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Toiler in the Field of Georgian-Anatolian and Georgian-Arabic Numismatic Relations (*In Memoriam* Mary Antadze)

There is only a limited number of scholars active in the broad field of Islamic numismatics - perhaps 100 or 200 worldwide nowadays. There are even less, who deal with Georgian numismatic history - up to 20 researchers, only. So, all the sadder for the numismatic community is the loss of Mary Antadze (Chaduneli[1]), who had been working on what we would call Georgian-Islamic numismatic connections, i.e. at the intersection of these two areas.

Born on 1 November 1933[2], Mary Antadze had been working at the numismatic unit of the Simon Janashia Georgian History Museum (currently National Museum of Georgia) since 1962, i.e. for more than half a century. She passed away on 9 June 2013. It is beyond the scope of this short obituary to recall (and praise) personal features of the late scholar. Our objective is more modest: an attempt to review Mary Antadze's scientific legacy. Elucidating and analysing her scholarly achievements – this is our debt of gratitude and appreciation.

Mary Antadze's primary (university) specialty was Oriental Studies and History (she graduated in 1957), but gradually she became a professional numismatist under the general guidance of Davit Kapanadze, the venerated researcher of Georgian numismatics. In 1965 Mary Antadze obtained some additional training in numismatics from Alexey Bykov (State Hermitage). Besides Leningrad (nowadays, once again, St. Petersburg), she also visited the museums of Moscow, Baku and Yerevan. In 1967 Mary Antadze also worked at the Batumi, Borjomi, Tskhinvali and Akhaltsikhe museums of local folklore (in various regions of Georgia) and researched their numismatic holdings. She had some experience of field work as well – participating in the Dmanisi archeological expedition (led by Vakhtang Japaridze) in 1964-1965She obtained the scientific degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences (more or less equal to a PhD, in History) in 1977: her thesis covered the numismatic relations between Georgia and the Ottoman Empire in the 15th-18th centuries (including the circulation of Ottoman coins in Georgia).

Generally speaking, Mary Antadze's initial and primary numismatic interests were focused on the Ottoman-Georgian interaction. Her research in this field may be classified as follows:

- Circulation of Ottoman coins in Georgia (studying and publishing the hoards of Ottoman coins discovered in Murjakheti, Lekhura, Mandaeti, Jikhanjiri; analysing the data already published on this issue);
- Ottoman coins issued at the Gumushkhane mint (located in historical Lazeti / Lazona / Lazistan, populated by Lazs, a Kartvelian people);
- Ottoman coins minted in Tiflis (modern Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia) during the short-lived Ottoman occupation of eastern Georgia;
- Ottoman (silver and copper) coins minted at Ardanuç / Artanuji (a major urban centre in south-western Georgia).

The results were summarised in what perhaps became Mary Antadze's principal work, a monograph entitled *The Relationship between Georgia and Turkey in the 15th-18th Centuries Based on Numismatic Material* (1982).[3]

However, Mary Antadze's scholarly interest in the Anatolian numismatic legacy extended to the pre-Ottoman period as well. In the last years of her life she was working (in collaboration with Maia Pataridze) on *The Money of the Seljuks of Rum in Georgia*, a major treatise based on the numismatic holdings of the Georgian National Museum. The manuscript is ready for publishing and it is hoped that this will happen in the near future.

Naturally enough, a knowledgable specialist of Arabic monetary epigraphics like Mary Antadze could not disregard the Kufic coins that were struck or circulated in Georgia.

[1] In 1969 Mary Antadze married Akaki Chaduneli and became Mary *Chaduneli*. However, she continued to publish her scientific works as Mary *Antadze*. She changed her mind only in the last years, bylining the last article on the Tsakva hoard as Mary Chaduneli.

[2] All the biographical data are extracted from a personal file on Mary Antadze (Chaduneli) in the archive of the Georgian National Museum.

[3] New data provide an opportunity to reconsider some of the conclusions of the honourable author. ფაღავა ირაკლი. „ოსმალური სამყაროსა და საქართველოს ურთიერთობა ახალი ნუმიზმატიკური მონაცემების მიხედვით". [Paghava Irakli. "Relationship between the Ottoman World and Georgia according to Numismatic Data"] *კონსტანტინე ფაღავა 90.* რედ. ლ. ჟორჟოლიანი, მ. კვაჭაძე. (თბილისი, 2012), 128-144. However, being published more than 40 years ago, this book has not lost its significance yet.

One of her articles researched the Kvakhvreli hoard, comprising the coins of ‘Ali b. Ja‘far, emir of Tiflis; its significance was seemingly underestimated before – this finding proves that the Ja‘farid coinage circulated even beyond the boundaries of the 11th c. Tiflis emirate.

Yet another article (on the Tsakva hoard of ‘Abbasid dirhams) threw light on the circulation of the caliphate silver coinage in western regions of Georgia, unconquered by the Arabs.

It is quite regrettable, that the majority of Mary Antadze’s works were published in such a local language as Georgian. The Georgian scholarly community was naturally aware of her achievements, but few connoisseurs of, say, Ottoman numismatics abroad have ever heard about this Georgian scholar. Alas, that was the fate of the Georgian scholarly community in the decades following the country’s conquest by Soviet Russia in 1921: they worked behind the iron curtain, and were mostly deprived of an opportunity to reach a broader audience beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

Mary Antadze completed only 14 works in total throughout her 50-year long life as a professional numismatist. Unfortunately, family responsibilities, health issues, and day-to-day work at the museum prevented her from allocating more time to research. Despite this, her numismatic legacy constitutes a highly professional and valuable scholarly product.

Last, but not least, we cannot restrain ourselves from a personal note. Mary Antadze was not a person to believe in anyone’s good nature before testing him or her first; however, afterwards, she was always ready to come to one’s help. Both authors of this short text had the pleasure and honour to be the recipients of Mary Antadze’s benevolence and support. We shall cherish this memory till the end.

Irakli Paghava and Maia Pataridze

Readers may find the following full list of publications by Mary Antadze (Chaduneli) useful.

Monographs

1. Антадзе М. Обращение турецких монет в Грузии в XV-XVIII вв. (историко-нумизматическое исследование). Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Тбилиси, 1977. [Antadze Mary. “Circulation of Turkish Coins in Georgia in the 15th-18th centuries. (Historical-Numismatic Study)”. Candidate of Historical Sciences [Ph.D in History] Thesis, Tbilisi, 1977.]

2. ანთაძე მერი. *საქართველოსა და თურქეთის ურთიერთობა XV-XVIII საუკუნეებში ნუმიზმატიკური მასალის მიხედვით.* თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1982. [Antadze Mary. *Relationship between Georgia and Turkey in the 15th-18th centuries*. *according to the Numismatic Material*. Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1982.]

3. ანთაძე მერი (თანაავტორთა კოლექტივთან ერთად). *ფული საქართველოში.* თბილისი, 2003. [Antadze Mary (et. al.). *Money in Georgia*. Tbilisi, 2003.]

4. ჩადუნელი მერი, პატარიძე მაია. *რუმის სელჩუკების ფული საქართველოში* (ხელნაწერი). [Chaduneli Mary, Pataridze Maia. *Money of the Seljuks of Rum in Georgia* (manuscript)].

Articles

1. ანთაძე მერი. „გიუმიშხანეში მოჭრილი იშვიათი თურქული მონეტები“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXVII-B (1967): 195-201. [“Murjaheti Hoard of Turkish Coins”]

2. ანთაძე მერი. „თურქული მონეტების მურჯახეთის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXVIII-B (1969): 132-148. [“Murjaheti Hoard of Turkish Coins”]

3. ანთაძე მერი. „თბილისში მოჭრილი იშვიათი ოსმალური ოქროს მონეტა“. *ძეგლის მეგობარი* 23 (1970): 29-30. [“Rare Ottoman Gold Coin Struck in Tbilisi”]

4. Антадзе М., Кебуладзе Р. „Клад золотых монет из Лехурского ущелья.“ *Нумизматика и эпиграфика* IX (1971), 127-132. [“Hoard of Gold Coins from the Lekhura Gorge”]

5. ანთაძე მერი. „მანდაეთის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXXV-B (1981): 78-83. [“Mandaeti Hoard”]

6. ანთაძე მერი. „ჯიხანჯირის თურქული მონეტების განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXXV-B (1981): 110-112. [“Jikhanjiri Hoard of Turkish Coins”]

7. ანთაძე მერი. „თბილისის ზარაფხანაში მოჭრილი ოსმალური მონეტები.“ *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXXVII-B (1984): 71-77. [“Ottoman Coins Struck at the Tiflis Mint”]

8. ანთაძე მერი. „ქვახვრელის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXXVIII-B (1986): 121-125. [“Kvakhvreli Hoard”]

9. ანთაძე მერი. „არტანუჯის ზარაფხანა“. *ფიროსმანი* 4 (2008): 53-55. [“Artanuji Mint”]

10. ჩადუნელი მერი, ქორიძე მარიამი. „წაქვას განძი“. *ეროვნული მუზეუმის მოამბე* II (2011): 260-269. [“Tsakva hoard”]

ONS NEWS

Meetings

Bremen

Saturday, 23 November 2013 sees the first Bremen meeting on Islamic Numistmatics. Hosted by the Bremer Numismatische Gesellschaft (Bremen Numismatic Society), it will take place in the lecture room of the Ortsamt West, Waller Heerstr. 99, 28217, Bremen, Germany. Various lectures are being planned, together with discussion periods during the day. At the time of writing, the following lectures had been proposed:

Prof. Lahbib Maamri (Morocco): “Die Dynastie der Idrisiden”

Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen): “Ein neuer Hacksilberfund mit arabischen Dirhams aus Vorpommern)

Ernst Günther Weber (Bremen): “Ein einmaliger Beleg für Djerba als abbasadische Münzstätte”

Daniel Fallenger / Robert Lehmann: “Die Facetten orientalischer Silbermünzen – eine metallurgische Reise von erhaltenen Stempen bis zur Münze”

The proceedings will be in German. For more information please contact the organisers:

Christian Bruennlein: chb_coins@gmx.de

Dr Lutz Ilisch: lutz.ilisch@uni-tuebingen.de

London Meeting

The next London meeting is scheduled to take place at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals at 10.30 on Saturday 9 November 2013. At the time of writing, the following talks are due to be given:

Frances Simmons “Art medals in Japan”
Simon Glenn “Special Issues: the 'pedigree' coins of Agathocles and Antimachus of Bactria”
Paul Bevan "The Guizhou dollar"
Robert Bracey “Whence the muse? The engraving of coins and wider artistic trends in NW India”
François Joyaux "The trade coins of Quanzhou"

New York Meeting

A meeting of the Society will be held at 5pm EST on Saturday 11 January 2014 at the New York International Numismatic Convention. The meeting will include a round-table discussion of numismatic issues and questions suggested by the Society membership, as well as the inaugural edition of “Name That Coin”. Topics for discussion can include all areas of Oriental coinage including Islamic, South Asian, China and Japan, and can be in the form of a question, comment or statement. A panel of numismatists and collectors will be present to assist in the discussion, but all meeting attendees are welcome to participate. Members who would like to suggest a topic or serve as a panelist are invited to contact the North American Secretary, Charlie Karukstis, at charlie@charliek.com. The meeting will be followed by a dinner at a nearby restaurant.

The meeting will be held in the Beekman Suite, which is on the 18th floor of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, located at 301 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022, between 49th and 50th Streets. Again, for more information please contact the North American Secretary, Charlie Karukstis, at charlie@charliek.com.

Utrecht Meeting 19 October 2013

The annual ONS-meeting in the Netherlands took place, probably for the last time, at the Geldmuseum in Utrecht. Some 30 members, including members from Belgium, Germany and the U.K. attended the meeting. After introductory refreshments in the museum café, the programme started.

Before the start of the lectures, Jan Lingen spoke about the present situation of the Money Museum. The Money Museum was the result of a merger, about a decennium previously, of the three national numismatic collections, viz.: the Royal Coin Cabinet, the collection of the Royal Dutch Mint and the collection of the National Bank. After several bouts of cost reduction and the dismissal of the majority of the staff, the final blow had been dealt a few months previously by a further reduction in the necessary subsidy from the government for running the Museum. This was the final straw which broke the camel’s back and the Museum had to make the decision to stop its activities and close down by the 1st of November 2013. The future of the three collections had been rather uncertain for a long time, but recently it was decided that they would remain together, along with the numismatic library, and would move to the premises of the National Bank in Amsterdam. The National Bank had committed itself to opening up the collection and library for consultation and research and would also exhibit parts of it. Many questions still remained about the move of the collection to Amsterdam, and the location for the next ONS meeting in the Netherlands had also not yet been decided. Usually the ONS had followed the collection, but for the following year another, temporary meeting place needed to be considered.

Not too much demotivated by the closing of the present location of the Museum, Patrick Pasmans started the series of presentations with an account of the *Coinage of Attambelos IV of Characene*.

For the coinage of Attambelos IV of Characene, the numismatic literature reports only the existence of bronze tetradrachms and lead coins. During his reign bronze drachms were also used but the years on the reverse are mentioned in the Parthian Era! The bronze tetradrachms of Attambelos IV (SE 365-375; AD 54/5–64/5) show, on the obverse, the bust of a king with diadem to the right, sometimes with additional monograms, symbols and one or more countermarks. The reverse of the coins show a seated Herakles holding a club, a Greek legend, the year of minting in the Seleucid Era and monograms/symbols. The early coins of Attambelos IV show the king first without a beard, then with a short one, and finally with a medium-sized beard.

Attambelos IV appears to have produced one of the largest issues of tetradrachms in the Characenian series. Most of these coins circulated in the Characenian area and the Persian Gulf for 50 to 90 years. Some collections have tetradrachms (of SE 366) with the additional old (Southern) Arabian letter t, which suggests they were struck by a Characenian Mint in the Persian/Arabian Gulf.

After this well-researched and documented talk, Shailendra Bhandare gave a fascinating talk on: *Deep monetisation and ‘Kachchafication’ of Copper Coinage in 19th century North India: some insights and further thoughts*.

It is a well-known numismatic observation that a range of ‘lesser than normal’ copper coins circulated in 19th century North India – the deviation from ‘norm’ these coins exhibit include a lack of acknowledgement to a recognisable issuing authority, variation in weight and ‘crudeness’ in execution, and a bewildering variety of features which numismatists would normally recognise as constituting the ‘type’, etc. The coinage is difficult in numismatic terms to ‘attribute’ and, as such, not a great favourite among coin collectors, a direct outcome of which is the fact that these coins are seldom represented in well-formed collections and museum holdings. Those that do exist are often relegated to the bottom drawers of a coin cabinet, labeled as ‘miscellaneous’ or ‘unattributable’.

In spite of their humble nature, a few monetary historians and numismatists have given them some thought in terms of a history of global mechanisms of monetary transactions. Noteworthy among the first category is Frank Perlin, who devised the label ‘gimcrack’ for these coins. He situated the coinage in a very wide perspective of global metallic flows and a change in the employment of monetary versus non-monetary media of exchange. Pointing to the demand generated by the lowest ‘strata’ of the exchange networks within the 19th century economic ‘regime’ he envisaged these coins as representing a ‘devolved’ and ‘advanced’ currency system. This feature, in his opinion, goes against the grain of a traditional ‘anarchy’ model which most historians would apply to the 18th and 19th centuries. He also tried to unravel what numismatists would normally regard as ‘degradation’ in execution and fabric of these coins as an attempt at ‘systematic gimcrackery’ and linked it directly to the function and supply constraints of the mints, which, according to him, resorted to making the design more ‘gimcrack’ so that time and effort invested in ‘fine’ products might be minimised and the ‘demand’ for copper might be serviced better and faster.

Barry Tabor linked the proliferation of ‘gimcrack’ coins in Malwa to the spurt in opium trade. He also numismatically identified the ‘gimcrack’ coins as ‘Kachcha Paisas’, using a well-established anglo-vernacular binary of ‘kutcha/Kachcha’ and ‘Pukkah/Pakka’ to segregate the ‘unrefined, crude, variable, non-standard’ and the ‘refined/proper, ripe, firm or standard’ among the coinages. He also voiced a set of ‘theories’ of how ‘Kachcha-ness’ might originate and if – at all – such an approach would help in the attribution of these coins. Being a coin collector, Tabor was concerned mainly with the question of attribution and this bias is evident in his publications. But he also contextualised the coinage with secondary or published contemporary sources, reports and records. Rather unfortunately, before he could test his ‘theories’ or hypotheses, he lost interest in coin collecting as well as numismatic research, which was a great shame because, in his endeavour, we certainly see an attempt to systematically classify and attribute these coins, although not a great deal of scrutiny in terms of reconstructing a ‘monetary history’ surrounding these coinages.

Jan Lingen and Jan Lucassen have helped to increase our understanding exactly to that end – they concerned themselves with particular kinds of copper paisas, names of which were referred to in administrative / financial reports of early to mid-19th century officials, and which were used in particular circumstantial transactions, such as, in their case studies, the payment to labour involved in civil and military enterprises conducted under the

auspices of the 'British Raj'. To a certain extent, they, too, were concerned with identification and attribution of these coins but they very wisely also remarked upon the reasons that such an exercise was not particularly appropriate.

The present talk drew upon the problems of attribution encountered by the previous researchers and proposed a 'flavour' approach, by first outlining and mapping geographical tracts in which the 'Kachcha Paisa' phenomenon was evidenced in North India. These areas include the Gulf of Cambay, North and NW Gujarat, Rajputana (and parts), Malwa (and parts), Braj, The North and South Doabas, Punjab & Kashmir, Bundelkhand and Central India, Berar and SW Marathwada, and Western Maharashtra including the Konkan. 'Kachcha' coins circulating in each of these areas come with distinct 'flavours' in terms of weight, execution and style and employment of symbolism. It further attempted to identify 'mediators' and 'vectors' of 'Kachcha-ness' – by the latter label factors which kept the coinage 'going' were addressed and by the former, the participatory agencies in the monetary phenomenon were unpicked.

The factors which contributed to the phenomenon being 'alive' were aspects of wider political importance, such as state formation in a period leading to 'Pax Britannica' in the mid-19th century, the nature of mobile economies (such as those of the Pindaree bands) that resulted out of these processes, the general devolution and abrogation of the 'right' to coin money and the increased demand due to 'deep monetisation' of the economy. The coinage responded with 'hybridity' and 'mobility', in motifs, symbols, circulation and issuance. Each of these factors meant the 'Kachcha' coinage became a circulatory force to reckon with, having an impact on important fiscal functions such as revenue collection and payment to labourers. The 'mediators' of 'Kachcha-ness' essentially constitute the colonial authorities, who tried to suppress the phenomenon much to their own advantage, the local ruling elite who often had assumed the right to coin money and then employed it to foster activities of entrepreneurs in the 'money market', which included shroffs and operators of mints which produced the 'Kachcha' coins by a direct or indirect 'collusion' in the phenomenon, and the 'consumers' of these coins, which included people who actually used them much at the mercy of money intermediaries such as the shroffs who often 'assigned' a value to them. The dynamics which flow out of this 'triangular' interaction are often interesting, as was demonstrated by Ken Wiggins in his numismatic paper on private minting activities in Awadh (JNSI 1982). Studies such as those by Wiggins, and Lingen & Lucassen also show that while 'Kachcha' coinage was pretty much localised in a circulatory sense, in terms of demand and supply equations it could in effect be supplied from anywhere, with private enterprise playing a significant role in the manufacture of these coins.

The study of 'Kachcha' coins situated in the historical context of their circulation is, therefore, an important aspect of monetary history of 19th century India which deserves a much greater contextual and historical attention than only the numismatic quest for attributing them. This numismatic quest has largely proven detrimental to the coins not being documented and studied, owing much to the fact that most of these coins cannot really be 'attributed' in a numismatic sense and that goes against the grain of numismatic methodology of taxonomical study followed by further 'compartmentalised' and specific inquiries. The phenomenon would be better understood if this quest is set aside and the coins are studied in the context of the areas in which they circulated, concentrating on specific aspects about the 'mediators' and 'vectors' involved in their circulation. Numismatic presuppositions would be better addressed by using a 'flavour' theory in which variations in type characteristics are regionally mapped, and then further bolstered using a convenient political label as a 'tag' – for example, coins showing symbols which have a 'Dhar' affinity could be labeled 'Dhar-like', or coins which circulated in the Berar could be further grouped into 'Nagpur Bhonsla-inspired' and 'Hyderabad-esque' coins.

Last but not the least, the study of 19th century 'Kachcha' coins helps us to shift our focus on the phenomenon of 'degradative coinages' in general. It prompts us to ask questions about the role of 'attribution' played in the study of various Indian coinages – phenomena not dissimilar to the 19th century 'Kachchafication' have been known even for many other series of coins such as the 15th-16th century 'copies' of Bahmani coins met with in the Deccan, or the 'imitations' of Akbar's copper coinage that is met with in the north. The problem in ascertaining the nature and character of these is a lack of secondary evidence for their study. How we understand these phenomena would undergo a significant shift when they are viewed in comparison with the 19th century phenomenon, particularly when the latter is sufficiently bolstered by contextualisation that is provided by a generous body of secondary, archival literature.

Following a break for lunch, the afternoon session started with a dual presentation by Jan Lucassen and Jan Lingen with the title *'Two lacs of Bharatpur and Bindrabund rupees and 15 bags of copper pyce, captured at Dig on Christmas'eve 1804'*.

Based on archival research, the contents of the booty captured by the British on this occasion, the disposal of it and particularly the separately mentioned Bindrabund rupees, were, inter alia, the subject of this presentation. Details will be published in the next Journal of the ONS.

The tea break was followed the traditional auction of oriental coins and related books, which raised a welcome amount of about 700 Euros for ONS funds. Thanks were due to those who supplied and donated material for the auction as well as those participating in the bidding.

After the meeting some 15 participants enjoyed a very nice Chinese meal at a nearby restaurant.

Our thanks are particularly due to the Geldmuseum, which, despite its present complex situation, enabled us again to make use of its facilities for this meeting. As mentioned above, the venue for next year's meeting has not yet been decided, but the date has been set for Saturday 18 October 2014. As soon as the venue has been determined, members will be informed.

Jan Lingen

New Members

European Region

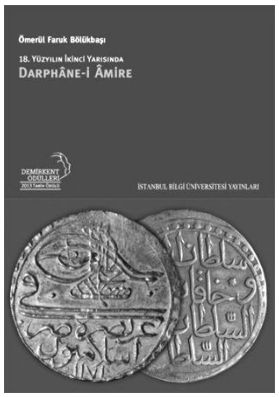
Revised Addresses

[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

Lists Received

1. Tim Wilkes ([redacted] www.wilkescoins.com; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 21 of oriental coins (October 2013).

New and Recent Publications



XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Darbhane-i Amire (The Ottoman Imperial Mint in the second half of the XVIII Century) by Dr Ömerül Faruk Bölükbaşı, Bilecik University History Department, Istanbul, 2013. Pp 280, 16 x 23 cm (approx. 6 x 9 ins.), ISBN: 9786053992882. For price and availability, see Internet. Based on a great deal of archival research, this book provides much information on the working of the Imperial Mint during the period in question. Text presumably in Turkish

Issue 7 of ***Numismatique Asiatique***, published by the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, France, in September 2013 is devoted to the the theme of "Monnaie et commerce international en Asie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles". It comprises the following articles:

"Chinese cash, diminutive and imitation Chinese cash circulating in Palembang (Sumatra) until *ca* 1710" by Michael Mitchiner

Documentation: "A propos de la communauté chinoise de Banten" (On the Chinese community in Banten)

"La monnaie de Pondichéry au XVIIIe siècle" (The coinage of Pondicherry in the 18th century), by Philippe Haudrère

"Roupies et traites négrières au XVIIIe siècle" (Rupees and the slave trade in the 18th century), by Daniel Cariou

"La sapèque chinoise et ses copies dans le grand commerce international d'Extrême-Orient au XVIIe siècle" (Chinese cash and its copies in major international trade in the Far East in the 17th century), by François Joyaux

Documentation: "Commerce et monnaie dans le Tonkin du XVIIe siècle d'après le Père Alexandre de Rhodes" (Trade and coinage in Tonkin in the 17th century according to Father Alexandre de Rhodes)

There is also a review of Paul Stevens' book *The coins of the Bengal Presidency*.

For more information about the Society please write to: numis.asia@orange fr in French or English.

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Due for publication in October 2013 is ***Monnaies et Jetons de L'Indochine Française*** by Jean Lecompte, Editions v. Gadoury, Monaco. This is described as a work in French and English devoted to the coinage of French Indo-China, including the latest discoveries. Almost 800 coins are catalogued with more than 700 illustrations. 168 pages. For more information please see www.gadoury.com

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Ancient Indian Coins Revisited by Wilfried Pieper, is a new publication on ancient Indian silver and base-metal coins based on the personal collection of the author and published by CNG as a hardbound volume, 424 pages, ISBN 978-0-9837652. It is sold for $95, the link to the book on the CNG-booklist is: http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=241308

The author has provided the following information.

"The first 135 pages are text discussion, followed by an extensive catalogue part, and bibliography. The time-frame is from about 500 BC, i.e. the approximate date of the earliest Indian coinages, to the early post-Gupta period, roughly comprising the first 1000 years of India's coin history: from early local punch-marked to uninscribed cast copper coins, issues of the local post Mauryan cities, tribes and kingdoms, Deccan coinages, Sangam-age Tamil coins, issues of the Kshatrapas, Paratarajas, Satavahanas, Guptas and post-Gupta dynasties. The new post-Gupta Yashaaditya series of inscribed and uninscribed small silver coins of portrait/ fire-altar and portrait/ trident types turned up some years ago and was for the first time published by the author. A representative sample of these coins is catalogued in this book together with some further new types of post-Gupta coinages. Given the vast amount of ancient Indian coinages, the book cannot of course provide an in-depth treatment for each and every series. Nevertheless, the most relevant series of ancient Indian silver and base-metal coins are discussed, including relevant recent evidence, aiming to present a useful historical and typological overview. Within this book the reader will find most of the ancient Indian silver, copper and lead coins which the usual collector will encounter. In addition to this, some rarities and a large number of otherwise unpublished new types are included as well.

As the Kushan hold and influence on northern India was longlasting and formative, the author decided to include Kushan coins, the Kushano-Sasanian and the post-Kushan imitative coinages as well. Because the author's collection comprises only silver and base-metal coins, gold is left out of consideration. This applies likewise to the Gupta coins, of which only silver, lead and copper are included.

The black & white photos of the 1329 coins, taken by Osmund Bopearachchi, are printed in high quality and arranged in a sylloge format opposite the respective description of the items in question. For each coin a photo and a drawing is presented. The drawings help to make identifications and attributions for the reader much easier. This is especially useful for very small coins, for multi-punched coins with confusing designs and for coins with complex legends. To make the book more user-friendly such coins are highlighted by enlarged photos. The same applies to coins of special numismatic or artistic merit.

Harry Falk, Professor of Indology at the Freie Universität Berlin, checked and identified the Kharosthi and Brahmi legends and contributed much to the general improvement by painstakingly correcting transliterations and transcriptions of the Indian coin legends throughout the whole catalogue."

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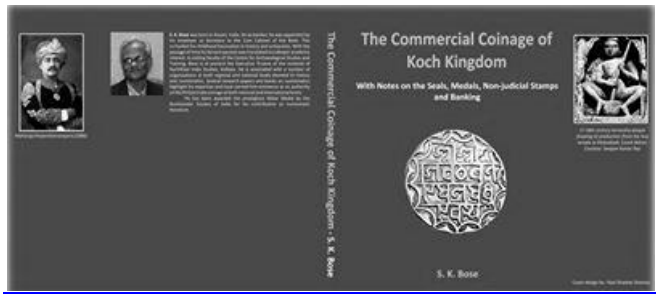

The Commercial Coinage of Koch Kingdom" by SK Bose is a successor publication to *The Coinage of Cooch Behar* by the same author and the late Nicholas Rhodes (Calcutta 1999). Printed on art paper, it comprises 152 pages, sixty plates, eight colour pages, with maps and rare photographs. The author has retrieved information from unpublished documents on Cooch Behar in the British Library, London. The books is dedicated to the memory of the late Prof. B.N. Mukherjee, while the catalogue portion is based on coins in the Nicholas Rhodes collection. The price within India is Rs 500; outside India US $30. For more details please write to mirasbooks@gmail.com

Articles

A BRIEF NOTE ON THREE SASANIAN COPPER AND BRONZE COINS

By Bahram Badiyi

The Sasanian base metal coins noted below are being discussed here because of their artistic as well as expressive nature of their monograms.

Coin 1: Bahram (Varhran) IV – Bronze/Copper; Weight: 2.30 g, Diameter: 16 mm

Bahram IV's copper/bronze fractions, similar to Shapur II's fractions bear various symbols and letters (mostly the abbreviated name of mint locations). Most of these symbols or letters appear in front of the bust on the obverse. This coin is an extremely rare example of such symbolism. The reverse of Bahram IV's copper or bronze pieces show either an Ardeshir I style reverse with a free-standing fire altar or a sacred fire altar flanked by two guardians. In this case the reverse is the free-standing fire altar.

On close inspection of the obverse, the symbol in front of the bust closely resembles the head of a rabbit or a hare. This symbol appears crudely in a form of a half-open pair of scissors in the coinage of Shapur II, Bahram V and Yazdgird II. References can be made to examples illustrated by Schindel in *SNS* 3/1 Page 83, no. 27 and SNS 3/2, Pl 66, no. A34 (Bahram V).

Sasanian art is very rich in animal symbolism. On the coinage we have the eagle-headed crowns of Shapur I on his rare silver drachms, crowns of Bahram II's queen, Hormizd II's crown, wings on Bahram IV's crown all the way to the wings of victory placed on the crowns of all Sasanian monarchs from Khusrow II to Yazdgird III. Let us also not forget the bust of the Sasanian king with antlers which is on display in the Louvre. The appearance of a hare or rabbit on coins is no exception.

The history behind the myth of the rabbit or hare has been the subject of many books and articles and does not require further comment. Suffice it to say that various ancient or late medieval cultures around the world such as those of the Egyptians, Scythians, Greeks, Romans and Chinese have shared many common beliefs in their veneration of these swift and fertile animals. As part of these common beliefs the hare is also associated mythically as taking residence on the moon. The importance of the moon and its meaning in both the religious beliefs and rituals of Sasanian Iran is fully established. Their most venerated goddess, Anahit, was considered to be the moon goddess. Moreover, the cult of the moon goddess had many followers in Arabia, the eastern Mediterranean, Bactria (Afghanistan) and India. It is worth remembering that Shapur II is recorded to have called himself in his letter to Byzantium the "Brother of the Sun and the Moon"!

The appearance of a hare or rabbit is very likely a reference to the worship and ritual associated with the Moon Goddess, Anahit. We cannot be sure whether such coins were issued for festive occasions, but the chosen metal (copper or copper alloy), which was considered to be the metal honoring love and fertility, plus the given symbols (king, head of a rabbit or hare, and fire altar) had a special place in the religious and administrative rituals of Sasanian Iran.

Coin 2: Bahram (Varhran) V – Bronze/Copper; Weight: 2.28 g, Diameter 14 mm

As can be observed on this Bahram V coin, it is more difficult to ascertain if we are looking at a series of symbols representing letters or a phrase or the pure depiction of a symbol in front of the bust on the obverse. This element is similar to Schindel *SNS* plate 67 no. 86 and Schindel *SNS* 3/2 plate 74 no. A38, A43 and A47 with one exception: the symbol on those coins listed by Schindel are the reverse (mirror image) of the symbol on the coin listed above. Generally speaking, the symbol can be interpreted as the sun and the moon. However, the line between the sun and the moon as well as the upside-down crescent moon need to be studied in the context of the entire corpus to allow for a more assured interpretation.

The reverse of this fraction represents the style of Bahram V's second reverse type (figure on the fire altar). No other mint mark or letters or symbols can be observed on the reverse.

Coin 3 : Bahram (Varhran)V– Bronze/Copper; Weight: 1.84 g, Diameter: 14 mm

Double symbols are frequently observed on the coinage of Yazdgird I, Bahram V and Yazdgird II. For the use of such symbols we can refer to Schindel *SNS* 3/2 Table[plate] 67 no.s 74, 78, 85 and A41. However, given the typologies of symbols as noted on Schindel *SNS* 3/1 Table 24, pages 82, 83 and Gobl Table IX for symbols of Bahram V coinage, the example noted here is rare. In this rare version we have a *double* symbol of the Crescent Moon and Faravahar. The Farvahar as the combined royal/religious insignia of the house of Sasan is located *beneath* the Crescent Moon. This juxtaposition could not have happened accidentally given the importance of royal insignia and its placement under another symbol. The symbolism and positioning of the symbols more than likely represent the great veneration for the Crescent moon.

The reverse indicates the standard early type of fire altar without the king's bust at the middle of the fire altar. The mint abbreviation of WH which may be Veh Ardeshir (Ctesiphon district) appears on the left side of the standing figures.

TWO MORE STANDING CALIPH FULUS WITHOUT MINT NAME

By Tony Goodwin

The Syrian Standing Caliph coins of the late 7th century were struck at 17 or more mints and almost always bear a mint name written to the left or right of the reverse "symbol-on-steps". In a recent article, Nikolaus Schindel published an unusual coin in the style of Damascus, but which completely lacks the usual mint name.[4] In this article I will describe two more mintless coins.

The first of these (Fig. 1) is struck from rather rudely engraved dies with blundered legends.

Fig. 1: Mintless coin in the style of Manbij, 1.99 g, 6h., average diameter: 16 mm.[5]

The reverse legend is an approximation to the *shahada*, with … *illā allāh waḥdahu…* clearly visible. The obverse is less easy to make out, but comparison with other Standing Caliph coins makes it clear that the legends are intended as *khalīfat allāh* (Caliph of God) downwards to right and *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the Believers) upwards to the left. This obverse legend is only used at three mints, all in *Jund* Qinnasrīn:- Sarmīn, Ma'arrat Miṣrīn and Manbij. In fact the style of the obverse on the mintless coin is very close to the highly distinctive style of a number of coins from Manbij (see Fig. 2 for a regular coin of that mint).

Fig. 2: 2.40g. 1h. Regular fals of Manbij. Obv: khalīfat allāh *downwards to right and* amīr al-mu'min *(last two letters omitted) downwards to left. Rev:* wāf *(full value) upwards to left and mint name* manbij *upwards to right, clockwise from top* lā ilāha illā allāh waḥdahu muḥammad *("there is no god but God, he is alone, Muhammad is his messenger", last two words omitted), 2.40 g, 1h., average diameter: 20 mm.*[6]

For example, both coins show the caliph with a rather elongated face, stylised long hair which flicks up at either side and with his arms in an unnatural position with his elbows sticking out. He wears a very full "skirt" and he lacks the usual "girdle band" or "whip". There is, therefore, absolutely no doubt that the mintless coin is either a product of the mint of Manbij or an imitation of Manbij.

Why was the mint name omitted? I believe the answer is exactly the same as that proposed by Schindel for the "mintless Damascus" coin, namely that, once the circular legend had been engraved into the die, there was just not sufficient room for the inexperienced die engraver to add the mint name. The coin may be the product of an illegal mint, i.e. a forgery, but it might equally well be the work of an untrained die engraver within the official mint. The small Standing Caliph mints, such as Manbij, could not have supported a full-time die engraver, and occasional emergencies must have occurred which necessitated the immediate production of a new pair of dies by an unskilled workman.

Fig 3: Mintless Standing Caliph fals. Obv: clockwise from top - li-'abd allāh 'abd al-malik amīr al-mu'minīn *(for the servant of God 'Abd al-Malik, Commander of the Believers). Rev:* wāf *upwards to left and* lillāh *downwards to right, clockwise from top* lā ilāha illā allāh waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl allāh, *1.70 g, 12h., average diameter: 18 mm.*

The second mintless coin is rather different; the dies are quite well engraved in a style typical of some of the larger *Jund Qinnasrīn* mints, particularly Qinnasrīn itself, and the legends are the normal obverse legend naming Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, with the *shahada* on the reverse. The epigraphy is of an unusually high standard for a Standing Caliph coin, with carefully formed letters and no spelling mistakes, but instead of a mint name we have the legend *lillāh* (for God) to the right of the symbol-on-steps. I have carried out a quick search of readily available Standing Caliph coins in order to find any obverse die links and come up with one probable example (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Standing Caliph fals, uncertain mint in Jund Qinnasrīn. Obv: as Fig. 3, same die. Rev: uncertain mint name … rīn *upwards to left,* wāf *downwards to right, traces of shahada, around, 1.51 g, 10h, average diameter: 18mm.*

Unfortunately the mint name is unclear on this coin due to flat striking and wear. It appears to end in *….rīn*, but the whole word looks rather short for *Qinnasrīn*. It could possibly be *Jibrīn*, but it is impossible to be certain. However, at least we can be reasonably certain that the obverse die of the *lillāh* coin is the product of an official mint.

So why would an official mint produce a coin with "for God" replacing the mint name on the reverse? It was certainly not a common practice; I only know of only two other coins of this type and both are of rather irregular appearance. If these coins were more common I would be tempted to suggest that they were struck for people to use to pay the *zakat* or poor tax, but, given their rarity, this is unlikely. It, therefore, seems more plausible that the carefully engraved coin illustrated in Fig. 3 was produced for some special occasion with religious significance, which perhaps involved the giving of alms.

[4] N. Schindel, 'A "Standing Caliph" fals without mint name', *JONS* 216, 2013, pp. 7-8.

[5] The obverse is double-struck giving the coin a somewhat blurred appearance in the photograph. All coins are from U.K. private collections and are illustrated approximately 2x actual size.

[6] T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*, 2005, p. 45 Cat. 53, this coin.

AN UMAYYAD DIRHAM OF TOKHARISTAN

By F. Mosanef (Tehran), M.T. Saffar (Mashhad)

Tokharistan is previously unpublished as an Islamic mint for any dynasty. The present dirham dated AH 80 is thus not only the first Umayyad dirham published from this mint but indeed the only Islamic coin known to have been struck there.

Obv:

لا إله إلا
الله وحده
لاشريک له

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بطخرستان فی سنه ثمنين

Rev:

الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد
ولم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد

Margin**:**

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدی و دين الحق ليظهره علی الدين كله ولوكره المشركون

Weight: 2.74 g; diameter 27mm

Tokharistan (طخارستان/طخرستان) is a very large area adjoining the southern bank of the Amu Darya (Oxus/Jayhoun) river, containing ancient Balkh and towns such as Taliqan, Warwaliz and Andaraba. Nowadays Tokharistan includes Faryab, Juzjan, Balkh, Samangan, Qunduz, Badakhshan and Takhar in Afghanistan. The name appears to be derived from the Tokhars, one of the most important tribal groups which migrated into Bactrian territory and who are the ancestors of the Kushan empire. The Tokhars spoke Bactrian, a Middle Eastern Iranian language and therefore Indo-European (although unrelated to the languages called Tokharian today).

Islamic geographers described Tokharistan (Takharistan) as a large province lying on both sides of the upper reaches of the Amu Darya river. Yaqut, in the *Mujam al-buldan*, says that Tokharistan was divided into two districts: Bamyan as Tokharistan al-'ala (Hither Tokharistan), while ibn Kurdazbeh extended Tokharistan's border to Sistan and Kabul. More detail is given by Istakhri in *Mamalik and Masalik,* who states that "Tokharistan is located to the south of the Amu Darya and north of the Hindu Kush mountains, and is bounded by Balkh and Badakhshan". Maqdisi regarded Tokharistan as one of nine areas of Khurasan, including Taliqan, Khulm, Gharbang, Samangan, Iskelkand, Rub, Baghlan, Arhan and Andaraba.

After the fall of the Kushan empire Tokharistan came under Sasanian control and was ruled by a Sasanian *marzuban* (military governor).

The Sasanians in turn were attacked by Muslim forces who were striking eastwards. During the caliphate of 'Uthman ibn Affan (AD 644-656) 'Abdallah b. 'Amir, governor of Khurasan, sent Ahnaf b. Qays to conquer Tokharistan. Ahnab captured Marw, but was then faced by an army drawn not only from Tokharistan but also from Juzjan, Taliqan, Faryab and Chaghaniyan. The Muslims were victorious and captured Taliqan and Faryab before moving on to Balkh, the capital of Tokharistan, where peace was concluded between the two sides. Ahnaf b. Qays appointed Asayd b. Mutashames as governor of Balkh, and other cities of Tokharistan also soon received Muslim overlords. Some years afterwards, the Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya sent 'Abdallah b. 'Amir back to govern Khurasan, where he suppressed unrest in Balkh and Pushang.

In AH 47, Firuz, son of the last Sasanian emperor, Yazdgerd III, entered Tokharistan in an ill-fated attempt to re-establish Sasanian rule. He was defeated by a Muslim army under Hakam b. 'Amr b. Ghaffari and fled to China. Thereafter, the rulers of Tokharistan remained loyal to the Muslim governors of Khurasan and the Umayyad caliphate.

In AH 78, al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf sent Muhallab b. Abi Sufra to govern Khurasan and to strengthen and expand Umayyad power there. Muhallab passed the river of Balkh in AH 80 and entered Kush, sending his son onwards to Khuttalan and Bukhara. Muhallab himself remained in Tokharistan for two years before establishing peace with the local rulers. Later, the Muslims expanded their eastern conquests further with a decade of campaigning under Qutayba b. Muslim Bahili.[7]

The date of this coin, therefore, demonstrates that it was struck during the governorship of Muhallab b. Abi Sufra during his attempts to establish Umayyad control in the East during the year AH 80.[8]

[7] For general sources on the history of Tokharistan, see: Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Ahmad Maqdisi, *Ahasan al-Taqasim fi marifat al-Aqalim*, Tehran,1385, pp. 67-71 and pp. 430-441; Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qubi, *Al-buldan*, Tehran, 1381, pp. 52-66; *Hudud al-alam,* Tehran, 1363, pp. 95-104; Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Istakhri, *Kitab al-masalik wa'l-mamalik,* Tehran 1373, pp. 269-293; Hamdallah Mustawfi Qazvini, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, Tehran, 1381, pp. 219-220, Ahmad b. Yahya al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-buldan (bakhshe IRAN)* ,1364, pp. 161-171; Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn 'Ali Asam Kufi, *Al-Futuh,* Tehran, 1380 , p.787; Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari, *Tarikh Tabari (Tarikh al-rusel va al-muluk)*, Vol XI, Tehran, 1385, pp. 2187-2188; Ahmad ibn Abu Ya'qub al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh Ya qubi*, Vol II, Tehran, 1382, pp. 59-60 and pp. 227-240; Sellami, Akhbar *Volat Khorasan*, Tehran, 1390, pp. 82-85; Abu Sa'id Abd al-Hayy ibn Zahhak ibn Mahmud Gardizi, *Zayn al-akhbar*, Tehran, 1384, pp. 160-171.

[8] General numismatic sources include: Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition, Santa Rosa, 2011, pp. 40-47; Omer Diler, *Islamic mints,* Vol I-III, Istanbul, 2009, A.Shams Eshragh, *Silver coinage of the Caliphs,* London, 2010; Abd Allah Aghili, *Dar Al-zarb haye Iran dar doreye Islami,* Tehran, 1377

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE OIRAT MONGOLS: SOME COINS OF THE SUTAYID RULERS OF AL-JAZIRA AND SOUTHERN ARMENIA, 740-750s / 1340-1350s

by Aram Vardanyan[9]

Abstract

The history of al-Jazira under the Oirat Mongols was discussed by Claude Cahen and Bertold Spuler in their works published in 1955[10], but much more thoroughly by Lutz Ilisch in his PhD dissertation,[11] Stephen Album's article on one late Ilkhanid hoard buried by AH 741/ AD1340 [12] and then by Charles Melville in his monograph published at the very end of the last century.[13] In addition, Patrick Wing also contributed some important research with his article which considered several aspects of late Ilkhanid policy regarding the Mamluk strategy that affected the sultanate's northern and eastern frontiers.[14] All these studies had, as their background, the narratives of Hafiz Abru, *Dhayl jami' al-tawarikh* and Abu Bakr al-Ahri, *Tarikh-i Shaykh Uways*, and, to a lesser extent, that of Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi, *Kitab suluk li-ma'rifat*…,[15] all, however, written at a comparatively later period. Some very odd, but rather important information on the Oirat Mongols is found in Armenian sources written in the 14th century. On Sutay himself there is some information in the works of al-Dawadari and al-Safadi.[16]

In this article, an attempt is made to put into scientific circulation some coins of the Oirat Sutayid rulers struck at different mints located in the Jazira and southern Armenia. This is a small contribution to the history of the Sutayid governors. Apart from the evidence from sources telling us the main cities where the Sutayids ruled, this study sheds light on some new geographical sites where the coins were struck in that period. Especially, important are the aspects dealing with the Sutayids that settled in southern Armenia with their centre in Akhlat (arm. Khlat'). A few coins from that city dated AH 738-745 and struck in the name of the later Ilkhanid Khans and a small issue of anonymous coins from there go to enhance our, hitherto, sparse knowledge of Oirat rule in the region.

History

The death of the last powerful Ilkhan, Abu Sa'id, marked the beginning of the fall of the Ilkhanid state, which soon became irreversible. However, the collapse of the state was not a sporadic event but a process that developed within the next twenty years after Abu Sa'id's death. The subsequent Ilkhans played a minor role in the political life of the Ilkhanate, being merely puppets in the hands of local powerful rulers. The struggle for the legacy of the Ilkhanate took place among the representatives of several powerful families, such as the Chupanids, Jalayrids, Muzaffarids, Sarbadarids, Injuids, Karts and Sutayids. Occasional involvement in the struggle by the Mamluks of Egypt, who had their interests in making their Anatolian frontiers more secure, hastened the process of disintegration. As a result, on the stage of the vast Ilkhanid empire appeared several small but fairly independent political entities.[17] By that time, northern Iraq with its centre in Mawsil and Jazira came under the control of the Oirat Mongols. Initially, the Oirats were a strong tribal confederation that could compete with Chingiz Khan in earlier times.[18] Chingiz Khan's many maternal uncles were of Oirat origin.[19] Among the Oirat Mongols at least two renowned representatives should be remembered from earlier times: Arghun (d. 1275)[20], sent by Mangu Khan to Armenia and Adharbayjan to conduct a census, and his son, Nawruz, an ideological mentor and military commander of Ghazan Mahmud.[21]

In the days of Ghazan Mahmud some Oirats migrated to Syria, having found shelter at the court of the Mamluk sultans, while others settled in al-Jazira and Iraq. Oirats took part in the military activities in the Levant where they, together with Georgians and Armenians, participated in campaigns against the Mamluks in the late thirteenth century.[22] During the reign of Abu Sa'id, the Oirats stayed at the command of a 10,000-strong garrison stationed in Diyarbakr.[23] Among these Oirats are to be remembered Sutay Aqtachi *aqṭajī* (d. 1332) and his descendants, Hajji Taghay (d. 1345) and Baranbay. Sutay began his career at the court of Ghazan Mahmud, as he was sent to Tabriz to dismiss Baydu Khan.[24] He then continued serving Ghazan's brother, Oljaytu,[25] and, in AH 712/ AD 1312, he was appointed governor in Mawsil.[26] In Abu Sa'id's time, Sutay was appointed governor of Diyarbakr.[27] The rise of Sutay provided an opportunity for the growth of the entire Sutayid family. Sutay's son, Ibrahim-Shah (d. 1347/8), and his brother, Arab-Shah, the sons of Baranbay, became prominent for their clever dealings with their Jalayirid overlords with regard to Diyarbakr. Ibrahim-Shah was married to the daughter of 'Ali Padshah, the Oirat governor of Diyarbakr and 'Iraq.[28] It is still a topic of discussion whether Sutay himself belonged initially to the Oirat tribe[29] unlike 'Ali Padshah, who seemingly did while the sources refer to him using the *nisba* Oirati.[30]

Certain attempts were, it is true, made to strengthen the Ilkhanid state by Arpa Ke'un (AH 736), the son of Ariq Bugha and descendant of Toluy, who succeeded Abu Sa'id on the throne.[31] He executed Baghdad Khatun, the daughter of amir Chupan and the wife of Abu Sa'id, accusing her of conspiring with the Golden Horde. However, Arpa's subsequent activities met with resistance from another powerful Oirat chieftain, 'Ali Padshah ibn Chichak, the Sutay's governor in Iraq and Diyarbakr and the uncle of Abu

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[24] al-Ahri, *op. cit*., p. 97.

[25] Amitai, *op. cit*., pp. 106-108.

[26] Hafiz Abru, *op. cit*., pp. 54, 75, 79; Cahen, *op. cit*., p. 73.

[27] Melville, *op. cit*., p. 22. On Sutay and his descendants see: *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*, *op. cit*., pp. 15, 230; Hamdallah Mustawfi (Qazwini), *Tarikh-i guzida*, vol. II, p. 594; Hafiz Abru, *op. cit*., p. 54; al-Safadi, *op. cit*., pp. 24-25.

[28] Melville, *op. cit*., p. 32.

[29] Wing, *op. cit*., p. 79.

[30] al-Ahri, *op. cit*., p. 106.

[31] Hafiz Abru, *op. cit*., p. 145.

Sa'id.[32] He had hoped that, if the wife of Abu Sa'id bore a son, 'Ali could have assumed control over the entire Ilkhanate as a legitimate tutor (*atabek*) for the young Ilkhanid heir. Thus, 'Ali did not accept Arpa as the new Khan and rebelled. He installed a new Khan in Baghdad, named Musa (AH 736-737), a grandson of Baydu, in whose name he began reading the *khutba* and striking coins.[33] In April 1336 (Ramadhan AH 736) a battle took place at the Jaghatu River between Arpa and 'Ali where Arpa was defeated and then killed in Sultaniyya.[34] Armenian sources relate that 'Ali killed Arpa while the latter was Christian. He also destroyed churches from Mawsil to Akhlat and Salmast.[35] 'Ali Padshah became sole ruler of Iraq and al-Jazira. Musa Khan, who was enthroned in Ujan in the month of Shawwal AH 736, entrusted 'Ali Padshah with both the administrative and financial affairs of the state.[36] Also the sons of Sutay were deprived of their domains. In order to strengthen his position, 'Ali made an attempt to establish friendly relations with the Mamluks, in the person of the sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. 'Ali agreed to cede Baghdad to the Mamluks if they would help him fight against Sutay's sons.[37] This offended the Oirats under Hajji Taghay, and Sutay's other sons joined the Jalayrid, Hasan-i Buzurg.[38] As it happened, Hajji's attitude towards the Jalayrids was not simply the result of 'Ali Padshah's behaviour; he also aspired to regain the lands of his father. In previous times, Hajji had remained permanently loyal to the Ilkhanid central authorities.[39] 'Ali's rule in the region was short. Shaykh Hasan-i Buzurg planned to seize for himself the Ilkhanid lands of Iraq and Diyarbakr. Apart from winning over to his side the highest Oirat ranks, the Jalayrid Hasan was also able to gain the support of the ruler of Qarabagh, Surgan, the son of Chupan. To provide some legitimacy for his claims over the Ilkhanid legacy, Hasan-i Buzurg proclaimed the young Husayn from the Anbarchi clan of Mangu Timur's line as the new Ilkhanid Khan. Husayn received the name Muhammad Khan (AH 736-738). In the battle that took place at Qara Durrah near Aladagh in June 1336 (Dhu'l-Hijja AH 736) Musa and the Oirats were defeated while 'Ali Padshah was caught and killed.[40] The defeat of 'Ali Padshah made it possible for the Sutayids and some Oirats to return to their domains. Thus, one section of the Oirats remained in Diyarbakr, another came into the service of the Jalayrid Hasan, while a third gathered around Akhlat.[41] Hajji Taghay was appointed to his father's domains in Diyarbakr; his influence was also strong over Hisn, Mardin and Arzan.[42] Surgan made for Qarabagh, while Baghdad was given to Hajji Taghanak and Nusrat Harami, even if they were not able to control the city for very long.[43] The Jalayrid Hasan, in order to strengthen his western borders, also established friendly relations with the Mamluk sultanate.[44]

The transition of power in the Ilkhanate from Arpa Khan to Musa Khan can be seen in the contemporary coinage. There are two different coin types for gold dinars minted at Tabriz and one for Baghdad dated AH 736. Coins struck according to one type bear the name of Arpa Khan.[45] Such coins were struck before or in the month of Ramadhan, i.e. the time when the battle of Jaghatu River took place.

Tabriz, AV dinar, AH 736, in the name of Arpa Khan
(images here and below a little enlarged for greater clarity)

Coins of another type cite the name of Musa Khan.[46] These could have been struck before the battle of Qara Durrah in the period between Ramadhan and Dhu'l-Hijja of the year 736 on the order of 'Ali Padshah, who had total control over the Khan.

Tabriz, AV dinar, AH 736, in the name of Musa Khan

After the Jalayrid Hasan installed a new Khan in AH 737, coins in the name of Muhammad Khan began to be struck in Tabriz.[47]

Tabriz, AV dinar, AH 737, in the name of Muhammad Khan

It is reported that Hajji Taghay issued coins in Jazira Ibn 'Umar on behalf of Jahan Timur,[48] but I have not been able to find any proof of that. There are only extremely rare gold dinars struck in the name of Muhammad Khan at the mint of al-Jazira in AH 737,[49] which were definitely struck under Sutayid control, too.

Jazira, AV dinar, AH 737, in the name of Muhammad Khan

It is very likely that the rare dinars struck in the name of the newly enthroned Muhammad Khan in Irbil and Mawsil in AH 738 were minted under the Sutayids, presumably with the permission of the

[32] Kh[w]andemir, *Khalaṣat al-akhbār*, trans. V. Grigoriev, St. Petersburg, 1834, p. 90.
[33] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
[34] ibid., pp. 111-112.
[35] From the *Anonymous Chronicle*, in: *Armenian Sources on Mongols*, ed. A. Galstyan, Moscow, 1962, pp. 81-82.
[36] Kh[w]andemir, *op.cit.*, p. 91.
[37] Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 397.
[38] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[39] Melville, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 69.
[40] Hafiz Abru, *op. cit.*, p. 153. In the collection of Islamic coins of the Univ. of Tübingen (Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, HA10B2 (2.40 g; 19 mm)) there is one extremely rare and hitherto unpublished anonymous gold dinar struck at Aladagh with a partially damaged date. One can speculate whether or not the issue of such gold coins was connected with the events that occurred near Qara Durrah in Dhu'l-Hijja 736. Nevertheless, according to the general style of the specimen one can assume that such coins were struck under Sutayid control.
[41] Wing, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[42] Ilisch, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[43] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; Melville, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[44] Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 489.
[45] Morton & Eden (London) Auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 76 (8, 64 g); Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 143, 7,02 g. For his Baghdad coins see: al-Bakri M. D., Nuqud al-sultan Arba Khan al-Ilkhani al-mahfuza fi'l-mathat al-Iraq, *al-Maskukat*, vol. 1/1, p. 11.
[46] Morton & Eden (London) Auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 78 (7.97 g); Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 22 (26 Sept. 2012), lot 3579 (8.52 g).
[47] Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 18 (26 July 2011), lot 802 (9.61 g).
[48] Ilisch, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[49] Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 145 (4.89 g).

Jalayirid overlord.[50] This also applies to dinars struck in the name of Sati Bek in Mawsil in AH 739.[51]

Irbil, AV dinar, AH 738, in the name of Muhammad Khan

Mawsil, AV dinar, AH 739, in the name of Sati Beg.

A silver dirham of Mawsil is also known with this date.[52]

In AH 740, Jalayrid Hasan was in control of Mardin, although the real power was surely in the hands of Hajji Taghay.[53] We can, therefore, reasonably ascribe both the dinars and dirhams of Mardin minted in AH 740 to Sutay's clan.[54]

Mardin, AV dinar, AH 740, in the name of Sulayman Khan

There was a subsequent struggle for power between the Jalayrids, and the members of the Chupanid family to establish control over Adharbayjan and northern Mesopotamia.[55] Sutay's descendants, in the person of Hajji Taghay, also played an important role in that rivalry. The Mamluks were also involved into the conflict for a while. As before, the rival sides were using puppet Ilkhanid khans for their political ambitions. Hajji Taghay was in the service of the Jalayrid Hasan and the governor of Diyarbakr. He was able to prove his firm loyalty towards Hasan-i Buzurg in AH 738 (AD 1338) when he took part in the suppression of the revolt of several amirs who desired to usurp the throne. The Oirats, under the command of Muhammad Beg, the brother of the late 'Ali Padshah, and the dethroned Musa Khan joined several amirs among the Oirats and proclaimed a new khan called Taghay Timur Ke'un (AH 740-741), a descendant of the early Chingizids in Khurasan. As a result, Musa Khan, Muhammad Beg and his wife were killed.[56] Hasan-i Buzurg now gained control over the whole of Iran and Iraq. Hajji Taghay returned to Diyarbakr, while the lands lying westwards, including Anatolia, were entrusted to another commander, Eretna. Qarabagh was given to Surgan, as it was before, while Sharur, Armenia and Nakhijawan were transferred to Hajji Beg, the son of Aqdji. Meanwhile the lands of the Oirats were given to Chupan's grandson Hasan-i Kuçuk, the son of Timurtash.[57]

During the time of Abu Sa'id, Hasan-i Kuçuk was appointed to the Anatolian provinces as governor, while, after the death of the sultan, Hasan also received Arzarum in AH 738 (AD 1338).[58] Therefore, Eretna's appointment to Anatolia caused discontent among Chupan's descendants. The amirs Hasan-i Kuçuk and Malik Ashraf decided upon war. The Jalayrid Hasan, accompanied by Hajji Taghay and Surgan, advanced against Hasan-i Kuçuk, but lost the battle.[59] Hasan-i Buzurg was driven out of Adharbayjan and fled to Sultaniya. However, there he was deserted by both the Chupanids and Oirats, who now joined Hasan Kuçuk. This all resulted in a change of power in the region, whilst Hasan Kuçuk enthroned a new khan at Warzuqan and that was a sister of Abu Sa'id, Sati Beg (AH 739-740).[60] Hajji Taghay was also forced to make temporary peace with Hasan Kuçuk, but this was merely a formal subjugation as Hajji Taghay actually remained on the side of the Jalayrid Hasan.[61] The situation caused Jalayrid Hasan to appeal to the Mamluks for help. Hasan was ready to cede Baghdad and Mawsil to the Mamluks if they would help him in his struggle against the Chupanids. He also promised to read the *khutba* in the name of al-Nasir Muhammad in Baghdad, Mawsil and Diyarbakr and to send hostages to Cairo.[62]

Hajji Taghay remained loyal to the Jalayrids during the Chupanid-Jalayrid conflict and even after the struggle was over. After Hasan-i Buzurg's main rival, Hasan Kuçuk, died in AH 744 the Jalayirids re-established their power in Iraq, Adharbayjan and Armenia. The alliance with the Mamluks no longer had any practical significance, thus the vassal relations of the Jalayrids toward the Mamluks were cut off. According to Armenian sources, Hajji was killed by his nephew, Ibrahim-Shah, in AD 1345[63] (AH 745/6). Information from historical sources on Ibrahim Shah, Sutay's grandson, is very scanty. We know that in AH 741 Ibrahim Shah was sent to Cairo as a hostage together with Hajji Taghay's son, Barhashin.[64] After the Jalayrid-Chupanid conflict was over, Ibrahim-Shah returned from Egypt. Once he took control over Hajji Taghay's territories, he was joined by the Chupanid, Surgan, and other loyal amirs. They tried unsuccessfully to create a joint front against another Chupanid, Malik Ashraf. In a battle that took place AH 746 they were defeated and Ibrahim Shah was forced to return to Diyarbakr.[65] After he died in AH 748, his territories passed to the Artuqids, who might have accepted Hajji Taghay's son, Muhammad, as a local ruler there.[66]

Coins

It has to be admitted that all Sutayid coins known to the present author are anonymous. On them the names of both the Oirat amir and the contemporary Ilkhanid sultan are missing. Their coins were struck at Mawsil, Irbil, Sinjar, 'Aqar[67] and the enigmatic Bu-Sa'idiya, the precise location of which is unclear.[68] 'Aqar was a

[50] Morton & Eden (London) Auction 63 (22 April 2013), lot 133 (7.26 g). One very rare dirham with uncertain denomination struck at Mawsil in AH 738 is also known (Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction Catalogue 23 (6 Dec. 2012), lot 573 (5.51 g).).

[51] Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 24 (9 May 2013), lot 5138 (3.35 g).

[52] Artuk I., Artuk C., *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki Islāmī Sikkeler Kataloğu*, vol. II, Istanbul, 1974, no. 2327 (2.40 g; 16 mm).

[53] Ilisch, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[54] Artuk, *op. cit.*, no. 2344.

[55] A thorough study of both the history and numismatics of this powerful family is offered in the article entitled *Between Jūjīds and Jalāyirids The coinage of the Chupānids, Akhījūq and their contemporaries, 754-759 H.* which has recently been sent for publication by Alexander Akopyan and Farbod Mosanef.

[56] Kh^{w}andemir, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[57] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

[58] *<<Jihan-Nama>> and <<Fezleke>> of Katib Çelebi as a source on the history of Armenia*, ed. A. Papazian, Yerevan, 1973, p. 91.

[59] These events were described by Armenian authors, too. In one account there is evidence that, after Sati Beg took the Ilkhanid throne in AD 1339 *Ulus Beg* (here, Hasan-i Buzurg) attacked Hasan, the son of Timurtash (*Anonymous Chronicle*, in: *Armenian Sources on the Mongols*, ed. A. Galstyan, Moscow, 1962, p. 86).

[60] Kh^{w}andemir, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[61] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119.

[62] Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 519-520.

[63] From the *Anonymous Chronicle*, in: *Armenian Sources on Mongols*, ed. A. Galstyan, Moscow, 1962, p. 86.

[64] Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 517.

[65] al-Ahri, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[66] Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[67] In fact, all these cities lay in the Diyar Rabi'a district of al-Jazira.

[68] The coins with the same mint-name are also known from other sources (Artuk, *op. cit.*, no. 2296; al-Bakri M., Islamic coins of the Ilkhanid period in the Baghdad Museum, *Sumer*, vol. 24, 1969, no. 851; Tabataba'i S. J., *Duray'i Ilkhani va Gurgani*, Tabriz, 1347, no. 292). There is an opinion that Bu-Sa'idiya was another name of a significant city or was a quarter within a city named after Abu Sa'id (Blair Sh., The coins of the later

small town in the vicinity of Sinjar[69], which ['Aqar] seems to have had limited coin issues under the Jalayrids in AH 756 and 762.[70] Bu-Sa'idiya, a mint mentioned on one type of anonymous Sutayid coins, cannot be identified with any certainty. It was probably an epithet of one of the Sutayid mints that operated in the region for a certain period of time. Sutayid coins have, on one side, the formula لا له لا لله محمد رسول لله and indirect reference to the temporary puppet Ilkhanid khan on the other. This latter side sometimes also includes a mintname in the centre. Sutayid silver coins were struck on the then Ilkhanid weight standard of 1.44 g, used for double dirhams. The coins' design styles bear a strong resemblance to the Ilkhanid coins struck under Ghazan Mahmud and Abu Sa'id.[71] Surely, we can only ascribe Sutayid coins to one particular ruler, namely Baranbay's son, Ibrahim Shah, as a matter of convenience.[72] According to sources (see above) Ibrahim Shah had assumed control over Diyarbakr by AH 745 after he killed his uncle, Hajji Taghay. This would mean that the earlier coins struck in AH 743-745 could have been struck by Ibrahim Shah's uncle and predecessor, Hajji Taghay. The coins cannot help us much in solving this question, while it is unclear which particular Ilkhanid sultan is meant by the inscription لسلطان لاعظم which was placed on these anonymous coins. Among such anonymous coins is the following specimen in the Ashmolean Museum.[73]

1. Irbil, AV dinar, AH 750, *temp*. Muhammad.

Obv.: In a plain circle: لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه

Rev.: In a square reading downwards: لله ماي محمد و علي.

In the centre: ربل

Marginal inscription: سنة خمسين سبع مائة

Ref.: Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 10 (22-23 April, 2011), lot 952 (3.75 g) = Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 16 (20 October 2009), lot 590.

2. Irbil, AR 2 dirhams, AH 74x.

Obv.: Inside a Solomon seal: لله

Marginal inscription: لا له لا لله محمد رسول لله

Rev.: In a concave hexagon: خلد لله ملكه. Below ضرب.

Marginal inscription: ضرب ربل سنة ... ربعين [سبع]مائة

Ref.: Zeno, no. 88956 (1.20 g; 15 mm).

3. Irbil, AR 2dirhams, AH 74x.

Obv.: Inside a Solomon seal: لله

Marginal inscription unclear

Rev.: In a concave hexagon: لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه.

Below ضرب.

Marginal inscription: ضرب [ربل] سنة ... ربعين سبعمائة

Ref.: Zeno, no. 88957 (1.20 g; 14 mm).

4. Irbil, AR 2dirhams, undated.

Obv.: In a central circle within an octofoil: ضرب ربل

Above the circle: لسلطان لاعظم. Below: خلد لله ملكه.

Around, plain and dotted circles.

Rev.: In the field: لا له لا لله \ محمد \ رسول لله

Marginal inscription: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي.

Around, a double plain circle within an outer circle of dots.

Ref.: *Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 16 (17-18 May, 2013), lot 619 (1.43 g)*; Zeno 124335 (1.44 g; 15.5 mm); Zeno, no. 124334 (1.40 g; 16 mm); Zeno, no. 107591; Zeno, no. 94267; Zeno, no. 122490 (15 mm); Zeno, no. 122491 (15 mm); Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 13 (18-19 May, 2012), lot 832 (1.43 g).

5. Bu-Sa'idiya, AR 2 dirhams, ND.

Obv.: In a central circle within an octofoil: ضرب بو سعيد[ية]

Above the circle: لسلطان لاعظم. Below: خلد لله ملكه.

Around, plain and dotted circles.

Ilkhanis: Mint organization, regionalization and urbanism, *ANS Museum Notes*, vol. 27, 1982, p. 224). One coin struck in the year 33 of the Ilkhanid Era at Abu Sa'idiya was regarded as the product of a mint located in Adharbayjan (Spink (Zürich) Auktionskatalog 37 (16 Sept. 1991), Nr. 312).

[69] Yaqut al-Hamawi mentions a village lying between Takrit and Mawsil (Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu jam al-buldan*, vol. IV, Beirut, 1977, p. 136). Hamdallah Qazwini mentions 'Aqar saying that in his times the revenues from that city were 27400 dinars. At the same time, the revenues of Sinjar, another city under Sutayid control, were 147,500 dinars, so that one can assume that 'Aqar was a considerably smaller town (Hamdallah Mustawfi, *The Geographical Part of The Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, Gibb Memorial Fund, vol. XXIII/2, London, 1919, p. 104).

[70] Markov A., Katalog monet gosudarstvennogo imperatricheskogo Ermitazha, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 603, no. 8 and Rabino di Borgomale H. L., Coins of the Jalayir, Kara Koyunlu, Mushasha, and Ak Koyunlu dynasties, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. X, 1950, p. 102.

[71] See the type of Ghazan Mahmud coins dated AH 696-704 and types A-C (only for one side) of Abu Sa'id's coins dated AH 719-723 (only for one side) - 729, in: Blair, *op. cit*., pp. 212-213, 220.

[72] In Stephen Album's *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 3rd ed. the Sutayid coins dated AH 743-748 are ascribed to Ibrahim-Shah (Santa Rosa, 2012, p. 250).

[73] Album S., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, vol. 9, *Iran After the Mongol Invasion*, Oxford, 2001, no. 1510 (1.79 g).

Rev.: In the field: لا له لا لله \ محمد \ رسول لله

Marginal inscription: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي .

Around, double plain and dotted circles.

Ref.: David Tranberger coll. (1.30 g; 17 mm).

6. Sinjar, AR 2 dirhams, ND.

Obv.: In the field: لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه .

Above ضرب, below: سنجار. Around, plain and dotted circles.

Rev.: In the field: لا له لا لله \ محمد \ رسول لله

Marginal inscription: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي

Ref.: *Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 16 (17-18 May, 2013), lot 618 (1.32 g)* = Album S., Fixed Price List 227, 2007, no. 58050; ANS, nos. 1973.233.14 (1.47 g; 14 mm) and 0000.999.11356 (1.41 g; 17 mm).[74]

7. ‘Aqar, AR 2dirhams, AH 745. *Temp*. Ibrahim Shah?

Ref.: Album S., Fixed Price List 142, 1998, no. 261.

8. ‘Aqar, AR 2 dirhams, AH 750. *Temp*. Muhammad.

Ref.: Münzen und Medaillen AG (Basel) Auktion 18 (1958).

9. ‘Aqar, AR 2 dirhams, date illegible.

Obv.: In a hexagon: عقر \ لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه \ ضرب.

Date in the marginal segments. Around, a plain circle and a circle of dots.

Rev.: In the field: لا له لا لله \ محمد \ رسول لله

Marginal inscription, from the top: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي

Around, a plain circle and a circle of dots.

Ref.: *ANS, no. 1986.126.1 (1.47 g; 15.5 mm)*; Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 13 (18-19 May, 2012), lot 831 (1.42 g).

10. ‘Aqar, AR 2 dirhams, undated.

Obv.: In a plain circle: ضرب عقر

Around the circle: لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه .

Both plain and dotted circles around.

Rev.: In a triangular area, the names of the orthodox caliphs.

In the centre: علي.

Around the triangular: محمد رسول لله

Ref.: Zeno, no. 88955 (1.20 g; 14 mm); Zeno, no. 96282 (1.18 g); Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 13 (18-19 May, 2012), lot 833 (1.15 g); *Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 13 (18-19 May, 2012), lot 834 (1.24 g)*; Zeno, no. 88952 (1.20 g); Zeno, no. 88954 (1.20 g); Zeno, no.88953 (1.20 g; 14 mm).[75]

11. ‘Aqar, AR 2 dirhams, undated.

Obv.: In a central circle with an octofoil: ضرب عقر

Above the circle: لسلطان لاعظم . Below the circle: لله ملكه خلد.

Around, plain and dotted circles.

Rev.: In the field: لا له لا لله \ محمد \ رسول لله

Marginal inscription: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي .

Around, double plain, and dotted circles.

Ref.: Zeno, no. 93384 (1.40 g); Zeno, no. 93385 (1.39 g; 15 mm).

12. Mawsil, AR 2 dirhams, AH 742. *Temp*. Hajji Taghay.

Ref.: Ö. Diler, Islamic Mints, vol. II, Istanbul, 2009, p. 1233.

13. Mawsil, AR 2 dirhams, AH 743. *Temp*. Hajji Taghay.

Ref.: Ö. Diler, Islamic Mints, vol. II, Istanbul, 2009, p. 1233.

14. Mawsil, AR 2 dirhams, AH 745. *Temp*. Ibrahim Shah?

Ref.: Ö. Diler, Islamic Mints, vol. II, Istanbul, 2009, p. 1233.

15. Unclear mint, AR 2 dirhams, AH 74(9). *Temp*. Muhammad.

Obv.: In a circle of dots: لسلطان لاعظم \ خلد لله ملكه

Outside: ضرب .... سنة [تسـ]ع و ربعين و [سبعمائة]

Rev.: In a square: لا له لا لله محمد رسول لله

Marginal inscription: بو بكر عمر عثمان علي

Ref.: Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 13 (18-19 May, 2012), lot 834 (1.02 g).

The career of Hajji Taghay based on numismatic evidence is thoroughly discussed in the article by Stephen Album written in 1985 and already mentioned above.[76] Less, however, has been

[74] This specimen has traces of double-striking. On one side there is a word Timur (?) written in the left segment, while the other side may point to the date when the coin was struck, presumably the 730s (My thanks to Alexander Akopyan for supporting this suggestion). In this context, the name Timur (?) could refer to either of the Ilkhanid puppet rulers, Jahan Timur who ruled briefly in AH 736 or Taghay Timur whose reign covered AH 737-754.

[75] This specimen was struck for the second time by dies used for another Sutayid coin type.

[76] Album, *op. cit*., pp. 71-76.

written about his nephew, Ibrahim Shah. One noticeable feature of Sutayid coinage is its anonymity. The Sutayids did not have the right to place their own names on the coins. Having allied themselves with the Jalayrids they, in fact, ceded the right of *sikka* in favour of the new successors of the Ilkhanate. There may have been some exception in the case of ʻAli Padshah whose position in the middle 730s was rather strong. The issue of coins struck with the underlined word *ʻAli* placed in the centre of a triangular (see above) could have had the purpose of not only drawing attention to Imam ʻAli and, thereby, to indicate the Shiʻa sympathies of the Oirat Mongols, but also to show that these coins were struck by ʻAli Padshah. ʻAli was killed in Sultaniya shortly after the battle of Qara Durrah at the very end of AH 736; therefore, such coins, if they were indeed struck by ʻAli, could have been issued as late as AH 736.

It would be interesting to ascertain when the Sutayids initiated their anonymous coinage. Ömer Diler in his list of Mawsil coins mentions Ilkhanid coins dated AH 743, 745 and 747.[77] A rare dinar struck at Mawsil in AH 739 was quite recently offered by Baldwin's auctions in London.[78] In Sinjar, Ilkhanid coins proper were struck till AH 747.[79] The coins produced in Irbil are also dated as late as AH 745.[80] It seems as if ʻAqar never produced pure Ilkhanid coins. In fact, the latest coins known for Mawsil, Irbil and Sinjar are those known for the period AH 745-747, i.e. ascribable to the reign of Anushirwan. Our dated Sutayid coins are scarce. The majority of dated coins derive from the 740s. One coin of ʻAqar dated as early as AH 745 was offered for sale, but I do not have a photo of that specimen sold back in 1998.[81] However, one should also take into account that actual Ilkhanid coins struck in the region (apparently excluding those with the name of Musa Khan) could have been produced under Sutayid control, too.

Finally, according to sources, three sons of Sutay who had opposed ʻAli Padshah, took control of southern Armenia and settled in Akhlat.[82] It is unclear exactly when it happened, but this suggests that Sutay's sons settled on the shores of the Lake Van during the reign of Abu Saʻid. Information on Akhlat and neighboring areas in the literary sources is very scanty. What little we know is that, by AH 740, the revenues from the city were 51,500 dinars.[83] One can only suggest that all known coins struck at Akhlat in the 720s onwards were issued under Sutayid authority. In this regard one gold dinar of Akhlat dated AH 724 deserves special attention.

1. Abu Saʻid, Akhlat, AV dinar, AH 724, New York Sales XXIII (6-7 Jan. 2010), lot 453, 4.63 g

In the 730s the issue of coins in Akhlat was considerably increased. From that period we also have coins struck in the name of various puppet khans. One very rare double-dirham minted in the name of Sati Beg Khan (AH 739-740) and dated AH 739 is in the collection of the British Museum.[84] From the first half of 740s there are coins issued in the names of Jahan Timur (AH 736 onwards) and Sulayman Khan (AH 739-746) but also anonymous coins, struck apparently after the rule of Sulayman was over. It is very likely that all the following coins were produced by Oirat Sutayid governors of Akhlat.

2. Abu Saʻid, Akhlat, double dirham, year 33 of the Ilkhanid era, Zeno, no. 108317, 2.90 g[85]

3. Muhammad, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 738, Zeno, no. 108513, 2.50 g

4. Sati Beg, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 739, Tübingen, inv. no. GK4E2, 2.09 g

5. Jahan Timur, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 740, Zeno, 100222, 1.77 g[86]

6. Sulayman, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 740, Tübingen, inv. no. GL5E5, 1.78 g[87]

7. Sulayman, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 741, Tübingen, inv. no. 95-32-54, 1.42 g[88]

[77] Diler Ö., *Islamic Mints*, vol. II, Istanbul, 2009, p. 1233.
[78] Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 24 (9 May 2013), lot 5138 (3.35 g).
[79] Smith J. M., Plunkett F., Gold money in Mongol Iran, *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, vol. XI/1, 1968, p. 293. The specimen derives from the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad (1.40 g).
[80] *Coin Hoards*, vol. 5, London, 1979.
[81] Album S., Fixed Price List 142, 1998, no. 261.
[82] Wing, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[83] Hamdallah Qazwini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[84] Lane-Poole S., *BMC*, vol. VI, London, 1881, no. 301.
[85] Several more specimens are in the ANS collection (nos. 1002 1 1281, 1974 26.378, 1991 3.614, 1992.45.11).
[86] Another specimen of this type in: Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, no. 300b and in Tübingen coll., inv. no. GL5A3, 1.78 g.
[87] Two more coins in Tübingen coll., inv. nos. GL5E4 (1.61 g) and GL5E6 (1.77 g).
[88] One more specimen of this type must be in the ANS coll. (no. 1972 183 51).

8. Sulayman, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 742, Tübingen, inv. no. GL5F1, 1.35 g.

9. Sulayman, Akhlat, double-dirham, AH 743, Zeno, no. 112047, 1.36 g.[89]

10. Sulayman, Akhlat, double dirham, AH 744, Zeno, no. 30221, 1.40 g.[90]

11. Sati Beg, Akhlat, AE fals, date illegible, Tübingen, inv. no. GK4E2, 1.88 g.

12. Anonymous, Akhlat, double dirham, Album S., Fixed Price List 251, 2010, no. 85505, 1.05 g.

At the same time, coins in the name of Ilkhanid Khans were struck in neighbouring Arjish in the 730-740s. A very rare issue of AH 740 and 741 is known for Bidlis too.[91] The output of coins in these cities was undoubtedly controlled by Sutayid rulers as well.

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I would like to thank all those who helped me to prepare this article by providing me with both literature unavailable in Armenia and numismatic material. Without the assistance of my friends and colleagues this article would have never been published, even in this, partially incomplete form. Thus, I would like to express my gratitude to Stephen Album, Lutz Ilisch, Kirk Bennett, Alexander Akopyan and David Tranberger for their help. I also thank Stan Goron for editing this article.

[89] Two more specimens are in Tübingen, inv. nos. GL5F2 (1.29 g) and GL5F3 (1.19 g).

[90] Another specimen is in the Tübingen collection (inv. no. GL5F4, 1.32 g). One more coin of the same type but dated AH 745 was mentioned earlier (Ziya A., *Catalogue of Islamic Coins*, Istanbul, 1910, p. 95).

[91] Album, *op. cit.*, p. 63, no. 131. One Bidlis coin dated AH 741 could be in the Ömer Diler collection.

A SHAKI HOARD OF NUKHA (SHAKI) KHANATE COINS

By Irakli Paghava

The objective of this short paper is to publish a coin hoard discovered somewhere in the environs of Shaki (a city in the modern Republic of Azerbaijan, former capital of the Shaki / Nukha Khanate), supposably in 2009. Neither the exact location of the hoard find site, nor the type of container or any other accompanying circumstances, nor the full composition of the hoard are known. Nevertheless, the hoard fraction that is available for our study, albeit relatively insignificant numerically, still seems to be noteworthy since it yields some insight into the monetary and economic history of the region.

The hoard and its composition: unfortunately, the hoard had been dispersed but we managed to get access to some private Georgian collections which have an admittedly small number coins from it, namely, 14 coins[92]. All of them were imported into Georgia from the Republic of Azerbaijan and are examples of the coinage of the Shaki (Nukha) Khanate, bearing the mintname Nukhwī (**نخوی**).

These 14 coins are of two distinct types:

A) The early, purely epigraphic type (one example only):

Obv: شد فتاب و ماه زر و سیم در جهان سکه مام بحق صاحب لزمان
Surrounded by a complex circular border (two circular lines with beads between).
Rev:

نخوی
ضر
ب
(ضرب نخوی)

surrounded by a linear circle, wth floral vignettes around, all within yet another linear circle.

Fig. 1

Coin 1 (Fig. 1): Dated 1214 [AH (=1799/1800)], weight 2.17 g, dimensions 24.0-24.8 mm, die axis 5:30 o'clock. Traces of a restrike on both sides.

C)[93] The late type with the Georgian-Russian crown[94] (13 examples):

Obv.:

نخوی
ب
ضر
(ضرب نخوی)

[92] We would like to express our gratitude to their current owners for kind permission to publish their possessions.

[93] Type B (obverse: یا صاحب لزمان; reverse: ضرب نخوی) was not present among the coins of the hoard that we were able to examine.

[94] The Georgian-Russian (silver and copper) coins were minted in Tiflis by the Russian imperial administration in 1804-1834 and bear legends in Georgian language and script as well as the effigy of the *city turreted crown*.

Floral Designs. Surrounded by a complex circular border (two circular lines with various combinations of dots, or, in some cases, beads between).

Rev.: A crown of a Georgian-Russian type (cf. Fig. 3), a horizontal dividing line (sometimes) and a date with Arabic numerals below, surrounded by two (or one, in some cases?) linear circles, with some (varying) distance between.

Fig. 2.1

Fig. 2.2

Fig. 2.3

Fig. 2.4

Fig. 2.5

Fig. 2.6

Fig. 2.7

Fig. 2.8

Fig. 2.9

Fig. 2.10

Fig. 2.11

Fig. 2.12

Fig. 2.13

Fig. 3

Coin 2.1 (Fig. 2.1): Dated 1222 [AH (=1807/8)], weight 2.01 g (holed[95]), dimensions 19.6-20.8 mm, die axis 7:30 o'clock. The central legend of the obverse is surrounded by two linear circles (traces of the third linear circle at about 5h?), with four-dot clusters between. No horizontal dividing line on the reverse.

Coin 2.2 (Fig. 2.2): Dated 1224 [AH (=1809/10)], weight 2.00 g (holed), dimensions 20 mm, die axis 12:45 o'clock. The central

[95] From a metrological point of view, it is significant that, in all three cases, the piercing did not remove a fragment of the coin surface metal but simply translocated it; therefore, the coins hardly lost any weight, if at all.

legend of the obverse is surrounded by two circular lines with beads between.

Coin 2.3 (Fig. 2.3): Dated 1224 [AH (=1809/10)], weight 1.89 g (a small fragment broken off), dimensions 21.2-21.9 mm, die axis 7:00 o'clock. As previous. Double strike of the obverse. The obverse die shared (?) with Coin 2.1.

Coin 2.4 (Fig. 2.4): Dated 1225 [AH (=1810/1)], weight 1.99 g, dimensions 18.3-19.5 mm, die axis 5:30. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on both the obverse and reverse.

Coin 2.5 (Fig. 2.5): Dated 1225 [AH (=1810/1)], weight 2.05 g (holed), dimensions 19.1-20.3 mm, die axis 6:30. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the reverse.

Coin 2.6 (Fig. 2.6): Dated 1225 [AH (=1810/1)], weight 1.93 g, dimensions 20.2-21.0 mm, die axis 11:30. Double strike of the reverse.

Coin 2.7 (Fig. 2.7): Dated [1]225 [AH (=1810/1)], weight 2.02g, dimensions 20.1-22.0 mm, die axis 6:00. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on both the obverse and reverse.

Coin 2.8 (Fig. 2.8): Dated 1226 [AH (=1811/2)], weight 1.95 g, dimensions 21.8-23.3, die axis 12:30 for both the first and the second strike - double strike on both the obverse and reverse. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the reverse (?).

Coin 2.9 (Fig. 2.9): Dated 1226 [AH (=1811/2)], weight 2.03 g, dimensions 17.8-18.8, die axis 9:15. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the reverse (?).

Coin 2.10 (Fig. 2.10): Dated 1227 [AH (=1812/3)], weight 1.97g, dimensions 18.9-21.0, die axis 9:15. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the obverse (?).

Coin 2.11 (Fig. 2.11): Dated 1227 [AH (=1812/3)], weight 1.93g, dimensions 18.9-20.2, die axis 11:00. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the reverse (?).

Coin 2.12 (Fig. 2.12): Dated 12xx, weight 1.97 g, dimensions 18.9-19.2, die axis 8:00. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the reverse (?).

Coin 2.13 (Fig. 2.13): Dated 1xxx, weight 1.85 g, dimensions 19.6-20.0, die axis 4:00. Only one linear circle surrounding the central legend is visible on the obverse (?).

Reportedly, the hoard contained many more coins, but we have no reliable data on the total number. Therefore, for the time being it is clearly impossible to establish the percentage of Nukhwī coins in this hoard. However, a significant number (several tens) of the Nukha Khanate silver coins of type C (previously quite rare) entered the commercial numismatic market in Moscow at approximately the same time.[96] On the other hand, no simultaneous influx of coins of any other South Caucasian khanate was noted. We have good reason to believe that the Nukha coins originated from this very hoard. Although it would certainly be presumptious to claim that the hoard contained *only* the Nukha coinage, it very probably made up the greater part of it.

Therefore, somewhat conventionally, we should probably assign this hoard to the 2nd group according to Ye. Sinitsina, i.e. hoards containing only the coins of various khanates.[97] Moreover, taking into consideration the apparent preponderance of Nukha Khanate coins in this hoard, we would classify it as a single-mint hoard. We already know similar single-mint or almost single-mint hoards:

- Darband hoard: 200 Shamakhi Khanate coins out of 208 (i.e. 96.2%);[98]
- Ganja hoard: 62 Shamakhi Khanate coins out of 62 (i.e. 100%);[99]
- Shamakhi hoard: 42 Shamakhi Khanate coins out of 42 (i.e. 100%);[100]
- Quba hoard: 62 Shamakhi Khanate coins out of 62 (i.e. 100%).[101]

We consider the hoard to have been deposited in the 1810s, since the earliest coin from this hoard bears the date AH 1227 (=1812/3), whereas among the coins which entered the Moscow numismatic market was a specimen dated AH 1228 (=1813/4). 1812-1814 would thus serve as the *terminus ante quem non* for the deposition of this hoard.

Nukhwī mint activity and regional monetary circulation

The coinage of the Shaki Khanate had previously been considered quite rare.[102] Only 2 silver coins of Nukhwī mint were present in the Zeno Oriental Coins Database before this very hoard was discovered.[103] However, Ye. Sinitsina enjoyed access to 50 coins of this state.[104] Nevertheless, regarding monetary circulation, the available data could point to its limited role; evidently, Sinitsina used the data published by Ye. Pakhomov on the Darband hoard, which comprised 1 (sic) Shaki Khanate coin out of 208 (0.5%).[105] Naturally enough, one would have presumed that the Nukhwī mint was not very active, and its product played only a limited role in the monetary circulation of the region.

However, we came across another piece of information preserved by Pakhomov, i.e. the hoard discovered in the Shamakhi *uyezd* of the Baku *guberniya* in 1901: 420 silver coins of the Khanates of Ganja, Shamakhi, Quba, Darband, and Shaki. Of these, 405 coins were studied, and it turned out that 45 out of them were issued in the Shaki khanate (11.1%).[106] This figure should not be considered insignificant, particularly taking into account that the coins pertaining to this hoard had crossed the boundaries of the Shaki khanate proper and entered the hinterland of Shamakhi, the

[96] It is noteworthy, that 37 Nukhwī coins of type C have been uploaded to Zeno Oriental Coins Database since July 2009, and only one coin of this type before that. Zeno Oriental Coins Database, "Sheki Khanate » Nukhwī » Silver coinage", http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=5291. We would hypothesize that the majority if not all of those 37 coins belonged to this very hoard.

[97] Синицина Елена, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана (Гянджинского, Карабахского, Шемахинского, Шекинского, Бакинского, Дербентского, Кубинского ханств) во второй половине XVIII – перв. четв. XIX в.", [Monetary Circulation in Azerbaijan (Ganja, Qarabagh, Shamakhi, Shaki, Baku, Darbend, Quba Khanates) in the Second Half of the 18th – the First Quarter of the 19th c.] (Диссертационная работа на соискание степни кандидата исторических наук, Баку, 1992), 17.

[98] Ibid., 19.

[99] Ibid., 18.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Identified as "R", "RR" or "RRR". Album Stephen, *Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3rd Edition* (2011), 298.
In the early years of its existence, the old coins (like Huwayza muhammadis) or the contemporary currency of the other khanates had been circulating on the territory of the Shaki Khanate. Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", 70. Cf. Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3rd Edition*, 298.

[103] Zeno Oriental Coins Database: 72955, 72958.

[104] Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", pages not indicated ("The catalogue"). Unfortunately, the author did not specify the type of the crown on the coins, whether it was of a so-called Georgian-Russian, or Russian Imperial type. Cf. Пагава Иракли, Гогава Гиорги, "Медные эмиссии Нухинского (Шекинского) ханства (1743-1819)", [Copper Issues of the Nukhwī (Shaki) Khanate (1743-1819)"] [В печати - *Археология, этнология и фольклористика Кавказа*].

[105] Пахомов Евгений, *Монетные клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа, Выпуск VII*, [Monetary Hoards of Azerbaijan and Other Republics, Krays and Oblasts of Caucasus, Issue VII] (Баку: Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, 1957), 84-85; Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", 19.

[106] Пахомов Евгений, "Монетные клады Азербайджана и Закавказья", [Monetary Hoards of Azerbaijan and Transcaucasia] *Труды общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана*, выпуск 3 (Баку: Издание Общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана, 1926), 71, #235; Пахомов Евгений, *Монетные клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа, Выпуск VIII*, [Monetary Hoards of Azerbaijan and Other Republics, Krays and Oblasts of Caucasus, Issue VIII] (Баку: Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, 1959), 54-55. Apparently, this hoard was not taken into consideration by Ye. Sinitsina.

most prolific (along with Ganja and Tiflis) minting center in the region.

The new Shaki hoard being published by means of this short paper also testifies to the higher than previously considered share of the Shaki coinage in the monary circulation of the region. Evidently, the Nukhwī mint used to produce enough coins to form entire hoards. Generally speaking and as we have already mentioned, the circulation of the silver[107] currency of the khanates was not blocked by the fluctuating borders of these relatively small states (in contrast to the Pakhomov statement[108]). We know that the coins minted in Shamakhi and Ganja, being perhaps the most popular ones, circulated almost all over the territory which now constitutes the Republic of Azerbaijan.[109] For instance, Shamakhi silver coins have been discovered in the environs of Ganja, Darband, Quba, Shamakhi proper, and many other locations within the territory of the Muslim khanates of South-Eastern Caucasus.[110] What is certain, however, is that the territory of the state producing the coinage was the primary area for its circulation. From this point of view, the so-called Quba hoards are very remarkable – two hoards of respectively 59 and 62 coins of the khanates including not a single coin from Quba proper. On the other hand, Quba coins, though extremely rare[111], did constitute a significant proportion of yet another Quba hoard, namely, 111 coins out of 248 (44.8%).[112]

The data[113], provided by the single-mint or almost single-mint Shaki hoard indicate that the Nukhwī mint had been more active than considered previously, and that the coins struck there did play a relatively significant role at least within the boundaries of this Caucasian state.

Weight standard of the Nukhwī coinage

The available data[114] appear to indicate that the weight standard of the type C Shaki Khanate coinage was reduced as compared to type A; type B might pertain to either type A or type C weight standard, however the data for type B are insufficient to draw any conclusions. Using the data collected by Sinitsina[115], as well as those provided by the Shaki hoard and Zeno Oriental Coins Database[116], we arrive at the following figures:

- Type A coins: Mean weight 2.24 g, median weight 2.27, standard error 0.03, standard deviation 0.10, sample size 11, range 2.06-2.37;
- Type B coins: Sinitsina provided data for only 3 coins: 2.15 g for the worn-out specimen, 1.90 (?) and 4.28 g (double denomination or a typographical error?) for yet another two specimens. One specimen (72958) of this type in the Zeno Oriental Coins Database weighs 2.33 g.[117] The data are not sufficient for drawing any conclusions;
- Type C coins: mean weight 1.96 g, median weight 2.00, standard error 0.03, standard deviation 0.22, sample size 75, range 1.07-2.30.

According to Sinitsina, by the end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th century the *abbasi* denomination of the South-Caucasian khanates was abandoned and the *shahi* became the basis of the monetary system, 3 shahi becoming the commonest denomination. Nevertheless, the latter continued to depreciate. At the same time, some 2 shahi coins were issued. The accounting system, however, was still based on *5 dangs*.[118] In our opinion, this hypothesis is of doubtful validity. For one thing, it is noteworthy that the author considered the miskhal to be equal to 4.638 instead of 4.608 g; moreover, the statistical evidence for attributing, for instance, the shahi khanate coins within the 1.07-1.93 g range to "2 shahi", and those within the 2.02-2.32 g range to "3 shahi" denominations[119], was hardly, if at all, presented.

In our opinion, a continuous, gradual, but non-uniform (in various khanates) depreciation of the same denomination (*abbasi*) seems to be a more plausible reconstruction of the monetary weight standard evolution in the South-Caucasian khanates at that time.

Regarding the weight standard, we would conjecture that the basic denomination was based on the *dang*, i.e. the ever-changing weight of the abbasi was established in terms of the number of dangs it comprised. While we have no sources that confirm this either for Shaki or any other South-Caucasian khanate, we do have relevant data for their Christian counterpart, the Georgian Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti (eastern Georgia). Contemporary Georgian documents frequently mention the (*new*) *four dang* coins[120] – i.e. the so-called sirma abazis of Irakli II and Giorgi XII, with an approximate weight equal to 3 g: 4 × 0.768 (dang weight) = 3.072. So it would seem to us very tempting to consider type A coins (mean weight 2.24 g) to have been struck on a 3-dang (3 × 0.768 = 2.304) standard, and type C coins (mean weight 1.96 g) on a 2.5-dang (2.5 × 0.768 = 1.920) standard.

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[107] The silver standard of the khanate coins requires further research. As far as the Shaki Khanate is concerned, the only information we have are the data published by the Zeno user *Gordian* for two type C Nukhwī coins. The silver standard was respectively equal to 988/100 and 989/1000; however, only 80/70-80 mcms of the surface areas were probed. Zeno Oriental Coins Database: 81789 / 81788. Could the surface have been enriched with silver? Visually, the majority of the Nukhwī coins give an impression of being billon. We are working on a separate article devoted to the issue of the silver standard of the khanate coinage.

[108] Пахомов, "Монетные клады Азербайджана и Закавказья", 33.

[109] Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", 18-19, 26.

[110] Ibid., 18-19.

[111] Molchanov Arkadiy, Akopyan Alexander, "New data on the coinage of Quba Khānate", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 199 (2009): 17-18.

[112] Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", 18.

[113] Sinitsina considered that the available information yielded no opportunity for tracing the role of Nukha issues in regional trade. Ibid., 72-73.

[114] Ibid., pages not indicated ("The catalogue").

[115] Ibid.

[116] Zeno Oriental Coins Database, "Sheki Khanate » Nukhwī » Silver coinage", http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=5291.

[117] Zeno Oriental Coins Database, #72958.

[118] Синицина, "Денежное обращение Азербайджана", 23-27.

[119] Ibid., 27.

[120] *მასალები საქართველოს ეკონომიური ისტორიისათვის აღმშენებლობა, სახელმწიფო ეკონომიკა, ქონება. წიგნი III, [MMaterials for the Economic History of Georgia Building, State Economy, Property. Book 3] (მასალები შეარჩია და გამოსაცემად მოამზადა მ. ბერძენიშვილმა) (თბილისი, 1955*

Caucasus, Issue VIII]. Баку: Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, 1959.
9. Синицина Елена. "Денежное обращение Азербайджана (Гянджинского, Карабахского, Шемахинского, Шекинского, Бакинского, Дербентского, Кубинского ханств) во второй половине XVIII – перв. четв. XIX в.". [Monetary Circulation in Azerbaijan (Ganja, Qarabagh, Shamakhi, Shaki, Baku, Darbend, Quba Khanates) in the Second Half of the 18th – the First Quarter of the 19th c.]. Диссертационная работа на соискание степни кандидата исторических наук, Баку, 1992.

THE JHANG HOARD AND THE LATER INDO-GREEKS

By R. Senior

During the first century BC in north-western India there existed several distinct kingdoms in a complicated series of dynastic sequences with Indo-Greek and Scythian rulers tussling for supremacy, possibly creating alliances and issuing imitation coin types. The Indo-Greeks were kings bearing Greek names but who by this time were probably more Scythian or Indian than Greek, but who retained links with their original Greek heritage and whose coinage can be identified by the use of Greek titles and types which are distinguishable from the imitations of them struck by the Scythians or the named coins of their Scythian contemporaries and successors.

Taking the reign of the Scythian great King of Kings, Azes, to have begun c. 58 BC (= Vikrama era) we have a period when much of the central and eastern Punjab was ruled by a single monarch before his death some forty years later when there was the incursion of another Scythian king - the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I from Seistan. A surviving rump of the Indo-Greek dynasts seem to have been pushed from the west to the east Punjab during this time. The final years of Azes also saw the rise of lesser Scythian and indigenous kings or 'Satraps' and these seem to have come to prominence mainly in the Kashmir/Jammu region before they posibly migrated south under pressure from the new and more powerful Indo-Parthian occupiers of the north. The last of the Indo-Greeks disappeared around the turn of the millennium and the Satraps too. The successors of Gondophares I eventually dominated the whole Punjab before themselves being swept away by the Kushans during the middle to latter part of the first century AD.

Over the years I have published several hoards and coins that have revised our knowledge of the issues of these last Indo-Greek kings. In particular I was able to add two new kings to the final group who all bore the name Strato; Strato Philopator in his own right [ONS138 p. 5/6 1993] and Strato Dikaios. In 'Volume IV, Supplement' of my 'Indo-Scythian Coins and History' [ISCH] CNG 2006 I published the most important '*Chakwal Hoard*' [pp. 130 – 147], which identified the previously unknown copper coins of Strato Philopator and the first known drachms of Strato Dikaios, besides several new and unique types of contemporary rulers. A complete revision and catalogue of the final issues of these kings bearing Greek names is needed - but there are still probably several new discoveries to be made before a final reckoning can be carried out, such as the contents of this *Jhang Hoard*. This hoard, like the *Chakwal Hoard* needed cleaning mechanically due to corrosion and accretions adhering to the coins and only now have I found the time to clean and examine them, and in the process discovered another unreported type to the series – the first known copper coin of Strato Dikaios.

The hoard

Jhang, the reported source of the hoard, lies east of the river Chenab some 250 kilometres south of Chakwal but there is no presently known ancient site nearby that might be regarded as a find spot, and the hoard may well have made its way there, either in antiquity or modern times, from somewhere further afield. There is, as will be shown, a strong correlation with the *Chakwal Hoard*, which group contained many issues that we have previously associated with the Jammu region of Kashmir. One notable feature of some of this hoard's coins is that they are magnetic, as was the case with some of the Chakwal coins and in ISCH Vol. I p. 142 I noted that there was a link between the unusual magnetic coins of this period and Kashmir.

1 2 3

Monograms found on the coins

Apollodotos II

In the hoard there are four examples of the round Æ Apollo/Tripod BN 6 [*Bibliotheque Nationale 1991, Osmund Bopearachchi* Catalogue] monogram 1, one of which is issue C, and three of the scarcer issue D. Of the latter, one is unusually struck on a square flan [no signs of an undertype]. There is one example of BN7 without an obverse monogram but with the reverse letters appearing as on the issue BN2 of Dionysios and is probably the same as the previously "unique" variety, No. 18 of the Chakwal Hoard, which had an uncertain right reverse field letter – it is slightly magnetic. The final coin is a square copper of the same type as Chakwal 19 and 20, with monogram 2, previously unpublished. The group is therefore similar to that of the Chakwal group, though much smaller in number.

Dionysios

There were ten coppers in the Chakwal group and about the same number in this group. The then unique round Chakwal Apollo/tripod coin No. 27 with monogram 2 is matched by a second example in this group. There are five examples of the square BN3E with monogram 2, one of which is magnetic. There are two square coppers [Æ/lead alloy] BN4 without monogram, diadem reverse. One *uncertain* coin is a round copper with Apollo obverse, no monogram, in a wreath border with diadem reverse which appears to be the first reported example. The reverse legend begins *Maharaja Tratarasa* but the king's name is uncertain though it appears to begin with *Di*. It resembles the Chakwal type 93 of Zoilos II (but with a different reverse), but a second specimen might show that the initial letter of the king's name is *Jho* though there appears to be space for the extra two letters of *Dianisiasa*.

Zoilos II

The coins of Zoilos are the commonest in the hoard. There are two of Apollo/Tripod BN series 5 and three of BN6. Two coins are of Chakwal type 75 – 83 and a third example of this same type has been cut down to half weight. The main group however consists of 41 square, small copper coins of BN9 type (of which there were 81 in the Chakwal group), several with new letters in the field plus monogram 3 on the obverse. Two round coppers are of BN8 type with elephant and tripod and there is an unusual group of seven small square coins with diadem reverse and monogram 3 on the obverse (as Chakwal 90 – 92). Two of the latter have an unusual inscription on the left reverse side and more specimens are required to tease out the full inscription – possibly a new name? Whereas some of the BN8 and BN9 coins show magnetism, the 'diadem' type does not.

Strato Dikaios

The three drachms of this new king published in the Chakwal hoard had no accompanying copper issue but this hoard contains a hitherto unreported square copper with monogram 3 and Apollo type with reverse letters *Pi* and *E* of the same type and denomination as the types 134 – 136 of Strato II with Strato Philopator in the Chakwal hoard. The fact that there are no joint Strato II with Strato Philopator or Strato Philopator alone coins in this hoard would indicate that my placing Strato Dikaios *before* Strato II is probably correct.

Strato II

There are just two coins of Strato II in the hoard, a lead/Æ round

Apollo coin of type BN3 but much heavier and with unreported letters, and a well preserved square copper which is similar to the, until now, only known example of Chakwal type 117.

Azes (Posthumous)
A copper of Lakshmi/bull type, S120.1 in poor condition is in the hoard plus a *copper* tetradrachm of king mounted with whip right/Zeus-Nikephoros type that is of a new type. The latter coin post-dates the usual billon posthumous issues.

Hajat(t)ria
A small square copper, a variety of S146.1 type in fairly good condition is in the hoard. The Satrap Hajatria (Hajaria – Harry Falk) was the son of Kharahostes and brother-in-law of Rajuvula.

Rajuvula
There are three heavy and one light lead/Æ coins of type S153 of Rajuvula as Satrap. These are all 'Jammu' issues

Sodasa
There is one heavy lead/Æ coin of the rare Jammu horse type S155.1 in the hoard.

A Pakores (S269.9T) copper tetradrachm, overstruck on a Soter Megas coin, was with the group but the different corrosion, patina and wear suggest that it is a stray and not part of the hoard.

Conclusions
This hoard when compared to the *Chakwal Hoard* throws up an interesting fact – that, though there are coins of Rajuvula and Sodasa in both hoards there are no joint Strato II with Strato Philopator or Strato Philopator-alone coins in this hoard. The obvious conclusion is that the Rajuvula and Sodasa Jammu coins pre-date those missing issues and that, as rulers, they are contemporary with only the early coins of Strato II alone and those of his predecessors. In ISCH Vol. I p. 100 I suggested that the reign of Rajuvula might be c. 25 – 15 BC and if this is correct then the chronology of these last 'Indo-Greek' kings, Strato II, Strato Philopator [and Strato III] may be more accurately identified and are probably later than previously thought.

It seems generally accepted that Apollodotos II ruled c. 70 BC [Falk, Bopearachchi 80 – 65 BC] and this hoard evidence shows he was succeeded by Dionysios [Bop. 65-55 BC] then Zoilos II [Bop. 55-35 BC]. We have the incursion of Bhadrayasha and coins of Apollophanes [c. 35 – 25 BC?] then the ephemeral Zoilos Dikaios [c. 25 BC?] and his successor, Strato II [c. 25 - ? BC]. The *Jhang Hoard* now puts Rajuvula, Sodasa and Hajatria in the early part of Strato II's reign, c. 25 – 15 BC if not even earlier, but possibly extending also somewhat later [in Mathura?].

It is interesting to note that Strato Dikaios took the titles found on the coinage of Strato I of a century earlier – possibly to appeal for support in the revival of a dynastic line, and that the later Strato Philopator used the Greek legend which only elsewhere appears as a title on the coins of Apollodotos II. This might imply a genealogical link between the Stratos and both these earlier rulers.

There seems to have been some sort of hiatus towards the end of the reign of Zoilos II with crude drachms issued by a rival, Bhadrayasha, which imitate his obverse legend and seem to bear Zoilos' name in Greek. Strato Dikaios struck silver coins of similar crude style and using the same monogram 3. Bhadrayasha does not seem to have been succeeded by a member of his own dynasty, but Strato Dikaios is followed by Strato II, suggesting that he was probably victorious in this struggle and ousted Bhadrayasha as successor of Zoilos II.

It is worth looking more closely at the coins and period of Rajuvula and one needs to consult the brilliant paper by Harry Falk 'Ten thoughts on the Mathura Lion Capital reliquary' in *Felicitas - Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb Mumbai 2011*'.

I was the first person to read the legends on the Hajatria/Hajaria coins, on which he calls himself the son of Kharahostes. Not being a palaeographist, I could not find an exact parallel for the letter, which I thought might be *Tri* with its odd tail, and though I opted for *Tri* I considered that the issuer must be one and the same as the known son of Kharahostes from the Lion Capital – Hayuara. In his paper, Harry Falk shows that the letter is actually ri and that Hajaria *is* probably the same as Hayuara on the Mathura Lion Capital.

Harry has shown that the inscriptions on the capital fall into two separate parts, inscribed at different times. The first is dedicatory "by the main Queen [Yasi Kamui] of the Mahaksatrapa Rajuvula ……. the daughter of the heir-apparent Kharahostes.... together with her brother Hayuara". The longer second inscription, added subsequently, does not mention Yasi Kamui (or her son, Nada-Diaka, who was also mentioned in the first inscription) but begins "The son of the Mahaksatrapa Rajuvula, Sodasa, the Ksatrapa, having made Kharahostes the heir apparent....".

From these inscriptions and the known coins we know that Satraps Rajuvula and Hajaria were brothers-in-law but how to account for the Satrap Kharahostes being somehow of lower status than Sodasa though his *daughter* was Sodasa's step-mother? From the Chakwal and Jhang hoards one has the feeling that Sodasa's Jammu coins are contemporary with the satrapal coins of Rajuvula and may even pre-date the latter's Mahasatrap issues. The picture in Mathura may have been different than in this part of the Punjab. One explanation may be that Rajuvula was elderly and had several wives, Sodasa being his eldest son by an early wife and set up independently in Jammu. Kharahostes may even have been younger than Rajuvula himself and gave his young daughter to Rajuvula as 'main Queen' who then states her claim and succession [through her son] to Rajuvula's territory, and making her father 'heir apparent' as in the first inscription. By the time of the second inscription Rajuvula may have been dead, and Sodasa in control, but Kharahostes bought off by having his claim to succession acknowledged.

Another distinct family, Kshaharata satraps, also seem to have been involved in the 'mix' at this time to further complicate the sequences of transitions of power. – see ISCH Vol.IV pp. 23/24 and Chakwal hoard 157.

Rajuvula issued coins firstly as Satrap and then Mahasatrap in the north [S151, 152 and some S153?] but in Mathura, 750 km south of Jammu (and a similar distance directly from both Chakwal and Jhang) he issued only Mahasatrap coins while Sodasa issued coins firstly as Satrap under his father and then alone as Mahasatrap.

The Mathura series is now enhanced by a new type [in a private collection] of Kharhostes struck in Mathura which bears the title *Khatapasa Kharahostasa*

Stylistically the coin would seem to predate those of Rajuvula but, in view of the inscriptions giving him 'heir' status, it may have been struck *after* those of Sodasa. Maybe an agreement along the lines of Queen Matilda and King Stephen settling their civil war with Stephen being allowed to rule but Matilda's son being the successor on Stephen's death? Either way, it complicates the chronology and may indicate that there was not a flight to Mathura but a conquest during the period while these rulers as Satraps were still issuing coins in the Punjab.

The one certainty for me is that this sequence in the Jhang hoard places these rulers some fifty years *before* the dates suggested by Harry Falk and fits comfortably with the chronology equating Azes with the Vikrama era. The need to have later dates by some authors is based upon having to equate the Gondophares of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription with Gondophares I when in reality it is almost certainly Gondophare-Sases of the Apracaraja dynasty who is referred to – and the need to fill the chronological gap to the Kushans if one insists upon a late date in the second century AD for Kanishka.

This hoard together with the Chakwal hoard have given us a new insight into the final period of Scythian and Indo-Greek rule in the Panjab, increasing significantly the number of known coin types, adding a new king to the known Indo-Greeks and shedding more light on the sequence and chronology of the coinages.

The Catalogue

Apollodotos II

1) Æ BN 6C Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa*. Obverse monogram 1. Reverse field letters: *U*, *Di* 16.83 g. 25 mm

2) Æ as last but BN 6D with reverse field letters *Ti*, *Ram*. Struck on square flan. 15.16 g. 28 x 29 mm

3) as last but round flan 16.98 g. 28 x 29 mm

4) 14.30 g.

5) Apollo as last but legend on 3 sides as issue BN 7, thick coin, no obverse monogram. Reverse field letters: *Ji*, *Mim* as on Dionysios BN2. 17.10 g. 26 x 27 mm. Slightly *magnetic* – see Chakwal 18.

6) Æ as last but square as BN 15 but monogram 2 obverse left and reverse field letters: *Ra*, *Ti* 16.14 g. 22 x 22 mm

Dionysios

7) Æ round BN 2- monogram 2 in obverse left field, legend in three straight lines: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ *Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa*. Revers, *Ra* in left field, *Ti* in right. 14.3 g. 27 mm. See Chakwal 27.

8) Æ square broad flan - monograms as BN 3E with clear obverse monogram (2), reverse letters; *Ra*, *Ti*. 16.03 g *slightly magnetic*.

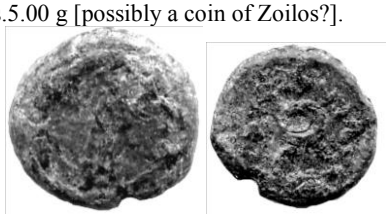
9) as last but not magnetic 16.15 g. 21 x 21 mm.

10) 16.88 g 11) 15.77 g 12) 15.39 g

13) Æ/Pl BN 4A square, Apollo with astragalus border and no legend obverse. Reverse, diadem with *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa* on three sides 4.46 g. 12 x 15 mm.

14) 3.88 g.

15) Æ square BN - Apollo obverse – legend around? Reverse, tripod with legend around and uncertain Kharosthi letters in right and left fields.5.00 g [possibly a coin of Zoilos?].



16) Æ/Pl round BN- uncertain. Obverse: Apollo right with wreath around – no monogram or legend. Reverse, diadem with legend *Maharajasa Trata(rasa)* visible but name off – possibly *Di* first letter 3.65 g. 15 mm.

Zoilos II

17) Æ round, Apollo obverse with elephant in left field BN 5 - King's name **ΖΩΙΛΟΥ**. Reverse tripod. *A* in right reverse field with nandipada over (?) 16.10 g. 24 mm. Unlisted.

18) similar, BN 5C, Reverse *Ra* left, *A* right. 15.98 g. 25 x 26 mm.

19) as last BN 6 - *Sti* below elephant, *Ha* lower right. Reverse: *Gi* left *Am* (?) right 10.65 g. 22 x 23 mm. *Magnetic*.
20) 12.69 g non-magnetic.

21) as last with *Sti* and uncertain letter right but reverse has *Sha* left with dot/crescent over and uncertain letter right 10.13 g. 21 x 23 mm.
22) Æ square Apollo right, legend on three sides and monogram 2 in left field. Reverse Tripod with *Ra* left, *Ti* right. 14.69 g, *magnetic*.

23) 13.28 g. 25 x 25 mm. *magnetic*.
24) as last but cut down and not magnetic, 7.05 g.

Of the mext 52 coins *M = magnetic*

25) Square Æ BN 9- Apollo with monogram 3 left, *Ji* right in an astragalus border. Reverse, elephant right with *Pa* (?) over 2.85 g *M*

26) 3.42 g. 14 x 11 mm. *M*.

27) as last but reverse has *Sha* (sometimes *Bha*?] and *Pa* (sometimes *Pu*) over elephant 2.94 g. 12 x 12 mm. *M*.
27a) 3.98 g *M*, 28) 2.89g *M*. 29) 2.50 g *M*.
30) 2.92 g *M*. 31) 3.14 g *M*. 32) 2.36 g *M*.
33) 2.53 g *M*. 34) 1.97 g *M*. 35) 2.18 g.
36) 3.00 g. 37) 2.79 g. 38) 3.36 g.
39) 2.05 g.
40) as last same obverse but letters off flan on reverse 2.54 g *M*.
41) 1.99 g *M*. 42) 3.03 g.

43) as last but *Ra* over elephant 1.94 g. 13 mm
44) as last but *Dhra* and *Bu* over elephant, 4.90 g.

45) 2.93 g. 13 x 14 mm.
46) 2.45 g *M*. 47) 1.94 g *M*.
48) 2.62 g *M*.

49) as last but *Ra* under monogram 3 and *Mim* (?) over *Va* on obverse and *Pa* and *Go* over elephant, 2.45 g. 11 x 12 mm. *M*.
50) 2.83 g. 51) 2.92 g *M*. 52) 2.09 g *M*.
53) 2.85 g *M*. 54) 3.32 g *M*. 55) 1.91 g.
56) 2.59 g *M* . 57) 2.67 g *M*. 58) 2.90 g *M*.
59) 4.14 g. 60) 4.29 g.
61) as last but as 25 but reverse letters are *Go* and *Pa*, 2.11 g *M*.
62) similar to last but uncertain letters, 2.52 g.
63) 2.20 g *M* . 64) 5.09 g *M*.
65) round Æ/Pl, elephant in astragalus border BN 8E. Reverse shows tripod with *Vi* left *Shi* right, 1.81 g *M* .

66) 2.38 g. 15 x 13 mm. *M*.
67) Æ square but uncertain types. 2.60 g.
68) 2.78 g *M*.

70) Æ square Apollo in astragalus border with monogram 3 left. Reverse, diadem with legend on three sides similar but smaller than Dionysios coins BN - left side reads *Pilapa*...2.38 g. 12 mm.

71) as last but left side reads *Palapisa*. 2.21 g. 12 mm.

72) as last but legend unclear, 1.98 g.

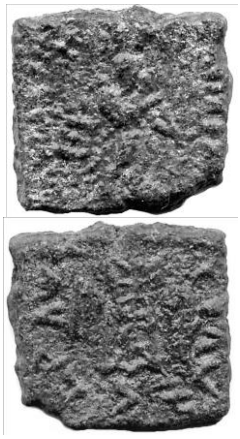
73) as last but *Maharajasa* right on reverse, 1.74 g. 11 mm.

74) as last but *tratarasa* top, 2.26 g. 11 mm.

75) uncertain legend 1.88 g.

76) as last but legend on reverse as 70? 1.80 g [this group, 70-76, is not definitely of Zoilos II].

Strato Dikaios - *dhramikasa*



77) Æ square Obverse: Apollo right with monogram 3 in left field. Long legend around – uncertain but probably (corrupt) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ as on the silver drachms. Reverse: Tripod with *Pi* left and *E* right and legend around on four sides *Maharajasa tratarasa Dhramikasa Stratasa* 6.09 g. 16 mm. A new unreported type.

Strato II

78) Æ/Pl round, similar to BN 3 with Apollo and, around, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ On the reverse, a tripod with *Mi(m)* left, *Sa* right, 11.27 g. 20 x 21 mm. Heavier denomination, as Chakwal 107, unrecorded.

79) Æ square monogram with types and legend [but on three sides] as last. No monogram. Reverse has *Stri* left and *Ha* right, 9.04 g. 22 mm. Unrecorded but probably the same as Chakwal 117?

80) Æ round, Lakhshmi and Bull type S120.10, 8.20 g. First coin of this type to be associated with a hoard?

81) Æ round, king mounted right; obverse with unlisted monogram before. Reverse: Zeus Nikephoros left with *A* left and *Mi* right. 10.92 g. 25 mm. Not in ISCH – a new posthumous type and copper, not billon [see Chakwal 160/161]

Hajatria/Hajaria

82) Æ square as S146.1 with satrap mounted left and triskeles monogram before. Reverse, figure on omphalos with *Ma* before and *Chatrapasa Kharaostaputrasa Hajariasa* around. 12 x 13 mm.

Rajuvula

83) Æ/Pl round as S153.1, Rajuvula as Satrap. Lion/Hercules type with *Maha* left and *Ha* right (with dots below) on the reverse. 6.20g. 17 mm. One of the best preserved coins in the hoard.

84) As last. but on reverse *Ra* + ? left and blank right. 9.42 g, 19 x 18 mm. previously unpublished.

85) As last but on reverse *Na* left (?) and *A* right. 6.80 g, 17 mm. previously unpublished.

86) As last but S153.6. On the reverse the figure has no club and there is no swastika. Letters *Ra* left and *Sha* right. 4.30 g. 14 x 15 mm. Well-preserved coin. Part of the legend is off and the letters not 100% cetrtain. A better specimen is required to confirm that these are all Rajuvula issues and Mahasatrap coins – the legend begins *..chatrapa* from 10 o' clock then *Rajavalasa Apratihata*..In fact there is no space left for the missing letters of a complete legend.

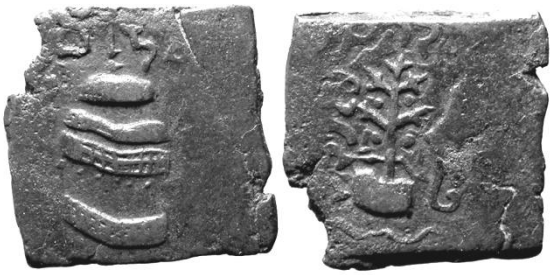
Sodasa

87) Æ/Pl, as S155.1 Horse right with **CATPAΠOY MAEΓA..CAD**? Reverse: Hercules with *Ma* left and *Dhra* right. Only *Chatrapasa* is visible around. 9.54 g. 20 mm. *M*.

SOME MORE INTERESTING AUDUMBARA COINS

By Devendra Handa

The Odumbaras/Audumbaras ruled over parts of the present-day region of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, which included Pathankot, Kangra, Palampur, Jwalamukhi and Hamirpur areas during the first century BC. Their's was a republican state and three of their rulers named Sivadasa, Rudradasa and Dharaghosha are known from their square copper coins. These generally show a temple with a trident-battleaxe by its side bearing the Brahmi legend *Mahadevasa rana* on top, the king's name [*Sivadasasa/ Rudradasasa/ Dharaghosasa*] on the right and the tribal name *Odubarisa* on the left with an undulating line below on the obverse and a tree in railing with forepart of an elephant to left on the right showing the Kharoshthi legend on top, left and right on the reverse. The Brahmi and Kharoshthi legends are reconstructed on cumulative evidence and are rarely, if ever, completely visible on individual pieces. Dharaghosha issued round silver coins of a different type which are quite rare and are known only from a few specimens. Alexander Cunningham, John Allan, and, following them, many other scholars have attributed some other coins to the Audumbaras and many of these have rightly been assigned by some subsequent writers to various other kings and dynasties. I took stock of all these coins in 2007 and very few Audumbara coins have surfaced since then.[1] A specimen each in the collections of Jan Lingen (1.6 cm, 2.48 g) and Girish Sharma (coin nos. a & b) and a few figuring in the recent sale catalogues of some auction houses are of some interest.



(a)

(b)

Both the coins illustrated above are in the name of Rudradasa and it is interesting to note that Girish Sharma's coin shows the trident-battleaxe on the left of the temple. On all coins published earlier this device is seen on the right of the temple.

Some time back, I had the opportunity of examining the collection of Shri Raj Kumar Aggarwal of Ambala (Haryana, India)[2] which includes some two dozen copper coins of the tribe. Most of the coins are very much corroded and worn out and I have picked out seven of these which are of interest for discussion here. Four of these are square/rectangular copper pieces while three are apsidal in shape, published for the first time here.

Coin no.1 measures 1.5 x 1.1 – 1.05 cm and weighs 1.58 g. It shows a triple-storey, eight-pillared temple with a filleted trident-battleaxe on the left and an undulating line below. The legend is completely worn away but for some traces on the right representing the name of the issuer. Of these traces the prominently struck triangular part of one letter only is visible. It may have been the lower part of *va*, which indicates that it may have been an issue of Sh/Sivadasasa. The visible traces of the next letter, however, do not indicate it to have been *da*. It looks more like part of *pa*, *ha* or *gha*. The reverse carries the tree in railing device and there may have been the forepart of an elephant on the right. Of the Kharoshthi legend, *Mahadevasa* above the tree may be made out but the names of the tribe and king along the right and left sides are irretrievably lost. Though the reverse device seems to have been struck properly no care has been taken to place the punch die carefully to accommodate the temple device vertically.

1

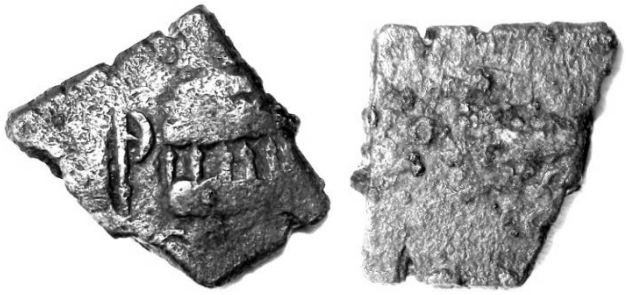
The next coin (no. 2) is square in shape (1.1 x 1.15 cm) and weighs 1.87 g. On the obverse may be seen the temple with trident on the left to which a battleaxe has been attached facing outwards, and an undulating line is shown below, as on the preceding example. In the left corner may be seen some letters of which *Shi* is very prominent, probably followed by *va* of which only the lower triangular part has survived. The coin, therefore, seems to have been struck by a ruler having the first part of his name as Shiva. Since this side generally carries the tribal denomination of *Odubarisa*, it seems that the coin was struck when the legend pattern was not strictly followed. The reverse, however, is very interesting as it shows a complete elephant to left with traces of a *svastika* on its back and a fairly visible Kharoshthi legend of which *Mahadeva*[*sa rana**] may be made out on the back of the elephant, *ghosha*[sa*] above and [*Odubari**]*sa* below. The coin may thus be attributed with a fair amount of certainty to a king whose name ended in ghosha. We know of Dharaghosha but the part of the Brahmi legend *Siva* on the obverse indicates that the issuer could be Sivaghosha, unknown from any other source till now. We do not know whether he was an ancestor or descendant of Dharaghosha but the degradation noticeable on the coin indicates that he may have been Dharaghosha's successor. Only future discoveries may provide clinching evidence. It represents a hitherto unreported variety published, here, for the first time.

2

Equally interesting is another square coin (no. 3) measuring 1.3 x 1.3 cm and weighing 1.96 g, as the usual temple is replaced on its obverse by a three-pillared pavilion in railing and which has a vaulted roof with a pitcher-shaped finial with pointed top. The planchets were cut from metal strips and the blanks do not seem to have been heated properly before striking, as is indicated by the impact of the hammer which has resulted in cracks on the sides. No care was taken even for a proper alignment of the dies. On the left of the pavilion may be seen the bold Brahmi letters *Maha* which seem to have been part of the legend *Mahadevasa*. Below the pavilion are also visible some Brahmi letters reading *risa* which form the end-part of the tribal name in the genitive *Odubarisa* as found on Audumbara copper coins. On the right are traces of Brahmi letters which I feel inclined to decipher as [Si]va. It may have been part of the name of the same ruler who issued the preceding coins, i.e., Sivaghosha. The reverse gives a jumbled impression, probably resulting from careless double striking. A tree in railing with upper part of the trident on the right may be made out. The Kharoshthi legend below may fairly be deciphered as *Mahadeva*[*sa**] vouching for its being a coin of the Audumbaras. We may recall here that Allan had also listed two copper coins as 'Uncertain' under the Audumbaras showing a pavilion with un-deciphered legends[3] and the present piece corroborates their attribution to the tribe. Better specimens in future may help us in retrieving the name of the issuer of such coins.

3

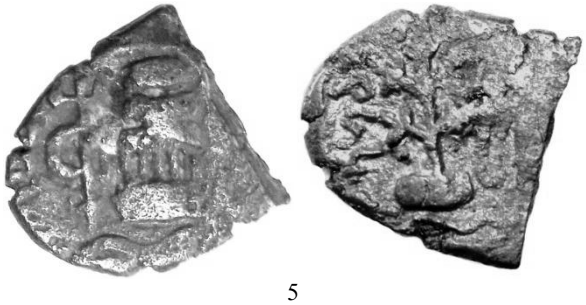
The fourth square copper coin is broken. It measures 1.3 x 0.9 cm and weighs 1.84 g. The obverse is fairly well preserved showing the temple, six pillars of which may be seen but the trident-battleaxe depicted on its left is of some interest as it shows the battleaxe attached to the shaft inwards, i.e. to the right or towards the temple. Though this is the normal pattern of the depiction of the trident-battleaxe as seen on the known coins of Sivadasa, Rudradasa and Dharaghosha, its placement on the left of the figure of the temple distinguishes it from them. Since Hindu temples normally do not face towards the south, the placement of the trident-battleaxes on both sides of the temples on the Audumbara coins indicates that they faced either the east or the west only and never to the south or north.



4

The reverse is not very clear but an animal to the left with some unidentifiable symbol and traces of the legend along the available margins may be discerned. This side being corroded and worn out makes it difficult to determine with certainty whether the animal depicted here is an elephant or bull. From the bends of the legs, however, it seems to have been a bull walking to the left. If so, the coin represents a new type. The bull here would represent Nandi, the vehicle of the god. The symbol in front of the animal cannot be identified properly and it is equally difficult to make out anything intelligible of the traces of the legend faintly visible along the top margin.

Now we turn to the apsidal Audumbara copper coins published here for the first time. The best preserved of these (1.3 x 1.35 cm, 1.7 g) shows, as usual, the triple-storey six-pillared temple standing on a railed plinth with a trident-battleaxe on the left (coin no. 5). The battleaxe has been attached to the shaft on the left. The wavy line representing the river may be seen below. I read the part of the legend on the left as *Savagha*, i.e., part of the name of the issuer, Sivaghosha, as I have deciphered on some coins described above.



5

The reverse shows the tree in railing in the centre, the forepart of an elephant on the right and a wavy line below. The tri-foliate branches of the tree indicate it to be the Bilva tree so dear to Siva. The Kharoshthi legend on the left gives the tribal name [*O*]*dubarisa*. The cracks on the rounded margin indicate that the blank was not properly heated before striking. Little attention was given to die-orientation. The right side shows that the piece was deliberately cut to give the coin its apsidal shape.

The temple with trident-battleaxe on the left may be discerned on the obverse of another coin (no. 6) of this type (1.5 x 1.55 cm, 1.83 g) but all other details have worn away. The reverse shows the bull to left with the Kharoshthi letter *Ma* above at the position of the beginning of the legend *Mahadevasa rana* and letter *sa* on the top right corner representing the genitive suffix with the tribal name *Odubarisa*.

6

The name of the issuer is irretrievably lost on both the obverse and the reverse. Cracks along the rounded margin and a straight cut mark on the right are also clear.

Most of the details are so worn out on the last example (1.4 x 1.1 cm, 1.77 g) illustrated here (coin no. 7) that it could be identified only on the evidence of the similarity of the main devices of temple with trident-battleaxe on the obverse and bull besides a symbol like a cross with trident-ends and traces of Kharoshthi letters on the reverse.

7

As known from the Audumbara coins published till now, Dharaghosha was perhaps the last and most powerful of the Audumbara potentates. The coins discussed above represent a decadent stage of the Audumbara numismatic art indicating that the Audumbaras did not meet a catastrophic end but surely suffered a great set-back. After the loss of power and glory, Dharaghosha's descendant, Sivaghosha, as noted on some of the coins discussed above, may have ruled over the region for quite some time. He issued coins with Siva's mount, Nandi, on the reverse and also introduced the apsidal shape. This shape seems to have been inspired by the apsidal plan of the temples and is unique in the Indian numismatic field. It is well known that early Buddhist rock-cut Chaityas of Western India at Ajanta, Bedsa, Junnar, Karle, Kanheri, Kondane, Nasik, Pitalkhora, etc. and many of the early temples whose foundations have been excavated at Sonkh (Mathura), Banavasi (Karnataka) as also some structural temples like Temple No. 1 at Taxila, Durga Temple at Aihole, Temple No. 18 at Sanchi, etc. belonging to the early phase of Indian temple architecture had apsidal plans.[4]

Sivaghosha seems to have issued pavilion-type coins also and the specimen published here corroborates the attribution of two pavilion-type coins listed by Allan to the Audumbaras. As pointed out above, there are quite a few more specimens of this type in the collection of Shri Aggarwal but they are in a very indifferent state of preservation and have lost most of the details. Their worn-out condition indicates that they remained in circulation for quite some time, maybe even after the eclipse of Audumbara power.

Notes and References

1. Devendra Handa (2007), Tribal Coins of Ancient India, New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
2. I am thankful to Sarvashri Jan Lingen, Girish Sharma and Raj Kumar Aggarwal for the coins illustrated with this article.
3. John Allan (1936), *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, London: British Museum* (reprint, New Delhi, 1975), p. 125, nos. 24-25, Pl. XV.11-12.
4. For details, see Percy Brown (1959), *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd.

A MODERN FANTASY RELATED TO TIBET

By Wolfgang Bertsch

Fig. 1

The above illustrated fantasy coin (Fig. 1) has recently appeared in China. It looks as though it is made of silver, but is probably struck on a planchet of a much cheaper alloy. The obverse represents a Tibetan mythical khyung bird[121], standing upright on the Himalayan or Trans-Himalayan mountains. Sun and moon are seen on either side of the beast's head.

The Tibetan legend near the rim can be transliterated as follows (starting at 12.30 o'clock):
Rgyal tshan mthon po phyogs las rnam rgyal//rab byung bco lnga pa//zho gsum skar lnga//
Translation: "The sublime (or "noble"; literally: "high") victory banner, victorious in all directions/fifteenth cycle/three sho and five skar (three and half sho)". The first part of this legend is inspired by the inscription found on the Tibetan Ganden tangkas and on most of the Tibetan coins minted in and after 1909: *dga' ldan pho brang phyogs las rnamgyal* ("The Ganden Palace, victorious in all directions").

The reverse has an ornamental wreath composed of leaves and buds which is not at all typical for Tibet and appears to be inspired by the reverse design of the well-known Yuan Shikai dollars (Fig. 2) for which most probably the design of a wreath of laurels found on the reverses of early British Indian uniform rupees struck in the name of William IV (AD 1835) and Victoria (AD 1840) served as a model. The Tibetan legend (reading from top to bottom) is: *lo gsum cu so gsum*. Translation: year thirty-three.

The 33rd year of the 15th cycle is equal to the western year 1899. At that time no machine-struck coins were being produced in Tibet. Only in about 1928 were pattern coins of a perfection

[121] Regarding the khyung bird one may consult, among others, the following website: http://www.altcprojects.org/blog-3/2012/04/11/tibetan-rock-art-and-the-khyung-or-horned-eagle-one-of-tibets-primary-religious-symbols-through-the-ages.

similar to that of the above-illustrated fantasy struck in the Dode mint north-east of Lhasa by using coin presses which had been imported from Birmingham (England). Whoever produced the above fantasy would have been well-advised to choose a later date for his concoction.

One may also draw attention to the way the word *gsum* (three) is spelt twice in the legend of the reverse. Rather than spelling this word with three letters, the forger chose to have a short version with only two letters by using the anusvāra (small circle above the letter "s") instead of the final letter "m". Among the coins which were struck in Lhasa, this short form of *gsum* only occurs on the flower-shaped 2 ½ skar copper coins which are dated 15-52, 15-53 or 15-55 (Fig. 3).[122] On these coins it makes sense to use the short form, since there would not be enough space on the planchets of these small copper coins to insert the full form of *gsum*. However, on the reverse of the fantasy coin there is plenty of space, which would have allowed the use of the full form of *gsum*. Moreover, the legend could have been arranged in a more pleasing and symetrical way by using the full form of *gsum*.

Fig. 2 Reverse of Yuan Shikai dollar

Fig. 3
2 ½ skar, year 15-53 (A.D. 1919), showing the word gsum *spelt with* ***anusvāra*** *(small circle) in 3 o'clock position*
Weight: 1.81 g. Diam.: 18.8 X 18.8 mm, collection W. Bertsch

It is very likely that several pieces of this item were made and that dealers will probably offer them as rare Tibetan items. However, in my opinion, this piece was not made in Tibet and is of very recent Chinese manufacture, possibly with a Tibetan in charge of the calligraphy since the Tibetan *dbu can* script is of good style and there are no spelling mistakes.

[122] The Sino-Tibetan rupee, known as the "Luguan rupee", which was struck in Kangding is the only other coin related to Tibet which uses the short form of *gsum* ***with*** **anusvāra** ***on its reverse.*** Cf. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Lukuan Rupee and its Variants". *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 194, winter 2008, p. 39-41.

Fig. 4 Rgyaltshan (Sanskrit dhvaja*, "victory banner") on the roof of the Jokhang in Lhasa*
Photograph by Kosigrim

COIN CIRCULATION IN PALEMBANG (SUMATRA), CIRCA AD 1710 TO 1825

2. Coins minted for the mining communities on Bangka Island

By Michael Mitchiner and Tjong Yih

Part One

Introduction

Much has already been written about Palembang in the previous papers. Palembang enjoyed a tin surplus in the local economy from the time when tin ore deposits were discovered in 1710 on the offshore island of Bangka, which was situated within the territory of the Palembang Sultanate. Bangka Island has a roughly rectangular shape. It measures some sixty miles across at its broadest part, and one hundred and thirty miles from north-west to south-east.

The tin ore deposits were discovered during 1710 to 1711 and the sultan was informed (Millies 1871, 117; Wicks 1983, 287-8). Mining and refining were organised soon afterwards. The mining and refining of the tin ore witnessed their most rapid expansion during the period 1750 to 1780 (Jackson 1969, Yih and De Kreek 1993), a dating that is slightly modified in later discussion (Ricklefs 2001). Some Bangka tin ingots have appeared on the market.

Millies (1871, 117-119), basing his description largely on the earlier study by Court (1821) detailed how the operation was administered. Mining operations were supervised by a group of seven mixed race officials, called Tiko, who lived in Palembang and were answerable to the sultan. Each tiko supervised the mining activities of the various Gongsi (Kong-sse: mining societies) in his particular part of Bangka Island. Millies wrote: *"He (Court) recounted that at the time when Bangka belonged to the sultan of Palembang, the direction of the affairs in the mines in the different districts is entrusted to seven of the principal local people of Palembang, under the title Teko (or Tikou), to whom the sultan advanced the capital necessary for the exploitation of the mines. The stations of these Teko and the districts joined to each other, were Djebous and Klabat in the north-west of the Isle, Blinyou in the eastern part of the bay of Klabat, Soungei Liat, Marawang and*

Pangkal Pinang on the east coast and Toboali in the centre. The Tikou were the descendants of a Chinese father and a Malay mother, who followed the Moslem religion and knew the Chinese and Malay languages. For that reason, as well as for their capability in office, their insight and subtlety, they were chosen for directing the districts of the mines, where the Chinese miners worked. These chiefs had their residence overall at Palembang, from where they sent the miners under their respective direction all the necessary provisions and merchandise. They only visited their districts from time to time for regulating their accounts with the miners and for arranging with their subordinate agents or Kong-sse's, as one calls them, the direction of the works to be executed during their absence. These Kong-sse's had the direction of the mines and held accounts with the miners on behalf of the Tikou, for which they received a fixed salary. The preparatory expenditure for excavating the mines, the erection of furnaces, the cost of tools, the removal of vegetation were borne by the Tikou, who afterwards paid to the miners the regulated price of around 6 dollars for each 'picol' of tin of around 160 katis delivered by them. Two-thirds of this payment was made in provisions and merchandise, which the miners received during the course of their work, and the other third in tin coins called pitis, which each Tikou had the privilege of adopting for circulation in his district and which did not have any currency outside the limits of this district". Millies attempted, without success, to discover on the coins the names of the districts on Bangka island noted by Court.

The Chinese miners used different mining techniques depending on the size of the tin ore deposits. This resulted in two different types of mines. The large mines had extensive waterworks and were called "kollong". The small mines had no waterworks and were rarely more than six feet deep. They were called "kulit".

The Sultan of Palembang owned the tin of Bangka Island, just as Ma Huan's description, cited in an earlier paper, makes it clear that the Sultan of Malacca had owned the tin mined and refined in his territory. Part of the newly mined tin was traded to produce income. The tin exported outside the sultanate was in the form of large ingots. The only surviving description of such ingots is contained in Ma Huan's (AD 1430) account of the 'flower tin' ingots weighing close to 2 pounds, which the Sultan of Malacca sold to Chinese traders (see above). The Sultan of Palembang would also have traded some of his tin in the form of analogous ingots. His principal customer is likely to have been the Dutch, who imposed a tin monopoly on Palembang in 1722 (see below).

Another use for the sultan's tin was providing the low denomination coinage of the Palembang Sultanate. The eighteenth century coinage of Palembang Sultanate comprises two separate series of coins. These are the Sultan's series of small-size tin alloy pichis (pitjis) bearing Malay inscriptions, and the series of larger-size tin-alloy coins minted for the Chinese mining communities. The Chinese coins have commonly been attributed solely to the mining communities on Bangka Island, which is the view suggested by Millies in the passage quoted above. However, it should be remembered that the supervision of the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island was overseen by an administration based in Palembang City. The supervising officials lived in Palembang, and the coins appear to have been minted in Palembang. Many coins of the Chinese series have been found at Palembang. There can be little doubt that some coins bearing Chinese inscriptions circulated side by side in Palembang City with the sultan's small coins bearing Malay inscriptions. Netscher and van der Chijs (1864) suggested that tin alloy cash of Bangka type were also minted by Chinese merchants, but that is debatable.

In addition to producing the local coinage, the sultan was also responsible for the coinage of the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island, and of their administration at Palembang City. The Chinese-style pieces are significantly larger than the Palembang pichis. They measure around 26 to 28 mm., and normally weigh in the range three to five grams. These are commonly biface coins with images, or inscriptions, on both obverse and reverse. Netscher and van der Chijs (1864), followed by Millies (1871, pp. 117-128; pl. XX-XXI, nos. 212-229), have published examples. Many new types are represented among recent finds from Palembang.

The mining situation on Bangka was fundamentally different from that in Western Borneo. Whereas in the Borneo goldfields, the Gongsis were virtually independent and possessed their own legislation, supporting facilities and armies, this was not the case on Bangka. The mining Gongsis on Bangka Island were closely dependent on the administration in Palembang, as will be discussed.

The end of Palembang's tin surplus (1812) and the suppression of the Sultanate (1825)

Palembang's loss of Bangka Island occurred during the British occupation of Java and Sumatra during 1811 to 1816. When the Sultan of Palembang learned of the British landing at Batavia in August 1811, he rose up against the Dutch garrison in Palembang. All persons were killed, including women and children. Raffles determined to punish the sultan for this massacre. Gillespie was dispatched at the head of an expeditionary force. He captured Palembang in April 1812. The sultan escaped and the British placed his brother, Ahmed Najam, on the throne. As compensation for the massacre, the new ruler was obliged to cede the tin-bearing islands of Bangka and Billiton to the British in return for a cash payment (Hall 1968, 484). Two years later, by the terms of the Convention of London signed in August 1814, Britain restored to the new Dutch Kingdom the former colonies of the Dutch East India Company conquered since 1803. The British had already exchanged Bangka Island for the definitive possession of Cochin in South India (Hall 1968, 539). The Dutch Commissioner-Generals reached Java in 1816 and the British handed over Java to the Dutch in August 1816, followed by Sumatra and the other territories. The Commissioner-Generals returned home in 1818, leaving behind one of their number, van der Capellen, as the first Governor General of the restored Dutch East Indies. In the meantime British coinage had been minted in Java from 1812 until 1816 (AH 1227 to 1232).

Palembang had lost Bangka Island to the British in 1812. The island went on to become a nominal Dutch possession in 1814 and was formally handed over to the Dutch in 1816. After 1812, Palembang no longer had a source of tin within the territory of the sultanate.

In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II had regained his throne at Palembang. He rose up against the Dutch once again (Hall 1968, 543) and was defeated by the Dutch general de Kock in 1821. The Dutch divested Mahmud of his powers and exiled him to Ternate in the same year. A few years later, the Dutch took Palembang under direct Dutch administration in 1825, and suppressed the sultanate (Hall 1968, 576).

Bangka under Dutch administration: from 1816

Bangka Island became a nominal Dutch possession in 1814 under the terms of the Convention of London. However, the Dutch were not at that time in a position to assume possession. The Dutch Commissioner-Generals reached Java in 1816. They formally took possession of Java in August 1816, followed by Sumatra and its offshore island of Bangka. So far as the organisation of tin mining on Bangka Island was concerned, the reports by Court (1821) and by Horsfield (1812) suggest that the British did not interfere with existing practice. It seems unlikely that the Dutch continued to tolerate existing practice in relation to the tin coinage of the Bangka Island mining communities. They were actively promoting the use of their own subsidiary copper coinage from the time when they took possession of the Dutch East Indies in 1816, initially with copper coins minted in the Netherlands, and, from 1818, with copper coins minted at Surabaya.

The tin coinage of the Bangka Island mining communities was probably suppressed shortly after 1816. It was certainly obsolete long before the studies by Netscher and van der Chijs in 1864 and by Millies in 1871

A note on Billiton (Belitung)

The island of Billiton has been mentioned above in connection with its cession to the British by the Sultan of Palembang in 1812.

The tin ore resources on Billiton were not exploited until much later in the nineteenth century, long after the kinds of coins discussed in this paper had become obsolete. The Dutch formed the Billiton Maatschappij in the middle of the nineteenth century and began recruiting Chinese labourers.. There were only 28 Chinese working on Billiton in 1851, but their numbers increased significantly when the Dutch introduced large scale recruitment in 1865.

The Chinese-style coinage linked with the mining communities on Bangka Island: circa 1710 to 1816

Court's early nineteenth century description of the organization of tin mining on Bangka Island has been discussed above. Some points are particularly relevant to analysis of the Chinese-style coinage. The sultan funded mining arrangements and delegated its administration to a group of seven high-ranking officials (tiko), who lived in Palembang City. Each tiko made periodic visits to Bangka Island to oversee local arrangement of the several mining communities (gongsi; kong-sse) in the district under his jurisdiction. The tiko provided equipment and provisions to the gongsi, which was paid a set sum for the tin it produced. Part of this sum (around two-thirds) was offset against the equipment and provisions provided by the tiko. The balance was paid in *"tin coins called pitis, which each teko had the privilege of adopting for circulation in his district, and which did not have any currency outside the limits of this district"*. The pitis (pichis) concerned were the Chinese-style coins now being discussed. The coins paid out by the tiko would have been manufactured at the sultan's mint in Palembang City. Within the confines of Court's description, the coins could have any inscription that the tiko considered appropriate for use within his district. This admits both inscriptions that had geographical significance, such as the names of particular mining communities (gongsis), and also inscriptions that were solely auspicious in their content. Both forms of inscription have been observed on the coins.

The circulation of these Chinese-style coins does not appear to have been as restricted as Court suggested. Radermacher's description of Palembang's coinage, published in 1779, presents a different picture. *"One species of coin is alone made in this kingdom, which pitjes, in thin round (shape), are of lead mixed with tin, whereon are a few characters and a square hole in the flan, and which characters are changed when a new king mounts on the throne"* (translated from Wicks 1983, p. 280). Millies (1871, p. 110) has provided a similar translation and he questioned Radermacher's description of the *'square hole'*. Among the coins circulating in Palembang during the late eighteenth century, Radermacher's description appears to be a hybrid, perhaps assembled from notes made on different occasions. Thin round coins aptly described the Palembang pichis, whereas coins with a square hole and bearing a few characters is a better description of the Bangka coins. One could apply his description to the earlier 'Alamat Sultan coins of Palembang (Yih 2011, Mitchiner 2012), but they were almost certainly obsolete by the time Radermacher was writing.

The recent coin finds from Palembang City include many coins minted for the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island. It is apparent that these coins circulated in Palembang City, as well as on Bangka Island. The coins were minted for use by the mining communities on Bangka Island, as Court has described. They became more widely accepted. When miners came to Palembang City to make purchases, their Chinese style coins appear to have been accepted by local traders. This interpretation is consistent with Radermacher's observations and with the composition of recent finds at Palembang City.

Millies attempted to identify the Kong-sse (Gongsi) named on some coins with the known locations of mining communities on Bangka Island. He encountered serious difficulties. The names and the locations of mines on Bangka Island were known from the studies by Court (published 1821) and Horsfield (1812) compiled during the short period of British occupation (1812-16). There were some later changes in mining organisation. The Romanisation of the Chinese names for the mining communities accorded with contemporary practice, with a preference for Anglicised norms, as Millies has discussed. The phonetic expression of the Chinese characters on the coins, whether rendered in the traditional Wade-Giles Romanisation, or in the present-day Pinyin, both of which are based on the Mandarin dialect, fail to show how those Chinese characters were pronounced on Bangka Island during the eighteenth century. The sound of the local name would have been closer to its expression in the Hakka dialect, which was commonly used in the region.

Having noted the problems of interpretation, it should be borne in mind that the inscriptions were chosen by the Tiko for use in his district. The Tiko would doubtless have taken advice from the various Gongsis (Kong-sse) in his district concerning the content of the inscriptions and then, as Court noted, proceeded to have the coins minted in Palembang City and dispatched to his district.

The mining of tin continued on Bangka Island after it became part of the Dutch East Indies, but within a short time, local commercial transactions were no longer facilitated by the use of specially minted tin coinage. The tin mining situation around the middle of the nineteenth century is illustrated on Jackson's (1969) map, to which references will be made.

Chronology

Significant dates relating to the Bangka Island coinage include the discovery of local tin ore resources in 1710, the British occupation of Bangka Island in 1812 and the handing over of Bangka to the Dutch in 1816. To these dates, one should add the major expansion in local tin mining from the 1740's onwards, and the known dated coins, which were minted during the 1770s and 1780s.

The dates 1710 and 1816 provide a time span for the coinage. Minting commenced later than 1710, but it is difficult to assess how many years later. A few years would doubtless have elapsed between the discovery of tin ore in 1710, the organising of mining by Chinese Gongsis, and the decision to pay part of the remuneration in kind and part in specially minted coins. The principal written descriptions of the administrative system were researched during the period of British administration (1812 to 1816). The evolution to the stage at which the Sultan of Palembang began minting coins for Chinese Gongsis probably took a few years.

By 1722, Bangka's tin production had increased to the extent that the Dutch were taking an interest. In 1722, the Dutch intervened in a civil war at Palembang and provided military support. In addition to the already existing monopoly on the sale of pepper to the VOC (Dutch East India Company), the Sultan of Palembang was now also obliged to grant to the Dutch a monopoly on the sale of tin from Bangka Island (van Panhuys 1978, 129; Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, 1907-1955, vol. 4). The contract was signed on 2 June 1722, and according to its terms the Dutch would pay a price of 10 rijksdaalders per picol of tin (De Gids, Jaargang 56, 1892, 79). According to a later contract, dated 10 September 1755, the Dutch rate of payment was revised to 10 reals of 54 stivers per picol.

It is reasonable to date the introduction of the tin coinage for Bangka Island sometime between 1710 and 1722.

In 1731, the Dutch helped the Palembang sultan, Mahmud Badruddin I (1724-1757), put down a Bugis rebellion on Bangka Island (Ricklefs 2001, 88-89). Initially, the miners on Bangka were mainly Bugis. From 1731 onwards, large numbers of Chinese miners began to arrive. By the end of Mahmud Badruddin's reign in 1757, there were around 25,000 to 30,000 Chinese miners on Bangka.

The administrations of Palembang and of Bangka Island were separated in 1812 when the British obliged their puppet sultan, Ahmad Najam, to sell Bangka Island to the British. There does not appear to have been any immediate change to the administrative aspects of tin mining, including the minting of special coinage. The surviving descriptions, which have been discussed above, were based on research carried out by such persons as Court and Horsfield during the period of British occupation during 1812 to 1816. The real change came when the British handed Sumatra back to the Dutch in 1816. The Dutch flooded the region with low

denomination copper coinage, initially minted in the Netherlands and later in Java. The local tin coinage of Bangka Island, which was no longer part of the Palembang Sultanate, became superfluous and would have been phased out. The Bangka Island tin coinage may have been suppressed in 1816. But, it is more likely that it fell into obsolescence over a period of several years. All one can say with certainty is that the coinage had fallen into disuse long before such scholars as Netscher and van der Chijs (1864) and Millies (1871) were pursuing their researches. Their combined searches only brought to light some twenty issues.

The year 1816 seems to be the most significant marker for the demise of the Bangka Island tin coinage. The coinage is dated here as being issued "until circa 1816".

Within the time span marked by the years 1710 and 1816, it is possible to divide the Bangka Island tin coinage into two main phases. The early phase was characterised by coins with generally simple designs and short inscriptions giving only limited information about the users of these coins. The later phase was characterised by coins with longer inscriptions that provide much more information about the users. These are broad divisions that require some justification. If one looks at the early phase, there are several characteristics that link together various issues. These include particular patterns of circles, linked circles, and stars used to ornament the coin field. There are also styles of floral ornaments linking together other issues. The majority of coins with a circular central hole in the coin flan belong to this phase, although issues with square holes are also common. During the later phase, coins tend to have longer and more informative inscriptions. Small ornaments sometimes occur, but they are normally different from the ornaments used during the early phase. A few coins have a circular central hole, but most have a square central hole in the coin flan.

The coin designs were submitted by each Tiko, presumably after discussion with the leaders of the various Gongsis for which he was responsible. Therefore, a wide range of variation might be expected. The unifying feature, which limits variation, is that the coins were manufactured centrally, in Palembang. This helps to explain the observed preferences in such details as the small ornaments in the coin fields.

Bangka Island coins belonging to the early phase include a significant number of issues whose designs are pictorial, rather than inscriptional. Most of these were probably issued during the initial period when the majority of miners were Bugis. The phase of Bugi dominance ended when many Chinese miners arrived during the 1730's.

Later in the eighteenth century, Ahmad Tajuddin (1757-1774) replaced a number of Tikos by members of the royal family. The administrative changes proved unpopular and Chinese miners began drifting away to work in other mines, principally those in Borneo and Perak. By the 1780's, it has been estimated that the number of Chinese miners on Bangka had fallen to between 6,000 and 13,000 (Ricklefs 2001, 89). The production of tin fell.

The separation of the coinage into an early phase and a late phase is currently as far as one can reasonably progress with analysing the internal chronology of the coin series. Separation into two phases is not absolute. Rather, it is a way of documenting a process of evolution.

Some dates are significant for defining the chronology of the early phase and the late phase in Bangka's coinage. There was a major expansion in tin mining during the 1740's to the 1770's, followed by a significant reduction during the 1780's. Within this period, the coin issue minted for Antan in 1777 (AH 1191) belongs to the late phase in Bangka's coinage. Another issue, with the Malay legend Kongsi Bangka, is dated AH 1203. It also belongs to the late phase. The Pangkal Pinang coin issue denominated as "Haza Falus" probably derived the term from the "Haza Falus" coinage of Palembang dated AH 1198 (AD 1783/4), and it also belongs to the late phase in Bangka's coinage. The period of expansion in tin mining shows a general correlation with the changing form of Bangka's coinage.

The suggested chronology for Bangka's coinage is:

Early phase: after 1710 to circa 1740's
Late phase: circa 1740's until circa 1816.

Metrology and Chemical composition of the coins

The Bangka Island tin coins have a central hole in the coin flan and a diameter of around 26 to 28 mm. The great majority of specimens weigh within the range three to five grams.

Yih and De Kreek (1993) used the XRF (X-ray fluorescence) technique to examine the compositions of three coins minted for Chinese Gongsis on Bangka Island, plus a larger number of coins minted for Chinese Gongsis in Western Borneo. The results showed a much higher tin content for the Bangka pieces, than for the Borneo pieces.

The compositions of the three Bangka pieces are listed here.

Qing Feng Ming Ri	6.00 g,	Sn 78, Pb 12 %
Qing Feng Ming Ri	6.21 g,	Sn 74, Pb 17 %
Jing Zhao	4.18 g,	Sn 88, Pb 4.5 %

Coinage

The terms 'coin' and 'token' have variously been applied to these Chinese style issues. The name 'coin' is used here, because the pieces were minted and distributed by the sultan's own administration and they formed part of the official coinage minted for use by the sultan's subjects. However, it would be rash to suggest that all the coins were official products of the sultan's mint. The Chinese miners were not always obedient servants of the sultan, as exemplified by the Bangka revolt of 1731. It is not unlikely that some coins were unofficially minted on Bangka, a view earlier expressed by Netscher and van der Chijs.

Many of the coins discussed here conform to the general pattern that has been discussed. They are neatly made coins which often show a shared range of small ornaments as evidence of centralisation in manufacture. It has been suggested that the tikos had these coins manufactured in Palembang City and then distributed the coins among the various gongsis on Bangka Island for which they were responsible. There are significant numbers of coins that fall outside this pattern. They may have crude designs, or a fabric different from the general norms. Such coins are unlikely to have been manufactured centrally in Palembang City. Probably, some of the mining companies on Bangka Island made their own coins for local use. This begs a question concerning the extent of the manufacturing base. Was manufacture restricted to coins made centrally in Palembang City plus coins made by some mining communities on Bangka Island? Did shopkeepers and traders working in Palembang City and on Bangka Island also make some of these coins? Were all the companies named on coins Mining Companies? Looking at the wide range of inscriptions and of manufacturing technique, it appears likely that the range of companies using coins would have included local shops where clothes and provisions could be purchased, as well as the places of entertainment and gambling that grew up among the mining communities. Whatever their source, the coins discussed in this paper circulated in Palembang City, because that is where they have been found.

In general terms, we have noted the coins specifying a Gongsi, which was the specific term referring to a mining association, or mining company. We have not attempted to define coins specifying that they were providing such ancillary services as shopping and entertainment. Indeed, there is little evidence relating in any specific manner to the ancillary services. The Malay term Pokok Judi (Company Money) occurs on a number of coins. However, the term is too imprecise to define the nature of the business carried out by the company. The term does not differentiate between the issues of a mining company (Gongsi, for instance the Antan Gongsi) or a shop (shop coins), or a gambling house (gambling tokens, for instance the Lai Li Company Gambling House). Pokok Judi embraces the money made for all these kinds of companies. An exception to the sparcity of information about the companies providing ancillary services is discussed in the last section of this paper. In this case, it is apparent that two different companies (Chinese names) issued coins at a place named Kangabun (Malay legends), which may have been the

Benkuang mining community situated near Pangkal Pinang. One of the companies at Kangabun was a Kongsi (Malay legend); the local mining company. The other company at Kangabun ran a gambling house (Chinese legend).

Prior to 2009, only slightly over twenty issues were known. Some were illustrated by Netscher and van der Chijs (1863, 234-241), and Millies (1871, pp. 121-8; pls. 20-21, 213-229) added to the repertoire. Wicks (1983, pp. 287-294; pl. 23, 241-258) republished the types previously catalogued. These included two issues with bilingual Chinese-Malay inscriptions (Millies pp.120-1; Wicks p. 289). The remaining issues all bore Chinese inscriptions. Yih and De Kreek (1993) added three more specimens, belonging to two issues, to this small repertoire of known coins.

The coins published here are nearly all different from those already known, and they have been recovered since 2009 from the River Musi at Palembang City. The coins with generally simpler designs have either a circular, or a square, central hole. Coins with longer inscriptions (like all previously published coins) normally have a square central hole, although some issues, such as the coins of Antan Gongsi, occur with both circular and square central holes. It is probably no surprise that the coins published here should differ from previously published issues. The original range of issues was potentially very large. There were seven Tikos and if, for the sake of argument, each Tiko administered seven Gongsis (Kong-sse), there could potentially have been forty-nine different coin types in use at any one time. However, neither the number of Gongsis using their own coins, nor the frequency with which the coin designs were changed, have been documented.

Since 2009, finds at Palembang have multiplied the number of known issues by more than ten-fold. One of the co-authors (TDY) has archived more than 250 different issues. The spectrum ranges from names represented by many specimens showing numerous varieties, to rare issues only known from one, or a few, specimens. The most frequently occurring names (+ numbers) are: -

Lie Gang (72), Guang Dao (64), Sun Ji (53), Bing Lang (49), Ma Nao (47), Xian Zhu (42), Zheng He (38), Zheng Yong (35), An Dan (33), Jin Sun (28), Nam Bong (23).

The estimation of numbers is complicated by the fact that sellers offering the coins are often unsure of the correct readings and list similar coins under different names. For instance, pieces with the legend "Tong Yung" have also been offered with such readings as An Yung, Chen Yung, Chou Yue or Pao Yung.

A different collector has assembled some sixty-five different types of coins.

A representative selection of the principal issues is catalogued in this paper, amounting to over 280 coins. The coins fall naturally into a number of groups, and these are listed here.

Early phase: 1710/1722 to 1740's

1. Simple designs, mainly pictorial
2. Simple designs, commonly with a single Chinese obverse character
3. Two-character Chinese obverse inscriptions, often with small ornaments
4. Malay inscriptions, sometimes with small ornaments.
5. Simple Chinese plus Malay inscriptions
6. Identified locations. Simple Chinese, or Chinese+Malay, or Malay inscriptions, often with small ornaments

Late phase: circa 1740's until circa 1816

7. Four-character Chinese obverse inscriptions without title Gongsi
8. Chinese plus Manchu inscriptions
9. Chinese plus pseudo-Javanese inscriptions
10. Title Gongsi. Chinese inscriptions only.
11. Chinese plus Malay inscriptions.
12. Identified locations. Malay inscription names Bangka
13. Identified locations. Malay inscription names an administrative district.
14. Identified locations. Chinese and/or Malay inscriptions name a mining community
15. Dated issues of the 1770s to 1780s

Some comments and conventions

Romanisation of Chinese inscriptions

The Chinese inscriptions are Romanised in both Pinyin and Hakka. Pinyin, based on the pronunciation of characters in the Mandarin dialect, is now the official way of Romanising Chinese characters, and is the most widely understood. Hakka is the local dialect of the region now being discussed. Thus, the Hakka Romanisation is closer to the way in which the names of the various Gongsis would have been pronounced when the coins were in use.

Romanisations in the Hakka dialect follow the proposals in the China Language website (www.Chinalanguage.com).

The characters "Shan" and "Gong" show close similarities when written in seal script. We are grateful to Sergei Savosin and Sergei Shevtsov for discussing the readings.

Chinese characters that have not been read are marked "X" in the legend transcriptions. Those whose reading is doubtful are marked with a question mark; for example "Li(?)".

Malay inscriptions

The Malay inscriptions are often poorly written. However, they commonly have diacritical marks that help in reaching the correct readings. There are a number of recurring themes in the inscriptions, and some of these are discussed here.

'Alāmat. This means a mark, symbol, or emblem. The word is normally translated here as 'mark'. On some coins *'alāmat* is written in the normal Malay manner. On several other coins, it is written in a slightly contracted monogram form, with *mat* above *'alā*. Another popular rendering was as a more stylised mirror image monogram.

Jūdī. This means munificence, generosity, or money. The word can be used in a numismatic sense as coin, token, or gambling token. *Jūdī* is normally combined with '*alāmat*, in the form '*alāmat jūdī*, or *'alāmat jūd'ai*. The legend can be translated as "mark (emblem) of the money (coin, token; gambling token)".

Jūdī also occurs in combination with the coin denomination "Pitis" (pichis), as discussed below. This means "pitis money".

On a coin of Pangkal Pinang, the word *jūdī* occurs in compressed monogram form.

Pokok (Pokoq). This means base – the base of a tree, the basis of commerce, business union, or business capital. The word is sometimes used on Bangka coinage to complement the Chinese term Gongsi, referring to the mining association. In other cases *pokok* is used the wider sense of referring to any kind of business company, including a known gambling house (see above). The best translation for the use of *pokok jūdī* at Bangka is "Company Money".

Kongsī. This is the normal Malay rendering of the Chinese termGongsi (Mining Association; Mining Company).

Tana (Tanah). This means land. The word is often poorly written, and often contracted. The normal spelling "t-a-n-h" is commonly changed to show the final "h" replaced by the letter "a". The coins were, at least officially, only valid in the Gongsi for which they were issued. The word *tana* is sometimes used to express this concept, in the sense that the coin was valid within the territory of the named Gongsi.

Bangka There are several variations to the way in which Bangka is spelt. Examples noted here, and by Millies, are -

Types of mine

The large Kollong mines and the small Kulit mines have been discussed. The Malay spellings given by Millies are shown here.

Coin denominations

These are occasionally cited on the coins. Two denominations have been noted. The denomination "falūs" occurs on an issue minted for Pangkal Pinang district. The use of falus may have been derived from the Palembang 'falus' coinage dated AH 1198 (AD 1783/4). The denomination "pitis" has been observed on several coins, including an issue minted for Belinjoe district. Pitis, or pichis, was the normal term used for describing the local coinage of the region. The form 'pitis' was preferred by early Dutch writers, and the form 'pichis' occurs on some eighteenth century coins of Banten. The form 'pitis' was used on Bangka coins. On one issue, it is written, probably in error, as "*patis jūdī*".

Correlations between Chinese names and Malay names

Whereas the Chinese inscriptions commonly cite the Chinese mining community (Gongsi) for which the coins were issued, the content of the Malay inscriptions is more variable. On some coins, the Malay inscription names Bangka; thus, a named mining community (Chinese) on Bangka Island (Malay). On an intermediate group of coins, the Malay inscriptions names one of the administrative districts on Bangka Island; thus, a named mining community (Chinese) located in a named district (Malay). At the other end of the spectrum, the mining community is named in both the Chinese and the Malay inscriptions. On these coins, there is normally good phonetic correlation between the Hakka and the Malay renderings.

The clearest correlations between the Romanised names of districts recorded in the nineteenth century and the Malay names observed on coins appear on some coins with long Malay inscriptions. An example is provided by the coins of the Pangkal Pinang district. The issue minted for the PinLang (Hakka) mining community has the Malay legend "Haza falus Pangkal Pinang". In this case, the Malay form Pinang, the Hakka form PinLang and the Romanised form Pinang are probably all linguistic variants of the same name. A different issue of Pangkal Pinang bears the Hakka name PaoKim and has the Malay legend "Pokok Pangkal Pinang". In this case, PaoKim does not correlate with either Pangkal or Pinang, and probably refers to another mining community in the Pangkal Pinang district. Occasionally, the Malay legend names both the district and also a mining community within that district. An example is provided by an issue minted for a mining community named VuLuo in Hakka. The Malay legend reads "*fī tanah kongsī Lu'at bi-walain*" – "In the territory of the Gongsi of Liat at Walain". VuLuo (Hakka) and Walain (Malay) give the name of the mining community (Gongsi) and Lu'at refers to the district of Songai Liat.

Early phase

1. Tempilang (w.: Malay - Temallang)
   No Chinese
2. Lazang on Bangka (Malay)
   Sun Kim (Hakka)
3. Songai Selan
   Songai Say (Malay: Son-Ngai-Sa-Y)
   Kungsi (Hakka)
4. Pangkal Pinang
   Pangkal Pinang (Malay: 'Ang-Kal-Pang-Judi)
   No Chinese
5. Koba (se.: Malay - Kob'aa)
   No Chinese

Tempilang, in the west, was in Jebous district. The Malay form is Temallang on early coins and Tap 'a-pilang on late coins.

Lazang (Lajang) in the north-east, was in the Songai Liat administrative district.

Songai Selan (centre) and Pangkal Pinang (east) were both in the Pangkal Pinang administrative district.. Songai Selan lay a short distance south-west of Pangkal Pinang.

The early phase coins of Songai Selan and Pangkal Pinang show the rare feature of having compressed Malay legends, with their short words arranged at the four cardinal points in the manner of Chinese cash.

Koba was in the south-east of Pangkal Pinang district.

Late phase: naming Bangka in Malay

1. Bangka Kongsi (Malay)
   Tsung Li (Hakka)
   Additional issues

Late phase: naming an administrative district in Malay

Millies (1871), after Court (1821), named the seven administrative divisions on Bangka Island as: Djebous (nw.), Klabat (nw), Blinyou (Belinjoe: n.), Songai Liat (ne.), Marawang (e.), Pangkal Pinang (e.) and Toboali (centre).

1. Klabat (nw.: Malay)
   Nan Fa (Hakka)

2. Belinjoe (n.: Malay - Belenja)
   Ji Lit (Hakka)

3. Songai Liat (nw.: Malay - Lu'at)
   U Luo (Hakka)

4. Pangkal Pinang (e.: Malay)
   Pin Lan (Hakka)
   Pao Kim (Hakka)

Late phase: naming a mining community in both Chinese and Malay

In Jebous district

1. Belo (nw.: Malay)
   Ma Nao (Hakka)

2. Palangas (nw. Malay)
   Li Ch'ong Vu Ki (Hakka)

3. Tempilang (w.: Malay - Tap 'a-
   Pilang
   Tam Pi (Hakka)

In Klabat district

4. Mampang (nw.)
   Nampong (Malay)
   Nam Bong (Hakka)

5. Tengo (nw.: south of
   Mampang, west of Klabat)
   No Chinese;
   Kongsi Tengo 'alamat (Malay)

6. Antan (nw.: south of Klabat)
   Antan (Malay)
   An Tan (Hakka)

In Belinjoe district

7. Panji (n.: south-east of Belinjoe)
   No Malay; Pan I (Hakka)

In Pangkal Pinang district

8. Perhaps naming Benkuang
   Syllables transposed: Kanga Bun becoming Bun Kanga

Late phase: dated coins of the 1770s and 1780s

The coins are catalogued in their appropriate contexts.
Antan, year 1191 Bangka, year 1203 Uncertain, year 1207

Countermarks

Many coins have small countermarks, which are normally stamped on the rim. Although their purpose is not clear, it does not appear to have been random. Small countermarks are common on some issues (e.g. present on all Zhong He coins seen), but there are also issues on which countermarks have not been observed.

Catalogue

Early phase: 1710/1722 to 1740's

1. Simple designs, mainly pictorial

Birds and Crabs

1. Two stylised birds, facing to left, plus two flowers
   rev. Two stylised crabs, plus two flowers
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.07 g, ex Palembang

2. Similar
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.17 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Two birds, 'Alamat Judi

3. Two standing birds, facing to circle. Flower below
   rev. Malay: 'Alamat (reversed monogram), Judi
   Simple flower each side.
   Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.93 g, ex Palembang, Yih

4. Similar
   Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.82 g, ex Palembang

Dragon and pseudo-seal script

5. Winged dragon standing right, Three characters in pseudo-seal script below
   rev. Floral border
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih

6. Similar
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 2.71 g, ex Palembang

Dragon

7. Dragon, with head above and body curled around central hole
   rev. Dragon facing, with face and wings shown
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 3.40 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Crocodiles

8. Two crocodiles facing left, plus two geometric designs
   rev. Floral design. Uncertain lettering in margin
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 3.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Partly pseudo-western inscription on reverse rim.

Elephant and tiger

9. Elephant standing right.
   Flower and square pattern at sides.
   Pseudo inscription below.
   rev. Animal, probably a tiger, crouching right.
   Ornaments at sides
   Pseudo-inscription, partly westernised, below
   Tin alloy, square central hole, 30 mm, 3.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Flowers

10. Flower, with 8 petals displayed around central hole
    rev. Similar to obverse
    Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 5.17 g, ex Palembang, Yih

11. Two flowers. Circle in field
    rev. Plain, with normal rims
    Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.99 g, ex Palembang, Yih

12. Two flowers and small circle, similar to previous
    rev. Seal script, possibly Yang. Geometric design
    Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih

13 Similar
   Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.48 g, ex Palembang

14. Flower symbol in each quarter
    rev. Flower in two quarters, star and pellet cluster in the other quarters
    Tin alloy, square central hole, 25 mm, 2.43 gm, ex Palembang, Yih

15. Four flower-like symbols
rev. Seal script, possibly Yang. Cross design
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

16. Flower with eight petals
rev. Two pseudo-characters
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.47 gm, ex Palembang

17. Similar, and also with weak engraving of the moulds
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.44 g, ex Palembang, Yih

18. Leafy scrolls above and below central hole
rev. Stars above and below central hole
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

19. Floral spray in each quarter
rev. Plain with no rims (some see-through from obverse)
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25.1 mm, 3.01 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Geometric with flat reverse

These coins, like the preceding specimen, are exceptional for having a flat reverse. Other coins have rims around the reverse, even if there is no design on the reverse. The first two coins are heavier than most others.

20. Pattern of small geometric designs
rev. Flat reverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.82 g, ex Palembang, Yih

21. Simpler version of the same design
rev. Flat
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 5.06 g, ex Palembang, Yih

22. Crude simple geometric design in each quadrant
rev. Flat reverse, with striations
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.33 g, ex Palembang, Yih

23. Geometric pseudo-inscription around circular central hole
rev. Flat reverse with striations
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.34 g, ex Palembang, Yih

24. Simple geometric ornaments in field. Pseudo-inscription around rim
rev. Flat reverse
Tin alloy, octagonal central hole, 31 mm, 4.21 g, ex Palembang, Yih
The octagonal central hole is very unusual.

Geometric

25. Geometric pattern based on ornate square and pentagon
rev. Ellipse and triangle
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25 mm, 3.08 g, ex Palembang, Yih

26. Geometric pattern, as previous
rev. Three ellipses. Triangle with circle each side. Traces of design on right.
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.50 g, ex Palembang, Yih

27. Similar. Design on reverse right is clearly a bird
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.51 g, ex Palembang, Yih

28. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih

29. Ornate 8-pointed star
rev. Plain field with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

30. Four geometric patterns resembling Chinese script
rev. Geometric pattern
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.10 g, ex Palembang, Yih

31. Fairly disorganised geometric patterns on obverse and reverse. Countermark on lower reverse rim could read: Dar Bankah
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 2.47 g, ex Palembang, Yih

32. Two triangular designs. Two rectangular designs
rev. Cross. Rectangular design
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.74 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Geometric Plus 'Alamat

33. Geometric design on two sides of central hole
rev. (Malay) 'Alamat in reverse monogram form. Perhaps 'Alamat written in full on left.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.51 g, ex Palembang, Yih

34. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.33 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Part Two

2. Simple designs, commonly with a single Chinese obverse character

The characters are Romanised in both Pinyin and Hakka

保 *Bao*

35. (Pinyin) Bao, (Hakka) Pao. Two small crosses below
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.75 g, ex Palembang, Yih

保 *Bao (?)* + 公 *Gong*

36. (Pinyin) ?Bao (Hakka) ?Pao
rev. (Pinyin) Gong (Hakka) Kung
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

廣 *Guang*

37. (Pinyin) Guang (Hakka) Kwong
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.04 g, ex Palembang, Yih

38. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.95 g, ex Palembang

進 *Jia*

39. (Pinyin) Jia (Hakka) Tsin
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26.5 mm, 4.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih

全 *Quan + Shan*

40. (Pinyin) Quan (Hakka) Ts'ien ?
Two circles, rectangular symbol
rev. (Seal script) Shan.
Rectangular geometric symbol
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.96 g, ex Palembang, Yih

日 *Ri* + 月 *Yueh*

41. (Pinyin) Ri (Hakka) Ngit
rev. (Pinyin) Yueh (Hakka) Ngit
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26.8 mm, 3.55 g, ex Palembang, Yih

身 *Shen* + **來** *Lai*

42. (Pinyin) Shen (Hakka) Sin
rev. (Pinyin) Lai? (Hakka) Loi
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.26 g, ex Palembang, Yih

威 *Wei* + **記** *Ji*

43. (Pinyin) Wei (Hakka) Vui
rev. (Pinyin) Ji (Hakka) Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

玉 *Yu* + **財** *?Cai*

44. (Pinyin) Yu (Hakka) Ngiuk. 2 circles below
rev. (Pinyin) ?Cai (Hakka) ?Ts'oi
2 circles below
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.63 g, ex Palembang, Yih

3. Two character Chinese obverse inscriptions, often with small ornaments

保 昌 *Bao Chang*

45. (Pinyin) Bao Chang (Hakka) Pau Tsong
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.67 g, ex Palembang, Yih

兵 東 *Bing Dong* + **正 記** *Zheng Ji*

46. (Pinyin) Bing Dong (Hakka) Bing Tung
Stars above and below
rev. (Pinyin) Zheng Ji (Hakka) Chen Ki
Stars on left and right
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.72 g, ex Palembang, Yih

47. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26.2 mm, 2.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih

兵 郎 *Bing Lan*

48. (Pinyin) Bing Lan (Hakka) Pin Long
Small countermark (Pinyin) ?Shan (Hakka) ?San **山**
rev. Plain field with normal outer rim
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 29 mm, 4.93 g, ex Palembang, Yih

才 宝 *Cai Bao*

49. (Pinyin) Cai Bao (Hakka) Ts'oi Pau
rev. Plain field with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 25 mm, 3.46 g, ex Palembang, Yih

才 元 *Cai Yuan*

50. (Pinyin) Cai Yuan (Hakka) Ts'oi Ngien
possibly Zheng at bottom. Symbol at top **(正)**
rev. Plain field with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 5.50 g, ex Palembang, Yih

堆 金 *Dui Jin*

51. (Pinyin) Dui Jin (Hakka) Toi Kim
rev. Plain field with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28.7 mm, 3.86 gm, ex Palembang, Yih

方 來 *Fang Lai* + 延 *(X) Yan*

52. (Pinyin) Fang Lai (Hakka) Fong Loi
rev. (Pinyin) X Yan (Hakka) X Jen
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.17 g, ex Palembang, Yih

公 和 *Gong He* + 公 *Gong*

53. (Pinyin) Gong He (Hakka) Kung Fo
rev. (Pinyin) Gong (Hakka) Kung
Tin alloy, square outline for central hole, 27 mm, 5.50 g, ex Palembang , Yih
The central hole is closed.

公 平 *Gong Ping*

54. (Pinyin) Gong Ping (Hakka) Kung P'in
rev. Plain field with normal outer rim
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 4.08 g, ex Palembang

公 正 Gong Zheng

55. (Pinyin) Gong Zheng (Hakka) Kung Chin
rev. Plain field with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.15 g, ex Palembang, Yih

公 正 *Gong Zheng* + 合 士 *He Shi*

56. (Pinyin) Gong Zheng (Hakka) Kung Chin
rev. (Pinyin) He Shi (Hakka) Hap Su
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.18 g, ex Palembang, Yih

和 鳳 *He Feng* + 和 旬 *He(?) Xun*

57. (Pinyin) He Feng (Hakka) Fo Fung
rev. (Pinyin) He(?) Xun (Hakka) Fo Dun
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.01 g, ex Palembang, Yih

和 順 *He Shun*

58. (Pinyin) He Shun (Hakka) Fo Sun
rev. Two stars, two pairs of linked circles
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.95 g, ex Palembang, Yih

和 顺 *He Shun* + 金 记 *Kim Ki*

59. (Pinyin) He Shun (Hakka) Fo Sun
Small circle each side
rev. (Pinyin) Jin Ji (Hakka) Kim Ki
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 4.02 g, ex Palembang

合 用 *He Yong*

60. (Pinyin) He Yong (Hakka) Hap Jung
Small circle each side
rev. Two circles, two stars
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih

61. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.90 g, ex Palembang

62. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.65 g, ex Palembang, Yih

63. Similar. Has been pierced three times (? re-use as button)
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.55 g, ex Palembang, Yih

和 合 *Ho He* + 用 利 *Yong Li*

64. (Pinyin) Ho He (Hakka) Fo Hap
rev. (Pinyin) Yong Li (Hakka) Jung Li
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.61 g, ex Palembang, Yih

和 顺 *Ho Shun* + 金 记 *Jin Ji*

65. (Pinyin) Ho Shun (Hakka) Fo Sun
Small circle each side
rev. (Pinyin) Jin Ji (Hakka) Kim Ki
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 4.02 g, ex Palembang, Yih

江 山 *Jiang Shan* + 秀 色 *Xiu Se*

66. (Pinyin) Jiang Shang (Hakka) Kong San
rev. (Pinyin) Xiu Se (Hakka) Siu Set
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.96 g, ex Palembang, Yih

67. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.02 g, ex Palembang, Yih

When found, the obverse of this coin was corroded onto the obverse of a coin inscribed Xing Ning Gong Si (see below)

記 金 *Ji Jin*

68. (Pinyin) Ji Jin (Hakka) Ki Kim
Pair of linked circles above and below
rev. Geometric pattern
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih

69. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 2.95 g, ex Palembang, Yih

記 利 *Ji(?) Li*

70. Pinyin) Ji(?) Li (Hakka) Ki Li
Star below
rev. Plain with normal rims
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The character Ji is slightly corrupt, with the vertical line apparently a casting error.

金 土 *Jin Tu* + 天 宝 *Tian Bao*

71. (Pinyin) Jin Tu (Hakka) Kim T'u
rev. (Pinyin) Tian Bao (Hakka) T'ien Ngien
bottom character (Bao) is in running script
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.23 g, ex Palembang, Yih

碣 陽 *Ji Yang/Chang* + 河 婆 *He Po*

72. (Pinyin) Ji Yang/Chang (Hakka) Kim Jong
rev. (Pinyin) He Po (Hakka) Ho P'o
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.70 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Jin Shun, Shun Jin and Shun Ji

The coins bearing these Chinese inscriptions are all closely related. Thus, Shun Ji occurs as the reverse legend on coins whose obverse legends name Jin Shun and Shun Jin. The complex is attributed to Lajang (Lazang) in the Songai Liat administrative district by a Shun Jin coin whose Malay reverse legend reads "Lazang Banqah". This group of coins is discussed in the later section dealing with coins having attributed geographical locations.

力 伯 *Li Bo* + 榮(荣) 陽 *Rong Yang*

73. (Pinyin) Li Bo (Hakka) Lit Bak
rev. (Pinyin) Rong Yang (Hakka) Jung Jong
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.21 g, ex Palembang, Yih

明 記 *Ming Ji*

74. (Pinyin) Ming Ji (Hakka) Min Ki
Star above and below
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.34 g, ex Palembang, Yih

明 記 *Ming Ji* + 原 X *Yuan X*

75. (Pinyin) Ming Ji (Hakka) Min Ki
Circle on left
rev. (Pinyin) Yuan X (Hakka) Ngien X
Circle on left
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.51 g, ex Palembang, Yih

明 興 *Ming Xing*

76. (Pinyin) Ming Xing (Hakka) Min Hin
rev. Plain with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.56 g, ex Palembang, Yih

明 正 *Ming Zheng* + 明 正 *Ming(?) Zheng*

77. (Pinyin) Ming Zheng (Hakka) Min Chin
rev. (Pinyin) Ming(?) Zheng (Hakka) Min Chin
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih

平 王 *Ping Wang* + 合 用 *He Yong*

78. (Pinyin) Ping Wang (Hakka) Piang Vong
rev. (Pinyin) He Yong (Hakka) Hap Jung
Tin alloy, square central hole, 25.9 mm, 4.16 g, ex Palembang, Yih

清 面 *Qing Mien*

79. (Pinyin) Qing Mien (Hakka) Ts'in Mien
rev. Plain with normal outer rim
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

隆 日 *Ri Long*

80. (Pinyin) Ri Long (Hakka) Ngit Lung
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.11 g, ex Palembang, Yih

日 月 *Ri Yue*

81. (Pinyin) Ri Yue (Hakka) Ngit Ngiet
rev. Plain with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.92 g, ex Palembang, Yih

日 月 *Ri Yue* + X 利 *X Li*

82. (Pinyin) Ri Yue (Hakka) Ngit Ngiet
rev. (Pinyin) X Li (Hakka) X Li
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.42 g, ex Palembang, Yih

山 宝 *Shan Bao*

83. (Pinyin) Shan Bao (Hakka) San Pau
rev. Plain with normal outer rim
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.13 gm, ex Palembang, Yih

水 利 *Shui I* + 王 X *Wang X*

84. (Pinyin) Shui Li (Hakka) S'ui Li
rev. (Pinyin) Wang X (Hakka) Vong X
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 4.28 g, ex Palembang, Yih

順 利 *Shun Li*

85. (Pinyin) Shun Li (Hakka) Sun Li
rev. Plain with normal rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.37 g, ex Palembang, Yih

宋 陽 *Song(?) Yang* + 利 用 *Li Yong*

86. (Pinyin) Song(?) Yang (Hakka) Sung Jong
rev. (Pinyin) Li Yong (Hakka) Li Jung
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

太 平 *Tai Ping*

87. (Pinyin) Tai Ping (Hakka) Tai P'in
rev. Plain field with normal outer rim
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 29 mm, 4.41 g, ex Palembang, Yih

太 原 *Tai Yuan* + 合 記 *He Ji*

88. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Tai Yen
rev. (Pinyin) He Ji (Hakka) Hap Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih

太 原 *Tai Yuan* + 利 記 *Li Ji*

89. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Li Ji
rev. (Pinyin) Li Ji (Hakka) Li Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.38 g, ex Palembang, Yih

90. Similar, but pierced four times
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.31 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The piercings suggest that the coin could have been re-used as a button. Compare with a He Yong coin catalogued earlier.

太 原 *Tai Yuan* + 瑞 記 *Rui Ji*

91. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Tai Yen
rev. (Pinyin) Rui Ji (Hakka) Sui Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.25 g, ex Palembang, Yih

太 原 *Tai Yuan* + seal script

92. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Tai Yen
rev. Seal script
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.66 g, ex Palembang, Yih

太 原 *Tai Yuan* + 公 司 *Gong Si*

93. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Tai Yen
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih

This coin is catalogued with the other Tai Yuan coins, rather than with the other Gongsi issues (later section). All these Tai Yuan coins were probably used in the same gongsi.

通 用 *Thong Yong*

94. (Pinyin) Tong Yong (Hakka) T'ung Jung
Star above and below
rev. Star x2. Circle x2
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.71 g, ex Palembang, Yih

95. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.75 g, ex Palembang

96. Similar, plus several countermarks of the same simple form; one on obverse, five on reverse
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.28 g, ex Palembang, Yih

天 元 *Tian Yuan*

97. (Pinyin) Tian Yuan (Hakka) T'ien Ngien
rev. Flat, without rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih

王 木 *Wang Mu* + 夂 記 *Wen Ji*

98. (Pinyin) Wang Mu (Hakka) Vong Muk
rev. (Pinyin) Wen Ji (Hakka) Vun Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

為 利 *Wei Li* + 重 河 *?Zhong He*

99. (Pinyin) Wei Li (Hakka) Wai Li
rev. (Pinyin) Zhong? He (Hakka) Chung? Ho
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.93 g, ex Palembang, Yih

文 合 *Wen He*

100. (Pinyin) Wen He (Hakka) Vun Hap
rev. Normal rims, probably plain field
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang , Yih

西 河 *Xi He* + 明 記 *Ming Ji*

101. (Pinyin) Xi He (Hakka) Si Ho
rev. (Pinyin) Ming Ji (Hakka) Min Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.39 g, ex Palembang, Yih

春 *Xin Chun* + 乾 記 *Qian Ji*

102. (Pinyin) Xin Chun (Hakka) Sin Ch'un
rev. (Pinyin) Qian Ji (Hakka) ?Chien Ki
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.61 g, ex Palembang, Yih

新 春 *Xin Chun* + 萬 利 *Wan Li*

103. (Pinyin) Xin Chun (Hakka) Sin Ch'un
Legend above and below, instead of at sides.
rev. (Pinyin) Wan Li (Hakka) Wan Li
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.74 g, ex Palembang, Yih.

新 利 *Xin Li*

104. (Pinyin) Xin Li (Hakka) Sin Li
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.95 g, ex Palembang, Yih

105. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.34 g, ex Palembang, Yih

有 末 *You Mo*

106. (Pinyin) You Mo (Hakka) Ju Mat
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.79 g, ex Palembang, Yih

友 原 *You(?) Yuan* + 合 記 *He Ji*

107. (Pinyin) You(?) Yuan (Hakka) Ju Ngien
Small countermark on rim
rev. (Pinyin) He Ji (Hakka) Hap Hin
Small countermark on rim
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.29 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The character read as *You*(?) could be a corrupt form of *Tai* 太

元 旦 *Yuan Dan* + **大 利** *Da Li*

108. (Pinyin) Yuan Dan (Hakka) Ngien Tan
Circle on left plus on right
rev. (Pinyin) Da Li (Hakka) T'ai Li
Circle above plus below
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, ex Palembang , Yih

元 興 *Yuan Xing* + **利 增** *Li Zeng*

109. (Pinyin) Yuan Xing (Hakka) Ngien Hin
rev. (Pinyin) Li Zeng (Hakka) Li Zang
Tin alloy, square central hole, 25 mm, 3.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Zang, on the reverse, is the Cantonese pronunciation. The character could not be found in the Hakka dictionary.

則 財 *Ze Cai* + **足 道** *Zu Dao*

110. (Pinyin) Ze Cai (Hakka) Tset Ts'oi
rev. (Pinyin) Zu Dao (Hakka) Tsiuk T'o
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.74 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Cantonese equivalent of *Ze* is *Zak*.

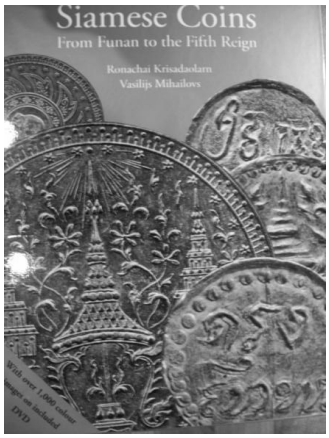
正 道 *Zheng ?Dao* + **明 公** *Ming Gong*

111. (Pinyin) Zheng Dao (Hakka) Zhang Tau/To
rev. (Pinyin) Ming Gong (Hakka) Min Kung
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Book Reviews

Siamese Coins From Funan to the Fifth Reign

By Ronachai Krisadaolarn and Vasilijs Mihailovs
Published 2012 by River Books Company, Bangkok, ISBN 978 974 9863 54 1
Hardback, slip case, A4, 272 pages, plus DVD with over 1000 colour images. Price c $US 100 or £65



The period covered by the book, not immediately obvious from the rather enigmatic title, is roughly AD 400 to the reign of Rama V (5th monarch of the Bangkok dynasty, commonly known as Chulalongkorn, 1868-1910). By this time, modern western-style flat coinage had been introduced into the country; presumably this was the reason for the termination of the account at this point. It is claimed that "this is the first ever book in English about Thai coins and the several types of money used by the various ethnic cultures that existed in this area". This is perhaps an extravagant claim; the anthology of Le May, Kneedler, Guehler and Ramsden has been available for some time, but this suffered from dreadful quality plates. Also, the coverage was more limited than this new publication, and of course the texts were written a long time ago and are now somewhat dated. Several other books have covered aspects of Thai coinage but not in as much detail. This new work is therefore a clear leader for anyone wanting an overall survey of Siamese coins up to 1910.

From a technical production point of view the book is outstanding. It is printed on glossy paper, the photographs (all in colour) are generally excellent, particularly of the silver coins, and in addition there are some first class line drawings. All details of the design are therefore made very clear. The authors have also arranged for a large number of metallurgical tests to be carried out on the objects discussed, both by the energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence technique (ED-XRF), which gives results on the surface, and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) tests, which give a bulk reading. The methods are explained on pages 256-7, and the results presented throughout the text.

Turning now to the topics covered, which need only be summarised briefly, there is a discussion on the emblems on Siamese coins, such as appear on the bullet money, an explanation of legends, following which (pages 33-62) there is a section dealing with the early period, including some coins from Burma. Here as elsewhere in the book, the plates sometimes dominate the page, the text being a caption for them. Next follows a section on lump currency in its many forms: tok money, pig mouth, flower, leaf, elongated ingots and Chiang money, with a list of stamps of the principalities issuing them. Next we have early pot duang (bullet money) before the Rattanakosin (Bangkok) period, that is from Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. Different forms of gambling tokens are then shown, in brass, glass and porcelain, followed by the bilingual, trilingual and other coins of Southern Thailand and

the Islamic tributary States. The lead and tin coins of Pegu and Tenasserim get a very brief mention on page 119. Finally we move on to the bullet coinage of the Bangkok dynasty, leading on to counterstamped Latin American coins and the introduction of flat western style Siamese coins around 1860. Throughout the book counterfeits and fantasies are also discussed.

An extensive Appendix section includes various documents from the Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods concerning money and trade, such as Royal Proclamations, accounts by visiting Europeans etc. Where relevant, both the Thai original and English translation are shown. These are most interesting and more numerous than those given by Le May.

Throughout the text references to other works, where readers can find more detail, are given as footnotes, repeated in full each time they occur. There is no collated bibliography. This is unfortunate as it is hard to get a quick overview of what work has been done. If a second edition is ever planned it would be desirable to increase the number of references, including also those in Thai, and compile a bibliography.

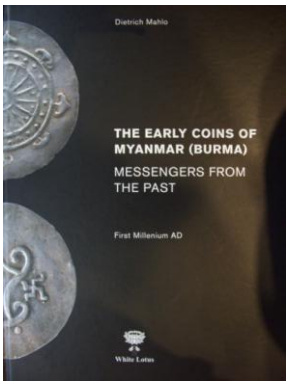
With the book you also get a DVD with over 1000 colour images. The files cover various topics, some of which are not mentioned in the text (such as Cambodia), and in a few cases results of assays are also given. However, the information provided is very limited, sometimes just the weight. For the more obscure pieces the DVD files will, therefore, be most useful for those already having a good knowledge of the particular area.

From the above it is clear that the book is essential reading for anyone with an interest in Thai coins, and there is much that is new. Its main strengths are the number and quality of the illustrations, the mass of data on metal composition, and the appendix documents on money matters. As always, buyers should consult various sellers, including Amazon, before purchasing, checking on postal charges (the book weighs 1.8 kg).

Michael Robinson

The Early Coins of Myanmar (Burma), Messengers from the Past

By Dietrich Mahlo; published November 2012 by White Lotus Company, Bangkok, ISBN 978-974-480-191-3
Hardback, A4, 192 pages including 16 Plates (mostly colour), c750 photos of coins, Price c $US 50



The author has had an interest in Burmese numismatics spanning nearly fifty years, starting with a four year posting in Rangoon with the German Diplomatic Service in the nineteen sixties. Since then he has made many visits to Burma, enabling him to keep track of coin finds soon after they occur. This book deals with the symbolic coins of the Pyu and Mon, and the Chandras of Arakan, the latter having the name of the King. The book layout consists of nine sections, each dealing with a particular type (rising sun, bhadrapitha etc), the sections having a catalogue of coins followed by a full discussion. Black and white photographs of the coins (generally of good quality) are included within the catalogue, supplemented where necessary by line drawings. These discussions are brought together in a Results section given in both English and German. Supplement 1 consists of a metallurgical analysis done by Dr Andrea Denker using Proton induced X-ray emission of 51 coins, showing a high silver content of over 98%. This agrees with results published by myself and A M Pollard in the Spink Num. Circ. of October/November 1983. Supplement 2 is the translation by Gordon Luce of parts of the Tang Chronicles. In the Appendices are miscellaneous items including foreign coins found in Burma. The book ends with a fairly comprehensive bibliography, and 16 plates including a map of find spots, further coins (in colour), archaeological sites and other objects of interest.

The text of the book has been translated from the German into English by Karen Margolis, and reads very well. The only error worth mentioning is that the gold/silver alloy electrum is consistently called electron. The problem for anyone studying the first millennium coins of Burma is that it is very difficult to sort out the chronology. There are virtually no contemporary records, just a few Chinese sources of limited value. Hence writers differ by 100 years and more over the dates (see page 56). Information on find spots (for both Burmese and foreign coins) is therefore of great importance and the book is excellent in this respect. A hoard of about 250-300 Islamic silver coins was found in Sri Kshetra and four of them are shown in App.29. According to Dr Steffan Heidemann they are from Wasit (Iraq) AH 97, Basra AH 133 and 146, and Balkh (Transoxania) AH 194 (AD 809-10). A group of forty coins from this hoard (shown on Plate 5) is being studied by Joe Cribb and one hopes the full results will be published later. The mints include Iraq, Iran, Morocco, Al-Andalus and Samarqand. So far it would appear that this hoard was deposited just before the sacking of Sri Kshetra in 832 (according to Chinese sources). Other coins shown in App.4 are 5th century Roman and Indian, and others, which also could be helpful.

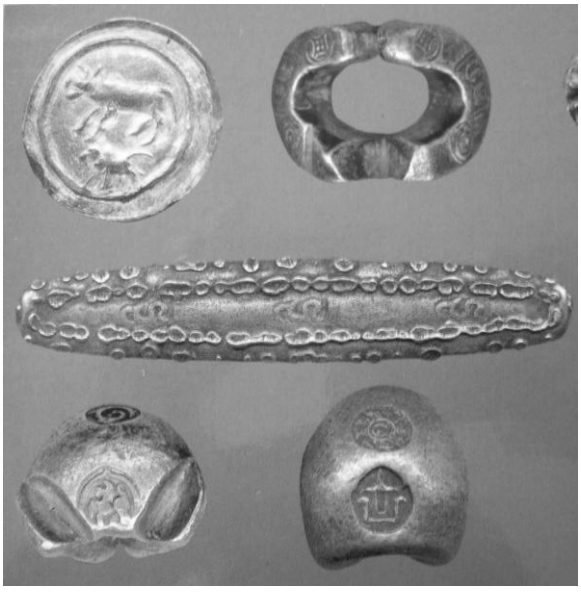
With the Chandra coins we have the Anandachandra stone pillar listing of the kings in chronological order, some of which appear on the coins in Brahmi script, but there is still uncertainty about the absolute dating. The book lists known types but it would have been helpful to explain the Brahmi letters on the coins to enable collectors to identify them. Also the coin mentioned on page 87, with the Sula Maha Raja legend and thought by Aung San to date from the 10th century AD, is in fact from Chittagong, of Sultan Hilal Shah, and dated to around AD 1598 (see my chapter in Goron and Goenka *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p273, coin CG5).

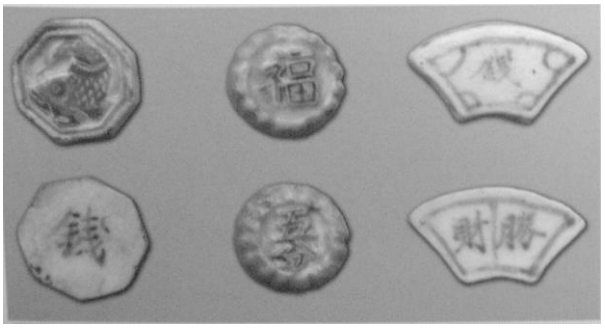
There could perhaps have been a little more discussion on the weight standards used for the various series. It is stated on page 18 that the full unit is generally around 9 g, with around 7.5 g for Arakan and 11 g for Sri Kshetra. Some explanation for this difference would have been of interest, possibly in terms of rattis as done by Mitchiner in *The History and Coinage of South East Asia until the Fifteenth Century*, page 47.

In conclusion, the book will be essential reading for all collectors and historians of early Burma and neighbouring countries, and can be warmly recommended. Buyers should consult the website of White Lotus and also one for the book itself (www.earlycoinsofmyanmar.com) as well as any other sellers, remembering to factor in the cost of postage appropriate for their country.

Michael Robinson

There follow some images from these books.





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Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, UK.