



### Obituaries

#### Manzoor Hussain Mirza (1933-2011)



It is with deep sorrow that I announce the sad demise of Mr Manzoor Hussain Mirza a renowned numismatist of Pakistan, who passed away last year at the age of seventy nine. He was born at Lalamusa (in the northern part of the Punjab province) Pakistan on 10 June 1933. He was an electrical engineer by profession but had a penchant for history. He started his professional career in 1948 with the Pakistan Navy as an Electrician Mate-I and was qualified for promotion as a Commissioned Officer in 1952. Nevertheless he chose to quit that service and joined the Rawalpindi Electric Power Company Ltd in 1961 as an Assistant Engineer. Subsequently he held several positions as an engineer in government service and retired as Deputy-Director (Inspection) with the Capital Development Authority (CDA) Islamabad in 1981.

He was an expert in almost all series of numismatics of Indo-Pakistan, the Arab world, Iran and Afghanistan. But his special interest was in the Mughal series. Over the last fifty years he built a large collection of Mughal coins (perhaps one of the largest) which included several unpublished, unique and hitherto unknown types. In my career as a collector I have yet to see a numismatist with more expertise in identifying coins and in determining the authenticity of coins with a single glance. I recall once I showed him a Greek copper but Mr Mirza just had a cursory glance at that rather worn coin and said "Not from this area!"

One of his major contributions was the discovery of the burial site of Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam, which is located in the Salt Range Mountains near Rawalpindi. He accomplished this with the assistance and help of the late Mr William Spengler. He was a source of valuable data and numismatics-related material to Mr Spengler for the latter's research and publications.

He suffered from Parkinson's Disease during the last fifteen years of his life. This slowed him but did not prevent him from indulging in his hobby and the subject he loved most. He selflessly shared his knowledge with many history enthusiasts, who will continue to build upon his legacy. He passed away on 15 June 2011, and he is survived by nine family members. His eldest son, Shafqat Mahmood Mirza, is currently the Secretary of the Pakistan Chapter of the ONS.

Haroon Tareen

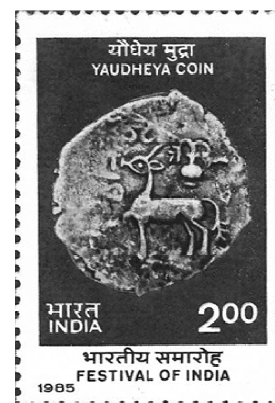
#### Lance Dane (1922-2011)

Renowned collector, expert photographer and erudite connoisseur of Indian art, Lance Dane passed away in Mumbai on 16 May 2012, at the age of 89. He left behind a massive collection of several thousand



Indian coins, paintings, sculptures, books, woodcuts and other artefacts. The collection, it is understood, was bequeathed to the Hinduja Foundation by Lance by way of a 'memorandum of understanding' signed in December 2011 – however, following Lance's death, controversies as to its eventual ownership arose according to Indian newspaper reports.

I first saw Lance in 1985-86, at the bimonthly meetings of 'Mudra Bharati', a Mumbai-based society of numismatic enthusiasts. He stood out immediately – he was tall, had handsome British features and a commanding presence and he always wore a kurta of hand-spun cotton (*khadi*) fabric with a pair of rugged denims! At that time, Lance had been well known for his association with the 'Festival of India', a cultural exchange programme conceived and conducted by eminent persons like Mrs Pupul Jayakar and Dr Kapila Vatsyayan, and generously funded by the government of Mrs Indira Gandhi. Lance was famous for a particular numismatic reason – his photograph of a coin from his collection (Yaudheyas, 'Deer' type) had become the official 'emblem' of the festival. The Indian Post and Telegraph Department had even brought out a special stamp showing Lance's coin.



Lance's Yaudheya coin on a Festival of India stamp of 1985

We carried on meeting at other 'Mudra Bharati' meetings but I got to know him better at the first 'Oriental Numismatic Congress', organised jointly by the ONS and the Indian Coin Society, at Nagpur in 1990. Shortly afterwards, Lance moved residence to a small terraced apartment about 15 minutes' walk away from my house. Our interaction grew in subsequent years – I met or spoke to him almost on a daily basis and I had the benefit of Lance's support and guidance throughout my association with him. He was extremely helpful to the young student that I was in those years; he taught me how to photograph coins to document them; he even gave me my first SLR camera so I could carry on documenting and learning how to muster the skills to photograph coins in natural light. This particular aspect was Lance's own speciality when it came to photography – over the years of his association with collectors and dealers of Indian antiquities, and various institutions like the National Museum of New Delhi, the Mathura Museum and the Indian Museum of Kolkata, he built a massive photo-negative archive of over 100,000 slides. Lance's association with 'Festival of India' ultimately resulted in the transfer of his library and this archive to the 'Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts' (IGNCA) in New Delhi, sometime in the late 1980's.

Not much is known with certainty about Lance's early life. He mentioned to me that he was the son of a British colonial officer (Ernest Dane), that his family roots were in Nottinghamshire and that he was born in India but later dispatched home as a toddler for education. The Second World War brought him back to India – he enrolled in the Indian Army and claimed to have 'walked on his flat feet from Imphal to Rangoon' pursuing the Japanese army in retreat! His own interest in Indian coins was kindled when, as a young boy, he came across some copper coins of Tipu Sultan of Mysore (which must have been a familiar name, if his colonial service connections are to be believed) which had a 'stout-looking but elegant' elephant on them!

Lance never left India, making the country of his love his home. He then developed a keen interest in the art and antiquities of India. In his own views, he seemed very much influenced by the writings of A K Coomaraswamy, the art historian known for his profoundly connoisseurial approach to the study of art. Lance belonged to a generation of connoisseur collectors – doyens like Karl Khandalawala, Haridas Swally, Jamshed Bhabha were his peers. Under the academic patronage of Dr Moti Chandra, then at the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, these 'enlightened collectors' created a hub for studying, admiring and researching Indian art in Mumbai in the late 1950's-early 1960's. Lance must surely have benefitted from the intercourse he had with these stalwarts but his excellent skills at photography made him a stalwart in his own right.

In fact, it was his passion at photography that he attributed as the 'chief stimulus' for his interest in coins. Like all 'enlightened collectors' of his generation, Lance had an amazing eye – he could describe the grottiest of copper coin as 'photogenic' (a label that remained his constant favourite) and indeed, under the lens of his camera, the coin 'blossomed' into an object of astonishing beauty! He made effective use of his skills in popularising Indian coins – throughout his life he was instrumental in designing calendars for various institutions, banks being the main customers, which featured the history and beauty of Indian coins. He was associated with the famous 'Marg Publications' (a Tata enterprise) in Mumbai and he included small chapters on coins in many 'Marg' books. These not only helped to make Indian coins accessible to a wider readership, they also made coins appreciable in their own right as objects of art. Lance did not follow the 'masterpiece' approach in choosing his coins to illustrate, rather even the commonest princely states copper coin became a masterpiece with Lance's photographic treatment under his camera! Lance was also responsible, both in providing inspiration and production help in two monographs devoted to Indian coins brought out by 'Marg' – 'A Treasury of Indian Coins', edited by Martha Carter (1994) and 'Coins in India: Power and Communication', edited by Himanshu Prabha Ray (2006).

Apart from coins, Lance was extremely knowledgeable about Indian erotic art. He first edited and illustrated a version of 'Kamasutra', the famous Sanskrit text on the art (and craft!) of

love-making with Mulk Raj Anand, a polymath on Indian culture. In recent times he had revisited the Kamasutra, bringing out a new edition under his own name, titled 'Kamasutra: Aphorisms of Love'. A quick browse on the internet came up with the revelation that this, indeed, was the 'most pirated book' of 2009, according to a list compiled by 'The Independent'! Ironically, although Lance would have benefitted from the proceeds had the piracy been checked, this is indeed a measure of the success of the book he edited and illustrated extensively from his collection of pictures and objects pertaining to Indian erotic art.

Lance's coin collection is truly extensive, particularly in the themes of ancient India. Particularly within the regional focus of Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan, I would venture to suggest that it is perhaps the most important holding in the world of its kind. Considering the importance of these coins for the writing of ancient Indian history and studying the development of India's art, iconography, social structures and institutions, it is a collection of staggering significance. His collection of Satavahana coins featured prominently as a resource for my PhD thesis. After I finished my dissertation, he single-handedly purchased three other collections of Satavahana coins, making his the best collection for the Satavahanas. Similarly, his collection of Malwa (Ujjain, Vidisha-Eran, upper Betwa, Narmada and Tapi river valleys) and monarchical, tribal and city states from the Yamuno-Gangetic valleys is second to none. But by far the most important chunk of his collection – to which he had a particular personal affinity – are the silver punch-marked coins, of both the 'archaic' and the 'imperial' series. Lance many times acquired entire 'parcels' of silver PMCs that appeared on the market, thus trying to preserve the hoard context, at least partially. In the days of 'fast trade' via the internet, the danger of coin hoards being dispersed is greater than ever before. Against this background, Lance's holdings of PMCs indeed stand out on their own merit.

Right to the end, Lance remained fiercely independent – perhaps a vestige of his army career. His needs were very limited; he never had a taste for food or wine, nor for worldly possessions such as clothes, cars, or property. To many of his friends, this was an indication of his quirkiness, and it would even be a matter of light-hearted humour alluding to his miserly attitude. But the more I think about it, now that he is gone, the more I wonder if he ever cared for such pleasures, having found his true 'inner peace' with the objects of his affection – coins, sculptures, books and other objets d'art. I will miss him very much – his British humour, his sincere love for India and Indian culture, his erudition and above all, his 'eye' which indeed saw more in a coin than many of us would ever do.

Shailendra Bhandare

## ONS NEWS

### East Asian Study Day

On 17 March 2012 an East Asian Study Day was held at the British Museum. Seven papers were given and the day attracted an audience of regular ONS members and specialists on East Asian coins.

Quanyu Wang began the day with a talk "On the metallurgy of Chinese coins", followed by Tjong Ding Yih who spoke on "Cash coins from Tegal (Java) from the van Rede collection". Tjong Ding Yih also spoke in the afternoon on "Cash-imitations from the former Dutch East". The morning was finished by Helen Wang who gave a summary of some recent work undertaken at the British Museum.

The afternoon session began with Qin Cao speaking on "The Asian Collection at Manchester Museum" and a talk by François Joyaux "Two inventories of Sino-Vietnamese Collections". The day ended with a talk by Joe Cribb "Sino-Kharosthi Coins Revisited".



*Helen Wang, Joe Cribb, François Joyaux, Tjong Ding Yih and Qin Cao at the East Asian Study Day*



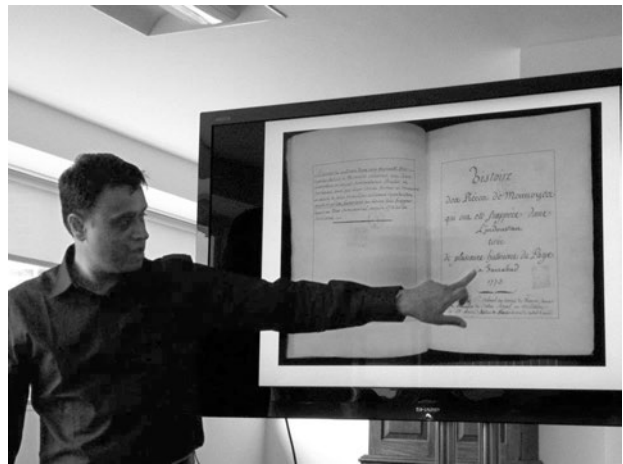
*Jan Lingen and Michael Mitchiner as Jan's new book on Marwar is launched for a UK audience.*

### **ONS Study Day at the Ashmolean Museum**

A meeting of the ONS was held at the Ashmolean Museum on 9 June. There were four speakers at the event, which was attended by an enthusiastic group of ONS members. The first speaker was Sushma Jansari who talked about "IOLC Roman Coins in the British Museum: the rediscovery of the Mackenzie Collection." She spoke of Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), who was the first surveyor general of India, and an avid collector. His collection included sculptures, art, and coins.



*Sushma Jansari presents the collection of Colin Mackenzie for an ONS audience.*



*Shailendra Bhandare shows some of the earliest French work on Indian numismatics*

### **Mackenzie Study Day at the British Museum**

On 18 July a seminar was held at the British Museum, convened by Sushma Jansari of University College London and Paramdip Khera of the British Museum to bring together scholars working on different aspects on the collections of Colin Mackenzie. Colin Mackenzie came to India in 1782 to serve in the Engineer corps of the East India Company. While in India he collected avidly. Part of his collection of coins was recently discovered to be housed in the British Museum as part of the India Office Loan Collection on loan from the British Library.

There was a discussion of what the coins in Mackenzie's collection might mean for Indo-Roman trade. The part of his collection which had surfaced in the IOLC (India Office Loan Collection) consisted in large part of late Roman bronze coins found in South India and Sri Lanka.

Jan Lingen gave a talk on Marwar, Jodhpur State, to coincide with the launch of his new book on the coins of the princely state. He outlined the coinage of Marwar and the process of developing a catalogue of the coins of that state.

Shailendra Bhandare then gave a final talk, "Firanghee fortunes: the French in India in a numismatic perspective". This discussed an unpublished manuscript in Paris and illustrated a very early attempt by a Frenchman to write a history of Indian coinage.



*Jennifer Howes talking about Jain material in the British Library*

There were four papers in the morning by the conveners, Nick Barnard of the Victoria & Albert Museum, Jennifer Howes of the British Library, and Cam Sharp-Jones of the British Museum. However, readers interested in the event should not feel left out. The talks were recorded and have been made available via the Money and Medals Network

<http://www.moneyandmedals.org.uk/#/audio-and-video/4567272650>

and will be available until mid-October.

The whole of each talk is now available though question and answer sessions have not been included.

**UK Meeting (including the Annual General Meeting) at the Department of Coins and Medals British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG at 11.00 am on Saturday 6 October 2012.**

Details of the speakers will be circulated by email before the meeting to UK members nearer to the date of the meeting but it is planned to include the Michael Broome memorial lecture on an Islamic coin subject as well as the Ken Wiggins memorial lecture on an Indian coin subject.

The meeting will include the Annual General Meeting (AGM). The formal business of the meeting is to receive the Council's report on the activities of the Society during the previous year; and to receive and consider the accounts of the Society for the previous year.

A member may appoint any other member as his proxy to attend and vote on his behalf on a poll if a poll is directed to be taken by the chairman of the AGM. Proxy forms must be in writing in such form as the Council may approve and returned to 9 Grandison Road London SW11 6LS not less than 48 hours before the AGM.

**Utrecht Meeting**

On Saturday, 20 October 2012, the annual ONS meeting in the Netherlands will be held at the premises of the Money Museum (Geldmuseum), Leidseweg 90, Utrecht. As in previous years, after the usual welcome with coffee and tea in the museum café, there will be a programme of talks and the annual auction of coins and books etc. Lunch will be available at the museum and a dinner will be arranged in the evening at a restaurant for those wishing to attend.

The provisional lecture programme comprises presentations by Dick Nauta 'Ottoman silver coins of Yemen'; Shailendra Bhandare 'Jubilees and Royal Celebrations during the Raj in a numismatic light'; Tjong Ding Yih, 'Tin cash imitations from Palembang (former Dutch East Indies); genuine local imitation or modern counterfeits'.

Please note that as the ONS is charged for the extra security during the morning session, when the museum is still closed, an attendance fee of €7.50 will be requested.

Details of the auction will be available on the ONS website from mid-September. Any member wishing to attend the dinner and/or the meeting is asked to inform Jan Lingen, [lingen@wxs.nl](mailto:lingen@wxs.nl), by 17 October 2012, at the latest. Please contact Jan for any other information relating to the meeting.

**Members' News**

Paul Stevens has a coin cabinet that he wishes to dispose of. The details are as follows: it measures 1330mm high, 700mm wide and 370mm deep (all approx). It had 98 drawers in two banks, but one drawer is now missing. There is a larger drawer at the bottom. The cabinet and drawers are all professionally made of what looks like mahogany. The drawers were originally empty (about 1 cm deep) and pieces of plywood, drilled with various sized holes, have been glued into each drawer and stained, thereby making a coin cabinet out of it. This has been Paul's cabinet for the last 40 years or so but the Stevens collection is now housed in the Ashmolean museum so Paul has no further use for it. Anyone seriously interested should contact Paul on his email address - [PJES3288@hotmail.com](mailto:PJES3288@hotmail.com)



**New Members**

*European Region*

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|------|--|
| 1998 | R. Brand, [redacted]<br>Interests: Coinage of Samudra Pasai, Atjeh and other sultanates in S.E. Asia.  |
| 1999 | Erling Vester Jacobson, [redacted] alling,<br>[redacted]<br>Interests: Tranquebar, Thailand, China (only cast coins)                                   |
| 2003 | Nizar Aktaou, [redacted]<br>Interests: Islamic numismatics in general and especially North Africa and Spain. Coinage of Indian Sultanates and Mughals. |
| 2004 | C. Vijfhuize, [redacted]<br>Interests: Ottoman Empire, ancient India, Chinese Empire   |

**Revised Addresses**

|      |                                     |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1675 | [redacted]                          |
| 1706 | [redacted]-20, Kiev,<br>[redacted]  |
| 1903 | [redacted] 11, ulitsa<br>[redacted] |

**Lists Received**

1. Tim Wilkes ([redacted] [www.wilkescoins.com](http://www.wilkescoins.com); [tim@wilkescoins.com](mailto:tim@wilkescoins.com)) list 16 of Islamic coins, summer 2012

**New and Recent Publications**



*The Coinage of the Hon. East India Company: Part I - The Coins of the Bengal Presidency*, By Dr Paul Stevens, published by AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd, London, 2012. Hard bound, 564 pages, 170mm x 250mm, numerous black and white illustrations in the text; price £50 plus postage. A paperback edition is also available, primarily for the South Asian market.

This book explores the coins and mints of the Bengal Presidency from 1757, when

the EIC first acquired the right to mint coins there, until 1835, when a uniform coinage was introduced into British India. The book is divided into ten chapters, each dealing with a different time or location of the coinage. Each chapter consists of a short summary followed by a very detailed exploration of the information found mainly in the archives of the EIC. This part contains extensive archival extracts, which should prove useful to both numismatists and historians studying the EIC. Next, within each chapter, there is a detailed catalogue of the coins discussed within that chapter, and finally there is a list of references that should ensure that the original sources can easily be found. In essence this book builds upon and expands the well-known work originally produced by Major Fred Pridmore.

The book is available from the publishers (books@baldwin.co.uk) and doubtless from other sources in due course. It is hoped to publish a review of this work in a future issue of the Journal.

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Martin Huth, Peter G. van Alfen (ed.), *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Studies in the Monetization of Ancient Arabia*. Numismatic studies, 25. New York: American Numismatic Society, 2010. Pp. vi, 602; 42 p. of plates, CD-ROM. ISBN 9780897223126. \$250.00.

Martin Huth (ed.), *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Ancient Arabian Coins from the Collection of Martin Huth. Ancient coins in North American collections*, 10. New York: American Numismatic Society, 2010. Pp. xxiii, 162. ISBN 9780897223188. \$150.00.

“These volumes make a very important and long-awaited contribution to our understanding of the numismatics, economy, culture and history of pre-Islamic Arabia. The first volume is a collection of 17 contributions from a range of scholars which explore in considerable detail the emergence and development of coinage in the kingdoms of ancient Arabia, especially in south Arabia and the Persian Gulf, but also in north-western Arabia. The coinage of the Nabataeans receives some updated treatment but the already detailed analyses of Nabataean coinage by Meshorer and Schmitt-Korte did not require repetition here. The assembled contributions in the first volume are written by some of the most reputable scholars in ancient numismatics and ancient Arabia and the driving force behind the project, Martin Huth, makes a number of important contributions to it. The second volume is designed to accompany the first volume and is a catalogue of the Arabian coins from Martin Huth’s own collection. It is designed not only to complement the first volume but also to act independently as a reference volume for students, scholars and collectors of ancient Arabian coins.”

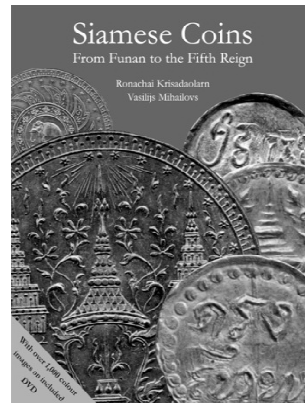
A review of these volumes by Peter Edwell, Macquarie University, appeared in Bryn Mawr Classical Review: please see <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012-05-55.html>

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*Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: Naysābūr, Sabzawār und die Münzstätten in Ġuwayn* by Atef Mansour Ramadan, with a foreword by Lutz Ilisch, published by the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen. Text in English, foreword in German; 88 pages, including 36 plates with coin illustrations in colour; format 29 x 38 cm. Paperback; ISSN 0945-4020. ISBN 978 3 8030 11077. Price: 75.00 €, plus postage.

In the early middle ages, Nishapur was the most important town of Khurasan. Supported initially by the nearby gold mines of Nuqan, a district of modern-day Mashhad, the so-called Naysaburi dinars became the most important gold currency in the Islamic world in the high middle ages alongside that of Egypt and the Maghreb. Despite its great economic importance, this currency has hitherto not been encompassed in any monograph. The Tübingen University collection has an excellent representation of this currency in terms of its historical production. The collection also offers an extensive survey of the copper and silver coinage of

Nishapur from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The coin catalogue has been put together by the Egyptian numismatist, Prof. Dr. Atef Mansour Ramadan. It also includes coins of the mints that were situated more to the west in the Bayhaq and Juwayn valleys, namely Sabzawar in Bayhaq, and Isfaraj and Jajarm in Juwayn. There are colour photographs of all the coins described.

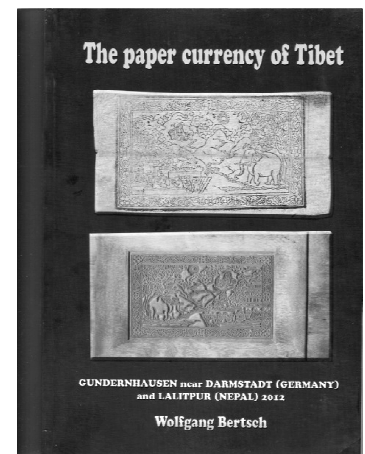


*Siamese Coins: From Funan to the Fifth Reign* by Ronachai Krisadaolan and Vasilij Milhailovs. Hardback, pp 240, 279 x 213 mm; ISBN: 9789749863541. Published by River Books, 2012. Price: see offers on the Internet.

“This is the first ever book about Thai coins and ethnographic monies in English. It covers the time period from the earliest proto-state up to the introduction of the baht currency system. It describes the development of

Thai money through a continuous economico-historical review with excerpts from a variety of sources, including the Sukhothai inscriptions, the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, the records of individual Dutch, French and Portuguese travellers and unpublished documents from the Royal Archive. Also featured are over 1,000 specimens of the coins which have circulated in modern-day Thailand and its tributary states. Included are a selection of Thai documents from Rama IV’s reign dealing with the emission of new currency, counterfeits and money reforms.”

*The Paper Currency of Tibet*, by Wolfgang Bertsch: Gundernhäusen near Darmstadt (Germany) and Lalitpur (Nepal), 2012. VI plus 274 pages. ISBN 978-99933-982-7-1



“Tibetan banknotes were issued between 1912/13 and 1959. The first series of “Tam” notes was printed by hand with woodblocks on handmade paper. The multicoloured 50 Tam notes and the following issues in “Srang” were machine printed on native papers. All Tibetan notes were numbered by hand by specially trained calligraphists. Because of their artistic design Tibetan banknotes can be considered as part of Tibet’s cultural heritage.

This book explores the historical background which led to their issue, the way in which they were produced and the merit of their artistic design.

The first four chapters of the book deal with the paper notes which were printed and released in Lhasa and include a catalogue part with estimated values of the different issues and their variants. The fifth chapter is dedicated to semi-official notes issued by an eastern Tibetan monastery, while the last chapter deals with banknotes which bear both Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions and which were put into circulation by Chinese authorities in the former province of Xikang, which comprised parts of eastern Tibet and Western Sichuan. Ten appendices provide further information for the specialist, while an extensive bibliography concludes the book.

The book is profusely illustrated; all types of the banknotes and many variants and trial prints are reproduced in colour.

With this comprehensive study of Tibetan paper money the author has in mind both the more academically inclined reader who wants to be thoroughly informed about one fascinating aspect of

Tibet's cultural history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the collector of Tibetan banknotes who wishes to identify the pieces in his collection and find out their approximate market value."

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The last in the series of seven books on the currency of north-east India by the late Nicholas Rhodes, and SK Bose has recently been published. The book is on the coinage of Manipur. The dimensions are 9 x 7½ inches, cloth-bound hard cover, profusely illustrated with colour and black and white photographs, Price IRs.350/- (postage free). As a limited number of copies will be printed, interested members should order copies from mirasbooks@gmail.com as soon as possible.

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In 2010 Aram Vardanyan completed his PhD thesis "The Coins as Evidence for the History of Armenia and Adharbayjan in X Century AD" at the University of Tübingen under the supervision of Prof. Stephen Gerö, Prof. Heinz Gaube und Dr. Lutz Ilisch. This is a comparative study based on the analysis of narrative sources (Arabic, Armenian, Byzantine, Georgian, Persian) and coins. The study deals with the numismatic history of Armenia and Iranian Adharbayjan (old Atropatena) and chronologically fits into the period between AH 280 and 400. The thesis includes more than 180 types of gold and silver coins (nearly all illustrated) that were struck by the Sajids, the Kurd Daysam ibn Ibrahim, Sallarids and Rawwadids at the mints of Arminiyya, Barda'a, Ardabil, Maragha, Urmiyya, Muhammadiyya, Ras al-Ayn etc. In fact, this work represents an up-to-date catalogue of coins struck by these dynasties in the region.

The thesis has been revised for publication and is expected to be available in September this year. It is due to be published by the Guldedruck Verlag in Tübingen and will have ca. 350 pages, appendices, maps and charts. The four main chapters are as follows:

**Chapter I** deals with the history of Armenia and Adharbayjan during the reign of the Sājids and their military generals. The evidence of literary sources is compared with the rather rich numismatic heritage of that dynasty. A new classification of Sājid coins is offered as well.

**Chapter II** describes the main historical events occurring in the period of the region's occupation through the former Sājid military commander, or, according to Bykov, "political adventurer", Daysam ibn Ibrahim. Based on narrative sources and coins, an attempt to describe his short reign in Adharbayjan, Armenia and Arrān is given. The main features of development of Daysamite coinage, which was different from those of the Sājids and then the Sallarids, is also offered in this chapter.

**Chapter III** is focused on both the issues of the establishment of Sallārid rule in the region and the internal dynastic struggle for Adharbayjan within the Sallārid family. At the same time, it touches on the political ambitions of the Sallārid aristocracy in their dispute to control the northern Jibāl with another powerful Daylamite branch, the Buyids. The existing lacunae in the narrative history of the Sallārids make the coins of special importance as they shed a light on the historical events of that period.

**Chapter IV** is devoted to the history of Rawwādid rule in the region and their relationship with both Byzantium and the Armenian Bagratids, as well as their struggle for Dvin with local rulers. A dozen coin types of that dynasty struck at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries AH allow us to underline some peculiarities of Rawwādid coinage. The question of the Rawwādid's origin is also given some discussion in this section.

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Masoud Hamidi has announced the re-publication of the *Catalog of Modern Coins of Afghanistan*, originally written by the late Hakim Hamidi in 1967. This catalogue covers a period of approximately 76 years of modern coins of Afghanistan, from the reign of Abdul Rahman Khan through to the last Afghan monarch, Muhammad Zahir Shah. This edition follows the same format as the original catalogue. Additionally, every effort has been made to include all

variation types with attributes and corresponding photos. The attributes and photo scans are compiled from Mr Hamidi's collection.

The new edition will be published in phases: in the first phase, the catalogue is published in 6 series and is available on the Persic Gallery website for viewing at [www.persicgallery.com/modern-coins-afghanistan/](http://www.persicgallery.com/modern-coins-afghanistan/) Eventually, the complete series will be published in hardcopy.

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*The Modern Coinage of China, 1866-1949: The Evidence in Western Archives*, by Richard N.J. Wright, edited by Joe Cribb and Helen Wang, published by Spink, 2012. ISBN - 13:978-1-907427-20-6 Price...

This volume presents the collected research papers of Richard Wright, drawing them together from the various journals in which they were originally published between 1974 and 2003 into a newly set version. The articles have been standardised, replacing the differing formats of those appearing in the Numismatic Chronicle, the Numismatic Circular, and rescuing the rest from the relative obscurity of the more difficult to find publications in which some of them appeared. To the thirty seven articles are added another published here for the first time. Four appendices draw together additional material, and a fifth publishes Richard's last revision of his article on the British medals commemorating the Keying Junk, a maritime marvel of the 1840s.

## Other News

### Société de Numismatique Asiatique

This society, recently established in France, aims to stimulate interest in the coinage of eastern Asia and other Asian areas where the French had influence and colonies in the past. There is much as yet unresearched source material in France in the form of documents, archives and coin collections which has never received the attention it deserves.

As a start, two important coin collections have now been published. There are:

*Collections numismatiques des Pères H. et M de Pirey (Missions Etrangères de Paris). Catalogue. Monnaies d'Extrême-Orient.* Nantes, Société de Numismatique Asiatique, 2011, pp. 441. 29 euros plus postage.

*Collection numismatique Jules Silvestre (Musée l'Art et d'Histoire de Rochefort). Catalogue. Monnaies d'Extrême-Orient,* Nantes, Société de Numismatique Asiatique, 2012, pp. 563. 29 euros plus postage.

It is hoped to provide some more information about these two volumes in this or a future issue of JONS.

The Society has also recently published the first issue of its journal, *Numismatique Asiatique*, March 2012. With 49 pages of text and illustrations in full colour, this publication contains the following articles, all in French:

'Recherches relatives à quelques monnaies rares d'Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est', by Daniel Cariou. This comprises: 'Le monnayage d'or à l'atelier de Pondichéry' (The gold coinage of the Pondicherry mint); 'Les monnaies des "Colonies françaises à l'est de l'île de France" (1810-1811)' (The coinage of the "French colonies east of the Ile de France"); 'A propos des monnaies du roi du Cambodge avec annexe: monnaies ayant cours au Cambodge vers 1878' (On the coins of the King of Cambodia, with appendix: money circulating in Cambodia around 1878); 'Deux essais de philong frappés en France?' (Two philong essays struck in France?); 'Une médaille pour l'expédition Saïgon-Angkor en Lorraine-Dietrich' (A medal for the Saigon-Angkor expedition in Lorraine-Dietrich).

There is also an article on the French numismatist, André Salles, (1860-1929), plus some news items and details of recent publications.

The ONS is aiming to have a good working relationship with the Société. This would include the publication of relevant ONS articles in French translation in *Numismatique Asiatique* and of NA articles, translated into English, in JONS, subject to author agreement.

Anyone interested in joining the Société should write to it at [redacted] e-mail: numis.asia@orange.fr. The subscription for 2012 is 30 euros.

## Book Reviews

**Marwar. Jodhpur State. History and Coinage of the former Indian Princely State of Jodhpur.** By Jan Lingen

Case bound; 208 pp, A4 size. ISBN 978-81-86786-30-7.

Published by IIRNS Publications Pvt. Ltd. [redacted] Price Rs. 3,000 plus Rs. 1000 airmail postage. Also available from A.H. Baldwin and Sons, [redacted] Price £45.

Jan Lingen and Ken Wiggins co-operated for many years in studying the history and coinage of the former States of Rajputana. Their joint publication on the Sindhas, who ruled Gwalior State, was published in 1978. At the time of Ken Wiggins' death in 2000, they were studying the history and coinage of Marwar, the State of Jodhpur. Jan Lingen continued this study, and the result is the book on Marwar reviewed here. The stages in the development of this study are partly reflected in the coin illustrations. During the early phase, Jan produced a fine series of time-consuming line drawings illustrating the details of the coins. The coming of high resolution digital photography has taken away the need for line drawings. As a result, the illustrations in the book include both line drawings and photographs. The coins are shown natural size and the images are clear.

Following a brief explanation of the catalogue numbering system, the book continues with an introduction of some thirty pages on the history of Marwar and of its coinage. The history is both clear and detailed. It extends from the mediaeval period to August 1947, when Jodhpur State acceded to the Dominion of India. The text, throughout the book, is interspersed with colour pictures of significant places in Marwar, plus portraits of the rulers. These include both the rulers of Jodhpur State and also the sovereigns of British India. The numismatic part of the introduction provides a survey of the coinage and of the mints where it was struck. This is followed by a discussion of minting and a table of the daroga (mint master) marks observed on the coins. Lingen has been able to name the various darogas.

Lingen's statement on page 9: "The former Princely State of Jodhpur – also known as Marwar - ..." could have been amplified. Marwar is the geographical name for an extensive area of central Rajasthan. Jodhpur State was a political unit whose lands embraced Marwar during the period of the Jodhpur State coinage. During that period, the geographical and political names were sometimes used more, or less, interchangeably (as Lingen often does). The relationship between the terms "Marwar" and "Jodhpur State", both of which appear in the title, could have been more clearly defined.

The catalogue of coins is arranged in the chronological order of the rulers named in the coin inscriptions. It is divided into eighteen chapters, starting with coins issued in the name of the Moghul Emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur (AH 1161-1167: AD 1748-1754), and ending with coins struck in the combined names of King George VI and Maharaja Hanwant Singh dated VS 2004 (AD 1947). For each ruler, the coinage struck at Jodhpur mint is discussed first, followed by coinage struck at other mints (Merta, Nagaur, Pali, Sojat, Budsu).

The catalogue entries are clear and detailed. The catalogue number is accompanied by details of the metal, denomination and weight range. The obverses and reverses are presented in their original script in a left hand column, plus as a western transcription in a right hand column. The location of the daroga marks, and of other symbols, is cited in this description. The details of the daroga marks, in original script plus transcription, are given below. This is followed by citation of known dates for the issue, and by one or

more coin illustrations. The presentation is consistent throughout the catalogue. The text presentation, both in original and in transcription, provides considerable help in reading what is written on the coins. As those who have studied these coins are well aware, the coin dies were larger than the coin flans. As a result, the inscriptions seen on the coins are normally lacking some peripheral details. The combination of clear descriptions and clear photos makes this book a pleasure to read.

The main body of the catalogue is followed by two further catalogue chapters. The first (chapter 19) is on the coins of Ajmer mint and the other is on the coins of Kuchaman. In each case, there is an introduction to the local history and coinage.

There are two appendices. The short appendix 1 lists the chronology of the rulers of Marwar. The longer and much more valuable appendix 2 bears the title: "The Official Gazette of Marwar: Mint". The report was written in VS 1940 (AD 1883-1884) by Musahib Alah and Munshi Deviprasad, the former being the Secretary of Jodhpur State. Chapter 16 of this report deals with the mints. This chapter is the subject of Lingen's appendix. Lingen presents the sixteen document pages in facsimile, with the English translation written below. The table of coin drawings is presented in facsimile, with an English translation of its text written on either side. The six pages of charts in the report are given in facsimile in the top part of the page, with an English language version of the same chart in the lower part of the page. The information contained in the report provides a wealth of documentation on the contemporary numismatic scene in Marwar. It is a valuable documentary resource for any study of the coinage minted in Jodhpur State.

Jan Lingen is an acknowledged authority on the field covered by his book. Lingen has succeeded in communicating his knowledge to the reader in a clear, concise and authoritative manner. The scholar will find a wealth of previously unpublished information. The collector with a few coins should find his coins easy to identify, and easy to place in their numismatic and historical contexts. Lingen's book is expected to assume its rightful place as the standard work on Jodhpur State and its coinage. I am happy to recommend it. Congratulations to Jan.

Michael Mitchiner

### ***The Revised Standard Reference Guide to Indian Paper Money***

By Kishore Jhunjhunwalla and Rezwan Razack

Distributor: Currencies & Coins, [redacted]

[redacted] pages, with hundreds of illustrations in full-colour

ISBN 10: 81-89752-15-4

ISBN 13: 978-81-89752-15-6

This lavishly produced book is a revision of 'The Standard Reference Guide to Indian Paper Money', which is a comprehensive catalogue of Indian paper money that Kishore Jhunjhunwalla (with the reviewer as 'academic consultant and editor') published in 2000. In the effort of revision, Kishore Jhunjhunwalla is joined by his co-author, Mr Rezwan Razack, an eminent collector of Indian banknotes. Together, the authors have by and large been successful in their attempt at the revision insofar as the individual listings have now been done at a much finer level of classification and it has produced an even more comprehensive outcome.

The book has some other unique and extremely useful features. For the first time, we see watermarks on the papers the notes were printed on in full detail – their illustrations, as well as the illustrations of the banknotes are done to a scale which is indicated at the bottom of every page. Each illustration is in full colour and the book is replete with other visually pleasing pictures which help put the notes in context. All in all, the visuals in their contents and quality have made this publication a true 'visual stunner'!

The classification system the book follows also draws upon its predecessor's 'tri-partite' numbering system for each listed item, where the first number represents the chapter number, the second the type, the third the variety. The chapters have been rearranged to

a certain extent – the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter is now divided into two separate chapters as 2 and 2A; two chapters in the older publication (namely, that on the note issues of the ‘Indian National Army’ and that on the ‘private note and coupon issues’) have been omitted and a new chapter has been added at the end of the book to cover ‘Essays, Patterns, Proofs and Trials’. The consequence of this new arrangement of the chapters is that the numbering system in the predecessor publication has been rendered redundant – an outcome that could have been avoided, as changes in numbering over successive revisions often undermine the utility of a standard publication.

The book opens with a ‘glossary of terms’ and a brief introductory note about the ‘banknote’ in general. The first chapter describes the ‘Early Bank notes of the Presidency and Private Banks’ – it begins with an historical introduction pertaining to the advent of banknotes in India, together with a numismatic contextualisation of the notes, illustrating the coins which the notes were denominated in. The chapters which follow the first one are:

2. Portrait notes of Queen Victoria
- 2A. Uniface notes of Government of India
3. Portrait notes of King George V
4. Portrait notes of King George VI
5. Indian Notes used in Burma and Pakistan
6. Indian notes since Independence
7. Osmania notes of Hyderabad
8. Notes of Jammu and Kashmir
9. Notes of Saurashtra States
10. Cash coupons of Princely States
11. Prisoner-of-War coupons
12. Notes of Indo-Portuguese territories
13. Notes of Indo-French territories
14. Essays, patterns, proofs and trials

In each chapter, the listings are preceded by a short historical overview, illustrated with visuals that help to contextualise the notes.

The catalogue listings are extremely comprehensive and detailed down to the set of prefixes used in numbering the notes. The task of listing every known prefix or ‘prefix syntax’ is indeed a ‘mammoth’ one and the authors have qualified their efforts by a caveat stating that the listings should be taken as ‘provisional’. Nevertheless, this attempt has magnified the comprehensiveness of the catalogue several fold. Meticulous attention is paid to explain features of the notes – thus, for ‘uniface’ notes in chapter 2, the language panels, the denomination panels, the issuing authority panels are all reproduced separately; security features such as ‘see-through’ registers on modern Indian notes are illustrated with their functionality in mind; minute details like the designer’s initials, or microprint letters on a 10-rupee issues are shown enlarged. All such features should help the collector to learn and admire various visual features of the notes that would otherwise be glossed over. The same applies to signature panels, or language panels in all subsequent chapters. Interesting ‘Cinderella’ materials, like a One Rupee note of George VI bearing a propaganda overstamp saying “You British Quit India”, are illustrated to embellish the listings further.

Other salient advances made while cataloguing the notes include a full listing of the Indo-Portuguese notes by signatories. Prior to the 2000 edition, notes of Portuguese India were listed only by their design types in major international standard reference publications like Pick (KM). In the first ‘Indian Paper Money’ book, we attempted a classification based on signatures within a type. However, at that time the names of the signatories were not known. In this revised edition, the authors have been successful in ascertaining who the signatories for ‘Banco Nacional Ultramarino’, the central colonial bank of Portugal, were and their tenure details. The listing of the Indo-Portuguese notes has thus been brought on a par with other banknotes as far as classification is concerned.

By far the most interesting chapter from a historian/numismatist’s viewpoint is the last one which groups together all ‘essays, patterns, proofs and trials’. These crucial elements in ascertaining how the final designs for banknotes were arrived at in a historical sense are often hidden from the collectors’

and academics’ view and it is indeed a treat to browse through these pages, as sumptuously illustrated as the rest of the book is. The terminology employed for categorisation here is a bit vague – a ‘check note’ used as a checking device to account for the proper counting of printed notes is listed in this section, when it actually belongs to none of the categories the chapter’s heading states as its contents. A 10,000 rupees ‘specimen’ note of George VI from the Ashmolean Museum’s collection is listed here, as are the 10 rupees and 100 rupees ‘Haj Pilgrim’ issues from the Reserve Bank of India’s collection, when none of these actually are ‘essays, patterns, proofs’, or ‘trials’. (A remark for ‘enhanced colour’ accompanies the Haj note listings, but the colour is not ‘enhanced’ it just looks better and brighter because of the very condition the notes are in, as ‘specimens’.) The authors could also have done with more diligence in understanding and ascertaining the vignettes depicted on some of the designs - on a set of colour trials/patterns of notes bearing the portrait of King George V, designed by Sir John Simpson in 1920-21, the vignettes of the Golden Temple at Amritsar and Badshahi Mosque at Lahore have been identified as a ‘Mosque with minarets’ with a ‘design from the Moghul Era’!

However, to see so many patterns and trials grouped together is in itself a success story and the authors have not left any stone unturned to make this chapter as comprehensive as they can. In the process, they have been successful in discovering hitherto unknown patterns and design trials of Indian notes from foreign institutional collections, like that of the British Library in London and also from the trade. Very important and rare items, such as a trial for 100 rupees note bearing the portrait of Edward VIII, a ‘2 rupees 8 annas’ trial with the portrait of George VI and the unique designs for 1 rupee and 5 rupees notes of a nascent Indian nation with the vignettes of Mahatma Gandhi, proposed to be issued soon after his assassination in January 1948.

Lastly, a word might be said about the two chapters from the previous edition that the authors have chosen to omit. Of these, the omission of ‘notes/designs for the Indian National Army’ issues can be easily disregarded because what appeared in this section in the 2000 edition was nothing but a propaganda bill, which may or may not have had a connection with the purported issue of paper money by the INA. However, the omission of ‘private notes and coupons’ is rather regrettable. The authors, in a small note under the introductory heading ‘About This book’, have justified the omission of these items in the following words – “(the private note and coupon issues) have been omitted from this book as they do not have the characteristics, security features of a banknote and currency unit. Hence they are not part of Indian Paper Money.” This is a rather sweeping statement – there are certainly many other items which also do not have the ‘characteristics and security features of a banknote’, such as the cash coupons of the Indian princely states, but they have been listed in the book. As regards a ‘currency unit’, most of these private and other coupon issues did enter limited circulation and as such were very much ‘currency units’ – the reviewer remembers extremely well how the coupons issued by the Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Company (BEST) responsible for the city’s local transport in response to a small change shortage in the 1980’s were widely accepted in all sorts of small transactions all across the city. In fact these coupons were so successful that they were issued in a stream of regulated and recurrent episodes and even carried simple security features such as a signature and an underprint. The 1 rupee note issued by Daniel McKinnon Hamilton (see ‘Gosaba rupee and Sir Daniel Hamilton’, by Vasant Chowdhury in ONSNL 164, 2000) is not only interesting as a curious instance of a private note issue by an English ‘Zamindar’, or landholder, it is also significant for the insight it offers into Mr Hamilton’s Keynesian beliefs through the text it bears. The Hamilton note as well as the BEST coupons, along with other similar instances such as the ‘tea-garden’ paper tokens issued in Assam, are all very much a part of the India’s ‘paper money’ heritage. Their inclusion and listing in a book that claims to be a ‘standard reference guide’ could well have stimulated collector interest and led to another vista being opened in understanding and documenting ‘missing links’ in the story of Indian paper money. The reviewer sincerely hopes that the authors



take note of these remarks and consider reinstating at least some of the issues that had previously been listed under an independent chapter heading.

Despite these reservations, the reviewer can only describe his amazement at the scale of achievement of m/s Jhunjunwalla and Razack. They have brought out what is by far the most handsome numismatic publication in India to date, and through sheer tenacity and diligence have striven to make it extremely comprehensive. No doubt such an effort requires moving Herculean resources and the authors have done exactly that. The outcome is a book that will prove an inspiration to collectors and researchers alike for its meticulous compiling of details, easy and intelligible presentation, excellent publication qualities and superb and sumptuous visual aspects. Kishore Jhunjunwalla and Rezwan Razack will surely be known as 'trailblazers' in their own right and deserve every accolade for their efforts, rigour and investment, both academic and financial.

Shailendra Bhandare

### Articles

## FURTHER REMARKS ON THE *NOMINA SACRA* IN AKSUMITE COIN LEGENDS: THE CASE OF KING ISRAEL'S COPPER TYPE (H.47<sup>1</sup>)\*

By Wolfgang Hahn

The explanation of the main Greek formula *touto arese te chora* ("may this, i.e. the depicted cross, please the country") found on Aksumite coins of the Christian period<sup>2</sup> helped to elucidate the abbreviation pattern underlying the legends. The use of *nomina sacra* became apparent; these are certain abbreviations of holy names or terms well known from Christian epigraphy<sup>3</sup>, often denoted by an abbreviation mark (frequently a small cross) inserted inbetween the initial and final letter(s). Thus X+AC (of the land) appears in the titulature of the kings in the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. This mark could be omitted, so that we find XV (of Christ) or even X under King Joel<sup>5</sup> (late 6<sup>th</sup> century).

One of Joel's predecessors, King Israel (570s ?), issued copper coins with the cross in a *clipeus* (round shield frame) on the reverse and legends in Geez, as was normal on post-Kaleb coppers. There we read *l'hz b shl* which means "mercy to the peoples", but two more letters are added which have hitherto resisted interpretation as they do not fit into the Geez wording, not even in its crude engraving; they separate the end of the continuous circumscription from its beginning.

As in the case of the 5<sup>th</sup> century gold, the key lies in how we look at the coin: from a point outside and beneath looking inwards at the centre of the coin and then from the centre outwards by

\* English version of a note originally written in German for the *Mitteilungsblatt d. Instituts f. Numismatik u. Geldgeschichte der Universitaet Wien* 44/2012, 12-5; Vincent West is to be thanked for helping with the translation.

<sup>1</sup> The H.-no. used to quote the main types is taken from W. Hahn, *Die Muenzpraegung des Axumitischen Reiches, Lit. Num. Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113-80 (cf. *American Num. Soc. Mus. Notes* 29, 1984, 159-79 and the drawings in *Rev. Num.* 155, 2000, 181-211).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Hahn, The "anonymous" coinage of Aksum - typological concept and religious significance, *ONSNL* 184, 2005, 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. N. Oikonomides, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, Chicago 1974, 25-9.

<sup>4</sup> They are styled kings "of the land of the Abyssinians"; this resolution of the abbreviations on the coins has lately even found acceptance in Ethiopicists' circles, cf. A. Bausi, *Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia, Ann. del'Ist.Ital.di Num.* 50, 2003, 157-75 (cf.p.171).

<sup>5</sup> W. Hahn, Zur Interpretation der Muenztypen des Aksumitenkoenigs Joel, *Mitteilungsblatt d. Instituts f. Numismatik u. Geldgeschichte der Universitaet Wien* 34/2007, 7-11.

rotating it<sup>6</sup>. If we suppose the Geez slogan to start at 7 o'clock (as on the obverse) and written clockwise then the two enigmatic letters are positioned around 6 o'clock and must be read inwards (like the mint marks in the exergue of Roman coins): now the Greek *nomen sacrum* for Christ X<sup>+</sup>C or X<sup>-</sup>C becomes apparent, being an interpretation of the picture. The *imago clipeata* of the cross stands for Christ who was not personally shown at that time and the Geez legend refers to Him, the overlord of the Aksumite king (shown on the other side). Addresses to the "peoples" we can also find on coins of Israel's immediate predecessors.

The general typology of Israel's copper was not new. The profile bust looking right with tiara and cross sceptre on the obverse and the cross in the *clipeus* on the reverse reverts to a model used until Kaleb (c.510 - ca.540; H.43), but omitting the partial gilding (which disappears on the Aksumite coppers from then onwards). In the choice of the personal name Israel the ideology of God's people elect (instead of the repudiated Jewry) is further enhanced<sup>7</sup>: whilst the earlier King Kaleb (is related to the faithful scout of Moses, a co-opted Israelite (to whom the southernmost part of the Promised Land is allotted)<sup>8</sup> and King Gersem to Moses' son by a foreign (Southerner) wife<sup>9</sup>, Israel draws back to the patriarch, Jacob, himself.

The copper coins of Israel are among the rarest Aksumite types. Up till now only 7 specimens have been recorded:



1) National Library Paris (Cote 89 from Mordini 1948/50; no picture available)

2) 0.99g former Mordini collection (*Annales d'Ethiopie* 1959, p.182)

3) (0.595g fragment) National Museum Addis Abeba J.E.816 (from the 1958 excavations in Aksum; Godet 909<sup>10</sup>)

4) 0.93g Altheim collection (acquired 1960 or 1962 in Asmara; Walburg<sup>11</sup> 264)

5) 1.06g Vaccaro<sup>12</sup> 51 = Sternberg sale 18, Oct.1986, 256

6) 0.72g British Museum London 1969-6-24-17 (from Baldwin; BMC<sup>13</sup> 554)

<sup>6</sup> These remarks seem to be commonplace to numismatists, but apparently there is a hurdle for non-numismatists which resulted in the invention of an Aksumite king "Eon", a misreading for Noe, which has been perpetuated in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 2, Wiesbaden 2005, pp.328f (G. Fiacadori).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. W. Hahn, Noe, Israel und andere Koenige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Muenzen - Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der Koenigsherrschaft im alten Aethiopien, *Money Trend* 33/12, 2001, 124-8.

<sup>8</sup> Josua 15.13

<sup>9</sup> Exodus 2:22

<sup>10</sup> E. Godet, *Le monnayage de l'Ethiopie ancienne*, unpublished thesis Paris (Sorbonne) 2004.

<sup>11</sup> R. Walburg, Die Sammlung Altheim-Stiehl, *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 223-86.

<sup>12</sup> F. Vaccaro, *Le monete di Aksum*, Mantova 1967.

7) Italian private collection

Although there are closer similarities to be observed between these specimens no die identities can be detected. The survival rate seems to be low. If we compare the associated anonymous silver (H.68)<sup>14</sup> we find several die identities amongst the 14 known examples. Israel's gold type (H.46), on the other hand, is very well attested thanks to a hoard unearthed by the Adulis excavations of 1906/07 which provided more than 80% of the 42 coins of which nearly all are die-linked<sup>15</sup>.

**SOME RARE COINS OF THE ARMENIAN MINTS:  
ADDENDUM TO THE ISLAMIC COINS  
STRUCK IN HISTORIC ARMENIA, VOL. I**

By Aram Vardanyan\*

Since the publication of the first volume of *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia* (ICSHA)<sup>16</sup>, which included 262 coin types, some thirty additional types have attracted my attention. These coins, which mainly derive from private collections made in the Near East, Russia and elsewhere, are described in this addendum.<sup>17</sup>

Both numeration of coin types and abbreviations used for legends are given in this addendum in accordance with the style used for the *ICSHA* catalogue.

**GOLD COINAGE**

**ARMĪNIYA**

**AH 252 (AD 866/7)**

3a. In the name of al-Mu‘Tazz Billāh.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obvl.* بارميينية سنة اثنتين و خمسين و مائتين

*Obv2.* Qur‘ān XXX, 3-4.

*Rev.* Legend B. Above Ó. Below المعتر بالله \ امير المؤمنين

*Rev1.* Qur‘ān IX, 33.



Private Syrian Coll. (3.26 g; 20 mm). Unpublished?

<sup>13</sup> S. Munro-Hay, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999.

<sup>14</sup> For the dating cf. W. Hahn, The sequence and chronology of the late Aksumite coin types reconsidered, *JONS* 205, 2010, 5-10.

<sup>15</sup> W. Hahn, Aksumitische Goldschatzfunde des 6. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. und ihre Schicksale, *Money Trend* 43/12, 2011, 170-3.

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<sup>16</sup> Vardanyan A., *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia, vol. I, Armīniya, Arrān (Madīnat Arrān), Barda‘a, Dabil, Hārūnābād/al-Hārūniya, Ma‘dan Bājūnays, Early ‘Abbāsīd Period (142 – 277 AH / 759 – 891 AD)*, Yerevan, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> I would like to thank Ruben Vardanyan (Yerevan), Yahya Jafar (London), Konstantin Kravtsov (St. Petersburg), Roman Reva (Novosibirsk), Vadim Kalinin (Moscow), Rainer Seupel (Frankfurt a. M.), Christian Bruennlein (Bremen), James Farr (Tallahassee), Yevgen Lemberg (Odessa), Yevgeniy Goncharov (Moscow), Alexander Akopyan (Moscow), Sergey Kudin (Ruzhomberok), Ruslan Sibilev (Baku) and Syrian private collectors for providing me with illustrations of coins and advice.

**SILVER COINAGE**

**ARMĪNIYA**

**AH 182 (AD 798/9)**

51a. Sallām and Maḥbūb in the name of the caliphal heir, Muḥammad al-Amīn. A hybrid coin.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obvl.* بارميينية سنة اثنتين و ثمنين و مئة

oo – oo – oo – oo

*Rev.* محمد رسول الله \ مما امر به الامير محمد \ ولي عهد المسلمين

Above سلام. Below محبوب.

*Rev1.* Qur‘ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja‘far Coll. (2.86 g; 26 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

The crude style of the obverse inscriptions allows us to assign a hybrid origin to the coin. The obverse die could have been designed by local Armenian die cutters (I would exclude any Khazarian origin), while the reverse die derives from the mint of al-Muḥammadiya. Both Sallām and Maḥbūb were the officials at al-Muḥammadiya in the 170s AH. Their names can also be found on coins struck at al-Muḥammadiya in AH 178 (Lowick, *Corpus*, Nos. 1716-7; ANS, No. 1921.999.23 = Miles, RIC, No. 238). Michael Bates suggested that Sallām was an official involved in the activities of the “second” al-Muḥammadiya mine (Bates M., A second Muḥammadiya, and the four mints of the Bājūnays mine, *JONS* 209 (2011), p. 15). I am wondering whether this specimen could also be a production of the “second” al-Muḥammadiya suggested by Michael Bates. The question will, however, remain unanswered until a fully-fledged die comparison of coins that derive from the mints located in Armenia and North-Western Jibāl is undertaken.

**AH 183 (AD 799/800)**

52. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā in the name of the caliphal heir, al-Amīn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obvl.* بارميينية سنة ثلث و ثمنين و مئة

oo – oo – oo – oo

*Rev.* Legend S. Above علي بن . Below عيسى.

*Rev1.* Qur‘ān IX, 33.



Found in the Belgorod region of Russia in 2011. Info from Yevgeniy Goncharov (Moscow). Zeno, No. 107554 (25 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

In the *ICSHA* volume, I mistakenly placed an illustration of a dirham of Arrān struck in the same year.

**AH 192 (AD 807/8)**

70a. Khuzayma b. Khāzim with Nu‘aym b. Bishār in the name of the caliphal heir, al-Amīn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة اثنين و تسعين و مئة

o – oo – o – oo – o – oo

*Rev.* Legend S. Above خزيمة بن خازم

Below نعيم بن بشار.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Roman Reva Coll. (2.94 g; 25 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

The coins struck at the mint of Armīniya and bearing the names of Khuzayma b. Khāzim and Nu‘aym b. Bishār were so far known only for the year AH 191. Thanks to this new specimen one can extend the chronological timeframe for the issue of coins of this type.

**AH 196 (AD 811/2)**

75a. Ishāq b. Sulaymān in the name of the caliph al-Amīn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة ست و تسعين و مئة

o – o – o – o – o

*Rev.* Legend V. Above اسحق بن سليمان. Below (sic!) سليمان.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



From a hoard discovered in Russia. Information from Vadim Kalinin (Moscow). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.  
This is so far the earliest Armīniya coin struck in the name of Ishāq b. Sulaymān.

**AH 209 (AD 824/5)**

83a. Ṣadaqa with b. Makī in the name of the caliph al-Ma’mūn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة تسع و مائتين

o – o – o – o – o

*Rev.* محمد رسول الله الخليفة المأمون

Above صدقة. Below بن مكي.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Private Coll. (2.81 g). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

**AH 256 (AD 869/70)**

100a. In the name of al-Muhtadī Billāh.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة ست و خمسين و مائتين

*Obv2.* Qur’ān XXX, 3-4.

*Rev.* Legend B. Above المهدي بالله \ امير المؤمنين بالله.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



From the collection of the Transcaucasian coins of Sergii Kudin, Ruzhomberok, Slovakia (2,80 g; 24,5 mm). Pakhomov, *Monety*, ---

**AH 269 (AD 882/3)**

104a. Al-Muwaffaq Billāh in the name of al-Mu‘tamid ‘Alā Allāh.

*Obv.* Legend A. Below الموفق بالله.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة تسع و ستين و مائتين

*Obv2.* Qur’ān XXX, 3-4.

*Rev.* Legend B. Above المعتمد على الله. Below الله.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Roman Reva Coll. (4.06 g; 25 mm). Pakhomov, *Monety*, p. 143.

**AH 273 (AD 886/7)**

104b. Al-Muwaffaq Billāh in the name of al-Mu‘tamid ‘Alā Allāh.

*Obv.* Legend A. Below الموفق بالله.

*Obv1.* بارمينية سنة ثلث و سبعين و مائتين

*Obv2.* Qur’ān XXX, 3-4.

*Rev.* Legend B. Above المعتمد على الله. Below الله.

*Rev1.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Private Syrian Coll. (2.24 g; 23 mm). Another specimen (3.57 g; 24 mm) struck with the same pair of dies is in the Jirair Christianian Coll. (USA). Pakhomov, *Monety*, pp. 144-5.

**ARRĀN**

**AH 182 (AD 798/9)**

126a. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Al-Mahdī.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. باران سنة اثنتين و ثمنين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend B. Above عبيد الله. Below بن المهدي.

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 20, 8<sup>th</sup> of May 2012, lot 199 (2.85 g). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 770.

There are no coins known for the period from AH 169 to 183 struck at Arrān, so that this is so far the earliest silver dirham of Arrān struck in Hārūn al-Rashīd's period. The name of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Mahdī cited on the reverse suggests that, despite the reign of the brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd in Armīniya apparently being over in AH 175, 'Ubaydallāh was nevertheless able to preserve his possessions (or was reappointed) in Arrān for a longer period. Whether between AH 175 and 182 the governorship of 'Ubaydallāh was transferred from Armīniya to Arrān with an approval of the central authorities remains unclear.

#### AH 191 (AD 806/7)

143a. Khuzayma.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. باران سنة احدى و تسعين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend B. Below خزيمة \ ع

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Roman Reva Coll. (2.92 g; 24.8 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 811.

#### AH 192 (AD 807/8)

145a. Sulaymān b. Al-Aṣām.

Obv. Legend A. Below م (؟)

ObvI. باران سنة اثنتين و تسعين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend B. Above بن سليمان (sic!). Below بن الاصم

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Private Syrian Coll. (2.87 g; 24.5 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 814.

The letter م may be the initial letter of Muṣād, the name that appears on similar coins struck at Arrān in the same year (*ICSHA*, No. 145).

#### AH 196 (AD 811/2)

151a. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad in the name of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. باران سنة ست و تسعين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend X. Above طاهر. Below بن محمد

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Roman Reva Coll. (2.88 g). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

#### AH 196 (AD 811/2)

152a. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad in the name of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.

Obv. Legend A. Below two letters resembling a combination فع / فع.

ObvI. باران سنة ست و تسعين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend X. Above طاهر. Below بن محمد

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Roman Reva Coll. (2.89 g; 24 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 827.

#### AH 19(6) (AD 811/2)

154a. Iṣḥāq b. Sulaymān. A hybrid coin struck prepared in AH 192 and 196.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. باران سنة اثنتين (sic!) و تسعين و مئة

o-o-o-o-o

Rev. Legend B. Above اسحق. Below بن سليمان (sic!)

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja'far Coll. (2.83 g; 25 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

The date inscribed on the obverse cannot be ascertained for sure because of a blundered word following the word سنة. Apparently, the obverse die was prepared in AH 192. However, the observations

have shown that the coin was nevertheless struck after that date. This is confirmed by the fact that the reverse of the coin was struck with a die that was used for striking coins in AH 196 (*ICSHA*, No. 154). The most likely time for striking such coins might be AH 196, apparently, the very end of that year, but anyway before AH 197 when the coins are already struck with the mint-name *Madīnat Arrān*. In this case, it makes more sense to place the governorship of *Ishāq b. Sulaymān* after that of *Tāhīr b. Muḥammad*, which was obviously limited within the year AH 196.

#### AH 202 (AD 817/8)

154b. Anonymous. 1/3 dirham.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* باران سنة اثنين و مائتين

*Rev.* Legend B. Above الله.

*RevI.* Qur'ān IX, 33.



Yevgen Lemberg Coll. (0.76 g; 12.7 mm). Unpublished.

In the top segment of the reverse one can see a crudely engraved Ó. That word first appears on *Armīniya* dirhams struck in the same year under *Ḥātīm* (Cat. No. 76). On the coins struck by that official at *Dabīl* a year earlier the word Ó is still absent (Cat. No. 185). Another interesting peculiarity is the weight of the coin that represents a denomination which is close to a 1/3 of a dirham. I would like to thank Yevgen Lemberg (Odessa) for his calculations and determination of the denomination.

#### MADĪNAT ARRĀN

##### AH 197 (AD 812/3)

154c. *Sulaymān* in the name of the caliph *al-Ma'mūn*.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمدينة اران سنة سبع و تسعين و مئة

oo – oo – oo – oo – oo – oo

*Rev.* Legend X. Above الله ذو الرياستين. Below (sic!) سليمان.

*RevI.* Qur'ān IX, 33.



State Hermitage, inv. No. 1724 (2.72 g; 23 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 831; Pakhomov, *Monety*, p. 112.

This is so far the earliest coin struck at the mint of *Madīnat Arrān*.

##### AH 208 (AD 823/4)

158a. *Ṣadaqa b. 'Alī* with *al-'Abbās b. Khālīd* and *Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Al-Kalbī*.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمدينة اران سنة ثمان و مائتين

oo – oo – oo – oo – oo

Another sequence of annulet patterns.

*Rev.* محمد رسول (sic!) \ مما امر به الامير \ صدقة بن علي

Above محمد بن عبد الله \ الكلبي. Below العباس بن خلد

*RevI.* Qur'ān IX, 33.



Zeno, No. 10784 (2,94 g; 25.3 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

##### AH 209 (AD 824/5)

162a. 'Abd al-A'lā b. Aḥmad with 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥya in the name of the caliph *al-Ma'mūn*.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمدينة اران سنة تسع و مائتين

o – o – o – o – o – o

*Rev.* Legend Z. Above عبد الاعلى بن احمد. Below عبید الله بن يحيى

*RevI.* Qur'ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja'far Coll. (2.92 g; 25 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---; Pakhomov, *Monety*, p. 121.

The name of 'Abd al-A'lā b. Aḥmad was hitherto known for coins struck at *Madīnat Arrān* in AH 211 and 212. This specimen offers a new date that moves the beginning of the rule of this official back to AH 209.

##### AH 214 (AD 829/30)

172a. *Khālīd b. Yazīd* with *Ibrāhīm b. 'Attāb Al-Ma'mūnī* in the name of the caliph *al-Ma'mūn*.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمدينة اران سنة اربع عشرة و مائتين

o – o – o – o – o – o

*Rev.* Legend Z. Above خلد بن يزيد. Below ابراهيم بن عتاب \ المأموني

*RevI.* Qur'ān IX, 33.



Private Syrian Coll. (2.69 g; 25,5 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

The *nisba* *al-Ma'mūnī* should have belonged to *Ibrāhīm b. al-'Attāb* who may have been one of *al-Ma'mūn's mawlas*. Another renowned *mawla* of that caliph was 'Isā *al-Ma'mūnī* whose name appears on coins struck at the mints of *Armīniya* and *Madīnat Arrān* in AH 206 – 208.

Silver coins with the name of Khālīd b. Yazīd are known from AH 211 (*ICSHA*, No. 166). His coins with the name of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Attāb belong to the period AH 214 – 217 (*ICSHA*, Nos. 84, 173-5, 177). There are also a few rare copper coins dated AH 214 with the names of Khālīd b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. ‘Attāb (*ICSHA*, No. 242).

### HĀRŪNĀBĀD

AH 168 (AD 784/5)

186a. Ḥasan in the name of the caliph al-Mahdī and caliphal prince Hārūn.

*Obv.* Legend A. The letter م between the second and third lines of the central inscription.

*ObvI.* بهرون اباد سنة ثمان و سبعين و مئة

ooo – ooo – ooo

*Rev.* Legend H. Above ارمينية. Below حسن.

*RevI.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Christian Bruennlein Coll. (2.75 g; 25 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---. Unpublished.

AH 173 (AD 789/90)

187a. A hybrid coin struck with an old reverse die mentioning Ḥasan, the caliph al-Mahdī and caliphal prince Hārūn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بهرون اباد سنة ثلث و سبعين و مئة

o – ooo – o – ooo – o – ooo

*Rev.* Legend H. Above ارمينية. Below حسن.

*RevI.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja’far Coll. (2.62 g; 25.5 mm). Unpublished.

This hybrid coin is rather puzzling. The obverse suggests an issue of coins in the latter AH 170s. For the reverse an old die of AH 168 – 169 was used. In fact, such coins dated AH 173 were never struck for a wide circulation due to both nomenclatural and administrative changes that occurred in the region during the first years of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s caliphate. I thank Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for discussing this coin with me.

### AL-HĀRŪNIYA

AH 169 (AD 785/6)

190a. Yazīd b. Mazyad in the name of the caliph al-Hādī.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بالهرونية سنة تسع و ستين و مئة

ooo – •• – ooo – •• ooo – ••

*Rev.* Legend I. Above مما امر يزيد. Below بن مزيد.

*RevI.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Rainer Seupel Coll. (2.95 g; 26.4 mm). Bonner, *The Mint Hārūnābād*, No. 7.

AH 170/1 (AD 786/8)

196a or 197a. Rajā and Rawḥ in the name of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بالهرونية سنة [احدى و] سبعين و مئة

o – o – o – o

*Rev.* Legend محمد رسول الله الخليفة المرضى

Above رجا. Below رو and ح.

*RevI.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Found in Kaluga region of Russia. Zeno, No. 112049 (24 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 891 Var.; Bonner, *The Mint Hārūnābād*, ---.

### MA’DIN BĀJUNAYS

AH 195 (AD 810/1)

208a. ‘Ubayd in the name of the caliph Muḥammad al-Amīn.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمعدن باجنيس سنة خمس و تسعين و مئة

o – o – o – o – o

*Rev.* Legend U. Below عبيد.

*RevI.* Qur’ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja’far Coll. (2.79 g; 24 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 927 Var. (with another sequence of annulet patterns).

Thanks to this specimen, the rule of ‘Ubayd can be extended to AH 195. Michael Bates suggested that ‘Ubayd might be one of those persons who were assigned to the mine (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

AH 207 (AD 822/3)

225a. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh.

*Obv.* Legend A.

*ObvI.* بمعدن باجنيس سنة سبع و مائتين

o - o - o - o - o

Rev. Legend B. Above محمد بن. Below عبد الله.

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja'far Coll. (2.67 g; 24.5 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

AH 212 (AD 827/8)

228a. Khālīd b. Yazīd.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. بمعدن باجنيس سنة اثنين عشرة و مائتين

oo - oo - oo - oo - oo

Rev. Legend B. Above خلد بن. Below يزيد.

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Yahya Ja'far Coll. (2.90 g; 23 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, No. 947.

This is so far the earliest coin struck in the name of Khālīd b. Yazīd at Ma'din Bājunays.

AH 213 (AD 828/9)

229a. Khālīd b. Yazīd. A half mithqāl.

Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. بمعدن باجنيس سنة ثلاثة عشرة و مائتين

Rev. Legend B. Above خلد بن. Below يزيد.

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33 (not finished).



Tübingen, inv. No. 97-28-1 (2.14 g; 16 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*,---. Hirsch L., Ungewöhnliche Silbermünznomiale zur Zeit des al-Ma'mūn, in: Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen: Orientalische Münzen, Jahresbericht 1997, Tübingen, 1998, pp 8-9.

AH 21x (AD 820s - 830s)

After 228. Yūsuf b. Sa'ād.

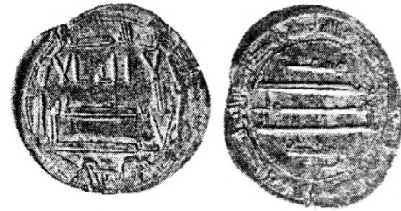
Obv. Legend A.

ObvI. بمعدن باجنيس سنة ..... عشرة و مائتين

o - ?

Rev. Legend B. Above يوسف. Below بن سعيد.

RevI. Qur'ān, IX, 33.



Lomouri T., On the History of Monetary Circulation in Medieval Georgia, Tbilisi, 2005, No. 373 (3.05 g; 24 mm). Lowick, *Corpus*, ---.

### COPPER COINAGE

#### ARRĀN

AH 154 - 158 (AD 770 - 775)

234a. Qaḥṭaba in the name of the caliphal heir Muḥammad al-Amīn.

Obv. Legend A. o - o - o - o

ObvI. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفليس باران سنة ..... و خمسين و مئة

Rev. Legend B. Above الممهدي محمد بن امير المؤمنين \ قحطبة. A six-pointed star above.

RevI. Qur'ān IX, 33.



Ruslan Sibilev Coll. (2.22 g; 21.3 mm). Two other specimens at Zeno, Nos. 110530, 110531. Unpublished.

The name Qaḥṭaba on this coin should refer to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā'ī, the governor of Armīniya in AH 154 - 158. His name is also present on silver dirhams struck at Armīniya and Arrān in AH 154 - 155, and probably those minted at Hārūnābād in AH 168 - 169 (*ICSHA*, Nos. 20-1, 121-2, 186-7).

#### DABĪL

AH 187 (AD 802/3)

255a. 'Ibād in the name of Muḥammad b. Yazīd.

Obv. Legend A. An ornament placed beneath it. o - o - o - o - o

Rev. على يدي \ مما امر به \ الامير محمد \ بن يزيد \ عباد.

RevI. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفليس بديبل سنة سبع و ثمنين و مئة



Yerevan (SHMA), inv. No. 19357/3 (2.5 g; 22.5 mm). Unpublished.

I could not find in the narrative sources any 'Ibād among the officials appointed to Armīniya during the reign of Muḥammad b. Yazīd.

AH 194 (AD 809/10)

251. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad.

Obv. Legend A. Below م \ ف \ ق. o - o - o - o

Rev. مما امر به الامير عبد الله \ بن محمد \ عدل . A sign above.

RvI. محمد رسول الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بديبل سنة اربع و تسعين و مئة



Roman Reva Coll. (1.84 g; 19.5 mm).

While attributing another coin of this type for the *ICSHA* volume, I was dealing with a partially damaged piece what did not allow me to read the date properly. I am not quite sure about reading 194 on this specimen either, but if this is correct, then the ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad mentioned on this coin, should be sought among the officials that acted under al-Amīn.

## ONE MORE QARĀKHĀNID APPANAGE RULER DISCOVERED

By Michael Fedorov

The chronicles written in the Qarākhānid khaqanate have not survived. Information on the Qarākhānids in the contemporary chronicles of other dynasties, or chronicles written after the Qarākhānids ceased to exist is scarce, obscure and sometimes contradictory. Qarākhānid coins are, therefore, very important, sometimes being the only source for some periods in Qarākhānid history. Qarākhānid coinage, however, is very complicated. The rulers had many *laqabs* and changed titles during their career. We often find on the coins only a *laqab* or title without any name. The coins usually cite two or three persons: suzerain, vassal, subvassal. Many Qarākhānids are hidden behind anonymous *laqabs* or titles. The most important (and difficult) task of a scholar of Qarākhānid numismatics and history is to identify an anonymous *laqab* or title with some Qarākhānid cited on other coins by name or mentioned in the chronicles.

By the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, 110 Qarākhānid rulers were known from coins and written sources, or only from coins (Fedorov 2001, 16-33), but now and then monetary finds bring to light some hitherto unknown Qarākhānid ruler. Recently I came across one such coin, found by the Bishkek numismatist and antiquary, V. Koshevar, in Kirgiziia. This is a fals of AH (42)3 Uzgend (collection of V. Koshevar (Fig. 1).



Obv: Within a beaded circle, an equilateral triangle with a crescent at the middle of each side. Within each crescent is a dot. Within the triangle: خان .

Marginal legend: (sic) بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس باوزكند سنة ثلث

Rev: عضد الدولة \ كوج نكين .

Marginal legend: (sic) مما امر به الامير الاجل يوسف بن على مولى امير

Thus, this coin cites three Qarākhānid rulers: Khān (suzerain), ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn (vassal) and Yūsuf b. ‘Alī (subvassal).

Now, who is who on this coin? The identity of the Qarākhānid ruler, who appeared on coins in 416/1025-26 with the *laqab* ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, was one of the enigmas of Qarākhānid numismatics. The first attempt to identify ‘Aḍud al-Dawla with a known Qarākhānid was made in 1956 by B. Litvinsky (1956, 116-117) but his arguments proved not to be valid (Fedorov 2007, 133). For another fifty-one years, the identity of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla remained an enigma. But finally this enigma was resolved (Fedorov 2007, 131-43). ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn proved to be ‘Alī b. Hārūn (the future Ṭonghā Khān I), a brother of the supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānid Khaqanate (with capital in Kāshghār), Qadir Khān I Yūsuf, the son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn (who ruled Balāsāghūn and conquered the Sāmānid capital, Bukhārā, in AD 992). After Qadir Khān I Yūsuf had conquered the Farghāna valley from the Western Qarākhānids, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla ruled (though not simultaneously) various towns in Farghāna: Uzgend, Akhsīket, Kāsān, Qubā, Marghīnān, Khojende as a vassal of Qadir Khān I. After the death of Qadir Khān I (in Muḥarram 424 / December 1032) he ruled Balāsāghūn, and, in 430-40, southern Farghāna, as an independent Khanate. In 440/1048-9, the son of Qadir Khān I, Arslān Khān Suleimān, conquered Farghāna, subjugated ‘Aḍud al-Dawla and deprived him of the khanian title. In 440-445/1048-54 ‘Aḍud al-Dawla ruled some towns in Farghāna as vassal of Arslān Khān. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla disappears from coins after 445/1053-4 (Fedorov 2007, 131-43).

Because of a mistake by the die-engraver there is no place for the full date on the present coin. Only the digit ثلث (three) was engraved. But I can demonstrate that this coin was minted in AH 423 (AD 1031-2).

In 413/1022-3 Uzgend and Farghāna belonged to the Western Qarākhānids, and, moreover, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla appeared on coins only in AH 416/1025-6. In 433/1041-2 in Uzgend coins were struck in the name of al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khān, i.e. ‘Alī b. Hārūn, but with the khanian title, while on the present coin he has the princely title, Kūch Tegīn. After 440/1048-9 coins of Uzgend cited the suzerain Arslān Khān, with his vassal ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, and subvassal Bahrām (but not Yūsuf). Hence there only remains the year 423.

Having established the date when the present coin must have been struck, we can easily establish who was the anonymous “Khān”, cited as suzerain. He was Qadir Khān I Yūsuf, the conqueror of Farghāna and Uzgend. Now, who was the hitherto unknown Qarākhānid appanage ruler al-Amīr al-Ajall Yūsuf b. ‘Alī, who possessed Uzgend as vassal of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn ‘Alī b. Hārūn? Without any doubt he was the son of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn ‘Alī b. Hārūn, named so, most probably, after his mighty uncle, Qadir Khān I Yūsuf.

So this new monetary find has brought to light one more hitherto unknown Eastern Qarākhānid appanage ruler, Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. Hārūn. Unfortunately, it is so far the only known coin of this Qarākhānid.

One more thing to end with. In 2000 (Fedorov 2000, 21, 20, 44, 45) I wrote that the Qarākhānid appanage ruler, Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī, cited on coins of Marghīnān in 434, 443, of Qubā in 443 (no suzerain, no vassal), and on a coin without mint name in 44x (as vassal of Arslān Khān Suleimān) was a Western Qarākhānid, the son of the ruler of Bukhārā, ‘Alī Tegīnā, a view I repeated in 2001 (Fedorov 2001, 26). But now I am sure that Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī, was an Eastern Qarākhānid, the son of ‘Alī b. Hārūn, named after his grandfather, Boghrā Khān Hārūn (ruler of Balāsāghūn and conqueror of the Sāmānid capital, Bukhārā, in 382/992).

### References:

- Fedorov, M. 2000. “Marghīnān”, in: “Notes on the Qarākhānids and their coinage – I”, *Supplement to ONS Newsletter 165*.  
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## A SUPPLEMENT TO THE ARTICLE “THE GENEALOGY OF THE QARĀKHĀNIDS”

By Michael Fedorov

In 2001 my article “The Genealogy of the Qarākhānids” (Fedorov 2001, 16-34) was published in the supplement to ONS 168. It was the first “Who’s who” of Qarākhānid numismatics. One hundred and ten Qarākhānids, known from coins and written sources, or only from coins - supreme rulers of the Qarākhānid khaqanate and rulers of appanage principalities, suzerains, vassals and subvassals - were listed together with relevant data. The relevant data were as follows: 1) the place in the genealogy (if established); 2) when mentioned in written sources; 3) when cited for the first and last time on coins; 4) date of death (if known); 5) on the coins of which towns or provinces (and when) the person was cited, and in what capacity (suzerain, vassal or subvassal); 6) the career and changes in hierarchy; 7) titulage and changes in the titulature; 8) *laqabs* and *kunias*.

More than ten years have elapsed since the publication of this article, during which time new coins have been found, bringing to light new hitherto unknown Qarākhānids, allowing us to revise or elaborate some inferences previously made, or helping us to resolve some enigmas of Qarākhānid numismatics. These new data have made it necessary to write additions or even to rewrite some paragraphs, which is the purpose of this article.

The identity of the Qarākhānid ruler, who appeared on coins in 416/1025-26 with the *laqab* ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, was one of the enigmas of Qarākhānid numismatics. The first attempt to identify ‘Aḍud al-Dawla with a known Qarākhānid was made in 1956 by B. Litvinsky (1956, 116-117) but his arguments proved not to be valid (Fedorov 2007, 133). For another fifty years the identity of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla remained an enigma. But finally this enigma was resolved (Fedorov 2007, 131-143). Now that the identity of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla has been established, the paragraph dealing with the Qarākhānid Ṭonghā Khān (Eastern) I, published by me earlier (Fedorov 2001, 18) should be rewritten. Here is the rewritten paragraph. But first the abbreviations used. **M** - mentioned in written sources; **D** - died in; **C** - cited on the coins of.

Ṭonghā Khān (Eastern) I ‘Alī b. Hārūn. **M**: 435/1043-4. **D**: ca 445/1035-6. **C**: 416-445/1025-1054 on coins of 9 mints. **Uzgend** 416 (suzerain Qadir Khān I Yūsuf b. Hārūn, subvassal Saif al-Dawla), 416-423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I), 424-425 (no suzerain, vassal Hāshim), 428, 430-433 as Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khān (no suzerain, no vassal), 440 (suzerain Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Yūsuf), 441 (suzerain Arslān Khān Sulaimān, subvassal Bahrām). **Akhsiket** 419-423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I), 423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I, subvassal Aḥmad Alptegīn), 424 (no suzerain, vassal Mu‘izz al-Dawla Malik), 429-430 as Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khān (no suzerain, no vassal). **Kāsān** 422-423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I, subvassal Mu‘izz al-Dawla), 424 (no suzerain, vassal Mu‘izz al-Dawla). **Qubā** 416-417 (suzerain Qadir Khān I), 442, 445 (suzerain Arslān Khān Sulaimān, subvassal Būrtegin), 445 (suzerain Arslān Khān Sulaimān, vassal ‘Imād al-Dawla, subvassal ‘Aḍud al-Dawla). **Marghīnān** 418, 423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I), 439, 440 as Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khān (no suzerain, no vassal). **Khojende** 423, 424 and **Rishtān** 423 (suzerain Qadir Khān I, vassal Rukn al-Dawla, subvassal ‘Aḍud al-Dawla). **Farghānā** 431 as ... (al-Mu)‘ayyad Ṭoghā (sic) Khān (no suzerain, no vassal). **Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn)** 425(?), 427- 429 as Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khāqān (no suzerain, no vassal). Titulage: ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn (Kuch Tegīn) 416-425. Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Ṭonghā Khān (Khāqān) 425(?), 427-433, 439-440. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla 440-445.

New monetary finds have brought to light one more Eastern Qarākhānid, a son of ‘Alī b. Hārūn.

Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. Hārūn. **C**: **Uzgend** 4(2)3 (suzerain Khān, i.e. Qadir Khān I, vassal ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Kūch Tegīn, i.e. ‘Alī b. Hārūn, subvassal Yūsuf b. ‘Alī). Titulage: al-Amīr al-Ajall.

The mintname which I (Fedorov 2001, 18-19) read as **Khogend (419)** proved to be **Khoqand**.

The paragraph about Jabrā’il b. ‘Umar (Fedorov 2001, 20) should be rewritten as follows.

Jabrā’il b. ‘Umar – **M**: 482/1089-90 as *Toḡhrul* b. (“b” is mistake) *Ināl*, who sacked Kāshghar, took Boghrā Khān Ḥasan b. Suleimān prisoner; ca 488/1095 as *Toḡhrul Ināl Bek*, who “mutinied” in Kāsān (actually he captured it) in Northern Farghāna; 494/1100-1 as *Qadir* (elsewhere Ibn al-Athīr called him *Toḡhān*) *Khān*, who conquered Bukhārā. **D**: killed 2 Sha‘bān 495/22 May 1102 near Tirmidh. **C**: **Ṭarāz** 48(1)/ 1088-9 (*Toḡhrul Tegīn*, vassal of *Ṭafghāch Khākān Ḥasan*), **Kāsān** ca 488/1095, not later than 495/ 1101-2 (as *Ṭafghāch Khān* Jabrā’il, no vassal), **Bukhārā** (49)4/1100-1 (as *Ṭafghāch Khān* Jabrā’il, no vassal). Titulage: *Toḡhrul Tegīn*, *Toḡhrul Ināl Bek*, *Kūl Er Tegīn*, *Qadir (Ṭafghāch, Toḡhān) Khān*.

For Arslān Khān (Western) Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī (Fedorov 2001, 21) the earliest mintname and date has been discovered: **Ushrūshana** 400/1009-10 (Fedorov, Cannito 2008, 563). Maṣṣūr is cited as a vassal of Ilek, i.e. of his brother, Naṣr b. ‘Alī. Also a fals of AH 409 Shāsh was discovered (collection of G. Khudiakov): suzerain Nūr al-Dawla wa Shams al-Milla, i.e. Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Ṭonghā Ukā, whom I now identify with ‘Alī b. Ḥasan or ‘Alī Tegīn (about whom, see Fedorov 2001, 26).

For Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī (Fedorov 2001, 22) some new mintnames have been discovered: **Farghānā** 411, 412 (Kochnev 2004, 562a, 580a). Suzerain Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), vassal Ilek (Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), subvassal ‘Ain al-Dawla (Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī) and **Farghānā-Qubā** 411 (Kochnev 2004, 538a). Suzerain Ilek Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, vassal ‘Ain al-Dawla (Muḥammad b. Naṣr). On the other hand, he never minted in **Quz Ordū** (i.e. **Balāsāghūn**).

The paragraph dealing with Ahmad b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī (Fedorov 2001, 23) should be rewritten as follows:

Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī. **C**: **Ispijāb** 389 (vassal Mut), 392 (vassal Mut, subvassal Ṭāhir Rāzī). **Khojende** 390 suzerain Ilek Naṣr b. ‘Alī, vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. **Khojende** 390 (collection of A. Kuznetsov) suzerain Ilek (Naṣr b. ‘Alī), vassal Muḥammad ‘Alī (“b.” is omitted), subvassal Irtāsh. **Ilāq** 404 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal Irtāsh), 404 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal Sakhā al-Dawla), 404-405 (suzerain Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, vassal Irtāsh), 406 (suzerain Khān, vassal Ilek, subvassal Irtāsh). **Bukhārā** 411 suzerain Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), vassal Ilek (Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), subvassal Ahmad b. Ilek Naṣr). Turkic name Irtāsh(?). *Laqab* Sakhā al-Dawla(?).

The paragraph about Jaghri Tegīn Husain b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī (Fedorov 2001, 23) needs to be elaborated. The AH 406 **Bukhārā** fals cited Jaghri Tegīn Abū ‘Alī Husain b. Maṣṣūr, the AH 412 **Tūnket** fals cited, according to B. Kochnev (1995, no. 415, 579), Jaghri Tegīn Abū ‘Alī Husain b. Ḥasan. So he (1979, 139; 2006, 74) asserted that Bukharan Jaghri Tegīn Abū ‘Alī Husain and Tunketian Jaghri Tegīn Abū ‘Alī Husain were different persons. But: 1) as far as I know, nobody but Kochnev saw the AH 412 Tūnket fals on which he read the name Ḥasan. The reading ‘Ḥasan’ may have been mistaken; 2) the notion that two different, contemporary Qarākhānids had absolutely the same name, *kunia*, and title seems to me to be extremely unlikely; 3) as for different *laqabs*, many Qarākhānids had more than one *laqab*, so that different *laqabs* could be placed on different coins; 4) even if Kochnev read the name Ḥasan correctly it is more plausible that, having engraved three words correctly (title, name, *kunia*), the die-engraver engraved mistakenly the fourth word, than that, having engraved three words in a row mistakenly, the die-engraver engraved the fourth word correctly. I am sure the Bukharan and Tunketian Jaghri Tegīn Abū ‘Alī Husain is one and the same person.

The paragraph about Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr (Fedorov 2001, 23) needs to be rewritten as follows:

## THE GENOESE-TARTAR COINAGE OF CAFFA AND KRIM: A SMALL HOARD OF SILVER ASPERS

By Michael Mitchiner

Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr. C: 405, 413-414, 423 on coins of 3 mints. **Kharashket** 405 as Ināl Yūsuf, vassal of Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. Sheljī as Samsām al-Daula Tonghā (Yanghā, offered by B. Kochnev is less plausible) Tegīn, vassal of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī. Sutrūshana (Ustrūshana) 423 as Samsām al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Boghrā(?)... Subvassal Malīk Abā Šālīh(?).

To the paragraph about Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (Fedorov 2001, 24) the following should be added: in 415 he minted coins in **Īlāq** as the vassal of Saif al-Daula Malīkān, i.e. of Muḥammad b. Naṣr.

New monetary finds have brought to light another Western Qarākhānid: ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī. C: 402-409/1011-1019. Two mints. **Samarqand** 402 (suzerain Naṣr b. ‘Alī, vassal Muḥammad b. Hasan, subvassal ‘Abd al-Raḥman). **Kharachket** 409 (no suzerain, no vassal). Titulage: al-Amīr al-Muzaffar. *Kunia* Abū Muḥammad.

An addition to the paragraph about Khidr b. Ibrahīm (Fedorov 2001, 24): Kochnev (2006, 212) wrote that al-Zahabī (14<sup>th</sup> century) dated the death of Khidr Khān to 479/1086-7 but, as was often the case, he did not give any reference to the work of al-Zahabī.

An addition to the paragraph about Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad (Fedorov 2001, 25): he started his reign after the battle of Qatwān, i.e. in 536/1141-2.

An addition to the paragraph about ‘Alī b. Hasan (Fedorov 2001, 26): he appeared for the first time on the coins not in AH 411 in Bukhārā but in 409 in **Shāsh** (G. Khudiakov collection). He is cited on the coins of AH 409-410 **Shāsh** as Tonghā Ukā or Ukā ‘Alī (Kochnev 1995, no. 540-542) and vassal of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī.

In 2001 I (Fedorov 2001, 26) wrote that the Qarākhānid appanage ruler, Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī, cited on coins of Marghīnān in 434, 443, of Qubā in 443 (no suzerain, no vassal), and on a coin without mint name in 44x (as vassal of Arslān Khān Suleimān) was a Western Qarākhānid, the son of the ruler of Bukhārā, ‘Alī Tegīn. But now that the question of attributing the laqab, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, has been resolved, I have changed my opinion and identify Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī, as an Eastern Qarākhānid, the son of ‘Alī b. Hārūn, named after his grandfather, Boghrā Khān Hārūn (ruler of Balāsāghūn and the first conqueror the Sāmānid capital, Bukhārā, in 382/992). So that the paragraph about Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī should be transferred to the section on the Eastern Qarākhānids (Fedorov 2001, 18-20) and corrections to Tables 2 and 3 (pp. 31 and 32) should be made. Moreover, the paragraph in question should be placed after the paragraph about Tonghā Khān (Eastern) I ‘Alī b. Hārūn, and rewritten as follows.

Hārūn b. ‘Alī. C: 434/1042-3, 443/1051-2. At least two mints. Marghīnān 434, 443 and Qubā 443 (as Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī. No suzerain, no vassal), without clear mintname 44x (as Hārūn b. ‘Alī. Suzerain Arslān Khān Suleimān son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf). Titulage: *Arslān Tegīn. Kunya Abū al-Muzaffar.*

Thus, the total number of Qarākhānid rulers, known from coins and written sources, has grown to 112.

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Caffa (Kaffa: the ancient city of Theodosia) was a prosperous Genoese trading station on the east coast of the Crimean peninsula. The colony acknowledged Tartar suzerainty. The small hoard, or part hoard, of silver coins bearing dual Golden Horde and Genoese designs comprises aspers minted during the 1420's and 1430's. The aspers, as the coins were named in Genoese documents, are small silver coins of similar size to the silver dirhems minted by the Golden Horde. One coin was minted at Krim (Qrim) and all the other coins were minted at Caffa. The Genoese-Tartar coin minted at Krim is the most significant coin in the present hoard.

The Genoese first established a trading colony at Caffa in the early thirteenth century. The Mongols expelled the Genoese in 1239. The Genoese returned in the second half of the thirteenth century and built strong defences around their re-established colony at Caffa. The colony was thriving and populous in 1318, when Pope John XII created a bishopric at Caffa. At this period, Genoese statutes governing Caffa (AD 1290, 1314) forbade the coining of money at Caffa. The colony continued to expand its territory. It began minting coins towards the end of the fourteenth century, as will be discussed. Turkish expansion, which followed the fall of Constantinople in 1453, witnessed the Turkish occupation of Caffa in 1475 and the expulsion of the Genoese.

Zambaur recorded coins of the Golden Horde minted at Qrim until as late as AH 800 (1397), 809 (1406) and 820 (1417). Thereafter, Qrim was a mint for coins of the Krim Khanate from AH 845 (1441) onwards. Zambaur also recorded Golden Horde coins minted at Kafah Jadidah dated AH 802 (1399), 806 (1403) and 807 (1404), this last issued in the name of Shadi Beg (803-810: 1401-1407). The latest Golden Horde issue was in AH 811 (1408). Thereafter, Kafah was a mint for coins of the Krim Khanate from AH 899 (1493).

The different versions of the place names merit explanation: Kaffa versus Caffa, and Krim versus Qrim: *Caffa*. Caffa, starting with the letter "C" is the normal Latinised form used in western literature. In the Latin legends on the coins discussed here, the place name commences with the letter "C". It is spelt, variously, as "Cafe", "Cafa", or simply "Caf". These are all abbreviations of the Latin genitive form "Caffae", which means "of Caffa". On Islamic coins, the mint name starts with the letter "K". It is spelt "Kafah".

*Krim*. The normal form used in western literature is "Krim", beginning with the letter "K". On Islamic coins, the mint name in Arabic script commences with the letter "Q". It is spelt "Qrim", as on the last coin catalogued here.

Kafah

Qrim

The period of this hoard was a phase of anarchy in the affairs of the Golden Horde. The anarchy was a sequel to Timur's defeats of Toqtamish Khan (Toqtamish: 778-797: 1378-1395) in 1390 (793) and 1393 (797). During the period of this hoard, Ulugh Muhammad (820-c. 828 and 832-838: 1417-c. 1425 and 1428-1434), originally a general of Toqtamish Khan, was the real power in the Crimea. Ulugh Muhammad was temporarily expelled from power by Devlet Birdi during, approximately, 1425 to 1428 (828-832).

In the meantime, Hajji Giray, son of Ulugh Muhammad, declared independence in the Crimea around 1420. He extended his domain and became the acknowledged Khan of Krim around the end of his father's reign, in 1434. Hajji Giray remained Khan of Krim, apart from transient expulsion during 1456 (860), until he died in 1466 (871).

The overlords acknowledged on the Genoese-Tartar coins in the present hoard were Ulugh Muhammad and Devlet Birdi. All coins bear the Golden Horde tamgha, which shows several minor varieties. The later Caffa coins acknowledging Hajji Giray, and bearing the Krim tamgha, are not represented in this hoard.

Retowski discussed Genoese-Tartar coinage in a more occidental context. He recorded a monetary convention between Caffa and Toqtamish Khan in 1380. Documentary evidence shows that the Caffa mint was active in 1396 (799). The books of the Caffa Treasury for 1420 and 1422 to 1424 (823-828) include entries for the 'purchase and maintenance of iron instruments for the mint', and also make reference to mint functionaries. Further documents attest mint activity until 1471 (876).

The first coins minted at Caffa appear to have borne the normal legends of the Golden Horde, the dirhems of Kafah noted by Zambaur for the period AH 802 to 811 (1399-1408).

The first coins to include a partly Genoese design illustrate the gateway emblem of Genoa on the obverse, enclosed by a Latin legend, which reads 'Commune Ianvem'. The Arabic reverse legend (without tamgha) names the overlord. The Khan's name is difficult to read. Toqtamish has been one suggestion. Retowski dated the issue slightly later by comparison with Golden Horde dirhems dated 822 (1419) and 823 (1420).

Subsequent aspers bear the Genoese gateway on the obverse and the Golden Horde tamgha on the reverse. The gateway is enclosed by a pellet border, which shows several minor variations. The marginal Latin legend was initially long, and subsequently abbreviated. The long legend only occurs on a few coins. It reads 'Dvx Mediolani Cafe', meaning the Duke of Milan (lord of) Caffa. Most coins bearing the Golden Horde tamgha have an abbreviated form of the obverse legend just cited. The range includes "DV . M . D . CAFE", "DV . M . CAFE", "DV . M . CAFA" and "D . M . CAFA". The meaning is "Dvx Mediolani Dominvs Caffae": "Duke of Milan, Lord of Caffa". Retowski has argued convincingly that all the coins bearing these legends were minted while Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, also ruled over Genoa during 1421 to 1435.

The coins discussed here are readily dated by their obverse and reverse legends within the period 1421 to 1434.

*Obverse:* Duke of Milan ruling Genoa: 1421 to 1435

*Reverse:* Ulugh Muhammad 1417 to c. 1425  
Devlet Birdi: c. 1425 to 1428  
Ulugh Muhammad: 1428 to c. 1434.

### General description of the Caffa coins

The range of designs is restrained, but there are numerous minor varieties. This suggests a substantial original mint output. The coins were poorly struck, with the result that only parts of the complete design are visible on any particular coin. Rostowski's reference to the 'purchase and maintenance of iron instruments for the mint' suggests that they may have been using dies made of iron, instead of bronze. The greater difficulty of die engraving and the increased risk of die fracture could explain some features of the coinage, such as the multiplicity of observed dies and the indifferent quality of the coins. The general description given here is based both on Retowski's catalogue listing over 150 varieties relevant to the present period, and also on the coins in the hoard being discussed.

#### Obverse

Gateway of Genoa: pellet each side, or arrow head each side, or no added ornament.

Pellet frame around gateway of quatrefoil shape, or barely definable quatrefoil, or circle, or incomplete circle.

DV . M . D . CAFE, DV . M . CAFE, DV . M . CAFA, D . M . CAFA

#### Reverse

Golden Horde tamgha in circle

a. Star (several minor varieties). Arabic legend clockwise with letters base outwards. Only Ulugh Muhammad

- b. Two vertical pellets inside, two pellets above. Only Devlet Birdi
- c. Two vertical pellets inside. Only Devlet Birdi
- d. One pellet inside, two pellets above. Muhammad and Devlet Birdi
- e. One pellet inside. The commonest tamgha. Muhammad and Devlet Birdi
- f. No pellet. An uncommon form. Muhammad and Devlet Birdi.

*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
*al-sulṭān devlet bīrdī khān*

السلطان العادل محمد خان  
السلطان دولت بیری خان

The legends are normally written anticlockwise, with the letters base inwards, and starting at between 2 o'clock and 10 o'clock.

One group of coins, struck in the name of Ulugh Muhammad and bearing a star within the tamgha, has a clockwise legend with the letters base outwards. This legend arrangement also occurs on coins of Ulugh Muhammad bearing a simple tamgha with no pellet.

### Catalogue of Genoese / Golden Horde coins minted at Caffa.

*Die axes.* The die axes are erratic.

*Diameter.* The maximum diameter is cited here. Coins with approximately circular flans have a diameter close to 15 mm. Many coins have slightly oval flans. They show a maximum diameter increased to 16 mm, and rarely 17 mm.

*Weights.* The coin weights are remarkably consistent. Only a few coin weights are outside the range 0.86 to 0.91 g.

### Ulugh Muhammad

#### Tamgha with star

Compare with Retowski 43-47 and 60.

*Al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān.* Arabic legend clockwise  
Normal obverse legend: DV . M . D . CAF (or CAFA), with pelletty quatrefoil around gateway.

#### Four pellets around tamgha

1. (DV) . M . (D . CAF). Small arrow head each side of gateway. Pelletty circle around

*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*

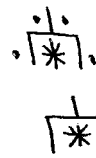
small countermarks on obverse and reverse

obverse countermark uncertain

reverse countermark: Golden Horde tamgha with star

Silver, die axes 12, 15 mm, 0.91 g

Compare with Retowski 44 (variant). R. 60 has a pelletty circle around tamgha with star.



#### Three pellets around tamgha

2. DV + (M . D . C) AF

*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*

Silver, die axes 10, 15 mm., 0.91 g

Variant of tamghas noted by Retowski



#### No pellets around tamgha

3. (DV . M . D .) CAF (A)

*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*

Silver, die axes 2, 15 mm, 0.87 g

Compare with Retowski 43



4. DV (M . D . CAF) A. Small arrow heads each side of gateway

*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*

Silver, die axes 6, 15 mm, 0.95 g

5. DV . (M . D . CAF) A

*al-(sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad) khān*

Silver, die axes 1, 15 mm., 0.90 g



### Ulugh Muhammad

#### Tamgha with one pellet inside, two pellets above

Normal Arabic legend

Normal obverse legend: DV + M . D . CAFE, with pelletty quatrefoil around gateway.

See Retowski 14, 27, 31, 54-56

Retowski recorded this tamgha for Ulugh Muhammad and for Devlet Birdi.

The spacing symbol after "DV" is rendered here as "+". It is a group of four small circles arranged in cross formation.

6. DV (+ M . D . C) AFE  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 2, 16 mm, 0.88 g



7. (D) V + M . (D . CAFE)  
*(al-sulṭān) al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*  
Silver, die axes 12, 17 mm, 0.98 g

8. (DV +) M . D . (CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 5, 15 mm, 0.89 g

9. (DV + M .) D . C (AFE)  
*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 3, 15 mm, 0.91 g



### Ulugh Muhammad

#### Tamgha with one pellet inside

Normal Arabic legend. This is the commonest tamgha.

Normal obverse legend: DV + M . D . CAFE, with pelletty quatrefoil around gateway.

See Retowski 13, 15 and numerous further

10. DV (+ M . D . CAF) E  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 3, 15 mm, 0.90 g



11. DV + M . (D . CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil (muḥammad) khān*  
Silver, die axes 6, 15 mm, 0.89 g

12. DV + (M . D . CA) FE  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 9, 15 mm, 0.90 g

13. No letters legible on obverse  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad (khān)*  
Silver, die axes 11, 15 mm, 0.87 g

14. DV (+ M . D . CAFE)  
*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 9, 16 mm, 0.85 g

15. (DV + M . D .) CAF  
*al-sulṭān (al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 2, 16 mm, 0.86 g

16. (DV) + M . D . (CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil (muḥammad) khān*  
Silver, die axes 5, 16 mm, 0.86 g

17. (DV + M . D .) CAF  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil (muḥammad) khān*  
Silver, die axes 2, 16 mm, 0.91 g

18. DV + M . D . (CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān (al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 2, 16 mm, 0.85 g

19. No letters legible on obverse  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 4, 15 mm, 0.88 g

20. DV + (M . D . CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 9, 15 mm, 0.85 g

21. (DV +) M . D . (CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān (al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 12, 14 mm, 0.91 g

22. DV (+ M . D . CA) FE  
*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 4, 16 mm, 0.86 g



23. (DV +) M . D . (CAFE)  
tamgha has kink in right hand line. *(al-sulṭān al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 8, 16 mm, 0.91 g

### Ulugh Muhammad

#### Tamgha with no pellets

Clockwise Arabic legend

Compare with Retowski 41. Tamgha also known for Devlet Birdi

Clockwise Arabic legend with letters base outwards

Normal obverse legend: DV + M . D . CAFA

24. Letters not legible. Arrow heads (instead of pellets) beside gateway; pelletty circle around

*al-sulṭān al-'ādil muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 2, 15 mm, 0.88 g

Normal anticlockwise Arabic legend

Compare with Retowski 65-66, 68, and compare with 108-111

Normal anticlockwise legend with letters base inwards

Normal obverse legend: DV + M . D . CAF

25. DV + (M . D . C) AF, pelletty quatrefoil around gateway  
*(al-sulṭān al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*  
Silver, die axes 9, 15 mm, 0.88 g



## Devlet Birdi

### *Tamgha with two vertical pellets inside, two pellets above*

Compare with Retowski 112-3, 125, 128-9 (but with different obverses). The tamghas with two vertical pellets inside are only known for Devlet Birdi.

Normal Arabic legend.

Normal obverse legend: DV . M . CAFE, pelletty circular frame around gateway.

26. DV . (M . CAFE)  
*al-sulṭān devlet (bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 2, 15 mm, 0.89 g



## Devlet Birdi

### *Tamgha with two vertical pellets inside*

Compare with Retowski 115-7 and 137

Normal obverse legend: D + M + CAFA +



27. D + M + (CAF) A +, circular frame around gateway  
 (tamgha uncertain): *al-sulṭān devlet (bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 12, 16 mm, 0.81 g

28. D + M (+ CAF) A +. No frame around gateway  
*al-sulṭān (devlet bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 11, 16 mm, 0.87 g

29. D (+ M + CA) FA, circular frame around gateway  
*al-sulṭān dev(let bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 6, 15 mm, 0.72 g

## Devlet Birdi

### *Tamgha with one pellet inside*

Normal Arabic legend. This is the commonest tamgha.

Normal obverse legend: DV . M . D . CAFE, with incomplete pelletty circle around gateway; the base of the gateway replacing the bottom of the circle.

Compare with Retowski 86 and 90-93

30. DV + M . D . CAF  
*al-sulṭān dev(let) bīrdī khān*  
 Silver, die axes 1, 15 mm, 0.85 g



31. (DV) + M . D . C (AFE)  
*al-sul(ṭān devlet bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 6, 16 mm, 0.87 g

32. DV (+ M . D . CAFE)  
*(al-sulṭān) devlet bīrd(ī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 3, 17 mm, 0.88 g

33. (DV + M . D) + CAFA  
*al-sulṭān (devlet bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 4, 17 mm, 0.89 g

This last coin bears designs of Devlet Birdi, although his name cannot be read.



## Devlet Birdi

### *Tamgha with no pellets*

Normal Arabic legend

Normal obverse legend: DV + M + CAF +

Compare with Retowski 106, also 118-122 with different obverse legend



34. DV (+ M + CAF +), only upper part of pelletty frame visible  
*al-sulṭān d(evlet bīrdī) khān*  
 Silver, die axes 3, 15 mm, 0.93 g

## Name of Golden Horde overlord uncertain

### *Tamgha with one pellet inside*

35 to 40. No significant different varieties

35. Silver, die axes 12, 15 mm, 0.87 g

36. Silver, die axes 6, 15 mm, 0.90 g

37. Silver, die axes 11, 16 mm, 0.87 g

38. Silver, die axes 9, 16 mm, 0.88 g

39. Silver, die axes 8, 16 mm, 0.88 g

40. Silver, die axes 3, 16 mm, 0.93 g



## Name of Golden Horde overlord uncertain

### *Tamgha with no pellet*

41. DV . (M . D . CAF), pelletty quatrefoil around gateway

*al-sulṭān (.....khā)n*

Silver, die axes 2, 16 mm, 0.88 g



## Catalogue of the Genoese / Golden Horde coin minted at Krim

The inland town of Krim (Eksi Krim) is situated a few miles from Caffa. As noted earlier, the Krim mint struck coins of the Golden Horde until AH 820 (1417) and, after a brief interval, struck coins of the Krim Khanate from AH 845 (1441).

During the intervening period, 1418 to 1440, a few coins of Genoese-Tartar form were minted at 'Qrim' (Krim). The coins have the Genoese gateway emblem on the obverse, enclosed by the Arabic legend 'ḍarb qṛīm' (struck at Qrim). The reverse has the Golden Horde tamgha with the marginal legend naming Ulugh Muḥammad. Retowski (p. 48, 1-3) catalogued three specimens. Two coins have no frame around the gateway, and the third has an incomplete pelletty circle. The legend is arranged with the word 'ḍarb' on the left and the word 'qṛīm' on the right. The reverses of all coins show the form of Golden Horde tamgha, which has a single pellet inside.

42. Genoese gateway without frame.

([left] (ḍarb) [right] qṛīm

ضرب قریم

Tamgha with one pellet inside; all within linear circle.

*al-sul(ṭān al-'ādil) muḥammad khān*

Silver, die axes 3, 15 mm, 0.87 gm



Coins of this type can be dated later than the introduction of the general design at neighbouring Caffa in 1421, or 1422. They can be dated earlier than the death of Ulugh Muḥammad in c. 1434.

## References

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# THE LION CONQUEROR TYPE OF KUMARAGUPTA I

By Pankaj Tandon<sup>18</sup>

A few years ago, I acquired a gold coin of Kumaragupta I that had appeared in a CNG auction.<sup>19</sup> The cataloguer, saying it was a new variety, had dubbed the coin the “Lion Conqueror” type because of the extraordinary pose of the king, who stands triumphantly over the carcass of the lion he has presumably just killed. In fact, there is at least one other coin that shows the king in this posture, a coin in the U.P. State Museum in Lucknow that was published by P.L. Gupta.<sup>20</sup> Gupta named the coin the “Lion Killed Type,” but that seems like an odd name for it. All Gupta coin types are identified by the action or position of the king or principal subject (the Archer, the Lyrist, the Horseman, the Lion-Slayer, etc.), so it seems odd to identify the coin type by the fact that the *lion* portrayed in it has already been killed. I, therefore, prefer the title “Lion-Conqueror,” which aptly describes the attitude of the king on the coin. Be that as it may, I had the opportunity to examine the Gupta coin on a recent visit to the Lucknow museum, and to photograph it anew. Since the photograph in Gupta’s paper is very dark, I will provide another photo here, along with a new reading of the obverse legend and some other observations about the coin, some of which are at odds with Gupta’s description. Then I will provide a photo of my own coin, which has a different legend and therefore qualifies as a new variety of the type.



Fig. 1: Lucknow Museum Accession No. 11586  
Coin details: weight: 8.16 g, diameter: 20 mm, die axis: 1 o'clock

The Lucknow coin is shown in fig. 1 and is very interesting for several reasons. The obvious one is that the king is not engaged in the act of fighting or killing the lion, with the normal pose of holding a drawn bow and aiming an arrow at the lion,<sup>21</sup> but rather is standing triumphantly over the animal’s carcass with his hands apparently on his hips. But there are several other interesting features of the coin. The obverse legend is unknown from any other coin. Gupta “doubtfully” read it as *Mahata vira*. This reading appears to be incorrect. Rather, as can be seen from the detail in fig. 2, the visible part of the legend reads *sihanivārī* (one who wards off the lion).<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this coin commemorates the slaying of a man-eater who was terrorising the people. Apart from the fresh reading, there are two notable things about this legend. First, it appears that there is a *chandrabindu* between the first and second letters, perhaps intending to spell out *siṃhanivārī*. This would be an unusual rendition and it would be worthwhile for an epigraphist to comment on this. Second, it could be that the visible part of the legend is all the legend there was. There is a hint of perhaps a

couple of letters at around 3 o’clock; if these are indeed letters, the legend continues, although it is not legible. But, if they are not letters, the legend is very short and in sharp contrast to the normal lion-slayer type of Kumaragupta, where the legend goes all around the obverse of the coin. One last observation I would like to make about the obverse is that the king seems to be holding his bow in his lap or in front of his body, a feature that was not noted by Gupta.



Fig. 2: Legend detail of Lucknow coin

The reverse of the coin is also interesting. On the surface, it has the usual figure of the goddess Lakshmi seated on a couchant lion, along with the legend *mahendrasimha*. But we can then observe some unique features. Firstly, while the goddess is normally (*i.e.*, on most of Kumaragupta’s lion-slayer coins) seated either on the lion’s back or on a cushion placed on the lion’s back, here it appears she is seated on a *lotus* placed on the lion’s back. We can see three petals of the lotus under Lakshmi’s leg. Secondly, while the normal Kumaragupta lion-slayer type coins have a *tamgha*, or geometric symbol, in the left field, here we have the title *śrī*. P.L. Gupta noted the presence of a letter in the left field, but rendered it as “*ga* or *gu*.” However, it clearly reads *śrī*. This is a very important observation, because later gold coins from Bengal frequently have this title accompanying the image of Lakshmi; this is perhaps the first occurrence of this phenomenon, and perhaps suggests that this coin also was made somewhere in the eastern part of the Gupta empire. The presence of this title on the coin also solidifies the identification of the deity as Lakshmi. Thirdly, while Lakshmi normally holds her (proper) right arm more or less horizontally in an outstretched position, here she holds it bent upward, although we cannot see what (if anything) she is holding in that hand. Gupta, in his description of the coin, asserted that Lakshmi held “a small *pāśa* in the left hand and the right hand upraised with a garland most likely of *muṇḍa* (skull)”, but this statement seems radically incorrect. The left hand clearly holds a lotus stalk, with the lotus blossom shown in the right field, and there is no evidence at all of any kind of garland or other object in the right hand.



Fig. 3: Tandon Collection, inventory number 591.07  
Coin details: weight: 8.27 g, diameter: 20 mm, die axis: 12 o'clock



Fig. 4: Legend detail of Tandon coin

<sup>18</sup> Boston University. I wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare, Harry Falk, Akshay Jain and Ellen Raven for helpful discussions. My research was inspired by Akshay’s asking me what the legend on my coin read, which I had marked as ???*pādhipati*.

<sup>19</sup> Classical Numismatic Group, Triton IX, New York, January 10-11, 2006, lot 1200.

<sup>20</sup> Parmeshwari Lal Gupta: “A new gold coin type of Kumaragupta I,” *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 17 (1993), pp. 37-39.

<sup>21</sup> Fig. 5 illustrates an example of the more normal lion-slayer type of Kumaragupta I, showing the king in the usual pose.

<sup>22</sup> The legend was read by Shailendra Bhandare and Harry Falk concurred. Shailen pointed out the similarity of this word with the title *sihanihantā* seen on Kumaragupta’s elephant-rider lion-slayer type.

Let us turn now to the new variety of the Lion Conqueror type from my collection, shown in fig. 3. Once again, we have the figure of the king standing in a triumphant pose with hands on his hips and his foot resting on his trophy: the carcass of a lion. He holds a bow in front of his body, more prominent here than on the Lucknow coin. The legend runs only from 12 o'clock to 3 o'clock; it clearly does not continue beyond this, which certainly marks the coin as highly unusual in the Kumaragupta oeuvre and suggests that perhaps the legend on the Lucknow coin is also short. The first two letters are unclear, but, as we see in the detail image of the legend in fig. 4, the remainder reads *nripādhipatih* (overlord over kings).<sup>23</sup> Thus the coin emphasizes the king's imperial position and this suggests to me the particular aptness of "Lion Conqueror" to name this type. The conquest over the lion is of course only a metaphor for the conquest and overlordship over kings. It would be nice to have a full reading of the legend, but the first two letters are problematic. An ideal solution might have been to see the expected *siha* or *simha*, since this word appears on all lion-themed Gupta coins. While the first letter could well be *si*, the second letter appears to be *la* rather than *ha*. But no clear reading that makes sense emerges from these observations. One possibility is that the second letter *la* is really a retrograde *ha* and that the intended legend is the expected *simhanripādhipatih* (lion overlord over kings). Given the artistic quality of the execution of the coin and the legend, it seems unlikely that the die cutter would make the error of carving a retrograde letter, but I am unable to offer a better reading at this point. Certainly we do expect to see the word *simha* in the legend, particularly seeing that it does appear in the legend of the Lucknow coin.

The reverse of the coin, as before, features the figure of the goddess Lakshmi seated in *lalitasana* on a couchant lion right. But there are several differences from the reverse of the Lucknow coin. Firstly, the legend here reads *śrī mahendrasī(m)ha*, adding the word *śrī*. This suggests the possibility that the word *śrī* on the Lucknow coin might have been intended as the king's title rather than Lakshmi's. Secondly, the goddess is seated on a more normal cushion atop the lion, rather than on a lotus. Thirdly, while the right hand is upraised, as on the Lucknow coin, here we see that she holds the long and sinuous stem of a lotus blossom, which is depicted clearly in the left field above her hand. One wonders if this suggests that the Lakshmi in the Lucknow coin also holds a lotus in her upraised right hand, although no stem is visible on that coin. Finally, the word *śrī* is not present in the left field, but neither is the normal *tamgha*; the space in the left field is occupied instead by a lotus bud emanating from the long stem. The overall artistic quality of the coin, as of the Lucknow example, is very high.



Fig. 5: Lion-slayer coin of Kumaragupta I,  
Lucknow Museum Acc No. 11594

Coin details: weight: 8.12 g, diameter: 18 mm, die axis: 12 o'clock

It is natural to wonder about the relationship between these two coins. One thing that is clear is that, although the coins are struck from different obverse and reverse dies, these dies are unquestionably the work of a single hand. The overall style is very much the same on the two coins. It is particularly noticeable in the rendition of the lion, with its three-quarter face, and in the figure of

Lakshmi. I have found another coin in the Lucknow Museum's collection that is also clearly cut by the same die cutter; this coin is shown in fig. 5. Interestingly enough, this coin also lacks the usual *tamgha* on the reverse, showing instead multiple stems of the lotus blossom in Lakshmi's hand.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, I have been unable to read the obverse legend, but it appears to be different from all the legends known so far as none of them seem to "fit" given the shape of the letters that are visible.

Thus we have three coins made at the same place and more or less at the same time, of high artistic quality, and with several unique features that distinguish them from Kumaragupta's normal lion-slayer type coins. Determining the significance of these coins, and teasing out what they might tell us about Gupta culture and history remains a matter for future research.

## HISTORY AND COINAGE OF THE VĀGHELĀS : THE LAST HINDU RULERS OF GUJARĀT

By Amol N. Bankar

### Introduction: The Vāghelā kings of Gujarāt

The Vāghelās (વઘેલ) were a branch and feudatories of the Solanki dynasty, who ruled Gujarāt from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Solanki went into decline in the thirteenth century, and by AD 1222 the Vāghelās were firmly in control of Gujarāt. Dr N.A. Acharya made an exhaustive study of the Vāghelā age and pointed out that the Vāghelā dynasty was an offshoot of the Chālukya or Solanki dynasty. This can be confirmed from the Desan inscription. Karṇadeva II calls the Vāghelā clan *chālukya-ānvaya*, (i.e. branch of the Chālukya dynasty). The last of the Solankis left no heir, so the government passed into the hand of the 'Bāghelāh' (Vāghelā).<sup>1</sup> The Vāghelā's were, as we have said, the most powerful of the chieftains of Gujarāt, being hereditary lords of the township of Vāghel and also of Dhavalakkaka or Dholka. Their history has been told by the poet Someśvara in his well-known chronicle the '*Kirtikaumudī*', or 'Moonlight of Glory'. Lavanaprasāda, the son of Arnoraja, and minister of the Solanki king, Bhimdeva II, founded the sovereign power of his house, and transmitted it to his son, Virbhavala Vāghelā, who refrained like his father from the assumption of the royal title.<sup>2</sup> The reign of Virbhavala Vāghelā, the ruler of Dholka and the real founder of the sovereign power of the Vāghelā dynasty in Gujarāt, has similar importance in the history of Fine Arts in western India. It was during his reign that his two ministers, the brothers Vastupāla and Tejpāla, employed their fabulous wealth in adorning the summits of Abu, Gīrnār and Shatrunjaya with those magnificent temples which are a glorious aspect of the history of Gujarāt.<sup>3</sup>

Upon Virbhavala's death, his power passed to his son, Viśāladeva Vāghelā, who assumed the sovereign title at Anahilavāda Pāṭaṇ after setting aside Tribhuvanpāla, the successor of Bhimdeva II, and the last representative of the illustrious line of the Solankis. Viśāladeva Vāghelā (AD 1243-1261) was the first ruler of his dynasty who is known, from his copperplate grants, to have held his court at the ancient capital of Anahilavāda Pāṭaṇ, and to have assumed the title 'Mahārājādhirāja' (King of Kings), which neither his father nor his grandfather had claimed before him. Viśāladeva's reign seems to have been a brilliant one, and his sway over Gujarāt, Cutch and Kathiawar justified his assumption of the title of 'Mahārājādhirāja'. He constructed, or rather restored on a very elaborate scale, the fortifications of Darbhāvati (Dabhoi), the ornamental gates of which have been the subject of admiration for many centuries. The fort-walls of Dabhoi, which are about fifty

<sup>23</sup> The legend was read successfully by Harry Falk; Shailendra Bhandare concurred with this reading.

<sup>24</sup> Ellen Raven pointed out another coin that shares the same style as these three, number 179 in Parmeshwari Lal Gupta and Sarojini Srivastava: *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharata Kala Bhavan*, Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1981. This coin has been identified in the catalogue as a distinct variety, with Lakshmi holding a lotus in each hand, thereby conforming to the coin in Figure 5.

feet in height, form a quadrilateral, but are not all of uniform length, as two contiguous sides measure only about 800 yards each, while the other two are a thousand yards long, and they meet at a sharp angle.<sup>5</sup> The Hirā Gate at Dabhoi, on the east side of the fort, was probably named, according to tradition, after the architect who designed it. Two niches in the inner side of this gate, facing the city, contain marble slabs, one of which is in good condition and bears a long inscription written by Someśvara, the court poet of Viśāladeva Vāghelā, dated vs 1311, or AD 1254-55, commemorating the rebuilding of the fortifications of Dabhoi by this ruler.<sup>6</sup> We find that some of the most famous towns of North Gujarāt in early times are specially associated with the rulers of the Chālukya and Vāghelā dynasties and their monuments. Among these places we may mention the old capital of Anahilavāda Pāṭaṇ, also the once famous towns of Siddhapur, Vadnagar, Viśālanagar and Modherā.<sup>4</sup>

### **Karṇadeva II: The last Vāghelā ruler**

Without pausing to consider the two immediate successors of Viśāladeva, we shall turn to Karṇa Vāghelā (AD 1296-1304), better known as 'Karṇa Ghelo' (કરણ ગેલો), or 'Karṇa the insane', the last and the most unfortunate of the Hindu sovereigns of Gujarāt. In his tragic reign the Muslims finally overran the country and the sun of Anahilavāda Pāṭaṇ set for ever. An account of this conquest is discussed below.

It is noteworthy that the final conquest of Gujarāt and its annexation to the Sultanate of Delhi led to the emergence of Cambay as an emporium of international trade and commerce. Many foreign merchants engaged in overseas trade settled at Cambay and carried on their trade within India as well as with foreign countries. Prior to its conquest by the Delhi army, the port city of Cambay was part of the kingdom of Gujarāt. It was largely inhabited by artisans and workers, with small pockets of Muslim traders, Zoroastrians of Iranian origin and members of the Hindu business community and aristocracy. Qāzī Sadīduddīn Muhammad 'Awfī, the Bukhara-born immigrant who landed in Cambay, furnishes useful information about the life and conditions there under the rule of the Rāi (Rājā) of Gujarāt. He was astonished to see that the Rāi not only granted religious freedom to Muslims and Zoroastrians but also went out of his way to protect them. However, he called Cambay a city of extremely poor and miserable Indians. Unlike the generality of the city's inhabitants, the Hindu traders of Gujarāt were so rich that they are reported by the same writer to have invested their capital in Ghaznī. One of them, Salbhir, had invested one hundred million *balutras* (a silver coin, *paruttha drama?*) in Ghaznī. Incidentally, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā corroborates this, when he praises the Hindu traders of pre-Muslim Gujarāt for their fair dealing, in contrast to the Muslim merchants from Lahore during the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Gujarāt is well known for its step-well architecture, during the reign of Karṇa Vāghelā. According to Forbes, The Mādhā (Vadhavān) stepwell was built by Mādhā and Keshav, the Brahmin ministers of the king.<sup>8</sup>

In AD 1297, 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji, the Sultan of Delhi, led a successful campaign against the Yādava's of Devagiri. He returned to Delhi with fabulous booty and a promise of a heavy tribute. His success at Devagiri convinced him of the inability of distant Rājput kingdoms to withstand a Turk onslaught. In February 1299, the sultan sent an army under the command of his brothers, Nuṣrat Khān and Ulugh Khān, to conquer northern Gujarāt ruled by King Karṇadeva Vāghelā, and besieged his capital, Anahilavāda Pāṭaṇ (Anhilwāra). Karṇadeva's queen Kamalādevī was taken captive and sent to Delhi, where the sultan married her.<sup>9</sup> Modern writers have expressed various opinions on the final disappearance of Karṇadeva from Gujarāt; some of them are summarised as under:

- 1) According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān set out for Delhi after establishing a Muslim government in Gujarāt.<sup>10</sup>
- 2) Professor M. S. Commissariat also places the introduction of Muslim domination in the province at AD 1298.<sup>11</sup>
- 3) Professor Sukumar Roy also refers to the establishment of Muslim authority in Gujarāt at this time.<sup>12</sup>

- 4) Professor K. S. Lal who had access to 'Isāmi's work and later researches on the subject, speaks of the annexation of the Gujarāt kingdom by AD 1299. According to him, the victorious generals returned towards Delhi after leaving an army of occupation and Alp Khān, who was appointed governor, remained there from AD 1300 to 1314.<sup>13</sup>
- 5) Dr. A. K. Majumdar was perhaps the first to suggest that, within three years of Karṇa's accession to the throne in vs 1353 (AD 1296), his kingdom suffered a Muslim invasion, which was probably short-lived, affording the unfortunate Vāghelā monarch the opportunity to return and retrieve the situation as best as he could, only to be invaded again and divested of his kingdom within a decade. While Dr. Majumdar marshalled all available facts from Hindu and Muslim sources, he was unable to give a final or categorical answer to this question.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand the contemporary and near-contemporary writings of the Muslim historians and Gujarāti epics tell us a different story:

- 1) While most of the Muslim historians and writers including the contemporary Amīr Khusraw and slightly later Baranī mention only one campaign,<sup>15</sup> among the early writers, a near-contemporary, 'Isāmi, is the only one who clearly speaks of two invasions of Gujarāt.<sup>16</sup>
- 2) According to '*Kanhad de Prabandh*' an epic poem written in old Gujarāti at Jalor in Rājputāna by one, Padmanābh, in AD 1455, "the Imperial army under Ulugh Khān marched towards Gujarāt through the Chitor territory and, after crossing the Banas river, captured the fort of Modasa and then advanced towards Anhilwāda-Pāṭaṇ. After the fall of Karṇa's capital, the victorious generals are stated to have overrun the flourishing towns of Asawal, Dholka, Cambay and Rander on the mainland, and also Mahuwā, Unā, Div, Somnāth and Junāgadh in the peninsula, and to have carried their arms as far as Kanth Kot in Kutch". These details are interesting in the light of very scanty references to the invasion of the province available in the works of the Persian historians.<sup>17</sup>
- 3) Ferishtā (This work was completed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD) adds, "It was Karṇa Vāghelā's misfortune to suffer the loss not only of his kingdom but also of his queen, Kamalādevī (Kāuladevi), who was captured after the flight of Karṇa and the fall of Anhilvāda, and sent to Delhi to grace the harem of 'Alā al-Dīn.<sup>18</sup> Karṇa himself escaped and fled with his daughter, Devaladevi, then a child, to the Deccan, where he obtained refuge at the court of the Yādava Rājā, Rāmchandra of Devagiri. But he did not long remain a burden and a danger to his host, for he rebuilt the town and fortress of Nandurbār, on the borders of the small state of Bāglānā, where he set himself up as a semi-independent ruler and a vassal prince of the Rājā of Devagiri".<sup>19</sup>
- 4) The Gujarāti bardic epic '*Rāsmālā*' gives us an account analogous to Ferishta, "after the invasion of Gujarāt, Karṇadeva fled southeast towards the Deccan along with his daughter, Devaladevi, and took refuge near Bāglānā".<sup>20</sup>
- 5) The chronicle of '*Muḥṣot Naiṇasi*', available in the Mārwarī language, relates a story that 'Karṇa Vāghelā forcefully married the daughter of a Nāgar Brahman named Mādhava, Mādhava went to 'Alā ud-Dīn Khālji's court and asked the sultan to invade Gujarāt. Moreover, this chronicle states that Karṇa Vāghelā reigned for 20 years. But it appears that there is no unanimity between this chronicle and actual history.<sup>21</sup>
- 6) According to Meruttuṅga's '*Vichārśreni*', Karṇa ruled from vs 1353 (AD 1296-97) to vs 1360 (AD 1304). Abu Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* assigns '6 years, 10 months and 15 days' as the period of Karṇa's reign.<sup>22</sup>

According to 'Isāmi, when the Khālji army under Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, proceeding towards Sorath, neared 'that country', Karṇa, the ruler thereof, on hearing of it, debated with himself as to whether, he, ill-equipped and unprepared as he was in the face of the sudden attack of such a powerful army which had taken a



number of countries and defeated many armies, should give a fight right then or should retire into a fortress. Realising that he was neither a match for the Turk hordes nor was it advisable to fall a prisoner into their hands, he sent for and consulted his ministers who ultimately counseled him to leave the country in view of his being far from ready for battle, lie low till the Turkish troops returned, then emerge and recover the kingdom and raise sufficient and well-equipped armies so that, in the event of a renewed attack of the Turks, they would meet with sure defeat. Thereupon, the Rāi fled the same night in utter distraction, leaving behind him his entire property parasol, elephants and treasures as well as his harem.<sup>23</sup>

Until recently, the question as to whether Karṇadeva, the last Vāghelā ruler of Gujarāt, lost his kingdom in AD 1298-99 to the Delhi Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji, was not finally or fully answered. According to Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, "It is wrongly held that Gujarāt was annexed by Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji in AD 1299, after it had been plundered by the army commanded by Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān. As a matter of fact the sultan sent the expedition in 1299 only for plunder. The details furnished by Baranī in this regard show that, on the entry of the Delhi army into Anhilwāda-Pāṭan, the local ruler, Rāi Karṇa fled, but his wife, Kamalādevi, his treasures and elephants were seized by Ulugh Khān. Then the entire region up to Somnāth was ravaged. In Cambay the rich Muslim merchants were also divested of their wealth. He also tells us that both generals returned loaded with the spoils of war to Delhi. The Mongols mutinied on the way because they were forced to surrender the booty for the royal treasury. Baranī does not mention that a governor was appointed by the sultan to hold Gujarāt for him at this time.<sup>24</sup> Unlike Baranī, 'Isāmi mentions two expeditions sent by the sultan to Gujarāt at two different times. The first was a raid, and a few years later Gujarāt was finally conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate (AD 1304-5). Alp Khān, the sultan's brother-in-law, was appointed its first governor. Devaladevi, the daughter of Rai Karṇa, was captured at this time.<sup>25</sup> 'Isāmi's account is corroborated by Amīr Khusrau, the court poet of Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji. In his mathnawī (Persian poetical composition), 'Dewal Rāni-o-Khizr Khān', Khusrau describes both expeditions. He tells us that Kamalādevi who had been married by the sultan in AD 1299, requested her new husband to ask the Rāi of Gujarāt to send princess Devaladevi, her daughter, to Delhi, to be married to Prince Khizr Khān. The Rāi was first asked to send his daughter and then Gujarāt was invaded a second time. Devaladevi was captured and Gujarāt annexed to the Sultanate. Alp Khān was ordered to proceed to Gujarāt and govern it.<sup>26</sup> The Gujarāt chronicles also support the date of Gujarāt's annexation to the Delhi Sultanate as AD 1304-5 and not AD 1299.<sup>27</sup>

With the discovery of a bilingual inscription by Dr Z. A. Desai, from the village of Sāmplā on the border of Bharuch (Broach) and Vadodarā districts in year 1981, we are now able to know about the last days of Karṇadeva. The inscription answers the question as to when Gujarāt actually came under direct Delhi control. The inscription clearly refers to Rai Karṇa as a reigning monarch on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Muharram 704 (4<sup>th</sup> August AD 1304) the initial day of the Hijra year. This corroborates the account of 'Isāmi, who places the final conquest of Gujarāt and appointment of a permanent governor after 'Alā al-Dīn gained respite from Mongol attacks in about AH 704 (AD 1304-05). Karṇa must have regained his kingdom before the Hijra year 704 set in.<sup>28</sup>

The inscription also supports 'Isāmi on another point. In the course of the return journey to Delhi, Ulugh Khān forcibly tried to take the sultan's share from the rich booty collected by the soldiers and officers in the course of the first expedition. At this, the Neo-Muslims (Mongols) led by intrepid chiefs, Qamīzī, Muhammadshāh, Gabhrū, Balchaq and Barq, became enraged, rose in revolt and made an attempt to kill Ulugh Khān. But, having ultimately failed in their attempt, they fled, Muhammadshāh and Gabhrū having sought asylum in the fort of Ranthambhor and Balchaq, Barq and Karrī having joined Karṇa. Yahyā Sarhindī mentions some more Mongol Neo-Muslim chiefs, viz. Baigi, Tamghān, Timur Bugha, Shādī Bugha and Qutlugh Bugha.<sup>29</sup> This inscription also shows that the Mongol chiefs, Balchaq and Shādī,

apparently Shādī Bugha of Yahyā Sarhindī, had gone over to Rāi Karṇa, who seems to have granted them not only asylum but, as is amply suggested by the text, also high positions.



- (۱) در تاریخ روز سه شنبه غره محرم سنه اربع و سبعماية
- (۲) از صلقات بادشاه عادل رای کرند یوزید ملکه
- (۳) و ملک الاکابر پلجق (و) ملک الامرا شادی عز نصرهم
- (۴) وقف کرد برای مسجد جامع کنایه تاج الدین
- (۵) حسن بن وزیرالوزرا نجم الدین والدین محمود خطیب [ب]
- (۶) ده سانبا (= سانبا) در زمین کنتم با جمله حدود...
- (۷) و در چنان (= جهات؟) آنچه در تعلق این دهست از حاصل و...
- (۸) همه؟ باید مسلمانان
- (۹) کنند تا همه در
- (۱۰) یا؟ تعرض و حکم کند و نقض
- (۱۱) این وقف وصیت (۴) ..... دهدگر بکر داند در لعنت
- (۱۲) خدا و رسول باشد و لعنة اللاعین و الملائكة اجمعین

- (۱) [श्री सं] वत १३६० वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि
- (२) [दितिथि श्री] मे महाराजाधिराज श्री क-
- (३) [णवेव]... मलिय श्री बडचक मलिय श्री
- (४) [शादी] .....व श्री हसण प्रभूति मि:
- (५) [कानमे सां] पाभिधान रामोयं स्तं-
- (६) [भतीर्थे जा] मे मिसि किया घन्मे
- (७) ..... [प्र] दात्त: ॥ समस्तराणकै:
- (८) [रनु संतव्य श्व] पालनीय: ॥ ठ ॥

Fig.1: Bilingual inscription of Karṇadeva dated AH 704 / vs 1360 (AD 1304) from Sāmplā and its transcription (after Desai).

It also stands to reason to infer that just as the flight of Neo-Muslim (Mongol) rebels, Muhammadshāh and Gabhrū, to Ranthambhor and grant of asylum to them by its Chauhān chief, Hammīradeva, had provided a handy excuse and justification for the Khālji monarch's expedition to and subjugation of Ranthambhor, a similar situation in Gujarāt where Balchaq and others had been well received by Rāi Karṇa must have at least

expedited, if not prompted, the second invasion and final conquest of Gujarāt under Malik Ahmad Jhitam.<sup>30</sup>

It is not known exactly when Karṇa returned to Gujarāt. That in AD 1303 at least, he was already ruling there once again, is a fact of which none of the modern writers on the subject has taken note of. This very significant information is given by 'Isāmi who says that when Ulugh Khān was poisoned at the orders of his brother, 'Alā al-Dīn, Malik Shāhīn, a slave whom 'Alā al-Dīn loved like a son and who had been made Malik Nā'ib and, after the conquest of Chitor which is generally placed in August 1303, was stationed there under the sultan's orders, rebelled and fled to Gujarāt to Karṇa, lest the suspicious monarch also have him poisoned. Shāhīn's flight to Gujarāt must have taken place only after the conquest of Chitor.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from settling thus, once for all, the time of Gujarāt's final conquest by 'Alā al-Dīn Khālījī and corroborating the poet-historian 'Isāmi, the epigraph is important in other respects as well. It will have been observed that the land in which the village Sāmpā is situated is called in the Persian version Kānam, a name applied to the black cotton soil for which Bharuch district is famous. This appears to be the earliest early fourteenth century mention of the term Kānam which has survived in this very form till today.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, the inscription, particularly the *Nāgari* portion, helps to settle the pronunciation of the proper name of the Neo-Muslim Mongol chief Balchaq. This name is variously written and pronounced in Persian works. For example, in the Madras edition of 'Isāmi's *Futuhu's-Salātin*, it is written as Yalchaq, while it is Yalhaq in its Agra edition, though its editor, Dr A. Mahdi Husain, in its English translation, spells it as Yalchaq only. Dr K. S. Lai also has Yalhaq. Badchaq of the *Nāgari* version with initial 'ba', followed by 'ā' sound somewhere between 'la' and 'ra' and penultimate 'cha', is clear from the epigraph.<sup>33</sup> Thirdly, the epigraph adds one more name to the meagre list of officials of this period in Gujarāt: the donor's father, Najm ud-Dīn Mahmud is described as *vazīr-ul-vuzarā* or the Chief Minister. Unfortunately for want of details, it is difficult to say anything about his sphere of political activity. But it may be noted here that the merchant-princes of Cambay were vested with official positions in the sultanate period. About the donor, however, we are not in a position to say anything. That he was a man of such means as to be able to donate a village can be taken to indicate his status. It is likely that he also belonged to the merchant-cast-official class and held landed property.<sup>34</sup>

The capture of Karṇadeva's daughter, Devaladevi, and the story of her marriage to Khizr Khān is the subject of Amīr Khusraw's poem 'Āshikāh'. The entire story narrated in this poem is as follows: "Shortly after 'Alā al-Dīn's accession to the throne, he sent his brother, Ulugh Khān, with a large army towards Gujarāt and Somnāth. The ruler of those countries was Rāi Karaṇ. In an action between him and the khān, he sustained defeat and fled, and his treasures, wives and concubines fell into the enemy's hands. On his return from Gujarāt, the khān presented all the booty he had taken to the king. Amongst other captives was the wife of Rāi Karaṇ, Kamalādevi (Kānwalā Di), celebrated for her beauty. She was taken into the king's seraglio (harem). The Rāi had two daughters by Rāi Karaṇ; both had been carried off by their father in his flight. The elder died, but the younger, Devaladevi (Dewal Di), survived. Kamalādevi solicited of the king that this daughter might be sent for and made over to her. As the king was well disposed to meet her wishes, he demanded her from Rai Karaṇ, who was preparing to send her, accompanied with many presents, to the king, when he took alarm at the large army which had marched under Ulugh Khān and Panchami for the conquest of the whole of Gujarāt. He fled with his daughter and private attendants to seek the protection of the Rāi of Devagiri, by name Sankhdeo (Singhaṇa-III), the son of the Rāi-i-Rāyān, Rāmdeva.<sup>35</sup> He sent his brother, Bhamdeo (Bhillama-VI), to demand Devaladevi in marriage. Rāi Karaṇ felt himself compelled to accede to the proposal, and he was preparing to send his daughter when he was attacked by the king's army, and Panchami, who commanded the advance-guard, seized Devaladevi, whose horse had been wounded and lamed by an arrow. She was taken to Ulugh Khān, and Rāi Karaṇ fled again. According to the king's order, Ulugh Khān sent

Devaladevi to Dehli, where she was made over to her mother in the palace. She was then eight years of age. The sultan wished to betroth Devaladevi to his son, Khizr Khān, who was then ten years old, and Kamalādevi agreed to the marriage, as she had affection for Khizr Khān in consequence of his resemblance to her brother. The children were accordingly admitted to each other's presence, and indulged in youthful gambols, and became attached to each other. The mother of Khizr Khān objected to this match, as she was desirous of betrothing him to the daughter of her brother, Alp Khān, who was, himself, anxious to speed the preparations for the ceremony. Together they hatched a plot to separate Khizr Khān and Devaladevi. This was accordingly done, and they were placed in different apartments, but as they were able to have occasional interviews, their growing attachment ripened, and four go-betweens on each side conveyed affectionate messages from one to the other. Khizr Khān was distressed upon the separation, and he tore his clothes and exhibited other signs of frantic grief. The queen felt threatened by his behaviour and she momentarily forewent her intention. Khizr Khān recovered his sanity. The young pair contrived a secret assignation, when they become senseless through emotion. However, the queen renewed her effort to separate the lovers and Devaladevi was sent to the 'Red Palace'. On her way there she had an audience with Khizr Khān, when he presented her with a lock of his hair as a memento, and she in return gave him a ring".<sup>36</sup> Khizr Khān was assassinated in the politics of succession following the death of 'Alā al-Dīn Khālījī. After his death, Devaladevi was married to Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Khālījī (AD 1316 - 1320) against her will. With the murder of Qutb al-Dīn at the hands of Khusraw Khān, she was taken into the latter's harem.<sup>37</sup>

The above passage is a very important aspect of the history of the Yādavas of Devagiri as it helps us in resolving the confusion regarding the issue of successors of Rāmdeva Yādava. In the past, Bramhananda Deshapande<sup>38</sup> and M. S. Wabgaonkar<sup>39</sup> put on record that the original name of the son of Rāmachandra was 'Singhaṇa' (and not Shankaradeva or Sankhdeo which is frequently used by several subsequent researchers). Recently Padmakar Prabhune reattributed some gold coins as an issue of Singhaṇa-III, the son of Rāmachandra, in his recent ONSNL article.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, an inscription of a king named 'Singhaṇa', dated AD 1316 and describing the king with typical Yādava epithets was discovered by Anand Kumbhar from the village of Kamaṭi, near Solāpur. It shows that a king named 'Singhaṇa' succeeded Rāmdeva and ruled at least up to AD 1316.<sup>41</sup> The above passage also resolves the problem regarding 'Isāmi's mention of 'accursed Bhillama', the rebellious Yādava king, against whom 'Alā al-Dīn had sent Kāfūr. Here Bhamdeo (Bhillama VI ?) is mentioned as the brother of Singhaṇa, who was sent by the Yādava king to demand Devaladevi in marriage. It is not impossible that Bhillama had led the Yādava army in battle and faced the invasion of Malik Kāfūr which is mentioned in 'Isāmi's account.<sup>42</sup> 'Isāmi further added that, when Bhillama knew about Kāfūr's advance, he fled and while Kāfūr re-established control over Devagiri, he 'neither killed nor captured anybody'. 'Isāmi also mentioned Jitāi (also spelt as Chitāi, Chhitāi, Jaitrapāli, Jethapāli) the daughter of Rāmachandra Yādava, who was married to 'Alā al-Dīn Khālījī and was later known as '*maqḍum-i-jahān*'. She had one son, Umar Khān from 'Alā al-Dīn. After the latter's death, Malik Kāfūr married her. But, almost immediately, Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Khālījī murdered Malik Kāfūr and Jitāi, blinded Umar Khān and kept him imprisoned at Gwalior fort. In AD 1410, a Hindi epic '*Chitāi vr̥tta*' was composed on the life of Jitāi and her story is described in detail in Malik Muhammad Jā'is's '*Padmāvat*'.<sup>43</sup>

### *The coinage of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarāt*

The currency of late Medieval Gujarāt has been discussed in some detail by John Deyell.<sup>44</sup> He states, "For about two centuries the Gujarāt coinage was issued to an unchanging standard of intrinsic value. The succeeding Vāghelā dynasty in the thirteenth century was unable to maintain this policy, and from the time of Viśāladeva (AD 1244 - 1262), the coins were subject to increasing devaluation through diminution of the silver content. Under the Chālukyas, the 4.4 g billon *gadhaiyā* coin had a net silver content

of 2.02 g. Viśāla's coins were reduced to a 1.83 g silver content, and the five succeeding separate issues were lower still, the poorest having 0.73 g net silver content. When the silver content was stable, the *gadhaiyā* had been an important international trade currency, in use from Afghanistan to the Deccan. In its later debased forms, its area of circulation shrank to the area of modern Kaira district and its hinterland. Although Gujarāt continued to participate in oceanic trade, it would appear that even there the price of silver rose, or supply contracted, during the thirteenth century. Only with the fall of Gujarāt to the Delhi Sultans during 'Alā al-Dīn Khālījī's reign, was a stable silver currency re-established in the province: the *tankās* of Delhi. Hoard from Thana consists of Gujarāti *gadhaiyā* with their successors, the silver *tankās* of 'Alā al-Dīn.<sup>45</sup> A medieval text named *Lekhāpaddhati* mentions 'viśvamalla priya dra' and 'viśāla priya dra' ('dra' stands for 'dramma', the denominational term) as products of the Srimala or Bhinmal mint. These latter especially obtained currency in neighbouring Mārṅwār (southern Rajasthan); they are mentioned in inscriptions as 'viśāla priya dramma' (Ratanpur, Mārṅwār, AD 1286); 'viśālapuri dramma' (Hathundi, Mārṅwār, AD 1299); and also 'visa dra' (Sanchole, Mārṅwār, AD 1286). An epigraph from Bhinmāl city dated AD 1288, mentions '200 viśālapri drā'. All these ostensibly are references to coins struck by Viśāladeva."<sup>46</sup>

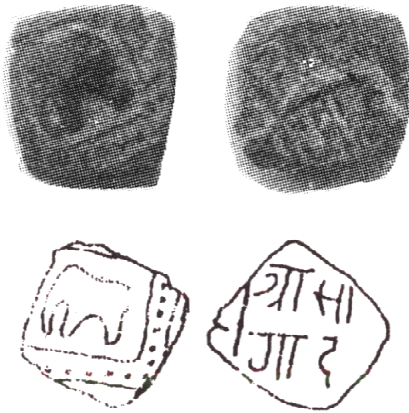


Fig 2a: Elephant-type coin of Sārangadeva Vāghelā, 2.7 g, copper (after Vira and Gala)



Fig 2b: Elephant-type coin of Sārangadeva Vāghelā; copper

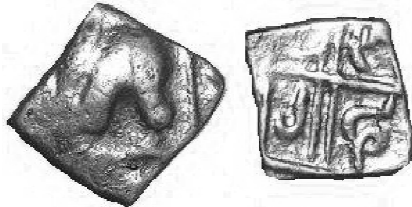


Fig 2c: Elephant-type coin of Sārangadeva Vāghelā; copper

The Desan inscription of Karṅa II dated vs 1354 (AD 1297) records that Sārangadeva was the successor of his elder brother, Rama, and that, after Sārangadeva, Rama's son Karṅa II became the ruler.<sup>47</sup> Two coins attributed to the Vāghelās were published earlier by Dhiren Gala and Girish Vira (fig 2a & 4a).<sup>48</sup> The rulers they are attributed to are Sārangadeva and Karṅadeva II. Two 'Sārangadeva' coins are illustrated. Both have an elephant on the obverse. The reverse of both coins bears a legend that Gala & Veera read as 'śri sārangā de...' Unfortunately the illustrations provided are not reproduced well enough to verify this, but a line drawing accompanying the first coin shows the character 'ga' followed by the addition of a long 'ā', which is not correct; actually the *matrā* for 'e' (denoted by a vertical line) is part of 'de'

of *deva* (see fig 2b & 2c). Thus the reading should be 'śri sāranga de(va)', and the 'ga' in this name should not end with a long 'ā'. The obverse of the Karṅadeva II coin published by Gala & Veera shows a stylised *kumbha* with two clusters of dots on either side of it. The reverse of this coin has a *Nāgari* legend in three lines, read as 'śri karaṅa deva sava...' Here again, the quality of the illustration hampers the verification of the legend, and the line drawing accompanying it shows that certain aspects which Gala & Veera contend to exist are doubtful (fig 2a). The coins of both these rulers show certain similarities – on both the obverse and reverse, the motif and legend are seen enclosed within a rectangular border made of lines and dots. The weight and fabric of the coins is comparable and so is the paleography of the inscription, in particular the forms of 'śri'.<sup>49</sup>



Fig 2d: Paleography of Sārangadeva and Karṅa's names in the Desan inscription

Two coins very similar to the ones published by Gala & Veera were recently noted offered for sale on an internet site 'indusnumis.com' – interestingly, they were reported to have been found at Kashmir Smast, an archaeological site spanning the Kushano-Sasanian, Hunnic and Shāhi periods, and located about 50 km northeast of Mardān in NWFP, Pakistan. Although the website identified these coins as 'Hunnic', the inscriptions on the reverse are clearly in *Nāgari* and, as such, this attribution is anachronistic. The coins are illustrated hereunder (figs. 3a, 4b); unfortunately no details of weights could be obtained.<sup>50</sup>



Fig 3a: Elephant-type coin of Karṅadeva Vāghelā; copper



Fig 3b: Elephant-type coin of Karṅadeva Vāghelā; copper

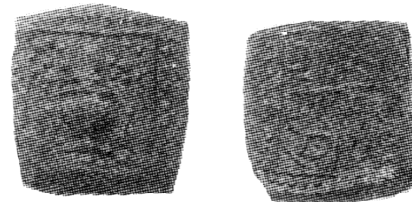


Fig 4a: kumbha (vase-type coin of Karṅadeva Vāghelā; 2.8 g, copper (after Vira and Gala)



Fig 4b: kumbha (vase)-type coin of Karṇadeva Vāghelā; copper

The first of these coins is of elephant type and very similar to one published earlier by Gala & Veera as of Sārangadeva. Here the elephant is depicted walking to the left. There is a strange curved line beneath it, but this may be due to the fact that the coin was repeatedly struck with the same devices, as indicated by the jumbling of characters in the reverse legend. Unlike what has been read by Gala & Veera, the inscription on the reverse of these coins reads 'śri ka(rṇa)/devas(ya)', thus identifying it as the issue of Karṇadeva. The Desan inscription of Karṇa II and Meruttunga's Vichārśreni, records Karṇa as the successor of Sārangadeva. Thus we can state that Karṇa issued coins which show a typological succession from the coins of Sārangadeva.<sup>51</sup> The second coin is exactly similar to the kumbha (vase) type published by Gala & Veera, except it has the reverse legend clearer – it reads 'śri ka(rṇa)d(e)vas(ya)', as well. The obverse motif is enclosed within a border of lines and dots. These two coin types can, therefore, be safely identified as issues of Karṇadeva Vāghelā.

More coins bearing the same legend on the reverse and the same general characteristics of execution, i.e. the enclosing of motifs and legends in a rectangular border are published here. They represent a new type that shows a lion facing left on the obverse. These coins were reportedly found in Gujarāt. Details are as follows:

Obv.: lion facing left, within a square and probably a dotted border.  
Rev.: Nāgari legend in two lines 'śri karṇa / devasya'. Some dots above, which may be part of a dotted border.



Fig 5a: Lion-type coins of Karṇadeva;: 4.10g, 14x14mm, copper



Fig 5b: Lion-type coins of Karṇadeva; copper

The justification for the attribution of these coins to Karṇadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty comes from two directions. Firstly, the provenance of three of the five coins (the lion-type piece as well as those published by Gala & Veera) is reportedly Gujarāt. The two coins sourced from the internet were said to have been found in NWFP of Pakistan, but, as the cave at Kashmir Smast was a prominent pilgrimage centre in medieval India, their occurrence so far away from Gujarāt is entirely justified. Secondly, the paleography of the inscription suggests a script belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The way in which the 'śri' is executed and the addition of the 'e' sign to the left of 'da' in the character 'de' are both clear indications of this. But by far the most important corroboration comes from the stylistic similarity of the lion motif with a similar depiction seen on numerous Yādava silver coins. Maybe for the same reason, P.V. Radhakrishnan attributed a coin of

the same type as a copper coin of the Yādava king, Krishna, based on the lion motif and fragmentary inscription (fig 5c).<sup>52</sup> We have already seen that Karṇadeva Vāghelā was a contemporary of Rāmachandra, the Yādava ruler of Devagiri (AD 1271 -1310), who was repeatedly defeated by 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji and whose son aspired to marry the unfortunate Devaladevi, daughter of Karṇadeva. We can divide Karṇadeva Vāghelā's reign into two parts – the period prior to 'Alā al-Dīn Khālji's first raid on Gujarāt (AD 1296 -1299) and the later period of political unrest (AD 1299 -1304/05), but it is not easy to determine when Karṇadeva Vāghelā struck these coins.

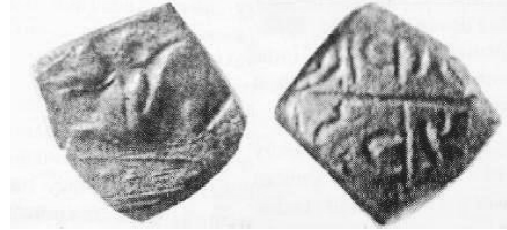


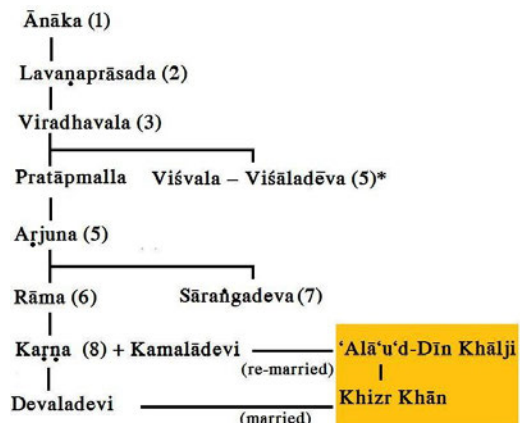
Fig 5c: Lion-type coins of Karṇadeva; 3.74 g, 16.6 x 15 mm, copper (after P. V. Radhakrishnan)

It may be worth adding that Gala & Veera suggested the reverse legend ends in 'sa' rather than 'sya' as I have contended.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, none of the coins published above clearly show the composite character 'sya', so there is room to believe that the legend ends in 'sa' rather than 'sya'. 'sa' would normally indicate a chronological acronym standing for *samvat* and would be followed by numerals, indicating the era. Contemporary coins struck by Hammīra (AD 1283 – 1301), the son of Jaitra Simha, of a cadet branch of the Ajmer Chauhāns, who ruled from Ranastambhapura or Ranthambhor, show a similar use of 'sa' in their reverse legends. Deyell has identified that these dates are in the *vikrama samvat*.<sup>54</sup> The coin illustrated by Vira and Gala show a legend (or numeral 5?) after 'sa/sya'. If the coins include a date then the dates must be in the range of 53 to 60 (abbreviations of vs 1353-1360) Whether the Vāghelā coins published here use any such dating system cannot be known because of the fragmentary nature of the available evidence. There is one elephant-type coin of Karṇadeva in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 3b, above), with the reverse legend ending in 'sa' or a swastika. I am indebted to Dr Shailendra Bhandare for providing me with the image of this coin and for permitting its publication in this article.

#### Acknowledgements:

I am very grateful to Bastimal Solanki, Pune (coin 5a); Girish Sharma, Indore (coin 5b), Rajesh Nair (coin 2c), Raghunatha Raju (coin 2b) for allowing me to publish these coin in this article and to Dr Shailendra Bhandare, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford for his constant, inspiring support. The author can be contacted at: ancientcoinsofindia@yahoo.co.in for further suggestions, discussions on this topic.

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## NOTE ON A UNIQUE COIN OF JALĀL AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD OF BENGAL

By J.P. Goenka & Smaran Kr. Das

Like many other Sultans of Bengal, the origin of this Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd is enigmatic. No written history or any historical relics regarding this sultan are known to exist except for a few coins, where he calls himself the son of a sultan. Some the historians are of the opinion that this Maḥmūd may be the son of Mu'izz al-Dīn Ṭughril. Ṭughril had become governor of Bengal in the year AH 667. Taking advantage of the weakening central control from Delhi, he declared his independence after eleven years, i.e in AH 678. But Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, the then Sultan of Delhi, would not tolerate such a rebellion and ruthlessly put down Ṭughril within a couple of years. Zia al-Dīn Baranī, the author of 'Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāh', elaborately described the battle between Ṭughril and Balban. According to his narrative, the Sultan of Delhi was away from his capital from AH 677 to 680. The author continues that,

after winning the battle, Ghiyāth al Dīn appointed his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrah Shāh as the ruler of Bengal. But Nāṣir al-Dīn did not issue any coins in his name till the demise of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban in AH 686. After the death of Balban, Nāṣir al-Dīn possibly become interested in the throne of Delhi. The nobles of the royal court, however, appointed young Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaiqubād, the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn, as the Sultan of Delhi. There is a long account regarding the conflict and reunion between father and son. In the meantime, an opportunist and ambitious person calling himself Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd captured the throne of Bengal. He proclaimed himself sultan and, hitherto, we knew that he had coins struck in his name in AH 686<sup>25</sup>. His reign was probably brief, lasting only a few months. Recently a coin of this ruler has come to light which is now in the cabinet of Mr J.P. Goenka, the well-known co-author of *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, and which shows the date 687. The legend of this coin is as previously published:



The date as it appears in the margin of the reverse

Obv.

*Al-sulṭān al-a'zam jalāl al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar maḥmūd al-sulṭān bin al-sulṭān.*

Rev.

*Al-imām al-musta'ṣim amīr al-mū'minīn*

Marginal legend only partly visible but showing the date : 687

سبع ثمانين ستمائيه

The discovery of this coin indicates that Jalāl al-Dīn's rule extended, albeit probably briefly, into the year 687 until he was dethroned by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Who he actually was we still do not know but at least we have a little more information about the length of his reign.

## A NEW PATTERN PICE FROM THE BENARES MINT

By Dr Paul Stevens

The British gained control of the Benares mint in 1775 and continued to issue coins in the same style as those that had been produced before they took over. This included dump copper coins



Copper pice issued by the EIC from the Benares mint (enlarged)

In the early years of the 1800s, there was much discussion about a new copper coinage for Benares and, in 1809, coins were produced in Calcutta and sent to Benares. However, this coinage failed to gain popular acceptance and the shroffs found it much more profitable to export the coins to Behar, so that very few got into circulation in Benares.

In 1814, the Benares mint master (Mr or Dr Yeld) reviewed a proposal of the Board of Commissioners for a new copper coinage and, *inter alia*, made the following remarks<sup>1</sup>:

*...A very smart bilious attack has prevented me being able to give attention to anything since my receipt of your Board's letter until this day.*

*I now beg leave to submit to you that the IV section of your projected regulation appears to me the only part that any suggestion can be added to. It is therein proposed that the impression of the copper coin shall be the same as the rupee. The old copper pice had a different one, which I think the prejudices of the people would prefer and of which I furnished your Board with an exact copy divested of all but the Rajah's ensigns in the specimens of pice forwarded with my letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1813...*

The mint committee in Calcutta agreed with Yeld's views

*...We beg to explain that we are not aware of any objection to the impression proposed by Mr Yeld and approved by the Board of Commissioners, and that it was in compliance only with the tenor of their draft of the regulation, that the Mint Committee drafted the section which it is now proposed to modify. We therefore take the liberty of submitting the following modification of it:*

*IV The form and size of the copper coin established by the foregoing section, shall correspond with those prescribed by section XII, Regulation 2, 1812 for the Benares rupees. The impression also shall be the same, omitting the ornamented flowers and Darogah's marks and the edge of the copper coin shall not be milled nor have any mark or impression*

Major Pridmore published a copper pattern that he believed matched this series of events (Pr. 308A). Pridmore reported the coin as weighing 12.95g (200 grains). The copper coins that had been issued in 1809 weighed 12.33g (192.3 grains) for the double pice, 6.23g (96.1 grains) for the single pice and 3.11g (48 grains) for the half pice denomination. The currency pice issued from 1815 to 1829 from the Benares mint weighed 6.23g (96.14 grains). It is, therefore, surprising that Pridmore (and I!) considered the pattern coin that he published to be a pattern for a pice denomination, because it weighs about the same as a double pice. There is no mention of a double pice in Yeld's letter to Calcutta (quoted above). Of course, readers of the proceedings and consultations of the East India Company will be aware that the term 'pice' was often used generically to mean 'copper coin' and Yeld's statement referring to '*...specimens of pice...*' could mean several specimens of a single pice or specimens of double and single (and possibly even half) pice. What is certain is that Yeld would have included specimen(s) of a single pice because that was the denomination in common use at the time.

Until recently no copper coin with the design and weight of a pice and matching the known facts had been discovered. Recently such a coin appeared on the market and has been discussed on various websites particularly with regard to its authenticity. Given the information cited above, and following an examination of the coin, there appears no reason to doubt its authenticity and every reason to believe that this coin is indeed the pattern pice sent to Calcutta by Yeld.



1813 Pattern pice (enlarged). Weight: 6.47g

<sup>25</sup> S. Goron & JP Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, B84, p. 158

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<sup>1</sup> Bengal mint committee Proceedings. IOR P/162/69, p. 66-70. Letter from Yeld (Benares mint master) to Board of Commissioners for Benares, dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1814. Letter from mint committee to Board of Commissioners for Benares, dated 30<sup>th</sup> July 1814.

## SOME RARE VARIETIES OF TIBETAN TANGKAS

By Wolfgang Bertsch

The Gaden tangkas, particularly the later issues, are the most common silver coins of Tibet. They were struck from 1840 until about 1930. Varieties are very numerous since most issues were handstruck from handmade dies. The coins were divided into eight main groups (which are assigned the first eight letters of the western alphabet from A to H) by Nicholas Rhodes (1983), who arranged the major issues in a chronological order. The groups can be identified by the eight single or triple dots or wavy lines which are placed in the outer angles between each of the eight petals. For each group Rhodes recorded several subvarieties, mainly basing his classification on design details found among the eight Buddhist symbols on the obverse.

The dies for the Gaden tangkas were not made by using a master die, but each die was produced individually with the help of punches. It is likely that for the production of the obverse dies at least nine punches were used: one for each of the Buddhist symbols which are placed inside 8 fleurets and one for the central lotus design. The eight symbols are normally placed in a fixed order which was only changed once, starting with group C.

I am illustrating two examples of Gaden tangkas from the collection of the late N.G. Rhodes which have Buddhist symbols which, by mistake, are not placed in the standard order. The variety of the Gaden tangka of fig. 1 with its mirrored symbols can be compared with a Kong-par tangka which has similarly reversed symbols (fig. 2). The example illustrated in fig. 3 features two symbols which were punched in the wrong position on the die.

Finally, I am illustrating a Gaden tangka of the F-group, which is struck on a much larger than usual flan with a pair of dies which also must have been larger than the standard dies and were specially prepared for this coin (fig 5). This coin may be an experimental piece, owing its existence to plans to produce Gaden tangkas on larger, thinner flans. However, the coin illustrated as fig. 5 is so far the only example known, and the plans to produce larger coins, if they ever existed in the Tibetan mint, were never realised.



*Fig. 1 Gaden tangka. Rhodes group A ii.  
Weight 4.79 g; diameter: 28.0 mm  
Collection N.G. Rhodes*

Obverse: The eight symbols are arranged in reverse (mirrored) order, i.e. the northeast symbol has changed place with the northwest symbol, the east symbol has changed place with the west symbol and the southeast symbol has changed place with the southwest symbol.



*Fig. 2 Koeng Par Tangka, dated 13-46*

Reverse: The eight symbols are arranged in reverse (mirrored) order which is similar to the one found on the obverse of the Gaden tangka of fig. 1. A coin struck from the same dies is illustrated by Yin Zheng Min (no. 31).



*Fig. 3 Tangka of group B.  
Weight 4.34 g; diameter: 27.1 mm. Collection N.G. Rhodes*

Obverse: east and southeast symbols are interchanged.



*Fig. 4 Tangka of group B (ii).  
Weight: 4.29 g. Diam: 26.4 – 26.7 mm. Collection W. Bertsch*

East and southeast symbols are in their normal positions.



*Fig. 5 Right: Rhodess type F xi.  
Struck on large flan of 31.16 mm. Weight 4.63 g*

Left: same coin variety of normal size (ca. 27 mm) for comparison.

Obverse: the central lotus design surrounded by a circle is larger on the upper right coin, while most Buddhist symbols appear to be identical to the ones found on the small coin (upper left). The eternal knot (south-east position) is composed of a larger number of "boxes" on the smaller coin, illustrated in the upper left. 48 dots form a circle near the edge on both sides of both coins. Collection N.G. Rhodes

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## TIN CASH IMITATIONS FROM PALEMBANG IN THE FORMER DUTCH EAST INDIES: GENUINE LOCAL IMITATIONS OR MODERN COUNTERFEITS ?

By T.D. Yih

#### Introduction

It is well-known that, besides the mainland of China itself, one of the most important sources of Chinese cash coins is the island of Java, especially of those with reign titles from the northern Song dynasty.

It is mentioned that, from about the 14<sup>th</sup> century, cash pieces were used as the official currency of the Javanese Majapahit kingdom, having replaced the original gold and silver coins. A great percentage of the cash coins were imported from China, but also locally made copper pieces imitating Chinese cash coins are known. It is remarkable that, in the old standard works of Netscher/van der Chijs<sup>26</sup> and Millies<sup>27</sup> on the coins of the former Dutch East Indies, no reference is made to cash coins from Java, except for those from the sultanates of Bantam and Cheribon, whereas they were present in the collection of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences according to a note from Moquette the curator of that collection. They only paid attention to the so-called gobogs. In more recent times several numismatic papers have been published on the numismatic history of Java<sup>28,29</sup>.

These locally produced copper cash pieces had a lower weight and smaller diameter than their Chinese analogues. Their legends comprise the following northern Sung reign titles: *Hsien Ping*, *Tien Shi*, *Yuan Feng*, *Hsiang Fu*, *Shao Sheng*, *Yuan Yu*.

The subject of the present paper are tin imitations of Chinese coins that rather recently appeared on the market. The first piece was encountered in May 2009 and had the legends "Hsien Ping yuan bao". It was offered by the seller as a tin pitis that should have circulated in the area of the Palembang sultanate. Later pieces with other northern Song reign titles or even pre-Song reign titles were offered by several sellers from Java and Sumatra, sometimes in lots mixed with common Palembang and square-hole pitis inscribed "Shi-dan libao"<sup>30</sup> or "Alamat sultan"<sup>31</sup>.

According to the sellers, the pieces were found in the Musi river near Palembang on the island of Sumatra.

This paper is a sequel to some earlier communications on cash pieces from the former Dutch East Indies<sup>32,33</sup>.

In addition to the black and white drawings, for colour pictures reference is made to the Zeno data base in the section: Southeast Asia/Cash coins/Indonesian & Malay cash imitations.

#### Abbreviations used

ZDYP = Zhi Dao yuanpao; ZDYPC = Zhi Dao yuanpao(cursive)  
JDYP = Jing De yuanpao  
JYYPS = Jing You yuanpao(seal); XFTP = Xiang Fu tongpao  
XPYP = Xian Ping yuanpao; HSTP = Huang Song  
HSYPS = Huang Song yuanpao(seal); KPYP = Kai Ping yuanpao  
SSYPS = Shao Sheng yuanpao(seal)  
TSYP = Tian Sheng yuan pao; YFTP = Yuan Feng tungpao  
YFTPS = Yuan Feng tungpao(seal)

#### General characteristics

The pieces are generally crudely cast with low relief legends. The obverses often show a small circle around the legends and, together with a tiny upstanding edge at the outside, this gives the impression of a partial "two circle" outer rim. Sometimes there is a rather weak inner rim around the central hole. The reverses are flat without outer or inner borders. Occasionally, there is a very thin raised edge instead of a clear inner and outer rim. The pieces are soft and easy to bend. Generally, the surfaces, especially the reverses, have a pimply appearance. They are clearly lower in weight and smaller in size than their authentic northern Song analogues.

Apart from these differences in weight and size, for some types there are also differences in the style of writing. Special writing characteristics for the various types, if any, which distinguish them from the northern Song ones, are dealt with at the detailed description of the types.

The metrology of the various types are shown in table 1, below, p33, with the northern Sung XPYP piece (XPYP-n-s) as a reference.

#### Special characteristics

##### Huang Song tongbao

Thus far, the *Huang Song tong bao* cash coin is one of the most abundant types amongst the tin pieces. One of the striking differences between the northern Song cash piece and its Palembang tin analogue is the presence of only two horizontal strokes in the top character "huang" instead of 3 strokes. Only 3/48 pieces (6%) had a 3-stroke character "huang". Another difference is the lack of a "roof" in the bottom character "song". It looks as if the third lacking stroke and roof have merged with the rim of the central hole. An exception is again the three pieces mentioned above. Two of them, however, a flat reverse and one (ZN113398) showed traces of a reverse outer rim, whereas all three were easy to bend. A single specimen had its legends in Li script (ZN114119).

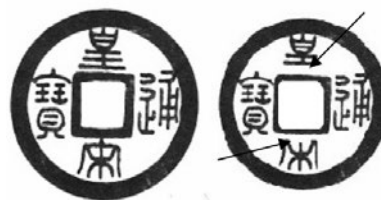


Fig.1 HSTPS cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right:  
Palembang tin version (ZN113398)

<sup>26</sup> E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs, *De munten van Nederlandsch Indie*, Batavia, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> H.C. Millies, *Recherches sur les monnaies des indigènes de l'archipel Indien et de la péninsule Malaie*, La Haye, 1871.

<sup>28</sup> R.S. Wicks, *Monetary developments in Java between the ninth and sixteenth centuries: a numismatic perspective*, *Indonesia* 42, 42-77, 1986

<sup>29</sup> A. van Aelst, *Majapahit picis; the currency of a "moneyless" society 1300-1700*, *Bijdragen Taal-, land en Volkenkunde* 151, 357-393, 1995

<sup>30</sup> T.D. Yih, *Tiny pitis inscribed "Shi-Dan" (sultan) from Palembang*, *JONS* 204, 27-31, 2010

<sup>31</sup> T.D. Yih, *Palembang pitis inscribed "Alamat sultan"*, *JONS* 209, 33-35, 2011

<sup>32</sup> T.D. Yih, *Typology of Javanese cash pieces from the Ethnographic Museum Rotterdam*, *ONS Newsletter* 146, 14, 1995 (abstract)

<sup>33</sup> T.D. Yih, *A new series of Javanese imitation cash inscribed "Tian Ping"*, *ONS Newsletter* 171, 23-24, 2002



Table 1 Mean weight, diameter and thickness

|           | Number | WEIGHT(g)   |           | Size(mm)   | Th      |
|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------|------------|---------|
|           |        | MEAN+/-SD   | Range     | MEAN+/-SD  |         |
| XPYP(n-S) | 5      | 3.35+/-0.45 | 2.99-3.89 | 24.6+/-0.3 | 1.1-1.4 |
| HSTPS     | 48     | 1.16+/-0.34 | 0.69-1.89 | 21.2+/-0.9 | 0.5-1.0 |
| HSTP      | 1      | 1.55        | -         | 22.6       | 0.8     |
| KPYP      | 46     | 0.86+/-0.18 | 0.56-1.23 | 20.3+/-0.5 | 0.4-0.8 |
| XPYP      | 37     | 1.40+/-0.34 | 0.79-2.23 | 21.3+/-0.6 | 0.5-1.3 |
| JYPS      | 8      | 1.38+/-0.23 | 1.14-1.91 | 21.7+/-0.3 | 0.7-1.0 |
| ZDYP      | 9      | 1.74+/-0.33 | 1.33-2.43 | 22.2+/-0.4 | 0.8-1.2 |
| ZDYPC     | 4      | 1.38+/-0.22 | 1.07-1.57 | 21.2+/-1.0 | 0.8-0.9 |
| ZDYPG     | 1      | 1.44        | -         | 22.0       | 0.8     |
| XFTP      | 10     | 1.29+/-0.31 | 0.75-1.74 | 21.5+/-0.8 | 0.7-0.9 |
| SSYPS     | 5      | 1.38+/-0.40 | 0.91-1.88 | 21.8+/-0.9 | 0.6-1.0 |
| TSYP      | 2      | 2.22        | -         | 23.3       | 1.2     |
| YFTP      | 6      | 1.30+/-0.43 | 0.70-1.90 | 21.7+/-0.8 | 0.5-0.8 |
| YFTPS     | 1      | 1.15        | -         | 21.1       | 0.8     |
| JTYP      | 2      | 1.52        | 1.23-1.80 | 22.0       | 0.7-0.9 |
| KYTP ?    | 1      | 1.23        | -         | 20.9       | 0.9     |

### Kai Ping yuanbao

The occurrence of this legends amongst the Palembang tin pieces is very remarkable taking into account that pieces with this reign title have been attributed to the short-lived posterior Liang dynasty (907-23) of the five dynasties period. According to Hartill, who illustrates a *Kai Ping tong bao* piece, there is also a *yuan bao* variant. The Zeno data base illustrates a peculiar large heavy *Kai Ping yuanbao* piece (ZN000010). Despite the apparent rarity of the Chinese piece, it represents the second most abundant type amongst the Palembang tin pieces.

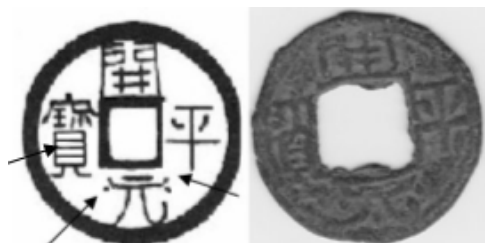


Fig.2 Palembang tin Kai Ping yuanbao (ZN113401; ZN113403)

Although for this type no reference for comparison can be found, several characteristics can be distinguished. The upper stroke of the bottom character “yuan” is extremely thin and sometimes even absent. The lower stroke has upstanding hooks at both ends. Moreover, there is a dot just below these hooks, sometimes attached to the hooks giving the ends of the lower stroke a bifurcated end. Another peculiar feature is the presence of a bow above the radical “bei” in the character “bao”. It is often fused with it, making it look like an 8- instead of a 7-stroke radical “bei” in the character “bao”.

Metallic composition as revealed by XRF-analysis performed at the British Museum on a single specimen revealed surprisingly a very high tin content with only a trace of lead. Sn (95.7%); Pb (0.2%) and Fe (3%).

### Xian Ping yuanbao

With 33 specimens this represents the third most abundant type. The radical “bei” in the lower part of the character “bao” is often round instead of square. There is a single specimen with an 8-stroke radical “bei” (ZN114011) and two with a 6-stroke radical

(ZN14013). Sometimes there is a round instead of a square central hole (ZN113438). Another specimen (ZN113438) has a corrupted character “ping” and a “2-ring” obverse border.

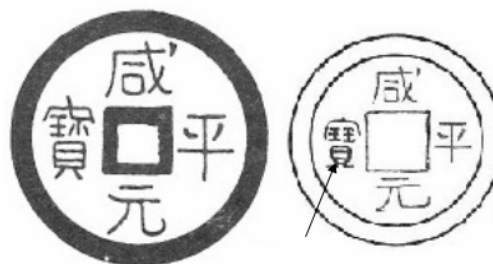


Fig. 3 XPYP cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right Palembang tin version (ZN113413; ZN113438)

### Zhi Dao yuanbao

As with the northern Song pieces both normal and cursive script occurs. Out of a total of thirteen specimens four have the cursive script (ZN113410) and nine the normal script (ZN113411).



Fig.4 ZDYP cash coins normal (top) and cursive (bottom) script  
N. Song version (left) and Palembang tin version (right)

As compared with the authentic northern Song pieces both types of the Palembang tin pieces differ in a similar way. The upper stroke of the bottom character “yuan” and the left part of the character “dao” are merged with the rim of the central canal. In addition, in the Palembang specimens with normal writing, the character “yuan” lacks the upturned hook at the left side. A single specimen has the legends in grass script (ZN114118).

### Jing You yuanbao

As with the previous type, in the Palembang tin imitation the upper stroke of the bottom character “yuan” is absent or merged with the rim of the central hole. The same applies to the lower part of the top character “jing”.

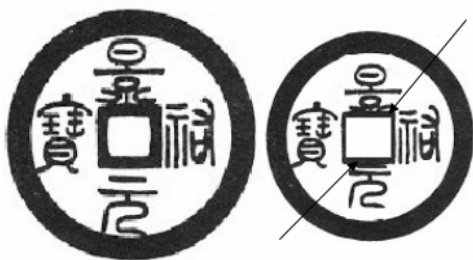


Fig. 5 JPYP cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right Palembang tin version (ZN113412).

One specimen (ZN113412) has a very thin upright edge at the rim and around the round central hole.

Occasionally, the obverse has a 2-ring outer rim (ZN113431).

### Shao Sheng yuanbao

In four of the five available specimens the upper stroke of the bottom character “yuan” has merged with the rim of the central hole; in only one piece is it clearly visible (ZN113444).



Fig. 6 SSYPS cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right Palembang tin version (ZN113415).

### Xiang Fu tongbao

This type is represented by ten specimens. They are characterized by the round shape of the radical “bei” in the character “bao”.

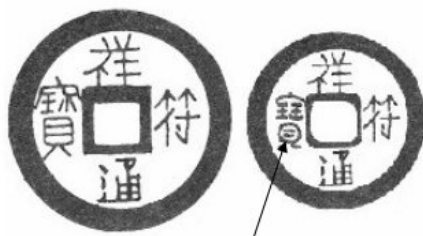


Fig. 7 XFTP cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right Palembang tin version (ZN113447).

### Yuan Feng tongbao

This type is represented by six specimens; three with the legends in cursive script and one in seal script. The cursive script specimens differ from their northern Song analogues by the writing of the character “bao”; it looks more like normal Li script than cursive script.

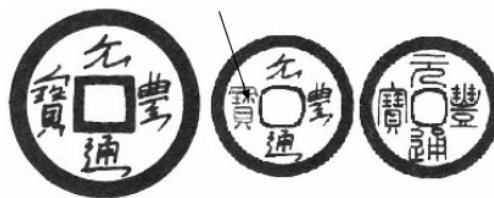


Fig. 8 YFETP cash coins  
Left: N. Song version and right: Palembang tin version (ZN113445).

At first glance the single seal script tin specimen (ZN113701) does not differ from its northern Song analogue. The character “yuan”, this time at the top, even has the upper horizontal stroke. However, more specimens are needed to come to a final conclusion.

### Jing De and Tian Sheng yuanbao

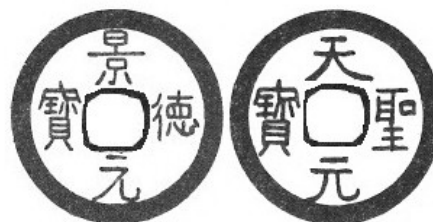


Fig. 9 Palembang tin cash coin imitations  
Left: JDYP (ZN113416) and right: TSTP (ZN113496)

Due to the limited number of specimens available and their condition, no definite differences can be assessed with respect to their northern Song analogues.

Provisionally, it can be mentioned that, in the two *Jing De yuanbao* specimens, the upper stroke in the bottom character “yuan” is very weak or absent due to merging with the rim of the central hole. One of the *Jing De yuanbao* pieces has a round central hole. No script differences with the northern Song analogues could be detected for the two tin *Tian Sheng yuanbao* imitations.

### Kai Yuan tongbao (tentative)

Finally, there is a single specimen (ZN113814) that may have the legends *Kai Yuan tongbao*. The top and bottom characters are clearly “kai” and “yuan”, respectively. The right character may be “tong”, but certainly not “ping”. The bottom character “yuan” is clearly different from the one that is found on the *Kai Ping yuanbao* specimens.

### Discussion

Lead imitations of cash pieces with northern Song reign titles have been mentioned in the literature for Java<sup>34</sup> and some doubtful specimens for Malaysia,<sup>35</sup> and some have been illustrated in the Zeno database (ZN58260). A few supposed tin cash coins are also present in the database (ZN1215; ZN1218). These differ, however, from the present series, especially with respect to the presence of a rather broad outside reverse border. Until now in the numismatic literature on coins from the former Dutch East Indies and the Malay Peninsula, the tin Palembang cash imitations have not been mentioned.

Although only a single specimen from the *Kai Ping* series has been analysed by XRF for its metallic composition, it can be assumed, based on physical properties such as flexibility, that the pieces from the other series also have a high tin content.

One of the characteristics of the tin Palembang cash imitations is that often there is a tiny raised ring around the legends. Together with a tiny raised edge this gives the impression of a “2-ring” outside border (ZN114059).

<sup>34</sup> M. Mitchiner, Early Javanese cash coins, *Oriental numismatic Society Newsletter* 101, 5-7, 1986.

<sup>35</sup> T. Yih and J. de Kreek, XRF-analysis of some doubtful cash coins from Malaysia, *JONS* 191, 37-40, 2007.

As mentioned earlier, authentic Chinese cash pieces with this legends are extremely rare.

Three lead pieces with the legends *Kai Ping yuanbao*, attributed this time to the southern Han dynasty (907-971), were offered on eBay in 2008. One had on the reverse the character “nan”; the two others have been illustrated in the Zeno database. One (ZN61665) has, on the obverse, *Kai Ping yuanbao* and, on the reverse, *Kai Yuan tongbao* while the other has the legends *Kai Ping yuanbao* on both sides (ZN63423). However, all three pieces have the character “ping” on the left instead of on the right, as with the tin Palembang *Kai Ping* pieces. There have been *Kai Ping yuanbao* and *Kai Ping tongbao* cash coins on the market with the character “ping” to the right of the hole. However, in view of their weight and size they can be identified as modern fakes (ZN113922; ZN113927). The Palembang tin *Kai Ping yuanbao* pieces are quite different from these modern fakes. Moreover, the fact that there are so many small differences per type in the Palembang tin pieces makes it unlikely that they are modern fakes. In that case one would expect fewer different specimens.

However, the most convincing argument is the presence of two pieces stuck together; the upper one is a *Xian Ping yuanbao* piece with a nice “2-ring” outer border, the other one awaits separation for identification (ZN114059).

Another characteristic for the *Kai Ping* series is the presence of the peculiar character “bao” with the additional bowed stroke above the radical “bei”. It is also recognisable on some specimens of the *Xian Ping yuanbao* series (ZN114011).

If we assume the Palembang tin imitations to be genuine, the question arises as to what time-frame they should be placed into. Looking at the occurrence of Chinese cash coins in the former Dutch East Indies, at present four main categories can be distinguished.

1. Authentic Chinese copper cash coins from various Chinese dynasties
2. Copper cash coins with northern Song reign titles, but clearly smaller and lighter than the authentic ones
3. Tiny fragile tin/lead cash coins from the Tegal/Cheribon region. Readable Chinese legends are restricted to *Xian Ping yuanbao*, *Tai Ping yuanbao* and *Tian Xia Tai Ping*. A large number of the first two types have the character “bao” in the abbreviated form. There are, however, some *Xian Ping* varieties that have the normal character “bao”, a number of them often together with a very large central hole.
4. Tin pieces with mainly northern Song reign titles, similar in weight and size to main category 2, but with a much cruder execution.

One of the leading powers in the former Dutch East Indies before the arrival of the Europeans was the maritime Majapahit realm (about AD 1300-1500). Its base was Java with the capital Trowulan. There were, however, a large number of tributaries comprising most of the states on peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra inclusive Palembang and Brunei on Borneo. Chinese cash coins imported in bulk from China served as official currency.

The use of Chinese cash coins in the Majapahit realm is first mentioned around 1350 and supported by 14<sup>th</sup> century Javanese data on, for example, salaries or taxes that have to be paid in copper coins. According to Wisseman Christie,<sup>36</sup> Chinese coins were already being accepted earlier in the Majapahit realm. According to an early 15<sup>th</sup> century Chinese report, on Sumatra in trading a tin coin was used called “chia chih”<sup>37</sup>, later called “caixa” by the Portuguese. According to the same source, a similar coin, but now made of lead, circulated in southern Sumatra e.g. the Palembang region.

A Portuguese source mentions that, in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, apparently also smaller, lighter cash coins circulated side by side with the authentic Chinese ones (ZN114071). This accords with the second main category. According to some numismatists, these smaller copper (bronze) pieces with a higher lead content were

produced in southern China; according to others, they were locally made. These small copper pieces show generally good workmanship, with the characters well carved, despite their smaller size. This could be used as an argument in favour of a Chinese mint.

The pieces from the third category may, indeed, have been made locally and may be the pieces mentioned in the travel journals of the Dutch on their arrival in the archipelago.

A Dutch journal from 1597 illustrated a “lead” *Xian Ping* piece together with a *Ming Wan Li* piece<sup>38</sup>. Remarkable is the rather wide square central hole of the *Xian Ping* piece, which is also one of the characteristics of the majority of the Tegal *Xian Ping* pieces. In a subsequent reprint of this journal this *Xian Ping* piece is also illustrated with rings around the legends.

However, it could be argued that the *Xian Ping* from the 1597 illustration has a complete character “bao”, whereas the *Xian Ping* piece from the Tegal collection that resemble that illustration most have the abbreviated character “bao” (ZN114067). There are pieces from the Tegal/Cheribon region that have the complete character “bao”. This series degrades from nicely executed pieces to pieces with extremely large central holes, stylised barely recognisable characters and which are very thin (ZN114070). This may accord with the remarks of the Dutch on their arrival in the Indies about the use of very debased “lead” coins that break easily when they fall on the ground.

The pieces from the second and fourth category are more or less comparable with respect to their weight and size, but the latter are generally much cruder in calligraphy and show a lot of inaccuracies in the script. It looks as if they were produced by illiterate Chinese or non-Chinese. Moreover, there are peculiar differences in the reign titles occurring on them.

The table below lists the reign titles encountered thus far on the small copper cash pieces and Palembang tin imitations. This comprises six reign titles for the copper and ten for the tin pieces. However, the two most encountered reign titles amongst the Palembang tin imitations, *Huang Song tongbao* and *Kai Ping yuanbao*, do not occur on the copper pieces. On the other hand, *Xian Ping* occurs on both, but *Tian Xi*, reasonably present in the copper series, is absent in the tin series. From the copper *Xian Fu* pieces only the *tongbao* analogue was found amongst the tin pieces in a rather limited number, whereas the *yuanbao* variety has not been encountered thus far.

**Table 2: Reign titles on small copper or tin cash coins**

| REIGN TITLE          | SMALL CASH COINS |     |
|----------------------|------------------|-----|
|                      | COPPER           | TIN |
| Kai Ping (907-23)    | -                | +   |
| Zhi Dao (995-97)     | + <sup>a</sup>   | +   |
| Xian Ping (998-1004) | +                | +   |
| Jing De (1004-08)    | -                | +   |
| Xian Fu (1008-17)    | +                | +   |
| Tian Xi (1017-22)    | +                | -   |
| Tian Sheng (1023-32) | -                | +   |
| Jing You (1034-38)   | + <sup>a</sup>   | +   |
| Huang Song (1039)    | -                | +   |
| Yuan Feng (1078-86)  | +                | +   |
| Yuan Yu (1086-94)    | +                | -   |
| Shao Sheng (1094-98) | +                | +   |

+ = present; - = not present; <sup>a</sup> = single specimen on eBay

According to Ma Huan (a Chinese chronicler), who visited Palembang with Zheng He’s fleet in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, it had a large Chinese population and was a centre of trade where Chinese

<sup>36</sup> J. Wisseman Christie, Trade and value in pre-Majapahit Java, Indonesia Circular 59/60:3-17, 1992/93.

<sup>37</sup> W. P. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources, Batavia, 1876

<sup>38</sup> B. Langenes, Verhael vande Reyse by de Hollandtsche schepen gedaen naer Oost Indiën, Middelborgh, 1597.

copper coins were also in common use. It is quite feasible that when the import of Chinese coins was hampered, tin imitations were locally made to overcome the shortage, as copper was rather scarce in that region. Apparently these circulated only locally. So far, no such tin pieces have been reported found on Java.

There is an interesting fact that should be mentioned in the framework of this paper. Recently, tin cash imitations have appeared on the market with Ming reign titles like *Yong Le* (ZN114200), *Wan Li* and even Qing reign titles like *Kang Xi* (ZN114203), *Qian Long* (ZN114120) and *Tong Zhi*. All of them are also reported to have been found in the Musi river. However, with respect to their nice appearance, weight and presence of clear inner and outer borders on the reverse side, they differ from the Palembang pieces. Whereas, the tin pieces under study have a worn character and show poor workmanship, these new pieces generally have a beautiful appearance, especially the *Yong Le* imitations. They probably belong to another series of imitations that need more study.

To sum up, it can be concluded that the tin Palembang cash imitations are locally made and not modern forgeries. They apparently had a restricted circulation in the Palembang region.

For the time being, no definite period can be defined for their production, although the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is most likely. It is hoped that additional, documented finds will turn up to throw more light on this subject.

## BEDFORD'S ANCIENT CHINESE COIN

By Georgina Cuthbertson

Whilst on an undergraduate work-based placement at The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford, I was asked to research a number of artefacts from China. The group of items originally formed part of the Bedford Modern School Museum which was founded in 1885. During the 1920s and 1930s the museum curator, Rev P.G. Langdon, was very keen to promote both local archaeology and the collecting of objects from further afield. Many of the old boys were actively encouraged to bring back objects for the museum from their postings overseas to inspire the pupils to become "Sons of Empire" and join the colonial service.

This collection later became part of Bedford Museum, recently renamed The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford. The ethnographic collections have formed part of a two year documentation project between volunteers and museum staff.

Amongst the artefacts was something labelled "ancient Chinese coin" but on seeing the 'coin' it did not appear to be the sort of thing that would be in daily use. The British Museum was approached for any information that might be known about the 'coin' and they kindly identified and dated the 'coin'.

The coin is 75 mm in diameter, 4.0 mm thick and the hole in the middle is 15 mm square. It weighs 104 g.

The inscription on the obverse reads *Qingyuan tongbao* ('Circulating treasure of Qingyuan reign period').

The inscription on the reverse reads *Chi - wushi liao - Qingyuan yuan nian xia - gai zhu ci hao qian* ('Imperial order - 50 liao - summer(?) of the 1st year of the Qingyuan reign period - started to make these coins').

This would appear to be an imperial award or gift to a high-level official, to the value of 50 liao, made in 1195 (first year of Qingyuan reign period) of the Emperor Ningzong (1195-1224) of the Southern Song dynasty.

It was suggested that others might have more information about the artefact and that it should be brought to the attention of a wider audience. If readers are aware of anything further that can be added to this description of the object, particularly information about the context in which the object was made, any such information can be passed to the author via the editors.



Fig.1 Obverse of the 'coin'



Fig.2 Reverse of the 'coin'

### Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff at The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford. I would also like to thank Dr Helen Wang of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum who kindly translated the legends that appear on the coin.

## SUMMARY OF NUMISMATIC RESEARCH IN CHINA, 2011

By Qin Huiying, Yang Jun, Huang Wei and Zhao Yunfeng (translated by Helen Wang)

This summary is an edited translation of an article by Qin Huiying et al. that was published in Chinese in *Zhongguo Qianbi/China Numismatics* 《中国钱币》2012.2, pp. 76-80.

### SUMMARY OF NUMISMATICS IN CHINA, 2011

QIN Huiying, YANG Jun, HUANG Wei, ZHAO Yunfeng, "2011 nian Zhongguo qianbixue yanjiu zongshu", *Zhongguo Qianbi / China Numismatics* 2012.2, pp. 76-80. // 秦慧颖 杨军, 黄伟 赵云峰《2011年中国钱币学研究综述》,《中国钱币》2012.2.

Key areas of numismatic research in 2011 silver ingots, on the pre-Qin weight unit 金斤 *jin*, Chinese coins unearthed in Japan and what they reveal about the economies of the Northern Song and Ming dynasties. There have also been important new finds, particularly in Sichuan.

## (1) NUMISMATIC RESEARCH

**1. Sun Jingming — Archaeological finds tell us about the salt industry and the circulation of money in the Qi state — and an explanation for the character ‘yi’ on round coins — the author studied excavated Qi clay moulds with the character 贝益 *yi* in the inscription (贝益刀 *Yi dao*, 贝益四刀 *Yi si dao*, 贝益六刀 *Yi liu dao*). He believes that Yi is a place name, located at the Yidu Houcheng site north of modern-day Shouguang; that it was the city of 益 *Yi* from the Shang to early Western Zhou times, and later taken by Qi; that during the Warring States period the Qi state cast round coins here with the inscription 贝益刀, and that this character continued to be used in personal and place names during the Eastern Zhou.**

SUN Jingming, ‘You zhongda kaogu faxian kan Qiguo yanye yu huobi liutong — jian shi huan qian yi zi’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.4. // 孙敬明《由重大考古发现看齐国盐业与货币流通 — 兼释圜钱‘贝益字’》,《齐鲁钱币》2011年第四期。

**2. Chen Xu — What knife moulds of the Qi state can tell us about dating Qi knives, and other questions — the author studied coin-related materials from excavations, and believes that the clay moulds for large Qi knives inscribed with fine and crude lined characters were all excavated from the coin-casting site at Anhezhuang, to the southwest of the ancient city of the Qi state (modern-day Shandong province); that all large Qi knives were all cast in clay moulds; and that the fine-lined inscriptions are from before the Yan attack on Qi in 284 BC; and that the large Qi knives with crude lined inscriptions were made between King Xiang’s repatriation and the fall of the Qi state.**

CHEN Xu, ‘Cong Qi dao fan kan Qi dao de fenqi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu’, *Qi Lu qianbi* 2011.4. // 陈旭《从齐刀范看齐刀的分期及相关问题研究》,《齐鲁钱币》2011年第四期。

**3. Huo Honggao and Dong Qing — A study of the Tang dynasty Peng Gao silver ingot in the National Museum — the authors determined that this ingot was offered in tribute by Peng Gao, Prefect of Nanhai, in the Tang dynasty (the personal name was previously misread as 彭果 Peng Guo). According to Peng Gao’s period in office, the ingot was used in tribute in AD 746 (between the 5<sup>th</sup> month and autumn of the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Tianbao reign).**

HUO Hongwei and DONG Qing, ‘Zhongguo guojia bowuguan cang Tangdai Peng Gao yinting kao’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.2. // 霍宏伟董青《中国国家博物馆藏唐代彭果银铤考》,《中国钱币》2011年第二期。

**4. Wang Xianguo — A study of silver ingots of the Yongle and Xuande reigns of the Ming dynasty in the Capital Museum collection — the author studied eight silver barrier tax ingots from Yunnan (云南闸办钱果 *Yunnan zhuban yin ke*) looking at form, weight and inscription, and believes that the government of the early Ming required silver tax ingots to be paid in standard weights and forms, and that by this time the court had already sent officials to set up barrier offices (闸办 *jiaban*) at Chuxiong, Erhai and Dali (all in Yunnan) to control silver ingots from the silver mines, and that a ‘barrier tax in silver’ (闸办钱果 *jiaban yinke*) system had been set up. The ingots support the textual evidence for this, and fill in some gaps.**

WANG Xianguo, ‘Shoudu bowuguan cang Mingdai Yong Xuan shiqi yinding yanjiu’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.2. // 王翔国《首都博物馆藏明代宣统时期钱果研究》,《中国钱币》2011年第二期。

**5. Ding Yiping — Silver ingots from the Jiangbao Salt Office and the salt reforms of Ding Baozhen — the author studied ingots from the Jiangbao Salt Office thereby confirming Ding Baozhen’s salt reforms in Sichuan, and points out that at the heart of the reforms was the move to restore the movement of salt from**

Sichuan to Guizhou and Yunnan, to reduce the amount of salt going to Chu, and to re-establish the old system in which salt was transported from Huai to Chu. The inscriptions on the ingots match the textual records.

DING Yiping, ‘Cong Jiangba yanwuju kan Ding Baozhen de yanwu gaige (shang, xia)’, *Zhongguo shoucang (Qianbi zhuankan)* 2011.2 and 3.

// 丁怡平《从江巴盐务局看丁宝桢的盐务改革(上下)》,《中国收藏(钱币专刊)》,2011年第二、三期。

**6. Zhang Peng — New research into the opium tax monopoly and its remains in the late Qing — the author looks at the opium tax in Sichuan in the late Qing, noting that it began in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Xianfeng period (1859), that it brought in an annual income of about a million taels (两 *liang*) until the late Guangxu period. He includes the mid-Guangxu period arguments over the opium tax between Sichuan and Guangdong provinces, and notes that adjustments were made in Sichuan. He looked at several extremely rare opium tax ingots, which have important inscriptions.**

ZHANG Peng, ‘Qing mo tu shui li de zheng quan yu yicun xin tan’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.2.

// 张鹏《清末土厘的征权与遗存辨梁》,《中国钱币》2011年第二期。

**7. Jin Deping — Jin dynasty silver ingots — the author compares two different systems that were in use: large silver ingots and Cheng’an baohuo silver ingots. He notes that Cheng’an baohuo silver ingots were made c.1197-1200 (between the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Cheng’an reign and the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 5<sup>th</sup> year of that reign). Only ingots weighing 1 tael (*liang*) and ½ tael have survived (another three types are known but were not seen). The large ingots are basically 50 tael (*liang*) ingot types, but the recorded weight of ingots do not refer to the form, but to the actual weight, down to the unit of *qian*. They were produced from the Zhenglong reign to the Da’an reign, and especially during the Taihe reign. The inscriptions were engraved directly on to the ingots, and record the exchange rate between coins and silver, the status of the person involved and his office. Most ingots have two black marks on them, apparently associated with their casting.**

JIN Deping, ‘Jin yinting kao’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.2.

// 金德平《金银铤考》,《中国钱币》2011年第二期。

**8. Qian Yu — On the Beijing 10-tael (*liang*) ingots of the late Qing and early Republic — the author studied over 60 different pieces, and on the basis of the various marks and other characteristics arranges them in 6 different types: (1) 10 ingots issued before the establishment of foundries, official foundries and assay offices; (2-4) 公议十足 *gongyi shi zu* (Guangxu period) and 十足色 *shi zu se* (2 types, without and without 匠 *jiang*); (5-6) 公议足 *gong yi zu* and 公十足 *gong shi zu*. The author also looks at the demise of these ingots and at the rise and fall of the foundries.**

QIAN Yu, ‘Qan Qing Min chu Beijing shi liang yinding kao’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.2.

// 钱与《晚清民初北京十两铤考》,《中国钱币》2011年第二期。

**9. Huo Hongwei — On the Eastern Han ‘charm’ with a winged animal, found in Luoyang — the author looks at a round copper plaque with a winged animal design, found in an Eastern Han tomb in Luoyang in 1974. Previously thought to be a coin-shaped charm, the author compares the design features with similar designs found in both east and western cultures, and believes it is a decorative piece from a vessel, and is not a charm.**

HUO Hongwei, ‘Luoyang Dong Han you yi shen shou “yashengqian” kaobian’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.1. // 霍宏伟《洛阳东汉有翼神兽压胜钱考》,《中国钱币》2011年第一期。

**10. Gong Baiqing — The belt-hook design on Han dynasty coin-shaped charms — the author notes that a belt-hook design appears on a small number of coin-shaped charms, which are intended as good luck pieces, and were mostly made and used during the time of Wang Mang and the Eastern Han.**

GONG Baiqing, ‘Qian tan Handai yashengqian shang de daigou tu’an’, *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.3.

公柏青《浅谈汉代压胜钱上的带钩图案》,《中国钱币》2011年第三期。

**11. Bai Qinchuan — On numismatics** — the author looks at theoretical aspects of numismatics, relating to money, coins and numismatic concepts, the topics being researched, and their significance, and the development of numismatics. He also offers his own views on numismatics.

BAI Qinchuan, 'On numismatics', *Nei Menggu jinrong yanjiu: Qianbi zengkan* 2011.1-2.

// 白秦川《钱币学简论》,《内蒙古金融研究 钱币增刊》2011年第1, 2合刊本

## (2) ON MONETARY HISTORY

**12. Wu Liangbao — On the devaluation of the currency unit 'jin' and related research** — the author found that for the Three Jin, the term 金斤 *jin* represented a much lower weight value for money than for other bronze inscriptions, and that this term represented a devalued weight term on money which is not to be confused with the same weight term (and same characters) on other bronze items. On the bridge-shaped spade-money (梁亢金斤 *Liang Kang jin*) one character denotes gold as a precious metal, and the author believes that such terminology refers both to the currency unit and to the weight unit. He notes that the currency reforms of the Wei state abolished the *jin* system, but that this was not a reform of the weight system.

WU Liangbao, 'Huobi danwei "jin" de xuzhizhua ji xiangguan yanjiu', *Jilin daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 2011.4.

// 吴良宝《货币单位“金斤”的虚值及相关研究》,《吉林社会科学》2011年第四期

**13. Liu Jianmin — The murals in the Jin dynasty tomb at Fenyang and coin exchange rates in ancient China** — the author studied the murals in the Jin dynasty tombs at Donglongguan and Gaohuxiao in Fenyang, and believes that by 1195 (6<sup>th</sup> year of the Mingchang reign period) there was already a coin exchange industry in Fenyang, with independent money-shops, measures to guard against forgeries, etc. The money exchange industry was thought to have originated in the late Ming and early Qing, but these finds take that date back about 400 years.

LIU Jianmin, 'Fenyang Jin mu bihua yu Zhongguo gudai qianbi duihuanye', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.3.

// 刘建民《汾阳金墓壁画与中国古代钱币兑换业》,《中国钱币》2011年第三期

**14. Liu Guanglin — The Ming dynasty currency problem – initial estimates on the extent and structure of the Ming dynasty monetary economy** — the author looks at research done on Chinese coins found in Japan, and reconstructs the extent of coinage circulation in the Ming markets before 1580. He has also done comparative work on Northern Song coins, and has discovered that currency circulation in the Ming dynasty before the Wanli reign period was very limited, perhaps 1/3 to 1/5 of that of the height of the Northern Song dynasty. The amount of silver that flowed into China in the late Ming was four times that which existed already in Ming dynasty China, and foreign silver saved the Ming market economy. The total amount of currency in the late Ming was still lower than that of the Northern Song. The Hongwu economic system was not forward looking and caused various obstacles in the development of the Ming market economy.

LIU Guanglin, 'Mingdai tonghuo wenti yanjiu — dui Mingdai huobi jingji guimo he jieqou de chubu guji', *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 2011.1.

// 刘广临《明代通货问题研究——对明代货币经济规模和结构的初步估计》,《中国经济史研究》2011年第一期

**15. Wang Xuewen — On the casting and circulation of Xianfeng iron coins** — focussing on Beijing, the author looks at the production and circulation of Xianfeng iron coins, and notes that the Qing government did not fully understand the currency system and the rules of currency circulation, and tried various measures to make the undervalued iron coins circulate. Eventually they were abandoned.

WANG Xuewen, 'Xianfeng tie qian de zhuzao ji liutong kaolue', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.3.

// 王学文《咸丰铁钱的铸造及流通考略》,《中国钱币》2011年第三期

**16. Shanxi sheng qianbi xuehui diyi ketizu — The threat to the Shanxi banks (票号 *piaohao*) at the time of the Xinhai Revolution** — as seen in communications from the 锦生润 Jin Shen Run bank and the 蔚盛长 Wei Sheng Chang bank.

Shanxi sheng qianbi xuehui diyi ketizu, 'Shanxi piaohao zai Xinhai geming shiqi de fengxian chuzhi', *Shanxi qianbi* 2011.2. // 山西省钱币学会第一届课题《山西票号在辛亥革命时期的风险处置》,《山西钱币》2011年第二期

**17. Wang Changqiao — Memories of printing revolutionary money in the Yu-Wan su border area – as told by comrade Wang Congzheng** — The late Wang Congzheng was the backbone of the printing of revolutionary paper money in the Yu-Wan su border area, and his memories of that time fill in many gaps. Important oral history that is not recorded elsewhere.

WANG Changqiao, 'Zai Yu Wan su bian qu (Huaibe lu xi) yinzhi geming huobi de huiyi — genju Wang Congzheng tongzhi koushu zhengli', *Anhui qianbi* 2011.4.

// 汪昌桥《在豫皖苏边区(淮北路西)印刷革命货币的回忆——根据王从政同志口述整理》,《安徽钱币》2011年第四期

**18. Yang Tianliang — A currency war in the early 1950s** — In the early years of New China, the Guomindang made lots of fake renminbi notes, with the intention of bringing chaos to the economy of New China. The People's Bank of China and the People's Liberation Army co-operated to break through it.

YANG Tianliang, 'Fasheng zai shang shiji wushi niandai chuqi de yi chang huobi zhan', *Qianbi bolan* 2011.4. // 杨天亮《发生在上世纪五十年代初期的一场货币战》,《钱币博览》2011年第四期

## (3) NEW FINDS (EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES)

**19. Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan and Xi'an meishu xueyuan Zhongguo yishu yu kaogu yanjiusuo — Excavation report for the Shirong site in Hanyuan county, Sichuan, for the year 2009** — At the Shirong site, a late Warring States period – early Western Han tomb yielded 29 banliang coins, placed at upper left of the tomb occupant, on a bronze mirror. Five types identified on the basis of inscription and size.

Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan and Xi'an meishu xueyuan Zhongguo yishu yu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Sichuan Hanyuan xian Shirong yizhi 2009 niandu fajue baogao', *Sichuan wenwu* 2011.5.

// 四川省文物考古研究院 西安美术学院中国艺术与考古研究所《四川汉源县荣遗址2009年度发掘报告》,《四川文物》2011年第五期

**20. Chongqing shi wenwu kaogusuo — Clearing the Han tomb at Jiangjuncun, Zhongxian (Chongqing)** — This Han dynasty tomb contained (四铢半两) *sizhu banliang* coins of emperor Wendi, some (峻国五铢) *junguo wuzhu*, (赤仄五铢) *chize wuzhu*, (五铢) *wuzhu*, (布泉) *buquan*, and (大泉五十) *da quan wushi* coins, also the base and branches of a coin tree (摇钱树 *yaoqianshu*) with dragons in the design and wuzhu coins hanging in the branches.

Chongqing shi wenwu kaogusuo, 'Chongqing shi Zhongxian Jiangjuncun muqun Han mu de qingli', *Kaogu* 2011.1. // 重庆市文物考古所《重庆市忠县将军村墓葬群汉墓的清理》,《考古》2011年第一期

**21. Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Ziyang shi Yanjiang qu wenwu guanlisuo — Short report on the clearing of the cliff tomb M2 at Shizi Shan, Yanjiang district, Ziyang city** — This Eastern Han tomb contained 2683 coins: (五铢) *wuzhu*, (磨边五铢) *mobian wuzhu*, (货泉) *huoquan*, (大泉五十) *da quan wushi*; also 3 intact coin-trees (摇钱树 *yaoqianshu*).

Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Ziyang shi Yanjiang qu wenwu guanlisuo, 'Ziyang shi Yanjiang qu Shizi Shan ya mu M2

qingli jianbao', *Sichuan wenwu* 2011.4. // 四川省文物考古研究所 资阳市雁江区文物管理所《资阳市雁江区狮子山崖墓M2清理简报》,《四川文物》2011年第四期

**22. Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Xinjin xian wenwu guanlisuo — Clearing the Han dynasty cliff tomb at Dayun Shan, Xinjin county, Chengdu —** This Eastern Han tomb contained lots of fragments of coin-trees (摇钱树 *yaoqianshu*); also 4 wuzhu coins.

Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Xinjin xian wenwu guanlisuo, 'Chengdu shi Xinjin xian Dayun Shan Dong Han ya mu de qingli', *Kaogu* 2011.5.

// 成都文物考古研究所 新津县文物管理所《成都新津县大云山东汉崖墓的清理》,《考古》2011年第五期

**23. Fan Jun — On the coin tree unearthed in an Eastern Han dynasty tomb in the western suburbs of Guyuan (Ningxia) and associated questions —** the author looks at the technical construction of the coin tree (摇钱树 *yaoqianshu*) and its cultural significance.

FAN Jun, 'Ningxia Guyuan xijiao Han mu chutu yaoqianshu ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu', *Sichuan wenwu* 2011.2. // 樊军《宁夏固原西汉墓出土摇钱树及相关问题研究》,《四川文物》2011年第二期

**24. Zhao Cheng — Who cast the Qianyuan zhongbao coins with reverse Dongguo? —** This coin was excavated in Kaiyuan, Liaoning (24.5 mm diameter, 1.9 mm thickness). The author believes it was issued by the Bohai state.

ZHAO Cheng, "'Qianyuan zhongbao bei Dongguo" xi shei zhu', *Zhongguo shoucang (Qianbi zhuankan)* 2011.3. // 赵承《乾元重宝背东国系钱》,《中国收藏》(钱币专刊)2011年第三期

**25. Chengdu bowuguan and Xindu qu wenwu guanlisuo — Short report on the clearing of the Former Shu coin hoard from Xinfan, Chengdu —** This hoard, found in 1989, and now in the Chengdu Museum, contained over 60,000 coins from Western Han sizhu banliang to Xiankang yuanbao (issued from 925). Probably deposited after the Former Shu had been defeated by the Tang, by an owner who feared that the old coins would be melted down by the new rulers.

Chengdu bowuguan, Xindu qu wenwu guanlisuo, 'Chengdu Xinfan Qian Shu jiaocang qianbi qingli jianbao', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.3. // 成都博物馆 新都区文物管理所《成都新繁前蜀窖藏钱币清理简报》,《中国钱币》2011年第三期

**26. Zhang Fuying and Xiong Xuebin — Northern Song coin hoard found in Xinshi zhen, Jingshan county, Hubei —** The hoard weighed about 136 kg, and contained coins from four main periods: (1) Han dynasty - banliang and wuzhu coins, (2) Tang dynasty - Kaiyuan tongbao and Qianyuan zhongbao coins; (3) Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms - Tangguo tongbao; (4) Song dynasty: the latest being Xuanhe yuanbao (issued from 1119), some of which had red lacquer on the front.

ZHANG Fuying, Xiong Xuebin, 'Hubei sheng Jingshan xian Xinshi zhen faxian yi Bei Song shiqi qianjiao', *Jiangnan kaogu* 2011.3. // 张伏英 熊学斌《湖北省京山县新市镇发现一北宋时期钱窖》,《江汉考古》2011年第三期

**27. Yang Jun — Shaoxing yuanbao coins and Annamese copies —** An unusual looking Shaoxing yuanbao coin was found in a Jin dynasty hoard in northeast China. The author believes it was a copy made in Annam (Vietnam).

YANG Jun, 'Yi shu Shaoxing yuanbao ji Annan fang zhu qian', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.3. // 杨君《异铸绍兴元宝及安南仿铸钱》,《中国钱币》2011年第三期

**28. Xie Ru and Xie Shiping — A coin casting site of Wang Mang's time discovered in Anyang, Henan —** The site was discovered in 2008, and yielded coin moulds for 大布黄千 *Dabu huang qian* coins (front and back moulds), *Da quan wushi* stack

moulds, and some moulds for making other bronze items. The site reveals that coins and other objects were cast at the same site.

XIE Ru, and XIE Shiping, 'Henan Anyang faxian yi chu Xin Mang zhuqian yizhi', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2011.1.

谢茹 谢世平《河南安阳发现一处新莽铸钱遗址》,《中国钱币》2011年第一期

**29. Zhang Peilin — A Nurhachi coin casting site? —** Between 2008 and 2009 near the Taizi He (river) south of Xincheng, Liaoyang, Liaoning, a large site yielded coins, and clay coin moulds and coin casting equipment. About 2000 天命通宝 *Tianming tongbao* coins in Manchu script were found. Now in the Shenyang Finance Museum.

ZHANG Peilin, 'Yisi Nu'erhachi zhuqian yizhi', *Zhongguo shoucang (Qianbi zhuankan)* 2011.4. // 张培林《疑似努尔哈齐铸钱遗址》,《中国收藏》(钱币专刊)2011年第四期

#### (4) IMPORTANT BOOKS

30. Editorial Committee, *Zhongguo qianbi dacidian - Minguo bian - Tongyuan juan*, Zhonghua shuju, 2011. // 《中国钱币大辞典》编纂委员会编《中国钱币大辞典 民国编 铜元卷》,中华书局,2011. [ISBN 9787101068467] - Encyclopaedia of Chinese coins - Republic of China - copper dollars

31. Editorial Committee, *Zhongguo qianbi dacidian - Minguo bian - Sheng shi zhibi juan*, Zhonghua shuju, 2011. // 《中国钱币大辞典》编纂委员会编《中国钱币大辞典 民国编 省市纸币卷》,中华书局,2011. [ISBN 9787101076028] - Encyclopaedia of Chinese coins - Republic of China - paper money of the provinces and cities

32. Editorial Committee, *Zhongguo qianbi dacidian - Minguo bian - Jin yin bi juan*, Zhonghua shuju, 2011. // 《中国钱币大辞典》编纂委员会编《中国钱币大辞典 民国编 金银币卷》,中华书局,2011. [ISBN 9787101077988] - Encyclopaedia of Chinese coins - Republic of China - gold and silver coins

33. WANG Yongsheng, *Qianbi yu Xiyu lishi yanjiu*, Zhonghua shuju, 2011. // 王永生《钱币与西域历史研究》,中华书局,2011年[ISBN 9787101075762] - Coins and the history of the Western Regions

34. DAI Jianbin, *Zhongguo huobi wenhua shi*, Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2011. // 戴建兵《中国货币文化史》,山东画报出版社,2011. [ISBN 9787547401460] - A cultural history of Chinese money

35. WANG Hongman, *Zhongguo jindai huobi jinrong shilun*, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2011. // 王红曼《中国近代货币金融史》,上海人民出版社,2011年 [ISBN 9787208103337] - Discussion on Chinese money and finance in the modern period

36. Chen Baoshan (ed. in chief), *Huobi fangwei yu jian ding xulun*, Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 2011. // 陈宝山主编《货币防伪与鉴定概论》,中国金融出版社,2011年 [ISBN 9787504957887] - On identifying and preventing forgeries of money

37. HONG Rongchang (ed.), *Hongse huobi - Zhonghua suweiai gongheguo Guojia yinhang faxing huobi banbie yanjiu*, Jiefangjun chubanshe, 2011. // 洪荣昌编著《红色货币 - 中华苏维埃共和国国家银行发行货币版别研究》,解放军出版社,2011年 [ISBN 9787506562201] - Red money: on coin types issued by the National Bank of the Chinese Soviet

38. HU Jinhua, *Hebei gudai qianbi de faxian yu yanjiu*, Kexue chubanshe, 2011. // 胡金华《河北古代钱币的发现与研究》,科学出版社,2011年 [ISBN 9787030332141] - Ancient coins of Hubei: discoveries and research

39. Guangxi qianbi xuehui (ed.), *Yongli tongbao qian kao*, Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 2011. // 广西钱币学会编著, 《永历通宝钱考》, 广西人民出版社, 2011年 – On *Yongli tongbao* coins

40. LUO Wei, *Lidai nongmin qi yijun qianbi*, Wenwu chubanshe, 2011. // 罗卫:《历代农民起义军钱》, 文物出版社, 2011年 [ISBN 9787501033652] – Coins of peasant uprisings

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