been struck by a private contractor in India, or even abroad. It is, of course, possible that it was in Kashmir, but at this date, the die-engravers were not familiar with the Gurmukhi script, which had never previously appeared on any coins in Kashmir. Although this type is listed in KM, as Y.16⁸⁵, it seems to be extremely rare and must have been struck in small numbers, either as a pattern, or as a presentation piece. The most likely explanation is that this is a pattern for the new light-weight coinage, as this was a period of change in the Kashmir coinage. For the two decades up to and including VS 1927, the Kashmir rupees of the Dogra rulers were called *Kham* rupees, which weighed about 10.5g, but were struck in debased silver and valued at about 8 British annas, implying a fineness of about 50%⁸⁶. In that year the Maharaja was probably pressurised by the British to strike fine silver coins, and decided that he would change the design, incorporate a Gurmukhi legend, and decrease the weight of the rupee, so that both new and old rupees could continue to circulate side by side. This machine-

struck coin is an early example of the new design with the date VS 1927, but the weight is too heavy for a fine silver coin, and the British would not have been happy with a coin of c80% fine, which this weight would imply if the value was intended to be the same as the old *Kham* rupee.

From then on, lighter and apparently finer silver coins were struck, called *Chilki* rupees. They could be easily distinguished from the old *Kham* rupees because of the cursive Gurmukhi script on the one side. The weight of the earliest such rupees, however, seems to have varied, with a few early pieces dated 1928 VS⁸⁷ weighing just under 6g, whereas others weigh just under 7g. The light coins tend to be slightly smaller, with a diameter of c20mm, whereas the heavier pieces have a diameter of c21.5 mm, but the design is identical. Clearly the heavier weight standard came to be regarded as normal, as the *Chilki* rupee was actually valued at 10 British annas, which would be appropriate for a sterling silver coin of the weight of c7g, whereas the original intention may have been that the *Kham* and *Chilki* rupees would both circulate at the same 8 anna value. The two pieces illustrated below are typical of the coins described by KM as being struck on machine-punched planchets, but type 2a is of light weight, whereas 2b is of the heavier weight. It can be noted that the letters IHS have been used on these particular examples, but no significance should be attached to this change, and the letters reverted to JHS during 1929 VS⁸⁸.



Type 2a – Wt 5.95g



Fig. 2 Type 2b – Wt 6.98g



Fig. 3

Diam: 14mm, Wt. 2.32g

Fig.3 is a gold coin, weighing about 2.3g, or a third of the light Kashmir rupee of the time⁸⁹. It is the only type of gold coin of the

⁸⁴ N.G.Rhodes & K.W.wiggins, *ONS Inf. Sheet* No.11, April 1975.

⁸⁵ The weight and denomination are listed in the original edition of KM as a rupee weighing 6.6-6.8 g; the denomination was reduced in error to ¼ rupee in the 4th edition. This stated weight is probably an error as it is significantly lower than the weight of the only example seen by the author, which was bought from Steve Album, List 12, no.1385, in November 1978. The photograph in KM was supplied by the author many years ago.

⁸⁶ Details on the names and relative value of the Dogra rupees is given by Walter B. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Henry Frowde, London, 1895, p.242.

⁸⁷ I have not managed to weigh any examples dated VS 1927, so it is possible that the weight of all the *Chilki* rupees struck for normal circulation was c6g in VS 1927, and was only increased to c7g in VS 1928. An example with the date VS 1927 is illustrated in our 1975 article.

⁸⁸ The meaning of these letters was discussed in our 1975 article, and they do represent the Christian phrase 'Jesus Hominum Salvator', 'Jesus, the saviour of mankind'. The letters were probably inserted, partly in an attempt to please the British, and partly in the hope that some of the good fortune that the British enjoyed might rub off on the Dogra rulers.

⁸⁹ In KM (Ref Y.22), this coin is described as a ¼ mohur, but there is more tradition in this region for the striking of ½ gold denominations rather than

Dogras in Kashmir known to date, and seems to be rather rare. According to market rumours, over thirty years ago, a member of the old royal family of Kashmir brought about twelve of these little gold coins for sale to a bullion dealer in Bombay. Fortunately, the bullion dealer realised their importance and did not melt them, and from that day until now, no further examples have ever appeared on the market, and no examples are known in the British Museum, or in other well-known museum collections. Although no full date is visible on any of the known examples, the coin was struck with the same dies that were used for the silver rupees, and one piece is illustrated below as Fig. 4 (Wt.6.97g), which is struck with the same obverse die.



Fig. 4

Although this rupee⁹⁰ also does not have a full date, other than 193x on the reverse, it is probable that the full date is VS 1932 (AD 1875), since the small sprig in the letter 'ji' on the obverse only seems to occur on coins of this date. It is interesting to note that the gold coin was struck without any special die having been prepared⁹¹. Most probably a small supply of gold was taken unexpectedly by the Maharaja to the mint, and the mint did not have time to prepare any special dies.

A NEW MINT FOR INDIAN PRINCELY STATES, KOTAH & JHALAWAR "QILA' SHAHABAD"

By Parveen Jain

Kotah State

Nowadays, Qila' Shahabad is situated in the north-east of the Baran district of Rajasthan, near Kotah. There is a fort, about which *Veer Vinod* (written by Kaviraj Shyamal Das in 1938) says that the lower fort was built by Ram & Lakshman and the upper fort on the hill was built by Zalim Singh Zhala, a wazir of Kotah State. On the other hand, according to the Sarrafa Board of Kotah's publication *Sampark*, the fort was built by Mukut Mani Chohan in AD 1520.

Maharao Umed Singh (AD 1771-1820)

Qila' Shahabad was gained by Umed Singh Maharao of Kotah state and Zalim Singh Zhala in AD 1790 and merged into Kotah state. The following coin is a new specimen of the coin previously published by Zubair Khan and Dilip Rajgor in ICS Newsletter 39 (April-June 2006), where the mintname was read as Gāgraun. Their specimen had very little of the mintname visible. The coin presented here has more of the mintname visible, although the last part of the mintname is off the flan. It was struck in RY 45, i.e. some time between 9-8-1802 and 28-7-1803. This shows that

⁹⁰ ¼ denominations. c.f. the gold coins of Jammu and certain states in the Punjab. This feature merits further research.

⁹¹ Ref. Y.16b. The weight range given by KM of 6.6-6.8g is lower than the weight of actual specimens of this type, which normally average c6.95g, with a range of 6.91-6.99g for dates up to, and including, VS 1933. From VS 1934 onwards, the weights were reduced and average about 6.7g.

⁹² This is in contrast to the gold ½ mohur of Jammu dated VS 1921, also struck by the Dogra ruler, Ranbir Singh, but using specially produced small dies.

Shahabad was part of Kotah state when the coin was struck. This and the following two coins were struck during the reign of Umed Singh



In the above specimen Qila' is written as Kilaha. This mistake was rectified in future coins.



The above coin is in the name of Muhammad Akbar II with RY 3. That means the coin was struck between 27-10-1808 and 16-10-1809. On this coin the mintname is modified from Kilaha to Kila and only the letter *dal* of Shahabad is off-flan. The mint marks are the same as on the previous coin.



This third coin, also in the name of Muhammad Akbar II was published in Auction no. 12 of Oswal Antiques lot no. 193. I am very grateful to Girish Veera for permission to refer to it here. The coin was struck in RY 7 and thus some time between 14-9-1812 and 3-9-1813. On this coin the mintname has changed from Kila Shahabad to Qila' Shahabad. A new mint mark has also been added.

Maharao Kishore Singh (AD 1820-1827)

The mint appears to have been inactive during this reign.

Maharao Ram Singh II (AD 1828-1866)



This coin also bears the name of Muhammad Akbar II and was struck in RY 31, i.e. some time between 27-12-1835 and 16-12-1836, thus during the reign of Ram Singh II.

Jhalawar State

On 10 April 1838, under a treaty between the British and Maharao Madan Singh, the first Maharao of Jhalawar (grandson of Zalim Singh Zhala), Kotah was divided into two states: Kotah and Jhalawar. Shahabad became part of Jhalawar.

Maharao Madan Singh (AD 1838-1847)



The mint of Qila' Shahabad continued to strike coins as part of Jhalawar. This coin is in the name of Bahadur Shah II and dated 12xx/ahad (year 1); it also bears the new mint mark of Jhalawar state. It will have been struck in 1838, probably immediately after the formation of the new state. The mintname on the coin is only partly visible, but the *qaf lam* of Qila' is visible.



The above coin was struck in RY 4 of Bahadur II and shows the full mintname, Qila' Shahabad. It was, thus, struck some time between 27-8-1840 and 17-8-1841, i.e. also during the reign of Maharao Madan Singh.

ON ONE METHOD OF EXTRACTING COPPER FOR CASTING COINS DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY. *

By S.V. Sidorovich

While collecting information about mints of the Yuan dynasty, the author could not ignore the records in *Yuan Shi*⁹², concerning the opening of the Currency Superintendencies during the reform of AD 1350⁹³. One of the records was of particular interest and prompted the writing of this article. Below is the quote from *Yuan Shi* with the author's translation.

各處寶泉提舉司。至正十一年十月，置寶泉提舉司于河南行省及濟南，冀寧等處，凡九所。江浙、江西、湖廣行省各一所。十二年三月，置銅冶場于饒州路德興縣、信州路鉛山州、韶州岑水，凡三處。每所置提領一員，正八品；大使一員，從八品；副使一員，正九品。流官內銓注。直隸寶泉提舉司，掌浸銅事。⁹⁴

Local Currency Superintendency

[In the] 11th year of the period *zhi-zheng*, 10th Moon⁹⁵, a Currency Superintendency was established at the branch secretariat⁹⁶ in Henan, as well as in Jinan⁹⁷, Jining⁹⁸ and other

⁹² 元史 *Yuan shi* (Chronicle of the Yuan [dynasty]). Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 北京：中華書局，1976, reprint 2005.

⁹³ 寶泉提舉司 – *baquan tijusi*, Department for the Superintendence [of the issue] of Currency <here and elsewhere we will use shorter term Currency Superintendency – S.S.>. On day *xin-chou* of the 10th moon of the 10th year of the period *zhi-zheng* (AD 19.11.1350) in all capitals of all *lu* (see note 11) were established *baquan du tijusi* – capital Currency Superintendencies, see *Yuan Shi*, juan 42. These offices dealt with questions relating to the casting of coins of type *zhi zheng tong bao* and printing paper money, see *Yuan Shi*, juan 42. They were abolished on day *ding-you* of the 12th moon of the 14th year of the period *zhi-zheng* (AD 24.12.1354), see *Yuan Shi*, juan 43.

⁹⁴ *Yuan Shi*, juan 92.

⁹⁵ AD 21.10.1351 – 19.11.1351

⁹⁶ 行省 – *xing-sheng*, abbreviation of *xing-zhong-shu-sheng* (行中書省), “mobile Great Imperial Secretariat” or “mobile Central Secretariat”. *Xing-zhong-shu-sheng* was a provincial administrative office, subordinated to

places, in total 9 offices. At branch secretariats in Jiangzhe⁹⁹, Jiangxi, Huguang¹⁰⁰ – one office in each [place]. In the 12th year 3rd moon¹⁰¹ were established copper-smelting manufactories in Raozhou Lu¹⁰² (Dexing county¹⁰³), Xinzhou Lu (Qianshan zhou¹⁰⁴), Shaozhou (Censhui¹⁰⁵), in total, in 3 places. In each office were introduced [the positions of]: *tiling*¹⁰⁶ – 1 official of 8A rank; *dashi*¹⁰⁷ – 1 official of 8B rank; *fushi*¹⁰⁸ – 1 official of 9A rank; [they appointed] from among the administrative officials¹⁰⁹, [who had been]

the highest administrative office *zhong-shu-sheng*, thus often translated as “branch secretariat”. The term *sheng* (省, province) first appeared during the Yuan period. For more details about *zhong-shu-sheng* see *Munkuev M.Tc. Kitaiskiy istochnik o pervyh mongolskikh hanah* (The Chinese source about the first Mongol khans). Moscow, 1965. P.108, note 111, and *Farquhar, David M., The Government of China under Mongolian rule: a reference guide* / David M. Farquhar. – Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990 (Münchener ostasiatische Studien; Bd.53), P.169.

⁹⁷ 濟南 – *Jinan-lu* (see note 11), the area around the modern city of Jinan in Shandong province. See 中国历史地名大辞典 *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* (Large Dictionary of Historical Geographical Names of China). Beijing. Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 中国社会科学出版社, 2005. P. 1993.

⁹⁸ 冀寧 – *Jining-lu*, the area around the modern city of Taiyuan in Shanxi province. *Ibid.* P. 2911.

⁹⁹ 江浙 – *Jiangzhe* – abbreviation of the province name *Jiangzhe deng chu xing-zhong-shu-sheng* “mobile Central Secretariat of Jiangzhe and other places”. This province occupied approximately the territory of the modern province of Zhejiang (in total), the city of Shanghai, the modern province of Jiangxi in the area of lake Poyang, the eastern parts of Jiangsu and Anhui provinces to the South of Yangzi. *Ibid.* P.1084-1085.

¹⁰⁰ 湖廣 – *Huguang* – abbreviation of the province name *Huguang deng chu xing-zhong-shu-sheng* “mobile Central Secretariat of Huguang and other places”. During the time under consideration, Huguang included the territories of the modern provinces Hunan, Hubei (part), Guangxi, Guangdong (part), Guizhou. *Ibid.* P.2602.

¹⁰¹ AD 17.03.1352 – 14.04.1352

¹⁰² 路 – *lu*, literally “route”. An administrative unit during the Yuan dynasty, one rank lower than *sheng* (see note 5). The translation as “circuit” is very tentative, so we use this term without translation.

¹⁰³ The modern city of Dexing in Jiangxi province. See *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, P.2870. During the time under consideration, the county of Dexing in Raozhou-lu was part of Jiangzhe province. See *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol.7, P.27-28.

¹⁰⁴ Near the modern city of Qianshan in Jiangxi province. See *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, P.2133. During the time under consideration, the counties of Xinzhou-lu and Qianshan-zhou were part of Jiangzhe province. See *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol.7, P.27-28.

¹⁰⁵ In the area of the modern county of Wenyuan in Guangdong province. 韶州 – Shaozhou-lu around the modern city of Shaoguang in Guangdong province. See *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, P.2808. During the time under consideration, Shaozhou-lu was part of *Guangdong dao xuan-wei-si* (Imperial Department on Pacification of Guangdong) in Jiangxi province.

¹⁰⁶ 提領 – *tiling*, can be tentatively translated as “chief”.

¹⁰⁷ 大使 – *dashi*, can be tentatively translated as “commissary”.

¹⁰⁸ 副使 – *fushi*, can be tentatively translated as “deputy commissary”.

¹⁰⁹ 流官 – *liu guan*. Difficulties in interpreting this term were noted by N.P. Svistunova, see: *Zakony Velikoi dinastii Ming so svodnym kommentariem i prilozheniem postanovlenii* (Laws of the Great Ming dynasty with consolidated comments and attached regulations)

(大明律集解附例 *Da Ming lu ji jie fu li*). Part 1. Translation from Chinese, notes and appendix by N.P. Svistunova. / Vostochnaya literatura RAS, Moscow, 1997. P. 60-63. Svistunova, relying on notes in the commentary to the noted source: “*Liu guan* are called officials whose primary purpose – to care about people”, translates this term as “administrative officials”. It can be added that, in *Yuan Dian Zhang* in the section *Liu guan*, a document is presented the title of which also suggests that *liu guan* were *gou dang guan* (勾當官) – literally “managing officer”, and they were appointed to the services from ranked officials. See 大元聖政國朝典章 (Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang) (Statutes on sacred governing of the ruling Great Yuan Dynasty). Beijing. Zhongguo guanbo dianshi chubanshe, 中國廣播電視出版社, 1998, P.1993.

examined and registered [for office]¹¹⁰. [The copper-smelting manufactory,] directly subordinated¹¹¹ to the Currency Superintendency, is in charge of work on “copper-soaking”¹¹².

Confusion was caused by the last phrase, because its meaning remained incomprehensible. Then, another equally interesting paragraph was found in the *Yuan Shi*, referring to the day *wu-cheng* of the 3rd moon of the 12th year of the reign period *zhi-zheng*¹¹³, which shed light on the meaning of the phrase “copper-soaking”. The quote from the source and its translation are given below.

中書省臣言：“張理獻言，饒州德興三處，膽水浸鐵，可以成銅，宜即其地各立銅冶場，直隸寶泉提舉司，宜以張理就為銅冶場官。“從之。¹¹⁴

The Minister of the Central Imperial Secretariat said: “Zhang Li advises [next]: in Raozhou, Dexing [county] in 3 places iron is soaking in vitriolic water¹¹⁵, by which [way] it is possible to obtain copper. This should be followed and in all [these] areas to establish copper-smelting manufactories, directly subordinate to [the relevant] Currency Superintendency. Zhang Li should be appointed to the post of official [in charge of the] copper-smelting manufactory.” [Resolution by the Emperor]: “To follow this .”

¹¹⁰ 銓注 – *quan zhu*, certification and registration of officialdom. See 漢語大詞典 Hanyu da cidian (Large dictionary of Chinese language). Version 2.0 of 2006, in the electronic dictionary ABBYY Lingvo 12, release 12.0.0.356.

Xiao translates this term as “to judge the candidates and to enroll them for an appointment”. See *Hsiao, Ch'i-Ch'ing* The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty. Harvard East Asian Monographs; 77. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978, C. 91.

Endicott-West, referring to Paul Ratchnevsky, translates it as “to be examined and registered for office”. See Endicott-West, Elizabeth: *Mongolian Rule in China: local administration in the Yuan Dynasty*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series; 29. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, C. 68.

The case in point is not about the system of public examinations, which, during Mongol rule, only began to function in AD 1315 (more details see in *S.Kuchera*. Nekotorye problemy ekzamenatsionnoi sistemy i obrazovaniya pri dinastii Yuan (Some problems of the examination system and education during the Yuan dynasty) // *Kitai: gosudarstvo I obshchestvo*. Moscow, 1977. P.73-92), but rather about certifications, the results of which influenced promotion. Attestations of provincial officials were carried by provincial government (branch secretariat, *xing-sheng*), for officials subordinated to Internal Territories (腹裏, Fu-Li – the area of the modern provinces of Shandong, Shanxi and Hebei. Often translated as Metropolitan Province), attestations were carried by the Ministry of personnel (吏部, *li-bu*). See *Yuan Shi*, juan 82. Herbert Franke has translated the expression 流官內銓注 (see also note 18) as “welche in die normale Beförderungslaufbahn eingestuft waren” (*Franke H. Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft. Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit*. Leipzig, 1949, S. 98.), i.e., «who are enrolled in a rank [of officials] with usual career development», which distorts the meaning, because it does not reflect the essence of the terms *liu-guan* and *quan-zhu*.

¹¹¹ Franke translates this as “Das Münzamt von Tschili” (*Ibid.*), i.e. “Zhili Mint”, but this is a mistake because, at that time, the province of Zhili did not exist and what should be used is the dictionary meaning of 直隸 – “to be in directly subordinate”.

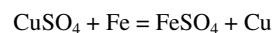
¹¹² 浸銅 – *jin-tong*, literally copper-soaking. Franke mistakenly translated the expression 掌浸銅事 as “verwaltete die Angelegenheiten der Einschmelzung (?) des Kupfers”, i.e. “managed by copper smelting (?)”, *Ibid.*

¹¹³ 09.04.1352 AD

¹¹⁴ *Yuan Shi*, juan 42.

¹¹⁵ 膽水 – *dan-shui*, old term for mine water, used in the copper smelting process and which contains copper sulphate.

A further search for information in Chinese dynastic histories quickly gave a positive result. It turned out that, in the above quote, the minister was talking about the hydrometallurgical method of extracting of copper from mine waters rich in dissolved copper sulphate¹¹⁶. In other words, if iron is placed in a solution of copper sulphate (CuSO₄·5H₂O), then the classical substitution reaction will take place in which iron ions replace the copper ions and pure copper will be obtained.



The essence of this method is described in great detail in *Song Shi*¹¹⁷. Below, is a quote from the source and its translation¹¹⁸:

浸銅之法

：以生鐵鍛成薄片，排置膽水槽中浸漬數日，鐵片為膽水所薄，上生赤煤，取刮鐵煤入爐，三煉成銅。大率用鐵二斤四兩，得銅一斤。饒州興利場，信州鉛山場各有歲額，所謂膽銅也。

The principle of “soaking copper” <deposition of copper on a scrap of metal, immersed in cupriferous mine waters – S.S.>:

Cast iron is flattened into thin plates, then placed in vitriolic water to soak for several days. The iron plates in the vitriolic water become even thinner, their surface is covered with red bloom. The iron undergoes scraping; the scraped plaque goes to the smelting furnace. Triple melting produces copper of a good degree of refining. The maximum performance [of the method]: when using 2 *jin*¹¹⁹ 4 *liang*¹²⁰ of iron, resulting in 1 *jin* of copper. Raozhou, manufactory Xingli, Xinzhou, manufactory Qianshan - each has prescribed an annual quota [of production] of so-called “vitriolic copper” [i.e. copper which is extracted from the vitriolic water].

The above information suggests that, in the Yuan Dynasty at least from AD 1352, copper was obtained by a hydrometallurgical method for casting coins in certain mints. Numismatists are well acquainted with varieties of 3 *wen* cash coins, dated 1352 and 1353, which differ sharply from the vast majority of coin issues made between AD 1350-1354 in their inferior calligraphy and quality of casting¹²¹. Perhaps they were produced at one of the

¹¹⁶ Notes about obtaining copper by wet reaction can already be found at the beginning of the Western Han dynasty. However, at this time, this concept was not converted into technology which allowed any industrial application of it. The first description of the hydrometallurgical method of obtaining of copper was written by Zhang Qian (張潛, AD 1025-1105) in his discourse “Main records on copper soaking” (《浸銅要錄》). See 孫承平 Sun Chengping 《〈浸銅要略〉序》的发现与剖析 «Jintong yaolue » xu de faxian yu pouxi (Discovery and analysis of the “Introduction” to the “Short essay about copper soaking”) // 《中国科技史料》 Zhongguo keji shiliao (Historical data of Chinese science and technology) 第24 卷第3 期 (2003 年) P.258.

¹¹⁷ 宋史 *Song Shi* (Chronicle of the Song [dynasty]). Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 北京：中華書局, 1985. See juan 180.

¹¹⁸ The author expresses his gratitude to Pavel Kartashov (Moscow) for advice on the chemistry of the process of extracting copper from mine water.

¹¹⁹ 斤 – *jin*, weight unit. During the Yuan Period 1 *jin* was equivalent to 596.82 grams. See *Farquhar, David M.*, The Government of China..., P.443.

¹²⁰ 兩 – *liang*, weight unit, equivalent to 1/16 *jin* (see note 28) or around 37.3 grams. *Ibid.*

¹²¹ For comparison: coins issued AD 1352 and 1353, with bad quality casting – ZENO Nos. 15627, 15628, 15487, 28324. Coins with good

recently opened manufactories. The presence of dispersed iron in the alloy of coins of this period could be a confirmation of the use of such technology and would allow us, with a high degree of confidence, to attribute these coins to the production of manufactories located in Raozhou, Xinzhou and Shaozhou. Moreover, the absence of lower quality coins of value 1 and 2 *wen* enables us to suggest that, at the new manufactories, no coins with a value lower than 3 *wen* were issued, probably due to economic considerations. This would confirm the conclusion of the authors of the article regarding the planned withdrawal of coins of small denominations from circulation¹²².

In conclusion, it should be noted that, in medieval China, already during the Northern Song period, the output of copper mining was insufficient to ensure a sufficient mass of metal to provide the necessary number of copper coins that would underpin an increased commodity exchange during an upswing in the economy. The causes of the phenomenon of China's so-called "mint hunger" are set out in the brilliant work by N.V. Ivochkina¹²³. In his fundamental work on money and economy during the era of Mongol rule, which, despite some minor flaws in the translation of certain terms not related to economics (see notes 19-21), has not lost its relevance over the past 60 years and still remains the most comprehensive western work on the subject, H. Franke also claimed that "the lack of production of copper was certainly one of the reasons that led to the paper currency"¹²⁴. Sources indicate that, during periods when the circulation of copper coins was prohibited, the Yuan government led campaigns to deprive the population of copper coins and utensils¹²⁵. It was forbidden to export coins from the Empire¹²⁶, as well as their melting and resale¹²⁷. In periods when the state issued coins for circulation, it was also permitted to use coins of previous dynasties¹²⁸. In this regard, the information derived from *Yuan Shi* about the opening of new copper manufactories at the mines, which had opened 200(!) years previously, and about the application of hydrometallurgical methods for copper production, once again confirms that, in medieval China, every opportunity was used to satisfy "the mint hunger".

A NEW VARIETY OF SIKANDAR BIN ILYĀS TANKA



We are grateful to Joe Lang for bringing this coin, which weighs 10.7 g, to our attention. Sikandar bin Ilyās was the Sultan of Bengal who reigned AH 758-792 (AD 1357-1389). Eleven main types of tanka are known struck variously at six mints. The present coin has the obverse legend as G&G B175B and 176 and the reverse legend as B175. The reverse marginal legend is not clear enough to read but its similarity to B175 suggests that this coin could be a product of the Mu‘azzamabād mint.

quality casting— ZENO Nos. 15552, 20886, 405, 1380. (On-line database <http://www.zeno.ru>).

¹²² V. Belyaev, S. Sidorovich Zhi-zheng tong-bao Cash coins of the Yuan dynasty Emperor, Shun Di // Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society. No.188. Summer 2006. P.36.

¹²³ N.V. Ivochkina. Vozniknovenie bumazhno-denezhnogo obrashcheniya v Kitae: Epohi Tan I Sun (The development of paper money circulation in China: periods of Tang and Song). Moscow, 1990.

¹²⁴ Franke H. Geld und Wirtschaft..., C.120.

¹²⁵ Yuan Shu, juan 11.

¹²⁶ Ibid. juan 94.

¹²⁷ Ibid. juan 44.

¹²⁸ Ibid. juan 93, 97.

Obverse legend:

abū'l mujāhid / sikandar shāh / al-sulṭān ibn / al-sulṭān

Reverse legend:

al-naṣir / li-dīn allāh / al-qāhir al-a'dal / allāh

As on B175, the third line of the reverse is engraved somewhat inaccurately.

SLG

TINY PITIS INSCRIBED "SHI-DAN" (SULTAN) FROM PALEMBANG

By T.D. Yih

Introduction

The subject of this paper is a series of small tiny cash pieces (pitis) inscribed "Shi-dan", attributed to the city of Palembang on the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Before turning to numismatic aspects, I would like provide to a short survey of the history of Palembang.

Historical background

Historically, the city of Palembang played an important role in the history of south-east Asia as an important trade port visited by Chinese merchants. It was mentioned in old Chinese records under different names. Until the 10th century it was the economic centre of the maritime Srivijaya (Chinese: Sanfoqi) state. Later, the centre of power moved to the neighbouring region of Djambi. After the collapse of Srivijaya, Palembang was captured by the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in 1397 and its hereditary ruler, Paramesvara, was driven away to become the later Iskander Shah of Malacca. Because the isolationist policy of the first Ming emperor, large numbers of Chinese left the mainland of southern China. This also led to an increase in the number of Chinese at Palembang.

According to the Ming records, a certain Cantonese headman, Liang Dao Ming, established a base at the site of Palembang in the beginning of the 15th century. He was elected king and the site became known as "the old port" (chinese: *gaw gong* or *jiu gang*). Later, he was replaced by a certain Shi Jinqing. Thereafter, Palembang became a part of the Javanese Majapahit kingdom. After the collapse of the Majapahit state under the pressure of the newly established Islamic sultanates (Demak, Grisek) there followed a period of anarchy and war amongst the various contestants for power.

Around 1659, the Sultanate of Palembang was established, which maintained its independence until 1821, when the sultan, Mahmud Baharuddin II, was deported to Ternate by the Dutch. Thereafter, puppet sultans were installed under Dutch supervision. A list of the Palembang sultans is available on the zeno database (www.ZENO.ru).

Numismatic background

Palembang pitis are described in the main numismatic literature dealing with the coins of the former Dutch East Indies. Millies¹²⁹ states that the earliest date on found on Palembang pieces is AH 1103/ AD 1691 or AH 1113/ AD 1701 and the latest, AH 1219/ AD 1804, whereas he regards the earlier date, AH 1061/ AD 1650 as mentioned by Netscher and van der Chijs¹³⁰, as a misinterpretation. There is no clear information on the Palembang pieces inscribed "Shi-dan". In the book by Netscher and van der Chijs there is an unclear illustration of possibly a Shi-dan-like

¹²⁹ H.C. Millies, *Recherches sur les monnaies des indigènes de l'archipel Indien et de la péninsule Malaie*, La Haye, 1871.

¹³⁰ E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs, *De munten van Nederlandsch Indie*, Batavia, 1863.

piece for Palembang. This piece, illustrated on plate XXIII no. 216, is classified as an uncertain piece. However, on plate XXI under no. 173 in the section on Cheribon, a Shi-dan piece is illustrated. Millies also mentions a pitis with the legends “Shi-dan” for the sultanate of Cheribon on the island of Java. For this piece, illustrated on plate XV no. 121, the two characters on the right and left are not read.

The zeno database¹³¹ illustrates a Shi-dan piece (ZN 5443) with the description “Malacca, local tin cash coin”. Originally the legend was read as “Shi dian tong bao”. As a result of my comments in may 2004, the reading was changed to “Shi-dan tong-bao” with the remark that “Shi-dan” is simply a Chinese phonetic transcription comparable to the Chinese transcription “He-lan” as the name for Holland. Another example of such a transcription is the pitis that Millies illustrates on plate 15 as no. 122. The legends “Pang-lan” is considered a transcription of the title “Pangeran”.

About two years ago a paper was published by Wang Yue Yang¹³² in which he described pieces from Palembang with the inscription “Shi-dan li bao”. Remarkably, he did not mention the pieces with the legend “Shi-dan tong bao”.

Recently, a number of Shi-dan pieces have been offered on eBay, firstly with the reading “Xian Ping”, then with the reading “Shi-dan” and, most recently, with the reading “Shi li dan po”. According to the seller, these pieces circulated in the Palembang region. The present paper is based on about 35 pieces from the author’s own collection, data from eBay and the Zeno database, a total of about 70.

A preliminary typology will be presented and their historical context will be discussed. In addition to the illustrations in this paper, other images can be found in the Zeno database.

General description

The pieces are rather thin and have a fragile appearance. They have the appearance of Chinese cash with a square central hole surrounded by 4 Chinese characters. The obverse generally has a tiny outer border, but no border around the central square hole; whereas the reverse is completely flat without borders. The majority of the pieces have the obverse legends “Shi-dan li-bao”, but occasionally they have the legends “Shi-dan tong-bao” (see Fig. 1). The reverse is blank without any legends. The characters “shi” and “dan” are always situated above and below the square hole, respectively, whereas the characters “li” or “tong” and “bao” are situated to the right and left side of the hole. Occasionally, the position of the characters is reversed and then they should be read from left to right. The character “bao”, although often corrupted, is always written in its complete form. Thus far, the abbreviated form as often seen on locally made cash pieces from Java^{133,134} has not been encountered, except for a piece in the Zeno database attributed to Malaysia.

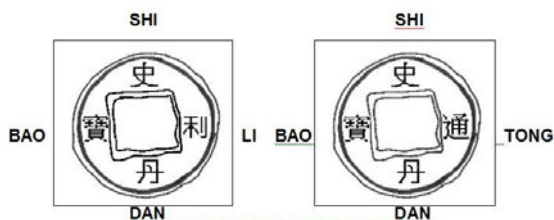


Fig. 1

Table 1 shows the metrical data of the pieces in the author’s collection. It can be seen that the weight of the coins varies

considerably. This is especially due to the variation in the diameter of the square hole. Popularly speaking some pieces appear to be more hole than coin. The right-hand column gives the ratio between the diameters of the piece and the hole.

Table 1 Mean metrical data

	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Thickness (mm)	Diam. hole (mm)	Ratio: diameter/diameter hole
Mean	0.61	18.3	0.6	6.8	2.7
S.D.	0.18	1.2	0.1	0.8	0.4
Range	0.31-0.98	15.7-19.9	0.5-0.9	5.7-8.7	1.9-3.3
N	34	37	34	37	37

Typology

So far, two main types have been found. In addition, for each main type, two subtypes can be distinguished, based on the position of the four characters surrounding the square hole (top, bottom, right, left),

Main type I : Legends *Shi-dan li-bao*

- subtype I-1

Legends: *Shi-dan li-bao* (26 pieces)

- subtype I-2

Legends: *Shi-dan bao-li* (2 pieces)

Main type II: Legends *Shi-dan tong bao*

- subtype II-1a

Legends: *Shi-dan tong-bao* (1 piece)
(complete character “bao”)

- subtype II-1b

Legends: *Shi-dan tong-bao* (1 piece)
(abbreviated character “bao”)

Apart from the differences used for the above classification, it should be mentioned that this series of pieces is characterised by a high incidence of corruption in the Chinese characters. For instance, the character “li” consists of the radicals “he” and “dao” but the right radical “dao” is often not or only partly present.

Discussion

Reading of legends

Various readings have been proposed for the legends on these pieces. The reading “soutan” by Millies has already been mentioned in the introduction to this article. Another reading can be found in Stephanik’s catalogue¹³⁵ on Coins from the Rijksmuseum, Leiden. It contains a note on the presence of 4 Chinese coins from Palembang, which are attributed to a certain Sultan Dipo. However, in the existing list of Palembang sultans there is no one with the name of “Dipo”. Furthermore, the position of the supposed two characters “Di” and “Po” on the pieces is in complete conflict with the traditional position of a name on cash coins. If it is indeed a name, it should be “Di” on top and “Po” either on the left or right side.

In his most recent eBay auctions, the seller, Javaman691, gives the following explanation for the reading: “Shi Li” means “SRI” for the Chinese and “Dan Bo” is “tong bao” in Hakka Chinese. He does not give any additional explanation for the meaning of “SRI”.

The translation of “dan bo” as “tong bao”, however, is rather difficult to reconcile with the occurrence of pieces with the legends “Shi dan tong bo”.

¹³¹ Illustrated in the Zeno database

<http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=5443>

¹³² Wang Yue Yang, “Report on old coins from Old Harbor Palembang”, *Asia Numismatics* 1 p34-36, 2008.

¹³³ Yih, T.D. and J. de Kreek. “Typology of Javanese cash from the Ethnographic Museum, Rotterdam”, *ONS Newsletter* 146, p.14, 1995

¹³⁴ Illustrated in a database on Chinese coins <http://www.charm.ru/library/tegal.htm>

¹³⁵ J. Stephanik, *Munten van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap in het Rijksmuseum*.

Following the clock-wise reading of the seller, the reading would be “Shi tong dan bo” to be understood as “Shi tong tong bao” and the “SRI” explanation cannot be maintained.

Summing up, it can be concluded that Millies’ reading is correct and “Shi-dan” should indeed be read as “sultan”. Hence, the legends “Shi-dan li bao” and “Shi-dan tong bao” should be translated as: Sultan’s profitable and valid currency, respectively.

Historical context and dating

Thus far, several places have been mentioned in the literature for the site of production of these “shi-dan” pitis, such as Malaysia, Cheribon (on Java) and Palembang (on Sumatra). The most convincing support for Palembang as the minting-place comes from the paper by Wang¹³⁶ and the finding of a few of these pieces within a hoard of Palembang pieces. However, as the pieces do not bear the name of a mint, the ultimate attribution to Palembang would be well-documented finds of pieces or, even better, of moulds at the site, itself.

The eldest known Palembang piece is a small coin with the date AH 1103 (AD 1691/92) and there are also some pieces dated AH 1113 (AD 1701/02). According to Millies, the oldest Palembang pitis had no central hole and only from AH 1198 (AD 1783/84) did the sultans of Palembang issue round or octagonal pitis with a round central hole. Rademacher, however, in his description of the island of Sumatra in 1779 mentions the circulation of small lead pitis with a square hole.

Millies uses the presence of a round hole for dating Palembang pieces and to correct the dating proposed by Netscher and van der Chijs. Thus, according to Millies, this would suggest that the “Shi-dan” pitis were produced rather late in the 18th century and possibly until the conquest by the Dutch in 1821. Millies, referring to a description by Sturler (1843), mentions the production of pitis by a certain Aminu-ed-din who was active during the war of 1821.

Main types

Main type I, with the legends “Shi-dan li bao” comprises around 95% of the pieces. Subtype I-2 a is clearly the result of a mirror-image casting error. Besides the two type II “Shi-dan tong bao” pieces from the author’s collection, there is also a single specimen illustrated in the Zeno database (ZN5443) attributed to Malaysia. However, in contrast to the other pieces, this piece has the abbreviated character “bao”. At present, nothing can be said about this piece and the discovery of more similar pieces has to be awaited.

Some words should be said about the drawings of the Cheribon pieces illustrated in the books by Netscher and van der Chijs (N173), and Millies (M121). Whereas the top and bottom characters for “Shi-dan” are very clear, the characters right and left of the hole are problematic. They do not resemble “li bao” or “tong bao”. This may, of course, be due to an incorrect drawing. However, if not, this may represent another variant.

Corruption of Chinese characters.

Character “shi”:

One of the most frequently occurring ways in which this character is corrupted is the position of the strokes at the bottom of the character and their reduction to a single line (SDY-7). In its extreme form, this single stroke is moved to the upper part of the character (SDY-3), or there is even a horizontal stroke at the upper and lower part of the character (SDY-22). Piece SDY-26 has a completely corrupted character “shi”.

Character “dan”:

This character is, in relative terms, the least affected by corruption. Sometimes it is reduced to a simple square (SDY-2).

Character “li”:

In cases where this character is still recognisable, the most frequently occurring corruption is the absence of the radical “dao” (SDY-19).

Character “bao”:

The character “bao” consist of 4 radicals. From top to bottom: the radical “mian”; below that two radicals in parallel; on the left “yu” and on the right “fou” and then at the bottom “bei”. The main corruption of the character “bao” is the reduction of the two radicals “yu” and “fou” into a number of parallel lines (SDY-20).

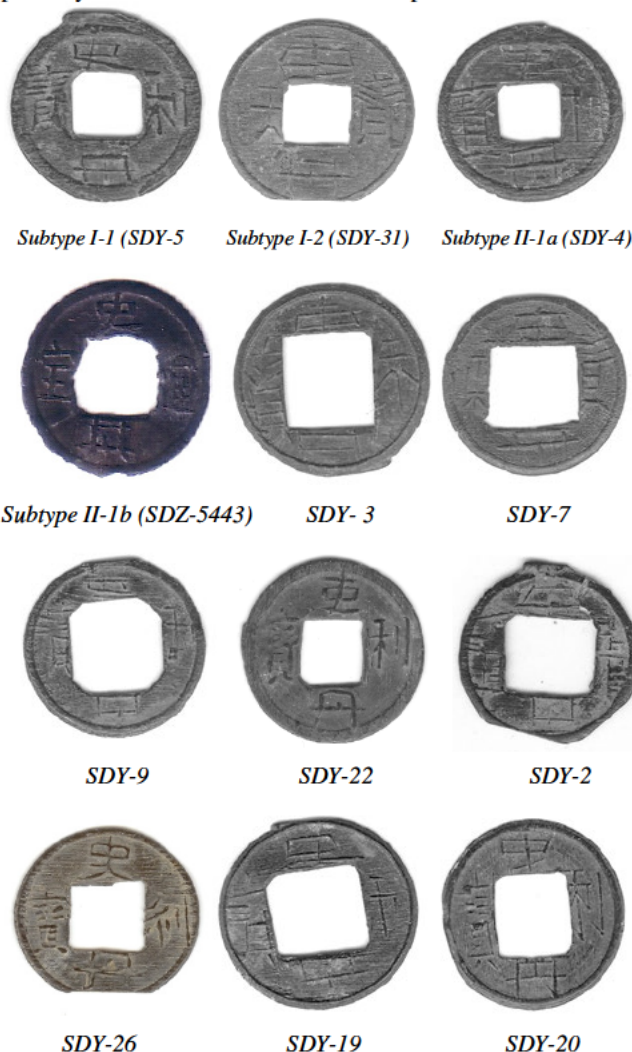
Doubles.

As can be seen in Table 2, there are three pieces consisting of two coins with their reverses stuck together resulting in a coin pair with Chinese legends on both sides. Remarkably, in these “double” specimens the central square holes matched each other perfectly, whereas for Nos 12 and 13 the position of the legends is rotated 90 and 180 degrees, respectively. The sides of “double” piece no. 11 shows no rotation.

One might wonder how the pieces came to be stuck together in this way. It is most likely the result of stringing as it was usual for cash pieces to circulate in strings.

Netscher and van der Chijs¹³⁷ mention that 500 pitis were strung on a ratan cord. Such strings were called “tjoebtjoeb” or “tali”. Two talis had the value of a quarter real or 80 doits. Hence, one real had the value of 4000 pitis. They also mention that the production of pitis was the exclusive right of the sultan, who, in turn, had it farmed out to the Chinese headman.

In conclusion, the author hopes that this paper will lead to an increased influx of data on these pieces many of which are probably still hidden within museums and private collections.



¹³⁶ Cfn 4

¹³⁷ Cfn 2

Table 2 Individual metrical data

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Thickness (mm)	# (mm)	Inventory code	Legends*
1	0.57	17.7	0.6	6.7	SDY-1	Shi-dan li?-bao
2	0.41	16.6	0.7	8.2-6.9	SDY-2	Shi-dan x-bao
3	0.33	16.2	0.7	8.1-7.6	SDY-3	Shi-dan li-bao
4	0.70	18.3	0.8	6.3	SDY-4	Shi-dan tong-bao
5	0.98	19.8	0.7	7.4-6.5	SDY-5	Shi-dan li-bao
6	0.50	17.5	0.7	7.9	SDY-6	Shi-dan li?-bao
7	0.48	18.2	0.6	8.6-8.4	SDY-7	Shi-dan bao li
8	0.83	19.9	0.7	7.5	SDY-8	Shi-dan li-bao
9	0.31	16.3	0.5	8.4	SDY-9	Shi-dan li-bao
10	0.74	17.2-18.3	0.8	6.1	SDY-10	Shi-dan li-bao
11a	0.75	16.3-17.7	0.9	6.5-7.5	SDY-11	Shi-dan li-bao**
11aa						Shi-dan li-bao**
12a	1.25	19.2	1.2	5.6-6.4	SDY-12	Shi-dan li-bao**
12aa						Shi-dan li-bao**
13a	1.05	19.2	1.1	5.8	SDY-13	Shi-dan li-lao**
13aa						Shi-dan bao-li**
14	0.62	18.5	0.6	6.4-7.4	SDY-14	Shi-dan bao-li
15	0.53	18.5	0.5	5.8-6.5	SDY-15	Shi-dan li-bao
16	0.80	18.9	0.7	6.3-7.2	SDY-16	Shi-dan li-bao
17	0.75	18.5	0.7	5.7-5.9	SDY-17	Shi-dan li-bao
18	0.83	19.3	0.8	5.9-6.4	SDY-18	Shi-dan li-bao
19	0.38	15.3-16.2	0.6	6.9-7.6	SDY-19	Shi-dan li-bao
20	0.31	15.7-16.4	0.5	6.5-7.1	SDY-20	Shi-dan li-bao***
21	0.50	18.9	0.7	6.4	SDY-21	Shi-dan li-bao
22	0.72	19.4	0.6	6.3	SDY-22	Shi-dan li-bao
23	0.71	18.6	0.7	5.7	SDY-23	Shi-dan li-bao
24	0.66	19.2	0.7	6.7	SDY-24	Shi-dan li-bao
25	0.46	18.4	0.6	5.9	SDY-25	Shi-dan li-bao
26	0.48	18.7	0.5	7.6	SDY-26	Shi-dan li-bao
27	0.43	17.4	0.7	8.7	SDY-27	Shi-dan li-bao
28	0.73	19.4	0.7	6.4	SDY-28	Shi-dan li-bao
29					SDY-29	Shi-dan li-bao
30					SDY-30	Shi-dan li-bao
31	0.59	18.9	0.6	5.7-6.6	SDY-31	Shi-dan bao-li
32	0.74	19.1	0.7	6.3	SDY-32	Shi-dan li-bao
33	0.87	18.3-18.9	0.9	6.4	SDY-33	Shi-dan li-bao
34	0.49	17.4-18.9	0.5	6.6	SDY-34	Shi-dan x-x
35	0.77	19.5-20.0	0.7	6.5-7.6	SDY-35	Shi-dan li-bao
36	0.72	19.0	0.7	6.4	SDY-36	Shi-dan li-bao
37	0.51	18.7	0.6	5.9	SDY-37	Shi-dan li-bao

38		22			SDZ-5443	Shi-dan tong-bao
39	0.40	16.5			SDE-1	Shi-dan x-x
40	0.55	19			SDE-2	Shi-dan li-bao
41	0.55	19			SDE-3	Shi-dan li-bao
42	0.65	18			SDE-4	Shi-dan li-bao
43	0.81	19.5			SDE-5	Shi-dan li-bao
44	0.50	16.5			SDE-6	Shi-dan x-x
45	0.64	19			SDE-7	Shi-dan li-bao
46	0.48	17.5			SDE-8	Shi-dan li-bao
47	0.65	18.5			SDE-9	Shi-dan li-bao
48	0.70	19			SDE-10	Shi-dan li-bao
49	0.62	18.5			SDE-11	Shi-dan li-bao
50	0.50	18			SDE-12	Shi-dan li-bao
51	0.83	19			SDE-13	Shi-dan li-bao
52	0.76	19			SDE-14	Shi-dan li-bao
53	0.30	16			SDE-15	Shi-dan x-x
54	0.61	20			SDE-16	Shi-dan li-bao
55	0.75	18			SDE-17	Shi-dan li-bao
56		17.7			SDE-18	Shi-dan li-bao
58		18.1			SDE-20	Shi-dan li-bao
59		19.0			SDE-21	Shi-dan li-bao
60		16.7			SDE-22	Shi-dan li-bao
61		18.3			SDE-23	Shi-dan li-bao
62		19.5			SDE-24	Shi-dan li-bao
63		18.8			SDE-25	Shi-dan li-bao
64		19.3			SDE-26	Shi-dan li-bao
65		19.5			SDE-27	Shi-dan li-bao
66		19.0			SDE-28	Shi-dan li-bao
67		19.1			SDE-29	Shi-dan li-bao

= 19.1 diameter square hole; * reading: top-bottom-right-left

** pieces with their reverses stuck together *** inner circle on obverse

SDY; SDZ; SDE = pieces from author's collection, zeno database and eBay, respectively

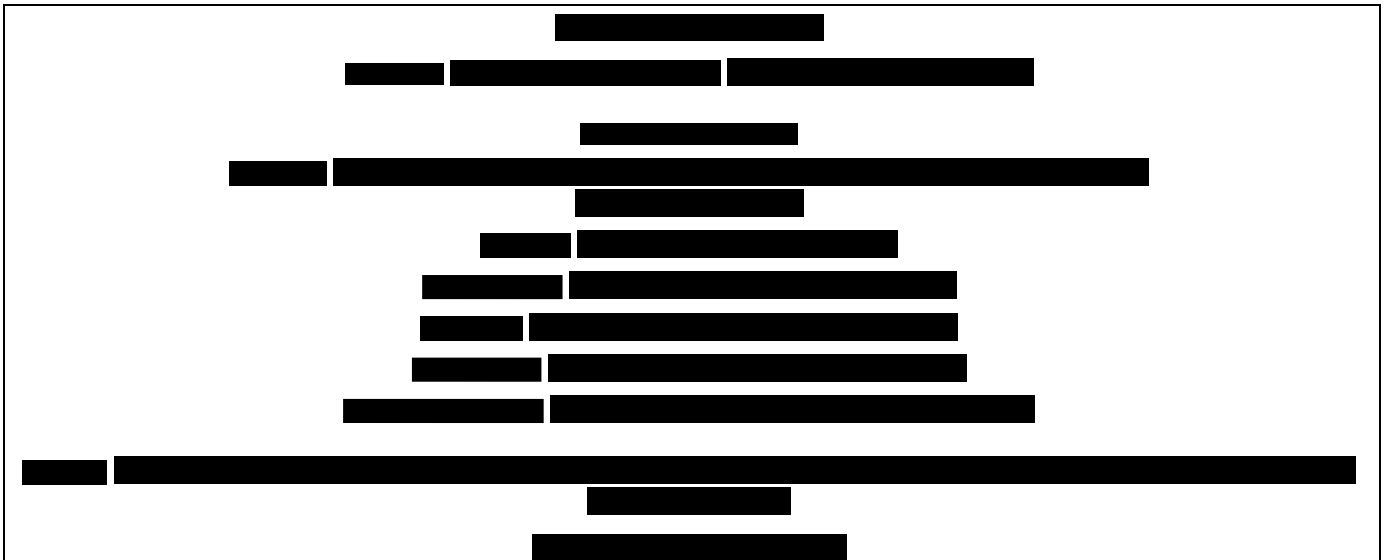
More Members' News

ONS member, Jens Jakobsson, has recently published *Alexanders Arvtogare: Historien om Grekerna i Mellanöstern och Indien (Alexander's heirs: the history of the Greeks in the Middle East and India)*. In Swedish, but the author hopes to publish an English version some time in the future. Sekel Bokförlag, 240 pp; ISBN 978-91-85767-51-9

Numismatic auction activity in India is on the increase. Todywalla Auctions (www.todyauction.com) have been going for some time now, and Girish Veera has also been running Oswal Auctions (www.oswalauctions.com). Recently, Shatrughan Jain announced his first auction, details of which can be found at www.classicalnumismaticgallery.com. All this is an indication of a greater awareness of coin collecting as a worthwhile pursuit in India and the increasing buoyancy of the market there. In the past, Indian coins were usually undervalued in terms of their historical importance and, in many cases, rarity. This situation has been changing in recent years and continues to do so. We wish all involved every success for the future and hope that this will lead to the continuing publication of articles, papers and books on Indian numismatics. Certainly over the past 40 years, this has been a success story. When your editor began to collect Indian coins in the early 1970s, the available literature was very limited – some museum catalogues, JASB supplements, JNSI, Craig, Yeoman and Remick; since then, we have seen a dramatic increase in publications of all types on South Asian coinage – more, or certainly, more accessible, than for any other oriental series. Long may this continue!

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