

ONS



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ONS NEWS

Obituary: Lewis Arthur Shaw 1921 - 2013



It is with great regret that I have to report the death of Lewis Shaw, one of the founder members of the ONS and co-author with me of *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma*. He had become increasingly frail over the last year or so and died on 9 September 2013 aged 92. Lewis was born on 2 May 1921 in North Woolwich, London, the son of Fred and Mabel Shaw. Fred had been a soldier in the 1914-18 war and spent his life at Woolwich Arsenal. Mabel sang

with the BBC choir.

After attending Shooters Hill School, Plumstead, Lewis read Mechanical Engineering at Kings College, London University. This was during the war and the college was evacuated to Bristol, a common practice with London colleges. From 1944-47 he served as an Infantry Workshops Officer with the 17th Indian Division in Burma. It was during this time that he began his interest in Burmese history and culture, and he maintained contact for many years with one of the families he met there. Back in England he worked as a mechanical engineer for ICI for thirty years.

In 1975 I was beginning my study of Burmese coins and had contacted John Okell, then on the staff of the Burma Dept at SOAS, concerning the inscriptions on the kyat coins of Mindon. He dealt with my query and suggested I write to Lewis Shaw, a fellow member with him of the Britain Burma Society and known to be interested in Burmese coins. This I did and over the next few years we both published short papers on Burmese coins. At the end of 1978, just before I was due to go on holiday to Burma and neighbouring countries, I visited him at his home in Welwyn Garden City. We discussed the idea of doing a book on Burmese currency as none was available, nothing of substance having been written since Temple in the nineteen twenties. It was agreed to go ahead and after a hectic two years, and working to a tight schedule, our book was published privately by us in December 1980.

We continued to correspond and in 1984 joined forces again to produce a short booklet *The Die Varieties of Nineteenth Century Burmese Copper Coins*. This dealt with the quarter annas of Mindon and Thibaw, the varieties of which were, and still are today, very inadequately described in the general catalogues of world coins.

Lewis was a member of the Burma Star Association and whilst at Welwyn was secretary of the St Albans and Herts Numismatic

Society, helping to organise their coin fairs for five years in the nineteen seventies. When he retired in the early eighties he and his wife Joyce moved to Poole in Dorset, where he remained for the rest of his life. He joined the Wessex Numismatic Society and continued his interest in Burmese affairs, but the coin side became less important and he disposed of his collection. The bulk of it was auctioned by Dix Noonan Webb several years ago. His main interest in Poole, apart from his family, was Probus (Professional and Business Men's lunch club), and he was secretary of the Poole branch for ten years.

In 1996 Lewis was able to make a nostalgic return trip to Burma with Joyce, travelling along the Irrawaddy river and visiting riverside villages by horse and cart, and bullock. I met him again on a few occasions, one of which was in 1992 when he and Joyce kindly put me up whilst I attended the BANS Congress held at nearby Bournemouth. I always found him very friendly, easy-going and totally unflappable, which made our collaboration so enjoyable.

He is survived by his wife Joyce (to whom I am indebted for the photograph and some of the biographical information), daughter Alison, sons Christopher and Michael, six grandchildren and one great-granddaughter, to all of whom we send our condolences.

Michael Robinson

Meetings

Report on the ONS Meeting in Bremen, 23 November 2013

The meeting was organised by Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen University) and Christian Bruennlein (Bremen Numismatic Society) under the patronage of the ONS (Oriental Numismatic Society). The event was hosted by the Bremen Numismatic Society which had rented the conference room of the Bremen-West district office in the Walle-Center for the purpose. The rooms were comfortable and the location convenient. The necessary equipment was available and, thanks to the generous sponsorship of Mrs Heitkötter, there were beverages in abundance for everybody.

By approximately 11 o'clock more than twenty participants had arrived and had a chance to welcome and to get to know each other. In a pleasant atmosphere new acquisitions and literature were shown and coins exchanged.

At 11.30, Christian Bruennlein opened the official part of the meeting, introducing the participants and shortly afterward the presentation of papers began.

Huda Subeh from Syria, a candidate for a doctor's degree at Hamburg University, presented a paper on the coinage of Antiochia during the time of the Amirs al-Umarā from AH 324 / AD 936 to AH 334 / AD 946. The lecture featured many examples and an extensive historical background. During the next 45 minutes Dr Lutz Ilisch of the Research Department for Islamic Numismatics of the University of Tübingen presented a paper on the hoard of

Drewelow, in the district of Greifswald-Vorpommern, from the year 2012 and explained how the difficult identification of coin fragments was achieved using the knowledge of whole coins in numismatic literature.



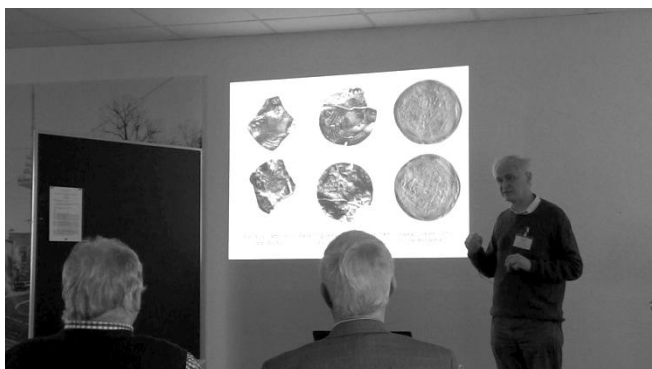
Participants listening eagerly to one of the talks



Huda Subeh giving her talk on coins of Antiochia

After a fairly lengthy break for lunch, the afternoon session began with a paper by Ernst Günther Weber of Bremen “Jerba - A hitherto unknown mint for Abbasid Coins”, followed by a lively discussion. Christian Bruennlein, also from Bremen, contributed to the meeting with a lecture “A copper dirham of al-Jazīra, Iraq” only at the end of which he revealed the secret of this unpublished coin. In the course of his research he had also discovered some misreadings of coins of the Ayyūbid ruler, al-Ashraf. A publication on this subject would be produced within the near future.

After a coffee break, the third part of the meeting began with the presentation of and discussion on some special and some unidentified coins brought along by some of the participants. This was carried out under the guidance of Dr Lutz Ilisch, who had brought along a USB microscope.



Dr Lutz Ilisch explaining the difficulties involved in identifying coin fragments

The third and last session of lectures began with a contribution by Dr Robert Lehmann of the Institute of Anorganic Chemistry of the University of Hanover with the title: “Aspects of oriental silver

coins - a metallurgical voyage from the dies to the coin”. By means of some examples the lecture demonstrated the potential that present-day archeometry had for answering historical questions or for the identification of counterfeits. This was of great interest to the whole audience. Concluding the meeting, the collector, Rolf Ehlert, presented “Ottoman Dobra coinage in the Maghrib”. After a short introduction and explanation of the term Dobra, dinars from AH 941 to 1012 and their history and characteristics were shown. In the near future a book by Mr Ehlert will be published under the title “Das Umlaufgeld im Osmanischen Reich”, Volume I, from the beginnings to Selim I.

All the lectures aroused the interest of the audience and some of the subjects led to interesting discussions. After a summary by D. Ilisch and Mr Bruennlein some of the participants drove to an Italian restaurant for a convivial supper. There, the numismatic talks were continued while enjoying a glass of wine and a delicious meal. Many thanks again to all who contributed to the success of this meeting and who took part in it.

Heiko Ströhmann and Christian Bruennlein

London: ONS Study Day November 2013

A study day was held at the British Museum on 9 November. It was opened to the general public as the event coincided with Asian Art Week in London and was well attended by both regular members and visitors attending the general London events. There were five speakers over the day.

Frances Simmons spoke about “The Art of Medals: Japanese Studies” in which she introduced Japanese adaptations of this European form.



Medal by Keiichi Uryu

The second talk was by Simon Glenn on “Special Issues: the 'pedigree' coins of Agathocles and Antimachus of Bactria” in which he presented results from his ongoing study of Bactrian Greek kings, focusing on the two kings, Agathocles and Antimachus, who issued coins depicting their predecessors in the region. The results suggested that previous studies of these coins have greatly simplified them and that the way in which these portraits of predecessors were used was quite variable.

After lunch, Paul Bevan spoke about “The Guizhou dollar”. He talked about Sun-yat Sen and his correspondence with Henry Ford and the road building programme in Guizhou province and related them to this unusual numismatic object.



The ‘Guizhou’ Dollar

Robert Bracey then gave a talk “Whence the muse? The engraving of coins and wider artistic trends in NW India” on the problem of how to understand the iconography of Indian coins.

The last talk was by François Joyaux on “The trade coins of Quanzhou”. This followed on from publications in JONS about small copies of Chinese coins at Palembang. He suggested these were a special category of Chinese trade coins.

The audience were given the opportunity to ask questions of the various speakers and to discuss the presentations over tea and coffee at the end of the day. Some of the talks were recorded and will be made available via the Money and Medals network for members who could not attend in spring 2014.

New York

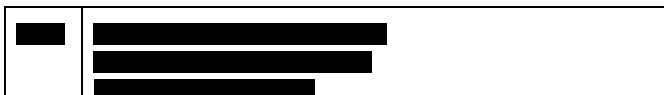
The Winter 2014 meeting of the North American branch of the Society was held on 11 January at the New York International Numismatic Convention and was well attended. After announcements, three excellent papers on diverse topics were presented.

Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University) presented “Drachms of the Rutbils of Zabulistan?” which examined a number of drachms of Arab-Sasanian type with inscriptions or countermarks that could potentially be attributed to the Rutbils of the Zabulistan region of Afghanistan. Pankaj Tandon (Boston University) spoke on “Who Was Prakasaditya?”, where he presented epigraphic and stylistic evidence that coinage attributed to the Gupta ruler, Prakasaditya, could in fact belong to the Hunnic ruler Toramana. Arianna D’Ottone (Sapienza University of Rome) recounted the history of a major collection of Islamic coins formed by the 19th-century Italian architect, Ludovico Stanzani, in her paper “Oriental Coins in the Capitoline Museums. Further Researches on Stanzani Collection History”.

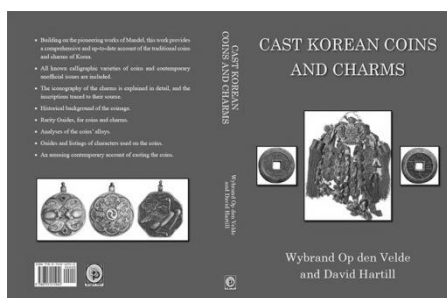
A roundtable discussion on “What tools or areas of the Internet are best suited to assist in numismatic research?” was held at dinner following the meeting.

New Members

UK Region



New and Recent Publications



Cast Korean Coins and Charms by Wybrand Op den Velde & David Hartill, ISBN13: 9780755215942, available as hard copy or e-book available from the Authors Online website:

<http://www.authorsonline.co.uk/bookshop.php?act=search&q=cast+korean>

Price £25 (hardback) or £3.59 (e-book).

“Building on the pioneering works of Mandel, this work provides a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the traditional coins and charms of Korea. All known calligraphic varieties of coins and contemporary unofficial issues are included. The iconography of the charms is explained in detail, and the inscriptions traced to their source. The historical background of the coinage is discussed. There are rarity guides, for coins and charms, analyses of the

coins’ alloys as well as guides and listings of characters used on the coins. There is also an amusing contemporary account of casting the coins.”

A Catalog of Georgian Coins by Kirk Bennett. Hard cover, pp 341, many illustrations. Price US\$ 79 plus postage from Steve Album Rare Coins orders@stevealbum.com

Oliver D.Hoover **Handbook of Coins of Baktria and Ancient India, Including Sogdiana, Margiana, Areia, and the Indo-Greek, Indo-Skythian, and Native Indian States South of the Hindu Kush: Fifth Century BC to First Century AD**, Vol. 12 of The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series, Classical Numismatic Group (London) 2013 ISBN 978-0-9898254-5-0 Price: \$65

Other News

The 4th Simone Assemani Symposium on Islamic Coinage will take place in Trieste, 26-27 September 2014.

The theme of the symposium will be the *Beginning of Islamic Numismatics in Europe*. Themes of research linked to this topic can be:

- 1) The activity of seventeenth- to nineteenth-century scholars involved in Islamic numismatic studies and the reasons for their involvement;
- 2) The exchange of letters between scholars of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries;
- 3) The significance and reliability of the first contributions;
- 4) The early publications of Islamic coin descriptions, and their drawings: linguistic and graphic matters and solutions;
- 5) Seventeenth- to nineteenth-century collections & collectors;
- 6) Islamic numismatics and its place within Oriental studies;
- 7) Polemics and disputes (e.g. “The Abate Giuseppe Vella Case”);
- 8) Ancient finds.

In addition, a session will be dedicated to general contributions (such as new finds, new attributions, static studies, manuscripts, coins, etc.), the nature of which must be in accordance with the general purpose of these meetings: the exchange of knowledge on numismatic subjects.

Presentations can be in English, French, German or Italian, and they must not exceed 30 minutes. The Proceedings, edited by the conveners, will be published within one year from the Symposium in a volume as well as in digital format (you can easily find on OPENSTARTS the previous volumes of Proceedings). For more information please contact the conveners, Bruno Callegher & Arianna D’Ottone at:

[Redacted contact information]

Book Review

Indian Medals, Tokens, Pictorial Plaques and Pendants, Circa 1800-2010: The Rise of Modern India Reflected in Iconography; an Insight into Indian Culture from Mainstream Traditions to the Tribal Art of Rural India

Michael Mitchiner, Hawkins Publications, 2012, ISBN 978 - 0 - 904173 - 30 - 7, 944 pages including index, profusely illustrated with c. 2600 objects

The numismatic world has known Michael Mitchiner for a few decades for his enormous and incessant scholarship which has left a trail of monumental works. In the past he has authored compendia on Oriental coins – from the generic ones on *Oriental Coins and Their Values*, to the more specific ones such as the nine-volume series on Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinage, the two volume study of coins of Southern India, and a similar one of ‘trade and early coinages’, and a series of monographs such as those on the origins of coinage in India, and coinages of Bengal and Arakan further east. The latest book, reviewed here, comes as a second visitation on the subject of Indian tokens, medals and charms – but this one more copious than his previous work on the

subject and also attempting an 'iconographical study' of Indian history and culture through these small and largely insignificant, mass produced objects.

The author has laid out his classificatory approach in the opening pages of the book (p. 3-10). In a chronologically progressive manner, the book is divided into four major 'compartments', viz. "Some series of medals popular during the nineteenth century", "Medals, Tolas, Tokens and other items mainly made between 1858 – 1947", "India from 1947 to the present day", and "Cultural Concepts in Rural India: Iconographic plaques and neck pendants from the Maratha period to the present day". Within the broad ambit of these compartments, reflected in the arrangement of the catalogue as 'parts', a huge amount of data is then presented dividing and subdividing the sections further, depending upon the number of objects listed and classified. The 'part' pertaining to "India from 1947 to the Present Day" has been further subdivided into two (1947-1960's and 1960's to the 'Present') – thus even when the book outlines four chronological compartments, the corresponding number of 'parts' has ended up being five.

In the first two sections of the first 'part', the author lists and discusses 'temple tokens' and 'coin-like charms'. This is not the first time these objects have appeared in the numismatic literature – Roma Niyogi's *Money of the People* and Dr Mitchiner's own work, on Indian tokens has preceded it. But this is quite certainly a very extensive listing of these interesting cultural objects from different parts of the subcontinent. The temple tokens are arranged by religions such as Hindu, Sikh, Zoroastrianism, Islam and Christianity and within a broad religion like Hinduism, by various icons they depict. They are also classified by region. The third and fourth sections of the first 'part' list 'jewellers' medals with forms influenced by the East India Company's Murshidabad coinage' and 'Putlis: jewellers' medals with forms influenced by Venetian ducats'. Of particular interest amongst those listed here would be the 'Murshidabad' copies bearing names of various jeweller firms, classified by the 'pseudo-mintnames' they bear, and the 'John Cookes' imitations of Ducats, made in late 19th century London to attend to the needs of various 'coin-charm'-based ornaments being made in India.

Parts two, three and four constitute by far the largest 'chunk' of the objects that the book describes – covering 'Medals, Tolas, Tokens and other items' from 1858 to 1947 and 'India's medals and tokens' of the post-independence period, divided into 1947-1960's and 1960's to the Present (2010). They collectively take up nearly five hundred pages! Listed there are a plethora of numismatic (and some non-numismatic) objects ranging from medals, including British Indian and Princely States commemorative medals, title badges, servants' cap, belt and shoulder badges and buckles, objects associated with public services like railways and road transport, stamped bullion, private currency tokens and 'cash coupons', and numismatic memorabilia of the Indian National Movement. The part dealing with 'modern' India lists hundreds of privately issued medals and medallions which are arranged in a loosely 'iconographic' manner – once again tracing religious trajectories on the lines of Hindu, Islamic and Jain festivals, consecration ceremonies, visitations or discourses and sermons given by various members of the clergy associated with these religions etc. Also included are secular objects such as 'vocation badges' for nurses, sports memorabilia and monetary tokens used by textile mill-workers. Particularly interesting is section 8 of 'part 3' which deals with 'The (Indian) Independence Movement and its Numismatic Impact'. But as the parts are divided chronologically with the year of independence (1947) being one of the markers, medals and memorabilia related to the culmination of the movement itself are listed in the first section of the next part. Sections 5, 6 and 7 of part 4 list scores of 'non-personal medals', employed in gift-giving and ritual exchange. These are further subdivided as per particular god and goddesses, cults and cultic centres, modern god-men and spiritualists, and popular 'revivalist' movements. Some are also listed in terms of the occasion which precipitated their function, such as festivals (particularly Diwali) or occasions such as

childbirth. Section 8 of part 4 lists medals of a similar sort, but 'personalised' with a reference to either the event (birth/death/wedding anniversaries, religious initiations, fasts or penances, pilgrimages etc), or the persons/families. As the practice of distributing such mementos is particularly prevalent amongst the mercantile classes of Western India, the majority of which is Jain, a great proportion of these medals refer to Jainism in one way or another.

From part 5, the book turns a decidedly non-numismatic corner and lists "India's iconographic plaques and pendants from the Maratha period to the present day". Most of these are ritual objects, much like some of the medallions listed in previous parts but they differ in manufacturing technique, many being made by embossing on metallic foils which results in a 'repoussé' appearance. The technique is no doubt used in the manufacture of coins – though rarely in India where we have a small group of Gupta-Vakataka period gold coins from Central India and the Arakan coinage comprising 'Harikela' and related types – but just because the objects share the manufacturing technique with coins, they need not be included in the subject of 'Numismatics'! The first three sections of part 5 are descriptive and they pertain to a 'General Introduction', 'Local Aspects of Religion illustrated mainly by sites of Pilgrimage', and 'Concepts in Village Life'. These sections offer an interesting anthropological insight into shrines, cultic practices and iconography. The 'General Introduction' gives a broad geographical overview of the pendants and plaques; there is an attempt at attributing or mapping small differences in manufacturing techniques and the resultant change of appearance of the objects over the geographical distribution of these objects. It thus produces an insight into the 'cultural geography' of the objects. The areas discussed are Southern Deccan, Maharashtra, Gujarat-Rajasthan, Western and Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal and Southern India. The second section describes various pilgrimage circuits in the Deccan, Rajasthan and Gujarat and plaques/pendants that have a provenance around cultic shrines which form part of the pilgrimage networks. 'Concepts in Village Life' deals with cultic practices in locales of rural habitation and a host of 'guardian' or 'protector' deities, propitiatory icons like spirits or 'Heroes' and commemorative rituals like those constructed around memorial stele. It also deals with more mainstream cults like that of Shiva or Hanuman, which flourish in the same environments and often appear to subsume other minor or 'lowly' cults. It is followed by a description of community-based worship constructs, which centre on specific and lesser known 'folk' deities such as Vijva Mata, worshipped by the Mina of Rajasthan, or 'Wagh Deo' ('Tiger God') of the Bhils of the Satpuda ranges.

The following sections present a catalogue of a number of plaques made and sold in various temple complexes and cult centres from regions described above. Most of these are small repoussé objects, made of rectangular, pentagonal or circular pieces of a cheap metal upon which a popular or 'folk' version of the icon is embossed and cased in a copper backing which folds on the edges of the metal piece. Provenance information for each object is provided and it is apparent that a lot of them are procured from centres of ritual importance like Nasik or Trimbakeshwar where there would be a 'captive market' of pilgrims and other devotees for them. Further sections deal with uncased objects of a similar kind, the main function of which is to be worn on the body, the proximity of the icon helping the wearer to receive its 'protective' or in other ways 'divine' power. From here the contents go on to embrace jewellery – necklaces, cummerbunds, armbands, with jewellery components like spacers and tassels also being also included. Even the infrequently met traditional forms of decoration – like parrots and peacocks, or foliate motifs – are explained with a cultic slant on them amounting to a cultural 'decoding' of why and how they have been employed. In the last section, which deals with South India, votive bracteates (objects which are often 'offered' to particular deities for the grant of specific favours) are included with other generic pendants and plaque.

At the very end of the book there is an appendix on 'Introduction to Hundis' or paper bills of money transfer, taking their cue from the fact that these instruments were precursors to the storage and transfer of wealth in the form of stamped bullion. The concluding pages have charts of various Indian scripts and a very thorough bibliography.

The main strength of the book is the massive amount of data it includes and the vast variety of objects it illustrates. In true Mitchener style, each object gets a number which indeed increases the utility of the book for collectors. However, the tome suffers

from two major drawbacks. The first concerns its authorship and the second is perhaps more paradigmatic. At various instances the author exhibits his inability to grasp various aspects about the objects he lists. The first of this is more technical, like reading the inscriptions. The book has many mistakes in reading and transcription and some of them have also resulted in an erroneous interpretation of the entire object and/or the aspect of it which is being described. The following table should be indicative of mistakes committed in reading Persian inscriptions on one of the most interesting listings of the book, the 'Murshidabad Tokens'. The numbers refer to the catalogue numbers.

Number	Mitchiner readings	Corrected versions
210	Ghulam Rashul	Ghulam Rasool غلام رسول
255	Mohammed Khan Ghana'at Ali	Muhammad Khan 'Inayat 'Ali محمد خان عنایت علی
256	Mohammed Rafiq Ali Mohammed	Muhammad Raf'i 'Ali Muhammad محمد رفیع علی محمد
258	Mohammed Titr Bashir Mohammed	Muhammad Nazeer Basheer Muhammad محمد نظیر بشیر محمد
259-261	Mohammed Titr Ali Mohammed	Muhammad Nazeer 'Ali Muhammad محمد نظیر علی محمد
267	Galatah Bad	Badshah Jagatiya باد شاه جگتیه (a veiled reference to the Mughals as 'Chaghatayid')
272	Hamet Ali Ghunna Jameel	Hashmat 'Ali حشمت علی Gehna Jameel گہنا جمیل
274-275	Ali Ahmed Lambada	Engraver has omitted عا of عالم in the truncated legend عالم باد شاه, hence the confusion
278	Gh. Bakhsh	Nabi Bakhsh نبی بخش
287	Nur Mohammed Khadakansh	Noor Muhammad Khudabakhsh نور محمد خدا بخش
290-291	Rabi Ayam Din	Rabi'a Imam Deen ربی امام دین
293	Dokan Balu (and uncertain)	Dukan Babu Lakhmi Chandi دوکان بابو لکھمی چاندی
294	Bamalikand Nasidhar	Balmukund Bansidhar بالمکند بنسی دھر
295-298	Gangadhar Rashukal	The name should be 'Gangadhar Shukla' but one extra 'R' is engraved, hence the confusion
299	Kishuri Lal Jati	Kishorilal Jaini کشوری لال جینی
313	Sir Mohammed	Sher Muhammad شیر محمد
314	An alternative for the word 'Wagahirah' و غیرہ is proposed as 'Wa'Anirah'	There is no need for the alternative nor for the interpretation based on the alternative reading.
316	sidat	Sadr صدر
330	Rasbasher Ahmed	Rasheed Ahmed رشید احمد
331-332	Ahmed Makhsh	Ahmed Bakhsh احمد بخش
336	Suraj Singh	Yuvraj Singh یوراج سنگ

340	Galazar Mohammed Walad Mohammed	Gulzar Muhammad Dular Muhammad گلزار محمد دلار محمد
343	Mah Mohammed	Fateh Muhammad فتح محمد
345	Manqush	ba-naqoosh بنقوش ('by the design of')
346	Masri Alam Rasul	Manshari Ghulam Rasool منشری غلام رسول
348	Janak L Bahanah	Chungilal Baijnath (but 'La' is omitted) جنگی لال بیجناتھ
352	Issuer not identified on obv 'Hazaribag' (on rev)	Ghulan Rasheed غلام رشید Badly engraved 'Rejistri Bad' رجسٹری باد
355	Lallah Maharaj Maljani	Lala Maharajmal Jaini لاله مہاراجمل جینی
356	Banulal	Shivlal شولال
357-358	Zadgar Qasim	zar giraftam زر گرفتم (= 'I got Gold')
361	Lallah Bihnathat Walsh	Lala Baijnath Waish لاله بیجناتھ ویش
362	Babi Wald Shir Kishan	Baqi Wald Peer Bakhsh باقی ولد پیر بخش
365	Sayah afza sardar do sikka madinat al abrar	(ba)-sayah afzal kardar-i-do 'alam al-abrar ["in the shadow of the supreme creator, the righteous, of both Worlds" – the word after this is uncertain, it can be read as <i>merath</i> , <i>madina</i> , or <i>darya</i> on three coins illustrated] سایہ افضل کردار دو عالم الابرار
373	Gobardhan Chuhemal	Gobardhan Joharmal گوبردھن جوہرمل
378	Lallah Maharajmal Hani	Lala Maharajmal Jaini لاله مہاراجمل جینی
379-380	Daraj Mohammed	Riwaj Muhammad رواج محمد
381-382	Abr al Karnagh	'Abdul Kareem عبد الکریم
383	Alam Ali	Ghulam 'Ali غلام علی
384	Bankurah (identified as a place-name)	zarb ba-nuqrah ضرب بنقرہ ("struck on silver")
385	Lallah Bihnathat Walsh	Lala Baijnath Waish لاله بیجناتھ ویش
386	Mohanalal Guruhandas	Kanhaiyalal Gordhandas (written erroneously as 'Khaniyalal') کھنیالال گوردھن داس
387-388	Lallah Bihnathat Manalal	Lala Baijnath Munnalal لاله بیجناتھ منالال
389	Panch Nathar Benarapath	Baij Nath بیج ناتھ followed by a word which can be read in many different ways
392	Zewar min Shuraj Sikka	Zewar Jameel Shivraj Singh زیور جمیل شیوراج سنگھ
394	Obv: Fazl Rabi Qan'e Rev: Jagani Mal Bakhtbattah	fazl rahe qaim فصل ربی قائم ("(may) the grace (be) perpetual") چنگی مل / جنگلی مل بیجناتھ Chungimal/Jangimal Baijnath
395	Ramjad A S Shaviram	Ramchandas Shadiram رامچنداس شادیرام
396	Gurus Das Jagil Bar Garh Tarr Rozgarh	Gurmandas Jagan (badly engraved) / Baragazidah Rozgar گورمن داس جگن / برگزیدہ روزگار
398	Mathan Lal Jidyal	Mitthan Lal Jandyal مٹھن لال چندیال

Articles

METROLOGICAL ASPECTS IN RECONSIDERING THE DATE OF THE FIRST AKSUMITE COINS UNDER KING ENDYBIS (AS FROM c. AD 295)¹

By Wolfgang Hahn

This list is sufficient to give an idea of how the readings of several legends have been missed. This is not confined to the reading of Persian inscriptions alone, a good number of readings in other Indian scripts such as Nagari or Gujarati have also been wrongly read. In some instances, this has led to very curious interpretations on the author's part. For example, a needless reworking of the word 'Waghairah' (legend no. 314 shown in the table above) as 'wa'Anirah' has led to the comment that this otherwise illegible word might have been a rendering of the English word 'Anywhere'! On page 212, the legend on object number 615 is inscribed in Devanagari as 'दी जोधपुर सराफा एसोसियेशन लिमिटेड' – this is a transliteration of 'The

Jodhpur Sarafa Association Limited', however the 'दी' at the beginning which represents the definite article 'The', has been taken to mean a shortened form, with a comment 'Di, at the start of the legend, may stand for 'Diwan', the building or establishment of the Jodhpur Sarafa Association', with even the meaning of the word 'Diwan' completely confounded! One would have imagined a 'review' by a native speaker or an enlightened reader of these languages might have eliminated many such extremely basic errors.

The paradigmatic shortcoming is of a somewhat larger magnitude – what is the purpose of this compendium? Is it primarily a 'catalogue of assorted objects', bound loosely through classificatory and/or historical tropes, or does it claim to be more than that, as evident in its subtitle, "The rise of modern India reflected in iconography: an insight into Indian culture from mainstream traditions to the tribal art of rural India"? As a catalogue of multifarious objects, loosely bound through a chronology and/or historicity, the book is excellent, even though the inclusion of some sorts of objects (like railway tickets) might be tenuous even considering the wide numismatic spectrum the book attempts to cover. As a manual to track the "rise of modern India", however, it falls magnificently short – primarily because the author really does not engage with a narrative of tracking such a phenomenon, apart from reproducing descriptions and contexts (sometimes either irrelevant or erroneous or both) which leaves a discussion of such a major historical sort quite 'limp' in its articulation. The explanatory texts provided before the religious, ornamental or ritual sort of metallic objects are listed serve as a good example of this. The entire section is profusely illustrated but the text immediately gives an impression that the author has not gone really beyond the descriptions of gods, goddesses and their ethno-religious context in the manner of a 19th century documenter!

In spite of these shortcomings the book is a monumental endeavour – of the kind only Michael Mitchiner can produce. He can only deserve our appreciation and admiration for his latest tome which is yet another benchmark in a long range of typically Mitchiner-esque publications.

Errata

Towards the end of my review of Dietrich Mahlo's book *The Early Coins of Myanmar (Burma)*, Messengers from the Past, which appeared in ONS Journal 217, I inadvertently wrote Aung San when it should have read San Tha Aung, specifically his book *Akanese Coins*. There are in fact several other errors in San Tha Aung's readings of the bi-lingual and tri-lingual coins and this section of his book is probably best ignored.

Michael Robinson

In JONS 217 the Arabic inscriptions relating to the dirham of Tokharistan (page 8) unfortunately became somewhat garbled. A corrected version of the inscriptions will be included in JONS 219.



Endybis gold coin (enlarged)



Endybis silver coin (enlarged)

There is general consent that the sequence of Aksumite kings who issued coins starts with Endybis²; the evidence of the developing coin typology is obvious. But diverging opinions as to when he reigned or when he introduced his coinage are still being advocated.

Endybis is not attested by any non-numismatic sources, at least not under this name. Only Anzani³ and his follower, Vaccaro⁴, tried to identify him with a certain Agduba, who is supposed to have ruled for 8 years between AD 227/8 and 235/6 according to the kings' lists - medieval compilations of little historical value as a source for the history of ancient antiquity. Thus a very early date (c. 230) was postulated for Endybis. On the other hand, Anzani believed in a dependence on the weight standards of the contemporary Roman coins. Such a dependence is, because of trading policies, almost self-evident⁵, but none can be made out for the time of emperor Severus Alexander (224-35) and his immediate successors. In consequence, a later dating, into the second half of the third century has prevailed.

Stuart Munro-Hay (1948-2005) - who was a well known expert in Aksumite archaeology and is also regarded as an authority on Aksumite numismatics - tried to link Endybis' gold coinage with the Roman weight standard as it was used under Claudius II (260-

¹ Prepared with the kind assistance of Vincent West from an article published in German: Metrologische Erwägungen zur Datierung der ältesten aksumitischen Münzprägung unter König Endybis, in: Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 45, 2012, 32-5.

² Only Carlo Conti Rossini, Monete Aksumite, in: *Africa Italiana* V/3, 1927, 179-212 (cf. p.189) makes Endybis the second king to strike coins, without any justification.

³ Arturo Anzani, 'Le monete dei Re di Aksum, Studi Supplementari', in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 43, 1941, 49-129 (cf. p.114).

⁴ Francesco Vaccaro, *Le monete di Aksum*, Mantua 1967, p.11.

⁵ The obvious connection was unreasonably denied by Francis Anfray, 'Les rois d'Aksoum d'après la numismatique', in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 6, 1968, 1-5.

70)⁶. It must, however, be taken into account that the standards of the Roman gold coinage were frequently changed in the course of the third century⁷ and, according to their longer or shorter application, had a different relevance for monetary circulation. Moreover, the date in question can be more closely specified by the evidence of Endybis' silver coins, as will be shown below.

Firstly, however, we have to check the weights of the gold coins. A current project, which aims at a corpus of Aksumite gold coins, at present includes 167 pieces, struck from 41 lower dies and 89 upper dies. Of 135 pieces (=81%), the weights are known. Thus a well-stocked frequency table gives a reliable result indicating a peak at 2.70g⁸, which undoubtedly points to the weight standard of 1/120 Roman pound⁹, i.e. 1/10 of an ounce, with a tolerance of +/- 1/480 ounce (= 1 Chalkous¹⁰ = 0.057g). This is half the weight of a particular Roman gold coin, the "aureus" of 1/60 of a Roman pound, which relates to the first Aksumite gold coins (let us call them "chrysoi" in Greek). The use of this aureus standard can be observed under Valerian (254-8), Claudius II (268-70) and Diocletian (284-305). The starting date of Endybis' coinage has been proposed accordingly¹¹. A significant output (which would have been felt in trade and circulation) was only achieved by Diocletian in the course of his monetary reforms: the gold standard was restored by him to 1/60 of the pound in 286¹². For the chrysoi of Endybis this is a first *terminus post quem*. The choice of half the aureus weight has, of course, nothing to do with the Roman "quinarii" (half aurei) which were of purely ceremonial character and not intended for circulation. We should rather think of the habit of weighing a unit on the beam balance by its two halves (stater).

The substantial output of Endybis' gold which is mirrored in the number of dies (observed and calculated) does not necessarily suggest a long period of issue under this king. On the one hand a posthumous using up of dies cannot be excluded, as it might have been practised more often than is obvious to us¹³. On the other hand, it seems possible that, at the beginning of minting, there was a large stock of metal from the royal treasury to be turned into coins, perhaps at the instigation of foreign traders.

⁶ Advocated by Stuart Christopher Munro-Hay, first in his unpublished thesis (London 1978, p.91) and later on in several publications.

⁷ Louis C. West, 'Gold and Silver Standards in the Roman Empire', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 94, New York 1941, 151ff.

⁸ An earlier attempt by Wolfgang Hahn, 'Statistisches zur Münzprägung des Endybis', *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik der Universität Wien* 17, 1998, 5-10 counted 96 pieces from 41 lower dies; thus the increase in numbers did not result in the observation of many more dies.

⁹ There is much discussion on the exact weight figures of the Roman pound; the most reasonable conjecture seems to me 326.6g, cf. Wolfgang Hahn, 'Zur Metrologie des Römischen Pfundes', in: *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 2005, 279-82.

¹⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 21, 185 defines the chalkous as 1/60 of the drachm which was then equal to the Roman denarius of 1/96 pound; the carat (1/144 of the ounce = 0.189g) with its fourth (granum) seems to have been introduced as relevant to the gold standard only by the Constantinian solidus.

¹¹ Valerian: Jean-Pierre Callu, *La Politique Monétaire des Empereurs Romains de 238 à 311*, Paris 1969, 432ff (who supposes that under Valerian the Roman aurei fell to a weight of 1/120 pound); following Claudius II ("from 270 onwards"): Munro-Hay (repeatedly) and adopted by most authors;

Diocletian: Luigi Pedroni, 'Una collezione di monete Aksumite', in: *Bollettino di Numismatica* 28/29, 2000, 7-147 (cf. p.43), following Wolfgang Hahn, 'Die Münzen des Axumitischen Reiches', in: *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113-80 (cf. p. 120).

¹² Karl Pink, 'Die Goldprägung des Diocletianus und seiner Mitregenten', in: *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 64, 1931, 1-59 (cf. p.57); some issues have the mark Ξ (60) indicating the weight standard.

¹³ Possibly Endybis' successor, Aphilas (the only king to experiment with a series of fractional denominations), in his earlier reign issued more gold in the form of the newly introduced, tiny eight chrysoi. In the Aksum a posthumous minting seems probable in the name of Ezanas (late fourth century) and perhaps also with the names of Noe ("Eon") and Ebana (fifth century); earlier cases might have occurred in the coinage of South Arabia and in Hellenistic kingdoms it had some tradition.

The question of chronology can, however, also be linked with the silver coins of Endybis which offer some more and even better clues. In their typology, the silver coins (let us call them argyroi) differ from the gold coins only by the omission of the ears of corn on both sides, but their appearance is very similar in as far as the size and bold relief are concerned. If it was the intention to have an argyros of the same size as the chrysos it would be of a lighter weight (the gold being denser) and this was to be adjusted according to the value relation between the two metals in a proper way so that an exchange rate in even numbers within the hexadic system (calculating by the numeral 6) was achieved.

Again a comparison with the contemporary silver coinage of the Roman empire is instructive. In 294 Diocletian implemented the second step of his monetary reforms by re-introducing pure silver coins (the "argentei"), after several decades of cessation, when only pseudo-silver (silver-washed or billon) coins had been used. The Diocletianic argenteus applied the weight standard of the old Neronian denarius, i.e. 1/96 of a pound (1/8 of an ounce = 1 drachm = 3.40g,)¹⁴ and, at the ratio of the metals 1 : 15, the aureus was worth 24 argentei. Checking the weight of Endybis' argyroi on a frequency table (unpublished but easily replicable¹⁵) we find that they did not come out at the standard of a half argenteus (as we might expect by analogy with the gold coins), but that they were lighter by only 1/3, thus weighing 1/144 pound (= 1/12 ounce or 3 scripula = 2.27g) with perhaps a tolerance of +/- 5 chalkoi (= 1/12 drachm = 0.28g). Supposing the metal ratio of the Roman empire as an international guideline, the Aksumite chrysos was worth 18 argyroi.

The bold relief of Endybis' argyroi and the hardness of the silver should have resulted in the consumption of a larger number of dies (compared with the coining of the gold coins). However, it seems possible that the moulds for the casting of the flans already contained the rough features of the bust. Incidentally, the height of the relief correlates with that of Roman argentei¹⁶. The provincial coinage of Alexandria in Egypt (which ended in 297) is of a similar appearance. Maybe Aksum resorted to skilled workmen from this mint.

The issue date of the Diocletianic argenteus is crucial for the chronology of the early Aksumite argyroi (Endybis and the first type of his successor, Aphilas) because the period before 294 was the time of the Roman antoniniani (double denarii) made of billon which impacted the outside world, too, as can be seen in the suspension of the South Arabian coinage after the middle of the third century. Large quantities of Roman argentei were struck by Diocletian and his coregents/successors for a period of only 15 years. Then a depreciation of the currency took place which was accelerated by Constantine and, until 324, almost no fine silver coins were struck. In consequence, we can observe a weight reduction of the Aksumite silver coins under Endybis' successors. Thus the argyroi of Endybis should be anchored between the late 290s and the early 310s. Because of a striking similarity with his chrysoi one could perhaps assume a roughly simultaneous beginning. With this later dating the time for the pagan series is not really shortened as Christianisation could also be postponed (from the 330s) to near AD 360¹⁷.

¹⁴ Karl Pink, 'Die Silberprägung der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie', in: *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 63, 1930, 9-38; some issues have the mark XCVI (96) indicating the weight standard.

¹⁵ At present 103 pieces are known to me (78 with utilisable weights).

¹⁶ By courtesy comparative measurements were performed in the Austrian mint: an argyros of Endybis gave 1.842 mm (both sides of the coin taken together), a Roman argenteus (struck c.300 AD) 1.918 mm.

¹⁷ Such a late (or even later) date was, as far as I can see, only supported by Albrecht Dihle, 'Umstrittene Daten', *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschungen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* 32, Düsseldorf 1965, p.54 (proposing the 360s or even 370s), but recently the question was dealt with in a narrative by Wolfgang Hahn, 'Aedesius gone astray in Ethiopia', Vienna 2009. A future contribution to JONS will take up this topic.

AN ENIGMATIC FALS OF AH 348 BUKHĀRĀ

By Ralph A. Cannito and Michael N. Fedorov

In the collection of one of the authors there is an enigmatic *fals* struck at Bukhārā in 348/959-960.



Fig. 1

Bukhārā, 348/959-960. Collection of Ralph A. Cannito. Weight 2.72 g. Diameter 25.9 mm. Fig. 1.

Obv. Within a beaded circle beneath an arabesque is the *kalima*:

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Under the *kalima*: قَتَكِين .

Marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس ببخارا سنة ثمان و اربعين و ثلثمائة

Rev. In the centre is a square with small round loops at each corner. Within it: قَتَكِين . The square is within a round cartouche divided by four parallel lines, intertwined in the middle, in four sectors. Within these sectors is the pious ejaculation:

نصر/من الله/و فتح/قريب

All this is within a beaded circle.

Marginal legend:

الله الامر من قبل و من بعد و يومئذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Qur'an XXX, 3, 4.

This is a strange coin: despite being struck at Bukhārā, the Sāmānid capital, it does not cite the then Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik, but cites (twice) a certain dignitary, Qut-tegin, who was granted some feudal rights in Bukhārā, including the right to be cited on Bukhārā coins and to receive part of the taxes, collected from Bukhārā. Qut-tegin was a relative of the Sāmānids: his daughter was one of the wives of Nūḥ b. Naṣr, the father of 'Abd al-Malik.

R. Vasmer¹⁸ summarised the historical data about Qut-tegin and traced his career. Later B. Kochnev¹⁹ dedicated an article to this Sāmānid dignitary. He repeated Vasmer's summary and his conclusions about Qut-tegin's career, and added some new numismatic data. Kochnev mentioned this strange AH 348 Bukhārā *fals* (now in collection of R. Cannito). He was puzzled that a coin, minted in the Sāmānid capital, Bukhārā, did not cite the then Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik, and tried to explain this, but without success.²⁰ He wrote: "in this independent coinage one should not see a pretension at autocracy or any evidence of mutiny. Otherwise it would have damaged Qut-tegin's status and ruined his career. It is impossible to imagine that, by striking *fulūs* in Bukhārā, in

348/959-60, in his name only, Qut-tegin proclaimed himself absolute master of Bukhārā and stayed unpunished". "It remains to mention that Qut-tegin served both Nūḥ and his son, 'Abd al-Malik, well and was rewarded by the allotment of vast territories and corresponding rights". "Whatever these rights in Bukhārā were, coins, of course, cannot reveal. One thing is clear: these rights were real rights, but not so considerable as to make Qut-tegin absolute master of the Sāmānid capital". As one can see these explanations actually do not explain why Qut-tegin struck *fulūs* in 348/959-960 in Bukhārā in his name only.

Actually, the explanation is quite simple and is lying, so to speak, "on the surface". **This coin is a mule!** It was struck using two different dies of two different coins. One die was broken and, in order not to stop the work, the die of a coin of some previous year, but not the die with the date (otherwise the coin would have two different dates²¹) was used. It is that simple! And naturally on those two different coins the Sāmānid amir was certainly mentioned, but not on that same side where Qut-tegin was mentioned. And that is why Qut-tegin is cited on this coin twice, on either side. And neither of these sides mentions the sovereign, the Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik.

As for the victory implied by the pious ejaculation "Help from Allah and victory (is) close", it is not necessary that this victory took place exactly in AH 348. This coin is a mule and the date of the coin with pious ejaculation was on the other side from the ejaculation itself. So this victory could have taken place several years before AH 348. Most probably it was a victory won in one of the numerous clashes of the Sāmānid amir with his unruly vassals or generals. And seemingly Qut-tegin played a leading role in that battle. And that is why his name was placed on this coin together with the pious ejaculation "Help from Allah and victory (is) close", surrounding his name.

COINS OF LANGARKUNĀN (LANKARĀN)

By A. Akopyan (Moscow) F. Mosanef (Tehran)

Langarkunān (لنگرکنان), nowadays called Lankarān (لنکران) or Lānkāran, is a city and port on the coast of the Caspian Sea in the Republic of Azerbaijan, near the southern border with Iran.²²

There are two main opinions about the etymology of the name of this city. The first group believed that the old name of Lankaran was *Langarkunān* (لنگرکنان), the Persian word meaning "the place for dropping the anchor(s)", or with another pronunciation, *Langarkanān* which means "the place for weighing anchor(s)". Put simply, both etymologies mean "sea port". Over the centuries, the pronunciation changed and Langarkunān became Lankarān, or in the even more simplified Talysh pronunciation, Lankon. The second view about the origin of the name of this city connects it with the Talysh word *lankran*, which means "cane house".

Pre-Safavid sources do not pay any attention to Langarkunān (Lankarān). It is only thanks to Safavid and post-Safavid references that we know that Langarkunān was the capital of the Khānate of Talysh, which formed part of the Persian Safavid and Afsharid empires. For most of the time, the khāns of this area were loyal to the kings of Iran, but during the Safavid period, because of riots in neighbouring Gīlān, the Safavids used the road from Langarkunān to Astara to attack the rebels on several occasions.

Thus, Shāh Tahmasb I (AH 930–984), who had been informed about the riots and disobedience of Ahmad Khān Gīlāni sent a

²¹ But anyway even coins with two different dates have been found. On one such coin the interval between the two different dates was 10 years!

²² General sources on the history of Langarkunān are as follows: Kasheff M., 'Gīlān V. History under the Safavids' in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. X, Fasc. 6, pp. 635–642 (available on-line: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gilan-v>); and especially – 'Abd-al-Fattā' Fūmanī Gīlāni, *Tārīkh-e Gīlān*, Tehrān, 1390 SH, p. 118, 130–137; Iskandar bek Torkamān, *Tārīkh-e alāmārā-ye Abbāsī*. Vol. I. Tehrān, 1387 SH, p. 442; 'Abbās Quli Āghā Bākīkhānuf, *Golestān-e erām*, Tehrān, 1383 SH, p. 217, 220–221.

¹⁸ R. Vasmer, 'Kuficheskie monety Pereiaslavskogo klada', *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi arheologicheskoi komissii*, 51, Petrograd, 1914, 31.

¹⁹ B. D. Kochnev, 'Numizmaticheskaiia istoriia samanidskogo sanovnika Qut-tegina/Khut-tegina (X v.)', *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, VI, 2002, 56–66; *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, VII, 62–69.

²⁰ Kochnev 2002, 62, 64–65.

huge army through Langarkunān and Āstārā against the khān. Masum-bek, the commander of the Safavid army, defeated Ahmad Khān, arrested him and moved him to Qazvīn in AH 974. Ahmad Khān was sent to prison and spent more than a decade there. Only Muhammad Khudabande (AH 985–996) forgave him and gave him back his governorship in Gīlān. Ahmad Khān, however, once again, during the reign of ‘Abbās I (AH 996–1038), started to disobey the Safavid king and fomented a new rebellion against the central government. Shah ‘Abbās ordered Farhad Khān to move an army toward Gīlān. The army proceeded to Gilan again via Langarkunān and Āstārā. Farhad Khān completely suppressed the riot and defeated Ahmad Khān on the 5th of Shawwal, AH 1000, and captured Lāhījān.

In 1001 AH, Amīr Hamzeh Khān, the governor of Talysh, started to disobey Shāh ‘Abbās. The latter sent troops to attack him, whereupon Amīr Hamzeh Khān fled to the fortress of Shindān. The siege lasted nine months, and, in the end, Amīr Hamzeh begged for mercy from Shāh ‘Abbās. Āstārā and Langarkunān were once again captured by the Safavid commander, Zolfaqār Khān.

The Khāns of Talysh, who ruled Langarkunān like other khāns in Caucasia until the assassination of Nādir Shāh, more or less obeyed the Shāhs of Iran. But after that, because of civil war, the weakness of kings, and fighting between rivals in Iran, the Khāns of Talysh, like other local rulers, had some degree of independence until the rise of Agha Muhammad Khān Qājār. During his reign, all the local rulers and khāns were forced to obey his rule. After his assassination, however, some of the local rulers of Caucasia, including Amīr Mustafā Khān of Talysh refused to accept the Qājār king, Fath ‘Alī Shāh. After the start of the first Russo-Persian war in AH 1224, an Iranian army defeated Amīr Mustafā Khān and captured Lankarkunān. Amīr Mustafā Khān accepted a peace agreement and promised to be loyal to Fath ‘Alī Shāh. This was in AH 1225, but after some time he decided to join forces with the Russians. In AH 1227 Russian troops and Amīr Mustafā Khān attacked Lankarān. This city became one of most important places to define the result of the war, and in January 1813, despite the resistance of the Iranian soldiers, Lankarān fell to Russian troops.

After peace negotiations, both sides agreed to the Treaty of Gulistan in October of 1813. According to the Treaty of Gulistān and the Treaty of Turkmenchay, Lankaran and the greater part of Talysh were separated from Iran and transferred to the Russian Empire.

Until now, no coins of Lankaran were published. But this year we were able to study two coins, struck at this mint (Figs. 1 and 4)²³. After writing about them here, through the courtesy of the Editor, we learned about three more coins, also struck in Langarkunān, that are now kept in the collection of the Forschungsstelle Islamische Numismatik Tübingen (FINT). We are very grateful to the keeper of this collection, Dr. Lutz Ilisch, for giving us the opportunity to publish their images (Figs. 2, 3 and 5). All the images are reproduced here enlarged.



Fig. 1.

The first coin is an undated copper, weighing 18.87 g, and with a diameter 29 mm (Fig. 1). This is fulūs of la‘nat type, depicting a lion hunting a gazelle on the obverse, and the following distich on the reverse:

²³ Both coins are in a private collection (Tehran).

پیواسته بلعنت الهی تغیر ده فلوس شاهی

[peyvāsteh be-la‘nat-e elahī
teghayyor-deh-e folūs-e shāhī]

May he who alters the royal fulūs be eternally [condemned] to the damnation of God,

around a central circle, within which the mintname is written:

ضرب لنگرکنان

struck [in] Langarkunān

The design of this la‘nat coin is quite unusual; unlike other known coins of this type, the la‘nat legend surrounds the mintname placed in the central circle, whereas usually the mintname and la‘nat legend are spread over the two sides of the coins. Unfortunately this coin has no date, and we can only suppose that it was struck synchronously with other coins of la‘nat type, at the end of the 900’s AH²⁴ or at the beginning of the 11th century AH / 17th century AD, as it very close in design to the next coin of 1009 AH. The denomination of this copper coin is a qazbegī (with weight ca. four mithqāls)²⁵.



Fig. 2.

The second coin (FINT, inv. no. IC4A6) is an undated two-shāhī of ‘Abbās I, type A (struck in ca. 996–1004), weighing 4.37 g (Fig. 2). On the obverse is the Shi‘a kalima, divided into two parts by the line formed by the end of the word *nabī* (instead of *rasūl* in the kalima), within a circle, surrounded by a marginal legend bearing the names of the twelve Shi‘a imāms.

On the reverse, in a plain circle, is the royal protocol and mintname:

عبّاس بنده شاه ولایت ضرب لنگرکنان

[‘abbās bande-ye shāh-e velāyat, zarb langarkunān]

‘Abbās, servant of the king of the Velāyat
(i.e. of ‘Alī), struck in Langarkunān.

around are traces of the legend –

السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر شاه عباس خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

[al-sultān al-‘ādil abu‘l-muzaffar shāh ‘abbās, khulida allāh
mulkahu ve sultānahu]

The just Sultan, Abu‘l-Muzaffar Shāh ‘Abbās; may Allāh
perpetuate his rule and sultanate.

²⁴ Album St. *Checklist of Islamic Coins*. Santa Rosa (CA), 2011, p. 318.

²⁵ See more on denominations of the la‘nat series in: Akopyan A. V., Aleksanyan D. A. ‘Gyandzhinskiy klad i medniy chekan Kakhetinskogo tsarstva’, pp. 5–6 (available on-line: http://www.academia.edu/4205979/Ganja_hoard_and_copper_coins_of_Kingdom_of_Kakheti_Georgia).



Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Coins nos. 3, 4 are of the same year; they are ‘abbāsī of AH 1005 (AD 1596–1597), of ‘Abbās I, type B: coin 3 (Fig. 3, FINT, inv. no. IC4B1) – weighing 7.63 g, and coin 4 (Fig. 4) – weighing 7.72 g, and with a diameter of 21mm.

On the obverse of coin 3, in a cartouche, is the Shi’a kalima in three lines, with *keshida* in محمد and علي. Around are traces of an inscription with the names of the twelve Shi’a imāms. On the obverse of coin 4, in a plain circle, is the Shi’a evocation in two lines:

يا علي ولي الله
[yā ‘alā velī allāh]
Oh, ‘Alī, close to Allāh

around are traces of an inscription, possibly the whole kalima. The reverse of both coins, struck from the same die, has the mintname لنگرکنان *Langarkunān* and the date ۱۰۰۵ 1005 in a central circular cartouche. Around the cartouche is the royal protocol, separated by a pair of Chinese-type ‘good luck’ knots (marked below as ☸) and the word ضرب *struck*:

بنده شاه ولا ☸ يت عباس ضرب ☸
‘Abbās, servant of the king of the Velāyat
(i.e. of ‘Alī).

The design of this coin is the usual one for type B coinage of ‘Abbās II.



Fig. 5.

The fifth coin (Fig. 5, IC4B2) is also an ‘abbāsī of type B, without date, weighing 7.75 g.

The obverse of coin 5 is the same (but not die-identical to) as the obverse of coin 3.

The reverse of coin 5 has the same composition as the reverses of coins 3 and 4, except that the inscription around the mintname is written not clockwise but horizontally, and placed in an ornamental cartouche. Beyond the cartouche is the following inscription written clockwise –

خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه و علي العالمين بره و احسانه

[*khulida Allāh mulkahu ve sultānahu
ve ‘Alī al-‘ālamīn barrahu ve ihsanahu*]

May Allāh perpetuate his rule and sultanate
and [permit] all people of both worlds to have his kindness and
mercy

In conclusion we can add that, thanks to the coins discussed above, the first view on the etymology for the name of this city seems to be correct, and, approximately 450 years ago Lankarān was called Langarkunān. These coins are the only known numismatic pieces left from Lankarān until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the self-declared Provisional Military Dictatorship of Mughān printed notes in the autumn of 1918.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED COPPER COIN BEARING THE NAME “SAFI”

By Giorgi Gogava

Introduction and Objective

The so-called “Persian-style” copper coins were issued and circulated in Persia and its satellite countries in the 17th-19th centuries. It was generally a civic currency²⁶, except for Eastern Georgia (Kartli), also subject to Persia, where the coin served as a national currency²⁷.

Civic coppers bearing the Shah’s name were very scarce in Safavid Persia²⁸. Coins bearing the name of Shah Safi were struck only at the Tbilisi (formerly Tiflis) mint during this period. Such coins are extremely rare²⁹. They are undated³⁰ but scholars attribute them to Safi I of the Safavid dynasty³¹ (see figure 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d).



Fig. 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d: Kartli, Safavid Persia, Shah Safi I (AH 1038-1052; AD 1629-1642)

Obv.: in a plain circle:

صفي / فلوس / ضرب / تفليس
Safi fulus minted in Tiflis

Rev.: in a plain circle: a lion to the right with the rising sun behind

²⁶ T. Kutelia: “Georgia and Safavid Iran” (In Russian), Tbilisi, “Metsniereba” publishing house, 1979, p.47.

²⁷ Ibid.

D. Kapanadze: “Georgian Numismatics”, Tbilisi University Press, 1969, p.148.

²⁸ E. Pakhomov: “Georgian Coins”, Tbilisi, “Metsniereba” publishing house, 1970, p.226.

²⁹ There are only three specimens preserved at the S. Janashia History Museum, the Georgian Fund of the Department of Numismatics and the Georgian State Museum, with the word “Safi” clearly seen on only one of them. It should be noted that both the ones preserved at the Museum and the three specimens available to us were struck from the same dies apparently due to the scarcity of dies and consequently, the coinage.

³⁰ AH 1033 suggested by D. Kapanadze cannot be confirmed.

³¹ T. Kutelia: “Georgia and the Safavid Iran” (In Russian), Tbilisi, “Metsniereba” publishing house, 1979, p.52.

- a. AE, half-bisti, weight 8.44g, size 21-22 mm³²
- b. AE, half-bisti, weight 8.53g, size 19.5-22.5 mm
- c. AE, half-bisti, weight 8.36g, size 20.5-22.5 mm
- d. AE, half-bisti, weight 8.50g, size 22-24 mm

The objective of the article is to present a previously unrecorded type of a copper coin of "Safi" type and to demonstrate its direct connection with the coins bearing the name of Shah Safi I minted in Tiflis.

The Newly Discovered coin

Introduction

The copper coins minted in Tiflis during the 17th century are nearly all anonymous³³. The only exception are the coins minted bearing the name of Safi I. As to the view that the Safi I coin may be the earliest of the copper coins struck in Tiflis in the 17th century³⁴, it is plausible and will be discussed in the final part of the paper.

Published here is a new variety of the coin, which we believe to be the "prototype" of the ones minted in Tiflis during the rule of Safi I.

Description

Two specimens of the coin type discovered in Tbilisi along with some other civic copper coins³⁵ are available to us. They were both struck from the same pair of dies. Below, are their images, reconstruction and descriptions (see figure 2a and 2b).

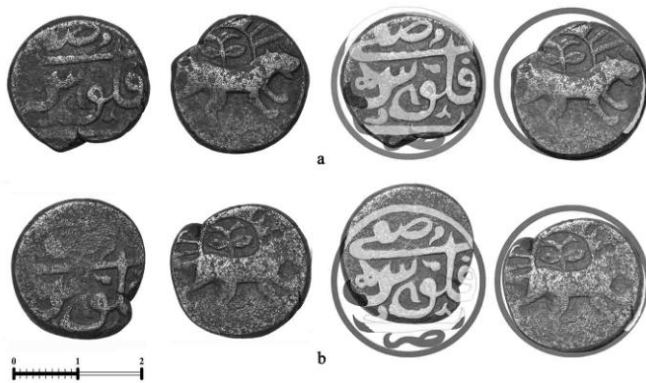


Fig. 2a and 2b: Kartli, Safavid Persia, Shah Safi I (AH 1038-1052; AD 1629-1642)

Obv.: in a plain circle

صفي / فلوس / ضرب
Safi fulus struck.

Rev.: in a plain circle: the image of a lion to the right with the rising sun behind.

- a. AE, half-bisti - weight 8.00 g, size 20-22 mm
- b. AE, half-bisti - weight 8.78 g, size 20-22 mm

As mentioned above, we attribute the coins in Figure 1 and Figure 2 to the same overall type. Apart from a clear visual similarity, the attribution is based on the common characteristics listed below:

1. Name "Safi";
2. Stylistic and compositional identity;
3. The discovery site³⁶;
4. The same weight variation³⁷;
5. Absence of the date (see also figure 3 below)³⁸.

³² T. Kutelia: "Georgia and the Safavid Iran", v. VI, coin 25 (GC 2657).

³³ T. Kutelia: "Georgia and Safavid Iran" (In Russian), Tbilisi, "Metsniereba" publishing house, 1979, p.52.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ The coin types unknown.

³⁶ All the presented specimens were discovered in Tbilisi or its surroundings.

³⁷ Variation: 8.79g; 8.00g. – the main type: 8.44g; 8.35g; 8.15g; 8.36g; 8.53g; 8.50g.

The reconstructions of the coin design reveal the only, albeit important, difference: the absence of the name of the mint on the newly discovered variety (fig. 2). Regardless of the autonomous status of the so-called "civic coppers", the striking of which, unlike the issue of silver coins, was not strictly controlled by the state authorities, the newly discovered variety nevertheless stands out so much as to be considered unique. There may be a number of assumptions as to the reasons behind the exception.



Fig. 3. Kartli, Safavid Persia, Shah Safi I (AH 1038-1052; AD 1629-1642) AR, Abbasi, Tiflis, weight 7.58 g, size 19.5-20.5 mm

Obv.: زجان غلام شاه صفي ست ضرب تفليس

Rev. لا له لا لله محمد رسول لله على ولي لله

Assumption

We assume that one of the reasons for the existence of the mintless coins would have been that of a "trial" issue of copper coins, which then paved the way to the regular issue³⁹ at the Tiflis mint. This initial issue, somewhat cautiously initiated by King Rostom⁴⁰, honoured the Shah. There then followed the other coins of the same overall type bearing the name of the mint as if "squeezed in"⁴¹.

An unusual copper coin bearing the image of two fish published in 2006⁴² is also very relevant to this paper. The composition of the obverse of the coin as published is identical to that of the lion and sun coins without mintname we have described above. Since then other such coins have become known to us. Both of these are illustrated below (figs. 4a, 4b) and provide additional evidence for attributing all these coins to the Tiflis mint.



Fig. 4a and 4b: Kartli, Safavid Persia, Shah Safi I (AH 1038-1052; AD 1629-1642)

Obv.: in a plain circle صفي / فلوس / ضرب = Safi fulus struck.

³⁸ Most of the silver coins struck in Tbilisi during the reigns of Abbas I and Safi I of the Safavid dynasty are undated (see fig. 3). We are grateful to Mr Irakli Pagava for supplying the photo.

³⁹ T. Kutelia "Georgia and the Safavid Iran" (In Russian), Tbilisi, "Metsniereba" publishing house, 1979, pp.51-52.

To this day, the Tbilisi coins are known as the Abbas I silver.

⁴⁰ I.e. Rustam Khan or Khosro Mirza AD 1565-1658, King of Kartli in AD 1632-1658.

⁴¹ The tightness of the lettering on the obverse of the coin, especially in the name of the mint is noteworthy. The name of the mint seems to be a later insertion. (See fig. 1).

⁴² I. Paghava, S. Turkia: "Another autonomous copper coin bearing the name of Safi". *Supplement to Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 189, Autumn 2006; p.8.

Rev.: in a plain circle - images of two curved fish, lying head-to-toe.

a. AE, half-bisti - weight 8.69 g, size 20 mm⁴³

b. AE, half-bisti - weight 8.56 g, size 18-26 mm

Conclusion

The above analysis makes it clear that, apparently for political reasons, the first copper coins struck at the Tbilisi mint (Kingdom of Kartli) during the rule of the Safavid dynasty did not bear the name of the mint or the date of the extremely limited issues.

The order in which the issues were made appears to be the following: 1. The mintless type with two fish; 2. the mintless type with a lion and the sun; 3. the type with lion and sun and with the mintname added. The first of these types (Fig.4, above), we believe to have been the first copper coin minted in Tiflis in the 17th century.

Acknowledgments:

We are grateful to Messrs: Severian Turkia, Irakli Paghava and David Patsia.

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6. W. H. Valentine: "Modern Copper Coins of Muhammadan States", London, 1911.

A COIN OF FATH 'ALĪ KHĀN ĀRASHLŪ (AFSHARID)

By A. V. Akopyan (Moscow) & F. Mosanef (Tehran)

The numismatics of post-Safavid Iran appear to be well investigated,⁴⁴ nonetheless some hitherto unreported coins of this period still sporadically appear.⁴⁵ Among the coins studied during the last year, a new coin of this period was detected – the Qājār-style coin struck in Tabrīz in AH 1173 by Fath 'Alī Khān, head of the Ārashlū tribe of Afsharids in Urmiya.⁴⁶

This anonymous silver coin is a *shāhī* weighing 1.04 g (diameter – 18 mm, Fig. 1), struck with the same inscription (so-called type A), that was used by Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār (AH 1163–1172) but one year after his death. As is well known, no

⁴³ I. Paghava, S. Turkia: "Another autonomous copper coin bearing the name of Safi". *Supplement to Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 189, Autumn 2006; p.8-10;

⁴⁴Cf. *Album St. A Checklist of Islamic Coins*. 3rd ed. Santa Rosa (CA), 2011, pp. 283–296. [Ed. While it is true that both the Checklist and the KM catalogues contain listings, most of the coins have not really been properly published]

⁴⁵See for example our previous article – Akopyan A. V., Mosanef F. The coinage of Taqī Khān Durrāni, rebel in Kirmān // *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society*, 209 (2011), pp. 17–18.

⁴⁶Basic information about Fath 'Alī Khān Ārashlū was achieved from: *Mīrzā Muhammad Sādiq Mūsavi Nāmī Isfahānī*. *Tarikh-e Giti-Gusha*. Tehrān, 1366 SH, pp. 104–122; *Muhammad Hāshim Āsef*. *Rustam al-Tavārikh*. Tehrān 1352 SH, pp. 258–264; *Rezā Qolī Khān Hedāyat*. *Tarikh-e Ruzat al-Safāye Nāseri*. Vol XIII. Tehrān, 1385 SH, pp. 7153–7155; *Muhammad Ali Bamdād*. *Sharh-e hāl-e rejāl-e Irān*. Vol III. Tehrān, 1363 SH, p. 58–61; *Mīrzā Muhammad*. *Ruznāme-ye Mīrzā Muhammad Qalantar-e Fārs*. Tehrān, 1362 SH, pp. 59–61.

Qājār or Qājār-type coins were struck during the period AH 1173–1194, between the death of Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār and the start of the reign of Aghā Muhammad Khān Qājār.⁴⁷ We can, therefore, attribute this coin directly to Fath 'Alī Khān Ārashlū, who held Tabrīz in AH 1173.



Fig. 1 (enlarged)

The obverse of the coin has the Shi'a Kalima, written in three lines. The style of this inscription is rather crude, unlike the coins of Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār with their beautiful calligraphy. The reverse couplet is

بزر سکه از میمنت زد قضا
بنام علی بن موسی الرضا

be-zar sekkeh āz meymanat zad qazā / be-nām-e 'alī ebn-e mūsā al-rezā

"Fate has auspiciously struck coins in gold, in the name of 'Alī, son of Mūsā, Rezā,"

Below are the mintname – تبریز Tabrīz and the date – ۱۱۷۳ 1173. Shāhīs of this type are unknown for the reign of Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār.

After the assassination in AH 1160 of Nādir Shāh, the mighty Afsharid king of Iran, a new period of uprisings and civil wars between various factions started in Iran. Fath 'Alī Khān, head of the Ārashlū tribe of the Afshar union in Urmiya, was one of Nādir Shāh's trusted commanders during his reign. In the battle between Nādir Shāh's nephews for the legacy he supported Ibrāhīm Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Shāh chose Fath 'Alī Khān as governor of Fārs and send him to Shīrāz, where he ruled until AH 1162. After the death of Ibrāhīm Shāh, Fath 'Alī Khān, who had lost his patron, left Shīrāz and returned to Azarbayjān, to his native tribe near Urmiya.

After the rebellion of Āzād Khān Āfghān and his rise, Fath 'Alī Khān joined him and became one of his allies. In AH 1167 Āzād Khān sent him to attack Karīm Khān Zand in Shīrāz. This he did and forced Karīm Khān to leave Shīrāz. Fath 'Alī Khān chased Karīm Khān towards Kohgīlūyeh, but was unable to arrest him.

In AH 1170, Fath 'Alī Khān Ārashlū changed sides during the battle between Āzād Khān and Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār. Fath 'Alī Khān left Āzād Khān's army and, together with Shahbāz Khan Dūnbolī, joined Muhammad Hasan Khān. In the following year, he took part in the battle between Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār and Karīm Khān near Shīrāz. In that battle, Karīm Khān defeated Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār and his ally, Fath 'Alī Khān. During their withdrawal to Tehrān, Fath 'Alī Khān, who was disappointed with the lack of success of the Qājār, left him and returned home to be among his tribe in Urmiya. Subsequently, Fath 'Alī Khān, with the support of the Ārashlū Afsharids and the Dūnbolīds, declared himself as ruler seeking to obtain the kingdom of Iran. He extended his territory from Urmiya to Tabrīz and Marāgha and to adjacent lands in Azarbayjān. He appears to have supported his claims by striking coins, albeit not in his own name, in Tabrīz in the Qājār style, one of which has become known.

Karīm Khān, who rid himself of one of his most important rivals, Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār, in AH 1172, decided to

⁴⁷Cf. *Album St. A Checklist of Islamic Coins*. 3rd ed. Santa Rosa (CA), 2011, pp. 291; *Cuhaj G. S., Michael Th. et al.* *Standard Catalog of World Coins 1701–1800*. 5th ed. Iola (WI), 2010, p. 784.

attack Fath 'Alī Khān before he became more powerful. He, thus, prepared his army to march to Azarbayjān in AH 1174. Fath 'Alī Khān, who was surrounded in Tabrīz for several months, resisted and fought back against the Zand army during the siege. Eventually Karīm Khān, not being able to defeat Fath 'Alī Khān because of the cold weather, ordered his army to withdraw back to Tehrān.

In AH 1175, Karīm Khān once again moved towards Azarbayjān. This time Fath 'Alī Khān anticipated the move and suddenly attacked the Zand army in Qareh Chaman (nowadays in East Azarbayjān province). This attack was so successful that the Zand army was completely defeated and fled to central Iran. In due course, however, in AH 1176, Karīm Khān reorganised his army and marched it to Fath 'Alī Khān's territories. There he forced Fath 'Alī Khān to withdraw to Urmiya. This time the siege lasted longer and, suffering from hunger and starvation, Fath 'Alī Khān eventually surrendered to Karīm Khān in the month of Sha'bān in that same year. Despite Karīm Khān treating his opponent with mercy and respect, the latter indulged in some activities that led Karīm Khan to accuse him of conspiracy against him. Because of this, Karīm Khān executed him in AH 1177.

NOTES ON SOME ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

By R. Senior

Occasionally one notes unpublished coins appearing on the internet, in dealer's lists etc. which then seem to disappear without trace or comment and it might be an idea to have a section in future Journals where such pieces could at least be noted for reference alongside an image and details of the coin. The following are a few coins which I have purchased or seen in the last year or two. All images enlarged.

1) Menander



Æ 17 x 18 mm, 7.30 g. This is an unreported fraction of BN series 29B. There appears to be no letter A on the obverse lower right, though a better specimen may eventually indicate another letter there in place of the A.

2) Artemidoros



Æ 14 x 12 mm 1.55 g. This is, I believe, only the second known specimen with palms and caps of the Dioscuri reverse type. One of the most amazing experiences I had in numismatics was when cleaning a copper coin of Artemidoros under a microscope I discovered that it had an unpublished reverse legend: *rajatirajasa moasa putasa ca artemidorasa* [though on this first specimen the *ca* was not readable]. Without the *Ca* the meaning was clear – Artemidoros son of the King of Kings Maues. Discovering the additional *Ca* has now lead to speculation whether Artemidoros was in fact Maues' son and Harry Falk translated it as 'of the king of kings Maues and the son of Artemidoros' [see his article 'Ten

thoughts on the Mathura Lion Capital Reliquary' in *Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb, Mumbai*]. He communicated this reading verbally to Osmund Boppearachchi who subsequently wrote an article 'Was Indo-Greek Artemidoros the son of Indo-Scythian Maues? Amluk Dara Hoard Revisited', *Numismatika Khronika No. 27, Athens, pp.25-36. 2008/9*. Osmund also quotes an interpretation of the legend by G. Fussman as being '*king of kings and son of Maues, Artemidoros*'.

If we cannot accept my original reading without adding the 'and' somewhere I would suggest that what was intended was probably 'Artemidoros [the king - as stated on the obverse] and son of the King of Kings Maues – or, Artemidoros and [who is] son of the King of Kings, Maues..

The coins may not necessarily show that Maues was still alive and are not *joint* coins since Maues as superior king would have taken the obverse position.

I cannot see why there is such resistance to accepting that the Indo-Greeks in the last century BC became more Scythian than Greek, possibly entirely so - in Roman Britain there were precious few Latin Romans in evidence for nearly four centuries – the indigenous population had simply adopted Roman culture and names alongside 'citizenship'. In this period we find the pedigree relationships [and the word *putasa/putrasa*] only on the coins of people such as the Apracarajas, Kshaharata satraps, Western Satraps etc. – all Scythians or Indians and only Strato II of the Indo-Greeks used it when including his grandson, Strato Philopator, on his joint coins – and I consider the Strato family to be definitely Scythian. The relationship shown is always father and son/grandson.

Harry Falk's reading would imply that the reverse referred to the son of Artemidoros acting *jointly* with King of King Maues [surely not that Maues, king of kings was the son of Artemidoros!] - which would not make much sense – an unnamed son plus a person who was 'king of kings' while Artemidoros was only 'king' [as on the obverse]. The 'king of kings' would always take precedence, i.e. on the obverse, not be relegated to the reverse. Fussman's reading also fails in this respect if it allocates the title 'king of kings' to Artemidoros on the reverse and merely 'king' on the obverse. It seems only sensible to me to accept the coin type at face value as being an issue of Artemidoros on which he is emphasising his claim to authority by virtue of his pedigree, as son of the king of kings Maues.

So why did he not use the type on his silver or repeat the claim on the obverse of his coins? The main inheritors of Maues' kingdom seem to be Telephos and Apollodotos II in the Indo-Greek dominated provinces [where that culture prevailed] and Azilises, his main successor in the Indo-Scythian ones. Apollodotos II and Azilises seem to have ruled over extensive territory with major cities [and well known monograms relating to them] whilst Telephos and Artemidoros seem to have been on the fringes fighting for their own or new territory, and in Artemidoros' case possibly issuing 'camp mint' monograms unique to himself [see table on p. 231 of ISCH Vol. II]. It is entirely possible that this pedigree copper issue was the very first issue by Artemidoros at the start of his career, hence his needing to refer to his father – and in the Amluk Dara hoard [see Bop. paper above] there were eight of this rare pedigree type of Artemidoros coins but no other types of his – but several coins of Maues [including two of similar Artemis/Bull type to this type of Artemidoros] and incidentally a coin of Archebios of the same reverse type [palms and pilei of the Dioscuri] as depicted on the tiny Artemidoros coin illustrated here. Could the use of this palms and pilei type suggest a claimed link to Antialcidas?

Maues issued some joint coins with Queen Machene and quite probably she had some Greek ancestry [maybe to Antialcidas?] which may have been the reason why Maues gave at least one of his sons a Greek name – a politically astute move to appeal to those constituents of his empire whose forebears had adopted that culture.

I think that Apollodotos may also have been a son of Maues, but it was not necessary to state it on his coins because his position

was seemingly assured. When the great king of kings Azes replaced Azilises, the other inheritor of Maues' mantle, the later 'Maues' family, if that is what they were, may have then emphasised their Greek inheritance more emphatically, in order to keep support amongst some of the population where the 'Greek' culture predominated, and retain their independence from Azes. Therefore, we subsequently have Strato Dikaios [ISCH Vol. IV Chakwal hoard] imitating the legend of Strato I of a century before, Strato II with Strato Philopator issuing a pedigree series in the Scythian mould, and Strato Philopator using the legend found on some Apollodotos II coins. The latter would at the same time claim a Greek link as well as a link to Maues, if indeed Apollodotos II was one of his sons. As usual, in the absence of hard proof, we can enjoy the pleasure of historical speculation to explain what lies to hand!

3) Azes



AR drachm 16 mm 2.41 g. As the tetradrachm type S85.1 but without an exergual letter. This is an extremely rare type for Azes and for a drachm to turn up someday was only expected. This one was found together with another drachm from the same dies plus a tetradrachm of the same type. Slowly the gaps in the various series of Azes drachms and tetradrachms are being filled.

4) Hajarja



Æ 18 x 18 mm 4.86 g S145.1 This is a heavier and clearer specimen than the Bill Spengler example illustrated in ISCH and the obverse legend beginning at the top seems to be a slightly corrupt form of BACILE[ΩC] BACIA[EΩN] [MEΓ]OC AZO[Y]. On the reverse I had trouble reading the third letter of the Satrap's name which I thought might be a strange form of *Tri* but Harry Falk in his excellent paper [aforementioned] states that it is *Ri* and also that since *Ja* can sometimes be equivalent to *Ya* we have virtual confirmation that Hajarja, as his name should now be read, is almost certainly the same person as the Hayuara, son of Kharahostes, mentioned in the Mathura Column inscription.

5) Sarpedones

AR drachm 15 mm 1.76 g S252.3D This is a particularly rare type and this second known example shows the obverse legend below the bust continuing where the illustrated coin left off [BACI]IAEOC BACIAI CAP[-HAWN] On the reverse only *..rajasa rajarajasa tratarasa dhra....is visible.*

6) Kushan



24mm 11.54gm This is clearly a die-struck coin but must be a local unofficial issue from the time of Huvishka, with an obverse of his predecessor, Kanishka, standing before a fire altar and a reverse of Huvishka riding an elephant right. The legends are corrupt. The coin is not magnetic [some Kashmir imitations, and official issues often are magnetic]. A most unusual coin.

A NEW COIN FROM THE TIME OF THE KSHAHARATA SATRAPS

By R. Senior

In my 'Indo-Scythian Coins and History' [ISCH] Vols I-III published by CNG 2001, I illustrated two coins [S300.5i and ii] that had countermarks of a 'wheel' on one side and a 'Lion on pillar' on the other side. Since these countermark 'types' were first used by Abhiraka on his regular coinage and then by his successor Bhumaka I dated the countermarking to the time of Abhiraka – probably around 30/20 BC.

The undertypes of the above coins are either worn coppers of Apollodotos II of c. 80 – 65 BC [Bop.] or large coppers of a king I have called Yapirajaya [See ISCH Vol. IV pub. CNG 2006, p. 22, S65.1] who probably postdates Apollodotos II. In ISCH IV I also published coins of two new Satraps who predate Abhiraka – S66.1 Hospises and S67.1 Higaraka, the latter modelling his coins on those of Apollodotos and his immediate Indo-Greek successors. Now, a new enigmatic coin has surfaced which bears these same countermarks.



Æ 9.72g, 26mm diameter, 1mm thick

Joe Cribb first pointed this coin out to me and subsequently the owner, ONS member, Shinji Hirano, provided me with a clear photograph of it.

The coin was reportedly found in Afghanistan and was presumably taken there in trade in ancient times. My Abhiraka coin S300.1v [ISCH Vol. II] was also reportedly found in Afghanistan and the link between that region and Sind/Gujerat, where Abhiraka seems to have held sway, may become clearer as we examine this new and unusual coin.

The metal of the coin appears to be copper though it *may* be a

very debased billon, but certainly not silver or billon with a high silver content. The countermarks are placed at the edge of the coin as on the previously known c/m pieces.

The Obverse

The king is shown mounted to the *left*, right arm raised, possibly holding a whip. Before him is the Kharosthi letter *Sam*. Around is a legend which also appears to be Kharosthi – maybe *rajarajasa* [king of kings] to the left and several letters including ---*sa* below. This is most unusual since all known types with mounted king have Greek legends on the *obverse* and Kharosthi on the *reverse*.

This type of 'king mounted left' was introduced by Gondophares I [see ISCH Vol.I p. 22] and occurs on a rare billon issue S218.1 which possibly dates to the similar period c. 30 – 20 BC when Gondophares was a rival to Azes, the dominant 'King of Kings' in the Punjab. Gondophares I succeeded to Azes' territory on the latter's death and this type of 'king mounted left' was adopted by his successor, Abdagases [his coins have a chunkier style and bear legends as king only, not king of kings].

Joe suggested in his communication to me that this new coin might be the same as the Hospises coin [he had an inferior photograph to identify] though it obviously is not since the reverse is quite different, but he may be on the right track with the obverse. On the Hospises coin Vol. IV S66.1, the obverse (and reverse) are double-struck and I was somewhat unsure what was being depicted – it seemed like a humped bull left with some strange marks on its back. Copper coins with bull to the left were known but a type with king mounted left seemed less likely. However, comparing the two coins I think that Joe is correct in thinking that, on the Hospises coin, it, too, represents a mounted king left. It can probably also be dated to the time of or just post-Gondophares I. Both coins are a little too worn to show whether the king is wearing Scythian or Parthian dress.

The Reverse

A figure is enthroned $\frac{3}{4}$ left and around, possibly square on three or four sides, is an uncertain Greek legend. The inspiration for the type is again Gondophares I, this time the very rare ISCH Vol. II S214.1 which also has a Greek legend around. The enthroned king/Zeus type is also found on the much earlier posthumous-Hermaios coins and coins of Maues S2.5 and Spalirises 73.1.

Comments

There is insufficient readable legend on the new coin to hazard a guess as to who the issuer might have been – it does not resemble any previously known legend and a better specimen is, therefore, required to identify in whose name it was struck.

Chronologically, it falls into the period pre-Abhiraka when Azes, the Scythian king of kings, was in decline and being supplanted by the Indo-Parthian king of kings, Gondophares. The most unusual aspect of the coin is the 'obverse' with mounted king having the Kharosthi legend around [if this *is* the case] and the 'reverse' having the Greek legend. On the Gondophares I coin with enthroned figure, the person represented is the king, himself. This poses a further question since it would not make sense for the king to appear on *both* sides of the coin – unless it represented a joint coinage of some kind – king on the obverse and king of kings on the reverse?

The Kshaharata Satraps seem to have come from Iran and were possibly subjects of Gondophares I, hence some of their coins being found in the districts ruled by Gondophares I [through trade] and the adoption of Gondophares' types. The coinages of Sind/Gujerat are as yet sketchily known and rarely present in modern collections. The changing trade routes, climate and possible mouths of the Indus over the millennia seem to have left sites that may have been previously thriving towns high, dry or abandoned. Future excavations may expose such sites and provide the missing information we require to understand these coinages. A few decades ago we had hardly ever seen any coins of the Paratarajas nor the gold coins of Sasanian type from Sind but today they have become almost common. In ISCH Vol. II, S318 – 321, I

re-allocated some coins, previously given to Chastana, to a new king whom I identified as Damaghsada, son of Ghsamotika. The idea was received with some scepticism in certain quarters. In August 2012 Dr Alexander Fishman sent me images of a new hoard of silver drachms of this very same king with a legend that almost exactly paralleled my original construction. Sometimes, the evidence *does* surface that confirms a new identification or explains an uncertain reading.

One problem with all these first century BC/AD coinages of this area is that there is no universally accepted and *proven* chronology. Each new discovery confirms to me that the general outline that I gave in ISCH is correct, at least for the coinage sequences and relationships. We may still hope that a new find, hoard or even better, an inscription, will surface to finally settle the chronological questions and particularly whether the Azes and Vikrama eras actually *are* one and the same, as I have considered them in ISCH.

A COMPREHENSIVE CATALOGUE AND CLASSIFICATION OF SILVER COINS OF THE KUNINDA DYNASTY

By Sanjeev Kumar

A large hoard of silver coins was recently found in the remote hills of Himachal Pradesh in Shimla district, India. The exact location of the hoard find is a well-kept secret, but the story of its find is quite fascinating. It seems that the hoard was discovered by two men whose main job is to distill illicit liquor in the hills of Himachal. In order to set up the liquor copper still deep underground and to evade detection from the authorities, they had to dig up a huge pit in the jungle away from the village. During this dig they discovered a pot with about 2000 silver Kuninda coins and approximately 40 silver Vemakis coins. Since the liquor vendors are called *daruwalas* in India, it is only apt to name this hoard *The Daruwala Hoard!*

As these coins slowly made their way to the market, it was apparent that the latest hoard comprised not only a substantial range of new (and up to now unknown types and varieties) but also presented an invaluable opportunity to do an in-depth study of this complex series.

Over the last year, I have managed to track down most of the hoard and as part of this study have had the opportunity to study additional coins in private as well as museum collections. The current hoard, as best as I have been able to ascertain, consisted of about 2000 coins. Based on this study, many new types and varieties have come to light and are being published for the first time here and more will follow in due course, to be published in JONS 219.

In reviewing John Allan's classification¹ of the coins in the British Museum, I found that he divided the coins into just four varieties, while Mitchiner classified these coins into seven types², both of these classifications fall short in the light of the new hoard.

Devendra Handa, in his book 'Tribal coins of Ancient India', tried to sort through the varieties based on the symbols on the reverse of the coins and stated that "The combination and placement of various symbols and the position of the deer form different classes and varieties (Fig. 7)."³ The table in his book however only lists symbols for a Class I (Deer to right) with nine varieties (Var. a-i) and Class II (Deer to left), which again proved insufficient as a tool to classify the coins from the hoard. In regards to his Class II, in all of the coins shown or listed by him in the book, he did not reference or publish an image of a silver Kuninda coin with a deer standing to the left. Such a design of the deer standing to the left is only known on copper coins but never seen on silver coins. It is possible that he may have been referencing either just copper coins or copper coins that were silver plated as forgeries (a few such coins have surfaced in recent years in the market), but other than the copper coins, no silver Kuninda coins are known where the deer stands to the left.

Wilfried Pieper published twelve different Kuninda varieties in his most recent book 'Ancient Indian Coins Revisited'.⁴ Alexander Fishman published 18 types as a guide for collectors on his site www.ancientcoins.ca which he continues to update with new finds. This classification system, however, also did not provide for a systematic addition of new types and varieties.⁵






































1	LOTUS - is shown as either a full lotus flower or a half flower			
2	SUN - is shown as a Circle line, 10, 12 dot or a 18 dot sun			
3	SWASTIKA- is clearly represented			
4	SRIVATSA- is found on all coins on top Obv			
5	CHAKRA - is shown with either 6 spokes or 4 spokes			
6	NANDIPADA-is shown facing either up or down			
7	PEACOCK - also sometimes referred to by scholars as a chalice			
8	INDRADHAVJHA - On reverse is found with straight leg (Var. A) and forked leg (Var.B).			
9	ONE ARCH HILL – is shown with or without a parasol			
10	THREE ARCH HILLS - is shown with or without a parasol			
11	SIX ARCH HILLS - is shown with or without a parasol			
12	FIRE ALTAR – found below deer			
13	OBELISK - known from a single specimen			
14	KALASHA - the holy water pitcher.			
15	BOX - with parasol is found on all coins above the deer			
16	TREE - with railing is found on all coins on the right of the six arch hills			
17	RIVER - always shown under the six arch hills			
18	RAILED YUPA - turned to left or right			

Fig.1- Symbols found on Kuninda silver coins.

The classification I propose below makes the process of sorting through this complex series extremely simple, ensuring that new varieties as they are found can be easily added into it, keeping the classification and the catalogue dynamic. To understand how the mint masters created the vast varieties when minting these coins, one has to first understand the basic symbols that are found on all the silver coins. The obverse and reverse show a variety of symbols which forms the basis for assigning the types and classes:

The basic symbols in various forms found on the obverse of all silver coins are:

- Deer facing right
- Goddess *Lakshmi* holding a lotus flower in her right hand and standing to the right of the deer
- *Srivatsa* symbol located between the deer's horns
- Square box above the deer, possibly a symbol for an altar in a railing or on a plinth.⁶

Basic symbols in various forms found on the reverse of all silver coins:

- Six-arch hills with parasol in the centre
- *Nandipada* directly above the six-arch hills
- *Swastika* always to the left of the six-arch hills
- *Indradhavja* with either a straight leg (*Variety A*) or split leg (*Variety B*) directly below the *swastika*.
- River symbol below the six-arch hills

The primary attribute on these coins is the goddess *Lakshmi*, who is shown holding a lotus flower in her right hand and stands in various poses. Type II coins clearly show the goddess standing on a lotus flower, confirming her attribution as *Lakshmi*.⁷

The entire silver coinage of the Kuninda can be easily grouped based on the symbol that the goddess *Lakshmi* is shown to be standing on, or, as in Type I, the absence of a symbol below the feet of the goddess.

The coins can now be classified into a total of seven different types:

- Type I:** No symbol below the feet of the goddess
- Type II:** Goddess stands on a lotus flower
- Type III:** Goddess stands on a sun
- Type IV:** Goddess stands on a swastika
- Type V:** Goddess stands on a *srivatsa*
- Type VI:** Goddess stands on a *chakra*
- Type VII:** Goddess stands on a *nandipada*

Each type is further divided into classes based on the appearance of symbols either on the obverse or the reverse that are in addition to basic symbols found on all the silver coins. Within each class we also find two distinct varieties – variety A: *Indradhavja* with straight standard, variety B: *Indradhavja* with forked standard. Within each class and variety, multiple die styles have been noted.

On silver coins, the tree in railing symbol on the reverse is found mostly always with three branches. Only one coin out of the 2000+ silver coins studied by me so far has four branches on the tree symbol – Type V, Class 4. In Dr Handa's book, he showed a five-branched tree symbol as symbol 43 which was also noted to be on the copper coins from the *Chakkar hoard*.⁸

The size of these coins ranges from 15 mm to 18 mm and were mostly struck to an average weight of 2.15 g. However, a few coins with weights as low as 1.63 g have been recorded, primarily for coins struck on thinner flans and as high as 2.47 g.

The legend on these silver coins is the same across all types. On the obverse, the legend is in a Prakrit script - *Rajnah Kunindasya Amoghabhutisya maharajasya* ("Great King Amoghabhuti, of the Kunindas")



Fig. 2 – Obverse Legend

On the reverse, the legend is in Kharoshti - *Rana Kunindasa Amoghabhutisa maharajasa* ("Great King Amoghabhuti, of the Kunindas").⁹



Fig. 3 – Reverse Legend

The catalogue presented below, like all catalogues, is a work in progress. I fully expect additional new coins to come to light once collectors follow this systematic approach to review their collections based on this classification. The extensive varieties of Type I show us that even though we currently know of only two varieties in Type V, we should not be surprised to find new additions to the catalogue in the years ahead. Based on the above, we know of at least thirty two unique symbols and variations (1-2-3 hill with and without parasol, two types of *yupa*, two types of *altars*, different *sun*, *indradvja* and *chakra* symbols). The permutation of these could possibly result in over 32,868 combinations. On top of this, if the mint masters added additional symbols to the basic set of symbols found on the reverse, the permutation combinations will be an amazingly large number!

CATALOGUE OF KUNINDA COINS

TYPE I – NO SYMBOL BELOW THE GODDESS’ FEET

Class 1 – The goddess is shown in a crude form, deer has long flowing horns, no symbols other than basic symbols on the obverse or reverse. Variety A is shown below with the straight standard on the reverse.

Fig. 4 - Shivlee Collection No. 937, Var. A

Class 2 – A ten-dot sun is behind the deer; no additional symbols.

Fig. 5 - Shivlee Collection No. 956, Var. B

Class 3 – A sixteen-dot sun behind the deer and a three-arch hill without parasol under the deer (clearly visible on the second specimen below, also Var. B).



Fig. 6a - Shivlee No. 962, Var. B. Fig. 6b - Jan Lingen Collection

Class 4 – An eighteen-dot sun behind the deer, *Kalasha* between the deer and the goddess.

Fig. 7 - Shivlee Collection No. 961, Var. B

Class 5 – A ten-dot sun above the deer on the obverse and a ten-dot sun above the tree on the reverse.



Fig. 8 - Shivlee Collection No. 967, Var. B

Class 6 – A one-arch hill with parasol under deer; no other symbols.



Fig.9 - Shivlee Collection No. 945, Var. A

Class 7 – Three-arch hills without a parasol under the deer; no other symbols.



Fig. 10 - Shivlee Collection No. 934, Var. A



Fig. 11 - Jan Lingen Collection, Var. B



Fig. 16 - Shivlee Collection No. 952, Var. B

Class 8 – Three-arch hills without a parasol, *Kalasha* between the deer and the goddess.

Class 11 – Three-arch hills with parasol, *Kalasha* between the deer and the goddess. *Nandipada* symbol behind deer legs embedded in the legend.



Fig. 12 - Shivlee Collection No. 945, Var. A



Fig. 17 - Shivlee Collection No. 964, Var. A

Class 9 – Three-arch hills with parasol; no other symbols.

Class 12 – Three-arch hills with parasol, *Kalasha* between deer and goddess. *Nandipada* symbol behind deer legs embedded in the legend. *Lotus flower on the reverse, over the tree.*



Fig. 13 - Shivlee Collection No. 946, Var. A



Fig. 18 - Shivlee Collection No. 966, Var. A



Fig. 14 - Shivlee Collection No. 947, Var. B

Class 13 – Fire altar symbol below deer; no other symbols.

Class 10 – Three-arch hills with parasol, *Kalasha* between the deer and the goddess.



Fig. 19 - Pankaj Tandon Collection, Var. B



Fig. 15 - Shivlee Collection No. 951, Var. A

Class 14 – *Nandipada* symbol behind deer legs embedded in the legend. *Kalasha* between the deer and the goddess. A fire altar below the deer.



Fig. 20 - Private collection, via Internet Coin Group, Var. A.

Class 15 – Fire altar symbol below the deer, *Nandipada* symbol between the deer and the goddess.



Fig. 21 - Tody Auction 34, Lot 17. Reverse image not available.

Class 16 – Two-column fire altar symbol below the deer, 8-dot half sun behind the deer. (Note: this half-sun symbol is different from a lotus)



Fig. 22 - Jan Lingen Collection, Var. B

Class 17 – Railed *Yupa* shown on a two-box platform under the deer.¹⁰



Fig. 23 - Wilfried Pieper Collection, Var. A

Class 18 – Railed *Yupa* shown on a two-box platform under the deer. An eighteen-dot sun behind the deer.



Fig. 24 - Shivlee Collection No. 969, Var. B

Class 19 – Railed *Yupa* shown on a four-box platform under the deer.



Fig. 25 - Wilfried Pieper Collection, Var. A

Class 20 – Six-arch hills without parasol under the deer; no other symbols.



Fig. 26 - Shivlee Collection No. 953, Var. A

Class 21 – *Srivatsa* symbol below deer; no other symbols.



Fig. 27 - Jan Lingen Collection, Var. A

TYPE II – GODDESS STANDS ON LOTUS FLOWER

Class 1 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a lotus flower bed. No other symbols.



Fig. 28 - Shivlee Collection No. 970, Var. A

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a half lotus flower. An eleven-dot sun below the deer.



Fig. 29 - Shivlee Collection No. 972, Var. B

Class 3 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a half lotus flower. A *Swastika* between the deer and the goddess.



Fig. 30 - Image courtesy Alexander Fishman, Var. A.

Class 4 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a half lotus flower. *Swastika* below deer, three-arch hills with parasol between the deer and the goddess. Unusually low weight: 1.63 g.



Fig. 31 - Shivlee Collection No. 975, Var. B

Class 5 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a beaded lotus flower. Three-arch hills with parasol below the deer.



Fig. 32 - Shivlee Collection No. 974, Var. B

Class 6 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a half lotus flower. An obelisk symbol between the deer and the goddess.

Fig. 33 - British Museum Acc. No. 1983,0120,129. Var. A

TYPE III – GODDESS STANDS ON A SUN

Class 1– Goddess Lakshmi stands on an eight-dot sun.



Fig. 34 - Shivlee Collection No. 978, Var. B

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on an eight-dot sun. A *Srivatsa* symbol is also present to the left of the sun in the obverse legend.



Fig. 35 - Private collection, via Internet Coin Group, Var. B

Class 3 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a ten-dot sun. *Swastika* below the deer and *Nandipada* between the deer and the goddess.



Fig. 36 - Shivlee Collection No. 978, Var. B

Class 4 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a sun shown as a circular line with dots. No other symbols.



Fig. 37 - Shivlee Collection No. 983, Var. B

Class 5 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on an eighteen-dot sun. No other symbols.



Fig. 38 - Shivlee Collection No. 977, Var. B

Class 6 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on an eighteen-dot sun, three-arch hills with parasol under the deer, *Kalasha* between deer and goddess.



Fig. 39 - Shivlee Collection No. 979, Var. B

TYPE IV – GODDESS STANDS ON A SWASTIKA

Class 1 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a swastika. No other symbols.



Fig. 40 - Shivlee Collection No. 985, Var. B, 2.24gm

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a swastika, *Srivatsa* symbol on the reverse.



Fig. 41 - Jan Lingen Collection

Class 3 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a swastika, one-arch hill with parasol under deer.



Fig. 42 - Shivlee Collection No. 989, Var. B

TYPE V – GODDESS STANDS ON A SRIVATSA

Class 1 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Srivatsa* symbol. A half lotus with a pronounced pistil is on the reverse above the *Swastika*.



Fig. 43 - Shivlee Collection No. 942, Var. B

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a *Srivatsa* symbol. Peacock symbol between the deer and the goddess.



Fig. 44 - Shivlee Collection No. 993, Var. B

Class 3 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Srivatsa* symbol. Peacock symbol between the deer and goddess. Additional *Srivatsa* symbol on the reverse above the *swastika*.



Fig. 45 - Shivlee Collection No. 992, Var. B

Class 4 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Srivatsa* symbol. *Nandipada* symbol is within the legend to the right of the *Srivatsa*. Four-branched tree in railing on reverse.



Fig. 46 - Shivlee Collection No. 934, Var. B

Class 5 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a *Srivatsa* symbol. One-arch hill below the deer and *Indradhavja* between the deer and goddess.



Fig. 47 - Shivlee Collection No. 935, Var. B

TYPE VI – GODDESS STANDS ON A CHAKRA

Class 1 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a six-spoke Chakra. No other symbols.



Fig. 48 - Shivlee Collection No. 994, Var. B

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on a four-spoke Chakra.



Fig. 49 - Shivlee Collection No. 995, Var. B

TYPE VII – GODDESS STANDS ON A NANDIPADA

Class 1 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Nandipada*. No other symbols.



Fig. 50 - Tody Auction 28-003-0, Var. B

Class 2 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Nandipada*. *Indradhavja* between the deer and the goddess.

Fig. 51 - Shivlee Collection No. 998, Var. B

Class 3 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Nandipada*. *Indradhavja* between the deer and the goddess. *Srivatsa* symbol on the reverse above the *Swastika*.



Fig. 52 - Jan Lingen Collection, Var. B

Class 4 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Nandipada*. *Srivatsa* symbol on the reverse above the *Swastika*.



Fig. 53- Shivlee Collection No. 936, Var. B

Class 5 – Goddess Lakshmi stands on *Nandipada*. Two lines under the deer.¹²



Fig. 54 - Shivlee Collection No. 999, Var. B

Even though the catalogue and classification are an important first step towards the study of this complex yet fascinating series, I can see that I have barely touched the surface and a deeper study of the varieties and dies will be required. I firmly believe that by making it easy to categorise this complex series, we will see a much higher

level of interest from the collector and research community and this higher level of participation will lead to additions to this catalogue.

While the majority of my time was spent in trying to create a logical classification system, additional work is required to understand the difference in the designs, fabric and size of the coins in the coming years. Some coins, specifically those of Type I, Class 1, are distinctly different in design, even though they follow the same format as the rest of the series. This cruder design coin variety was very well represented in the hoard so one can assume that it was widely struck and circulated during the time when this hoard was buried along with the other coins.

Some coins like this specimen below from Jan Lingen's collection show signs that the symbol under the deer may have been added either later to the die or added as a punched mark to the coin.



Fig. 54 – Type- I, Class 9, Var. A

Coins of Type II, Class 6 (with obelisk) are struck on a larger, 18 mm flan, but within the same weight standard of the 2.15 g range. The two known obelisk coin specimens¹¹ are assumed to be from the same hoard found in the early 1980's. This obelisk coin variety was missing from the hoard coins I examined.

Coins of Type I, Class 13-16, present a quandary. In some coins, the *fire altar* symbol is a tall structure and looks like an upside down *Indradhavja* (Fig 22), (however, this view was discarded as the symbol on the obverse is distinctly different – note the lower half of the obverse symbol would have to be also fully inverted upside down in order to match the *Indradhavja* symbol on the reverse), while in others (Fig.20), the *fire altar* is short and tiny.

Given the huge number of variations possible, the *Daruwala Hoard* will no doubt continue to reveal new secrets over time and I look forward to updating this catalogue and classification in the coming years.

¹ J. Allan, *A Catalogue of The Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*, 1967, p.ci.

² Michael Mitchiner, *The Ancient & Classical World*, 1978.

³ D. Handa, *Tribal coins of Ancient India*, 2007, p.53-63.

⁴ Wilfried Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins Revisited*, 2013.

⁵ Alexander Fishman website www.ancientcoins.ca

⁶ As suggested by Dr Shailendra Bhandre, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, private communication.

⁷ In his book (1967), Allan rightly identified the goddess on these coins as Lakshmi. Handa (2013), noted in regards to the figure of the goddess that she is ... “generally identified with goddess Lakshmi”. Based on the new finds of coins showing the goddess standing on a lotus flower (Type II), there should be no doubt as to the identity of the goddess as none other than Lakshmi.

⁸ Handa, p.62. Fig.8.

⁹ Graphic courtesy Alexander Fishman.

¹⁰ Wilfried Pieper in his 2013 book *AICR*, published a *railed yupa* variety with a question mark as he had doubts that it may have been a double struck *Arch Hill* symbol. (type 1143 in his book, *Fig. 23* above). Since then Wilfried was kind enough to provide me with another new coin image (*Fig. 25*), which clearly shows a *yupa*-like structure on a four-box platform. Initially I had similar doubts about the symbol being called a *yupa* and had considered it to be a double-struck *swastika* (*Fig. 24*) or possibly a shortened *tree in railing* symbol; however, after reviewing the two images provided by Wilfried, it is clear that this symbol is indeed a *yupa*.

¹¹ British Museum specimen acquisition No. 1983.0120.129 and second specimen was in the Dr Kurt Atterman Collection, since sold.

¹² I have reluctantly added this Type VII, Class 4, as a new variety, as I am not quite confident that these two lines represent a symbol rather than simply an engraving error. However, having seen these two lines on more than one specimen from the hoard, I have decided to include it as an additional variety.

“TWO LACS OF BHARATPUR AND BINDRABUND RUPEES AND 15 BAGS OF COPPER PYCE, CAPTURED AT DIG ON CHRISTMAS’ EVE 1804”

By Jan Lucassen and Jan Lingen

Dig (also spelled Deeg; alternatively known as Mahe Indrapur / Mahendrapur) was the summer residence and, therefore, the second capital of the Princely State of Bharatpur in Rajasthan.⁴⁸ It came into possession of the Jats about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and, in 1751, its ruler acquired the title of raja. His grandson, Raja Ranjit Singh, who ruled AH 1190-1220 (1776-1805) decided to support the Maratha chief, Jaswant Rao Holkar, with money, provisions and men in the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1805).⁴⁹ During this war, Bengal forces of the British East India Company, called the “Grand Army” and commanded by general Gerard Lake, marched from Kanpur on 3 September 1804. At that time, the strength of the Maratha army was estimated at 14,000 infantry, 160 guns, besides strong cavalry. A British Contingent under General Fraser with 5,000 infantry laid siege to Dig on 11 December 1804 (AH 1219, RY 47 of Shah Alam II), which surrendered on 24 December. Thereafter, Lake and his troops besieged the capital, Bharatpur, but without success. After four failed attacks which cost the Company 3,292 killed and wounded (including 103 Europeans) the British had to give up on 22 February 1805. Peace was arranged and Dig was restored to Ranjit Singh.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ About the middle of the nineteenth century Bharatpur was a territory of 1,974 square miles with 650,000 inhabitants, see F.S. Growse, *Mathurá a district memoir* (reprint of the third edition, 1883 revised; Bombay: R.N. Kothari Konam Printers, 1978; the first edition dates from 1874, the second and enlarged edition from 1880), p. 46; Hans Herrli, “Ways and by-ways of Indian numismatics: Aspects of money circulation in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies”, *JONS* 214 (Winter 2013), pp. 20-25., here p. 22, fn. 38.

⁴⁹ There is much confusion about the numbering of the Anglo-Maratha Wars, as explained in: Randolph G.S. Cooper, *The Anglo-Maratha Campaigns and the Contest for India. The Struggle for Control of the South Asian Military Economy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 313-314, 343-344. Here we stick to the conventional but problematic indication, although the 1804-1805 British campaign against Jaswant Rao Holkar may well be seen as separate from the preceding one in 1803; D.D.Khanna and R.K. Tandon, “Siege of the fort of Deeg 9th December to 26th December 1804”, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 63 (1985), pp. 31-52, here p.40.

⁵⁰ M.S. Naravane, *Battles of the Honourable East India Company (Making of the Raj)* (New Delhi: S.B. Nangia A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2006), 91-96.

A detailed report of the siege of Dig is available in the diary kept by James Young, one of the British artillery officers who took part in it.⁵¹ Born in Glasgow on 2 October 1782, he matriculated from Glasgow University to join the East India Company in 1801. In 1818 he resigned from the Company, became the director of a business firm and was twice, in 1838 and 1839, sheriff of Calcutta. His diary describes how, in December 1804, the town and its fortress were defended by the majority of the Maratha infantry from inside, while their cavalry, under the command of Holkar himself, was freely moving around and attacking the British. The latter concentrated on the fortress which they bombarded for nearly two weeks until a breach was forced. On the early morning of 24 December when it was still dark the fortress was stormed and taken by the British. During that day the population of Dig, including Holkar’s infantry fled the town and took the road in the direction of Bharatpur, without the British being able to prevent this exodus as it was protected by Holkar’s 10,000 to 12,000 strong cavalry.

James Young feared that they were also carrying with them “the treasures of the Fort and Town”⁵², but later on he changed his mind and deemed this to be very unlikely as “the fugitive would never have tempted the cupidity of their protectors, Holkar’s ill-paid cavalry, by carrying with them any cash”. At that moment the citadel was still held by 600 Jats, but these also retired on Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day “after breakfast almost the whole camp went down to visit the fort and town”. Young was among them and called the town “populous and flourishing” while admiring at length the new palace of the Raja which he considered “with its beautiful gardens, by far, superior, in every respect, to any building I have seen in India”.⁵³ The next day (26 December) at noon precisely, however, the tourist party was over and the British army resumed its routine, including the taking of prize, in particular a search for the treasury of the Raja. Six officers were officially appointed as prize agents (entitling them to 5% on all sales and 3% on cash), under the leadership of Lt. Hay for the artillery. In the words of Young: “The Prize Agents of the army have been very busy in the fort looking out, and digging for treasure and selling all property. Informers of treasure or property of any kind concealed get half of it if it is their own secured to them and one quarter if it is public or another’s effects. 2 Lacks and 9000 Rupees have been dug up in the Fort and more is expected as by all the native accounts 50 Lacks of Rupees were always kept in Deeg. [...] several lacks of maunds (a maund is 80 lb.) of grain had been found which will be purchased by the Company and effects of greater quantity than value are selling by the auction daily for the benefit of the Prize Fund. A Lieut’s share, of what we have *already* realised will amount to about 400 rupees.” Young underlines “*already*” because “Strong suspicions are entertained, that much money is concealed in the beautiful carved and fretted walls and pillars of the palace and our prize agents, of whom two are left for the purpose of searching in Deeg, I will dare say not stand upon much ceremony about pulling it to pieces [...]”.

Whatever efforts the British may have put in finding the rest of the supposed 500,000 rupees, they were in vain as proves the final overview of the Deeg booty (see *Appendix*), less than half of which consisted of cattle, ingredients for making gunpowder (saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal⁵⁴) with cash making up the rest. Most goods like cattle and grain, including bags of copper pice, were immediately put into auction, the ingredients for making gun powder were reserved for their own military use, and the silver rupee coins were handed over to Captain Staunton Deputy Field Paymaster.

The total sum of nearly Rs 400,000 of prize money was going to be divided among the troops, as James Young had expected

⁵¹ Khanna and Tandon, *o.c.* The original is to be found in the British Library (Add Mss 30516).

⁵² Khanna and Tandon, *o.c.*, p. 47.

⁵³ These and the following quotes from Khanna and Tandon, *o.c.*, pp. 50-52

⁵⁴ Jan Lucassen, “Working at the Ichapur Gunpowder Factory”, *Indian Historical Review* 39, 1 (2012), 19-56 and 39, 2 (2012), 251-271.

already. This was a long-established custom, one of the extra stimuli for the troops. On an earlier occasion the European and Indian troops present at the final victory over the Rohillas on 23 April 1774 were entitled to a sum of one million rupees according to the rules set out by a committee at Berhampur in 1787 – at least those still alive at the moment the money was disbursed some fifteen years after the battle.⁵⁵

The capture of such big sums is not just a lucky coincidence for the victors but is very significant for the role coins played in these societies, and more particular in the armies involved. In a careful analysis of what he considers as the decisive British successes in 1803 Randolph Cooper attributes these not to superior training, discipline and drill, nor to superior British artillery, but to British credit, i.e. the ability “to buy out military forces or hire them on credit underwritten by the EIC. The promises of pay were enough to lure away entire battalions who had seen Maratha leaders stripped of their capital and credibility.”⁵⁶ Without capital no victory, and this went for both armies, which consisted exclusively of paid mercenaries. It does not seem farfetched to link the presence of 200,000 rupees at Dig directly with the exigencies of war, in particular with the payment of the Maratha troops. This sum approximates to the annual pay of some 3,000 privates, or even 7,000 – if we attach credence to believing the rumour that 500,000 rupees were always kept available in Dig. [Cooper, *op.cit.*, p. 227.]

The most important sum of what we might call the Dig booty was represented by 208,900 Bharatpur rupees. Comparatively insignificant were 50 “Bindrabund rupees”, 453 “rupees of different kinds” and 15 bags of copper pice – unfortunately without details about the number of pice coins contained in one bag. The main question here we would like to answer here is which coins are meant, but also what their role may have been in the coin circulation in Bharatpur around the turn of the century.

The Bharatpur rupees

The Bharatpur state produced good silver rupees on a very regular basis in a number of mints, as well as a few half and quarter rupee pieces. Remarkably, production was not constant, neither for the state as a whole, nor for its different mint houses (see Table 1). The small price variations between the different years and mints as reflected in actual market prices for collectors suggest a rather regular annual output, which might be put easily at a few hundred thousand per year and if need be even at a few million. [Jan Lucassen, “Deep monetization, commercialization, and proletarianization: possible links, India 1200-1900”, in: Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (Ed.), *Towards a New History of Work* (New Delhi, forthcoming 2013)].

In the beginning of Shah Alam’s reign basically two mints were actively striking coins, followed by a break between his regnal years 17 and 23, after which it was resumed, initially on an irregular basis but from regnal year 29 onwards annually in Bharatpur, supported by the mints of Dig, Kumher and Wer (or Weir). In 1751 the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur bestowed Badan Singh (1722/23-1756), a Raja, with the title of Mahendra, and Suraj Mal (1756-1763), a Kumar Bahadur, with the title of Rajendra and also made him Faujdar of Mathura for a modest annual tribute. Badan Singh’s title of Mahendra created the name Mahendrapur for Dig. Bharatpur became known as Brajendrapur on the coins.

The earliest coins for the State of Bharatpur are rupees in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur dated AH 1166/R.Y. 6 (1752) with the mint-name Mahendrapur. The first coins observed with the mint-name Bharatpur, but subsequently Brajendrapur, are in the

name of Shah Alam II, dated AH 1185(sic.)/RY 14 (1772/73). In Table 1 we summarise the available data on the production of rupees in Bharatpur state between 1759 and 1806. For purposes of reference we have included Agra, although not part of Bharatpur, because it was the nearest important mint and, during the years AH 1175-1188 under the control of the Jats of Bharatpur. This is not the place to discuss possible economic and political backgrounds of the clearly discernible sub-periods of enlarged or diminished coin production of the princely state of Bharatpur as becomes clear from Table 1. An exception may be made for the end of the period.

In AH 1201 (1786/87) four mints within Bharatpur State simultaneous started minting rupees. This increase in minting activities can probably be explained by the exigencies of war (in which the Marathas conquered Mathura and drove the Jats from Vindravan), including the payment of troops. It is, therefore, probably also no coincidence that in RY 46, during the war with the English, these four mints were active again producing rupees (see Table 1). It is not unlikely that these are the very coins which in such great numbers – over 200,000 (possibly out of a total of 500,000) – fell into the hands of the East India Company at the fall of Dig.



Gerard Lake



Jashwant Rao Holkar I

⁵⁵ See *Fort William – India House Correspondence*, edited by the NAI (i.a. Letter from Court 8 April 1789, pp. 94-95; Letter to Court 16 August 1787, pp. 238-241; 15 December 1787, p. 251; 12 January 1788, pp. 253-254); for the lists of thousands of names of those entitled to a share see *NAI, Military Board Proceedings* 21-10-1786).

⁵⁶ Cooper, *op.cit.* 299, 327-334; cf. Dirk H.A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy. The ethnohistory of the military labour market in Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), and Herrli 2013 *op.cit.*.

Table 1, Rupees with the title of Shah Alam II (1759-1806), produced in Bharatpur mints up till the end of his reign (AH 1221 / RY 49, 1806).

RY	AH	Akbarabad =Agra	Brajendrapur =Bharatpur	Mahendrapur = Dig	Kumher	Wer	Jawahargarh = Kumher? ⁵⁷
Ahd	1174	X Moghul		X			
2	1174			X			
2	1175	X Jats		X			
3	1175	X Jats		X			
3	1176	X Jats		X			
4	1176	X Jats		X			
4	1177	X Jats		X			
5	1177	X Jats		X			X
5	1178	X Jats		X			
6	1178			X			
6	1179	X Jats		X			
7	1180	X Jats		X			
8	1180	X Jats					
8	1181	X Jats		X (118x/8)			
9	1180!			X			
9	1181			X			
9	1182	X Jats		X			
10	1182	X Jats		X Also attested in a contemporaneous document, see Herrli, "Ways and by-ways", <i>o.c.</i> , p. 22, fn. 38.			
10	1183			X			
11	1184	X Jats		X (- /11)			
12	1184	X Jats					
12	1185						
13	1184!			X			
13	1186						
14	1185!	X Jats	X	X			
14	1186	X Jats	X	X			
14	1187		X (118x/14)				
15	1187	X Jats	X	X			
15	1188	X Jats	X	X			
16	1189	Najaf Khan		X			
17	1189			X			
17	1190			Najaf Khan			
18	1191		X				
19	1192						
20	1193			X (119x/20)			
21	1193		X	X (-/21)			
21	1194						
22	1195						
23	1195	X Muh. Beg		X			
24	1196			Mirza Shafi			
24	1197	X Muh. Beg					
25	1197	X Muh. Beg					
25	1198	X Muh. Beg					
26	1198	X Muh. Beg					
26	1199	X Muh. Beg	Sindia			X	
27	1199	Sindhia					
27	1200					X	
28	1200						

⁵⁷ Prashant P. Kulkarni, "Early Coins of Bharatpur State", in *ONS Newsletter no. 167* (2003), p.17.

28	1201	X Ghulam Qadir					
29	1201	X Sindhia	X (12xx/29)	X (12xx/29)	X (120x/29)	X (12xx/29)	
30	1202		X				
30	1203	X Sindhia					
31	1203		X (12xx/31)	X			
32	1204		X (12xx/32)			X	
33	1205		X	X		X (120x/33)	
34	1206	X Sindhia	X	X	X		
34	1207	X Sindhia	X				
35	1207		X (12xx/35)				
36	1208						
37	1209		X				
38	1210	X Sindhia	X (12xx/38)				
39	1211		X (121x/39)	X			
40	1212	X (121x/40)	X (12xx/40)	X (12xx/40)			
41	1214			X (12xx/41)			
42	1212!		X				
42	1214		X	X			
42	1215	X Sindhia		X			
43	1215	X Sindhia	X				
43	1216						
44	1216	X Sindhia	X				
44	1217	X Sindhia					
45	1217		X				
45	1218	X Sindhia	X (12xx/45)				
46	1218	X Sindhia	X	X	X	X	
46	1219	X Sindhia					
47	1219	X B.E.I.C.	X Siege of Bharatpur	Dig besieged by B.E.I.C.	X (121x/47)		
47	1220	X B.E.I.C.	Treaty concluded April 17th, 1805				
48	1220/1 221						
49	1221/1 222		X (12xx/49)				

This table is based on data collected during the last four decennia by the first author on the coinage of the former princely states of Rajasthan. We present a simplified relationship between regnal years and AH years as other combinations (including blatantly erroneous ones) also occur.



Fig. 1 AR rupee Mahendrapur (Dig) AH 121x/Ry.42



Fig. 3 AR rupee 'Mahendrapur' (Kumher) AH 121x/Ry.47



Fig. 2 AR rupee Brajendrapur (Bharatpur) AH 1216/Ry.44



Fig. 4 AR rupee 'Mahendrapur' (Wer) AH 1218/Ry.46

The Vindravan rupees

We now look at the 50 “Bindrabund rupees” which were part of the booty, and ask why such an infinitely small sum was emphatically distinguished from the Bharatpur and other rupees. In order to understand this, we have to go into some detail about the often misunderstood monetary history of Vindravan, the famous pilgrimage place on the right bank of the Yamuna.⁵⁸ During the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir (AH 1068-1118/AD 1658-1707) the name was changed to Muminabad (= city of the faithful)⁵⁹. Contrary to what is suggested in the main catalogues⁶⁰, there never was a local or city mint in Vindravan. All coins bearing the name Vrindavan or Muminabad were issued by larger territorial states, some at Vindravan proper, but most outside.

The Jats were the first to strike rupees in the town for a few years from about 1778 (AH 1192/Ry 20 until Ry 23), see Fig. 5.⁶¹ In about 1786 (AH 1200/Ry 28) Vrindavan came under the control of the Marathas and, according to F.S. Growse, Daulat Rao Sindhia established a mint there in 1786 from which a street called the “Taksāl-wali-Gali” derived its name – taksaal meaning mint.⁶² Under Maratha rule, rupees in the name of Shah Alam II with regnal years running from 26 to 45 bearing the mintmark of a sword were produced (see Figs. 6 and 9), as well as copper paisas from regnal year 26 to 41, possibly also a ½ paisa with regnal year 37.

Apart from these two series there is a very peculiar third series, to which the booty document almost certainly refers. After the Jats had been ousted from Vindravan they must have taken the rupee dies with them and from AH 120x/Ry 37 (AH 1209 or 1795) they continued striking Muminabad Bindraban rupees with the mint marks of a sword and katar (dagger), but – and this is most important – with a lower silver content (see Fig. 7).⁶³ Moreover, they seem to refer typologically to Bharatpur coins, the sword being the mint-mark for Mahendrapur and the katar for Brajendrapur. Whereas the British after they occupied Vindravan discontinued the coin production there, the Bharatpur (Jat) rulers continued theirs until 1867. Most of these rupees and their occasional fractions of ½ and ¼ bear the frozen regnal year 44 (see Fig. 8). In the years 1859-1867 these debased Bindraban rupees struck at Bharatpur – like the full-weight Bharatpur rupees proper – also showed the effigy of Victoria (see Fig. 10).



Fig. 5 AR rupee Muminabad Bindraban AH 1193/Ry 21 (Jat issue from Vindravan)



Fig. 6 AR rupee Muminabad Bindraban AH 1207/Ry 37 (Maratha issue from Vindravan)



Fig. 7 AR rupee of debased silver Muminabad Bindraban AH 120x/Ry 37 (Jat issue from Bharatpur)



Fig. 8 AR rupee of debased silver Muminabad Bindraban AH 121x/Ry 44 (Jat issue with frozen regnal year from Bharatpur)



Fig. 9 AR rupee Muminabad Bindraban AH 1218/Ry 45 (last Maratha issue from Vindravan)

⁵⁸ Growse, *op.cit.* pp. 189-193, 259-266.

⁵⁹ Mu'min is a term, frequently referenced in the Koran, meaning "believer", and more in particular "faithful Muslim" – a pungent name for one of the most venerated centres of Hindu pilgrimage in India.

⁶⁰ E.g. Colin R. Bruce II (Senior Editor), *Standard Catalog of World Coins 1801-1900* (Iola, Wi: Krause, 2004), p. 621 (“Bindraban. This city, the modern Vindravan, was not a princely state [...] The coins [...] display symbols of Awadh, Mughals, Delhi and Bartpur, although it is clear that they were not mints of any of those authorities, especially in the British period.”; The catalogue itself then distinguishes confusingly between “city” and “local” coinage). The same text in George S. Cuhaj (Editor), *South Asian Coins and Paper Money. Indian Edition, including undivided India prior to 1947* (Iola, Wi: Krause, 2013), pp. 270-272.

⁶¹ Unless otherwise stated, all data are from the same source as Table 1.

⁶² Growse *op.cit.* p. 266.

⁶³ Therefore, contrary to the opinion of K.K. Maheswari and Kenneth W. Wiggins, *Maratha Mints and Coinage* (Nasik: Indian Institute for Research in Numismatic Studies, 1989), pp. 147-154 it is not difficult at all to distinguish the Maratha issues of Ry.26-45 from the Bharatpur issues of Ry.37 and later.

Some of the existing confusion regarding these debased rupees may have been caused by Growse himself. Normally considered a very reliable author, he erroneously writes in the *Mathurá District Memoir*: “When the Jats were in possession of the country, they transferred it to Bharatpur, where what are called Brindábani rupees are still coined.” This apparently is a slip of the pen for “When the Jats had to leave the country [of Vindravan in 1784/5 ...]”.

Luckily he does not only add that the Bharatpur rulers continued this production until very late in the 1860s, but also why exactly these debased rupees were so popular: “They are especially used at weddings, and when there are many such festivities going on, the coin is sometimes valued at as much as 13 annas, but ordinarily sells for 12.”⁶⁴ This points to a particular use of these debased coins, distinct from general circulation. Recently Hans Herrli mentioned the custom in Rajputana where “marriage guests,

⁶⁴ Growse, *op.cit.*, p. 266.

who were expected to bring an auspicious number of coins, - e.g. 101, 108 or 1011 – as presents, often chose the rupees struck by the Marwar Thakur of Kuchaman that contained less silver than others and, therefore, allowed them to save some money.”⁶⁵ Similarly, the production of debased ‘Brindaban’ silver coins, might be connected to a special purpose, in this case collecting coins for charity disbursements at the famous temples of Vindraban where rich devotees spent enormous amounts of money, whereas poor ones depended on alms.⁶⁶ The interpretations by Growse and Herli are corroborated by an envelope at the Ashmolean Museum with the text: “*Bindraban – Queens head – said to be a cheap coin struck for charity*” (see Fig. 11)⁶⁷.



Fig. 10 AR rupee with portrait of Queen Victoria, ‘Bindraban’ 1859, struck at Bharatpur.

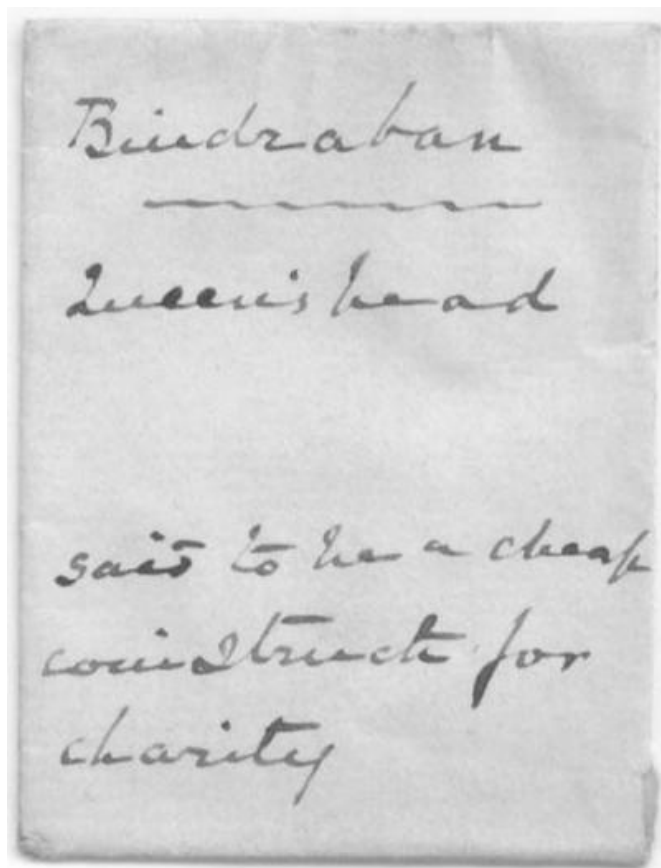


Fig. 11 Envelope in which such a rupee was presented to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

It is impossible to say more about the 453 “rupees of different kinds”, but apart from Bharatpur and Vrindavan pieces, we may think of i.a. Alwar, Mathura, Jaipur and Agra rupees, struck in the immediate vicinity.⁶⁸

The copper pice

Thirdly and finally, the pice. Unfortunately, it has not been recorded which pice are meant. From the fact, however, that they were put into auction immediately it follows that they must have been current locally. Most probably one of the shroffs (money exchangers) bought the whole lot at a favourable price. If these bags, taken by the British at Dig in December 1804 contained local pice, we may be pretty sure that these were takkas struck by the Bharatpur rajas, weighing each between 17.0 and 18.5 g. On the one side they show the name of the Mughal emperor Shah ‘Alam II (AH 1174-1221 or AD 1759-1806) and, on the other, the mint-name, regnal year and the respective mintmarks.

The mintmarks used at the period concerned are:

- A) Brajendrapur (Bharatpur): a bold katar between ‘*julūs*’ and the regnal year. Within the Persian character *sīn* of ‘*julūs*’ a star, 4 dots or cross-mark with leaves attached above.
- B) Mahendrapur (Dig): sword + katar (a push dagger with an H-shaped horizontal hand grip), the katar is located within the loop of the *sīn* of ‘*julūs*’
- C) Pseudo mint-name ‘Mahendrapur’ (struck at Kumher): a bold katar between ‘*julūs*’ and the regnal year. Within the *sīn* of ‘*julūs*’ a vertical bar between dots.

As they are poorly catalogued we provide a preliminary overview in Table 2 of the examples known to us.



Dig Fort

⁶⁵ Herli, “Ways and by-ways”, *o.c.*, here p. 21, fn. 31, however without reference.

⁶⁶ For the annual income of the tempels see Growse, *op.cit.*, p. 266.

⁶⁷ Image kindly provided by Shailendra Bhandare.

⁶⁸ For Alwar and the other states mentioned see see Cuhaj *o.c.* 2013..

Table 2 Copper coins with the title of Shah Alam II (1759-1806) on the obverse, produced in Bharatpur mints from RY 27 up to the end of his reign (AH 1221/RY 49, 1806).

AH	Regnal year	AD	Brajindrapur = Bharatpur	Mahendrapur = Dig	Mahendrapur = Kumher
Mintmarks			A	B	C
1201	27	1785/6		P	
120x [1200 or 1201]	x8 [28]	1786		P	
	33	1790/1	T		
	38	1795/6			T
	40	1797/8	T		
1213	41	1798/9	T		
	42	1799/1800	T		T
1215		1800/1		P or T (Stephen Album, list 18-895)	
	44	1801/2	T		
1216	44		T		
1216	45	1802/3	T		
	45		T		T
1217	45		T	T	
	x6 [46?]	1803/4	T		
	47	1804/5	T		
1221	49 (Became also a frozen year on later issues)	1806	T		T

Data as in table 1, which means that dates only known from the literature (especially Cuhaj, *South Asian Coins*, o.c., pp. 260-261) have not been included although they do not contradict our observations; P = paisa, T = takka

On the paisas of Dig the Hijri-date can usually be observed above the 'shā' of 'bādshāh'. On the Bharatpur issues the Hijri-date is located above 'sikkah mubārak' and often off the flan. On the few specimen where Hijri-dates are shown, they often do not coincide with the regnal year on the reverse. This would indicate that the dies were used until they were completely worn-out or broken, before they got replaced. Therefore, certain date combinations or regnal years may have been produced over a longer period of time or even became frozen, as happened with the last regnal year of Shah 'Alam II, viz.: RY 49. The latest date combination so far observed is AH 1279/RY 49 (=1862). Bharatpur mint (Brajendrapur) seems, unlike the mint of Mahendrapur (Dig), not to have coined any copper coins other than takkas. Dig seems, particularly during the early period in the reign of Shah Alam II, to have minted paisas profusely instead of takkas.

Bharatpur continuously minted takkas from about the regnal years 40 to 49 of Shah 'Alam (1798-1806). They were produced very regularly with possibly a peak output for all three mints in RY 45, which fits well with the data on which the booty was seized. We, therefore, suggest this reflects an increase in the production of Bharatpur rupees and takkas during the second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1805). As large regiments were kept to defend the fortresses, they not only had to be paid out in silver rupees, but they also had to purchase goods at the local markets, which necessitated the availability of copper change.

As to the content of a "bag" not much can be said for sure, but a bag of 10 Seers = 9.331 kg would contain only 525 takka pieces. A bag of 1 Maund = 40 seers = 37.324 kg would contain 2,100 pieces, which makes the total number of coppers seized not very impressive, say between 7,885 and 31.500 Bharatpur takkas – at best 10% of the annual output of one of its mints.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ For some data on the transport of copper coins and the contents of chests (containing several gunny bags) see Jan Lingen and Jan Lucassen, "The 'mansuri' or 'munsooree paisa' and its use: combining numismatic and social history of India, c. 1830-1900", *Numismatic Digest* 31 (2007), 187-220; Idem, "Copper circulation in Northern India in 1830", *Ibidem* 34-35 (2010-2011), pp. 148-183; Jan Lucassen, "The Logistics of Wage Payments: Changing Patterns in Northern India in the 1840s", in: Idem

Fig. 12 AE takka, Mahendrapur (Dig) AH 1217/RY 45 (weight 17.00 g.)

Fig. 13 AE takka, Brajendrapur (Bharatpur) AH 12xx/RY 45 (weight 18.22 g.)

Conclusion and epilogue

To conclude: the booty inventory made up after the capture of Dig on Christmas Eve 1804 does not contain numismatic surprises and seems to confirm the impressive output of the Bharatpur mints at that period. At the same time, it is significant for the history of coin circulation as it may explain why there was such a heightened minting activity in those years. It also shows the crucial role of the availability of coins for paying the troops as underlined by Randolph Cooper for the Anglo-Maratha wars. On top of this, it illustrates the extra incentive for soldiers provided by booty which trickled down to the lowest ranks.

(Editor), *Wages and Currency. Global Comparisons from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007) pp.349-390, esp. 386.

This document does not tell us what Captain Staunton Depy Field Paymaster did with the silver rupees. If he subsequently used them for local payments by the occupying troops, then the effect on the circulation will have been nil. But even if he sent the complete treasure to one of the E.I.C. mints of Bengal for smelting and re-coining, the effect on coin circulation in Bharatpur state would not have been felt very much. Nor do the rarity indications in the modern coin catalogues provide a clue in that direction – unless of course in this way the total annual production of one of the mints – and especially that of Dig – vanished, which is not the case as it was still quite active up till well after 1857.

The sack of Dig on Christmas Eve 1804, may still have left another numismatic imprint. In 1803 during the 2nd Anglo-Maratha war, Lord Lake entered Delhi and on 16 September 1803 visited Shah ‘Alam, who reportedly called him his “friend and deliverer”.⁷⁰ From that date the British controlled affairs in Delhi, including the mint.

A particularly nice coin with floral borders was struck for the first time in AH 1219/RY 47 (18 July 1804 to 1 April 1805; see Figs. 14 and 16). These rupees and mohurs of the so-called ‘wreath type’ are described in the British Museum Catalogue as well as by Paul Stevens as: “Obv. and Rev. Enclosed in wreath of roses, thistles, and shamrocks”.⁷¹ However close observation shows no thistles nor any shamrocks. The wreath with the berries look more like holly that is used for decoration at Christmas with its red berries (see Fig. 15). The flowers look like roses, but could well be Christmas roses (hellebores; see Fig. 16)⁷².

It was Shailendra Bandare, on a discussion group on the Internet, who pointed to this connection with Christmas decorations. There must have been a particularly important event related to Christmas, for such rupees and mohurs to have been produced. It is tempting to assume that the success of the “Grand Army” with the surrender of the Jat fort of Dig on Christmas Eve 1804 may have instigated the design of these outstanding coins.

Fig. 16 Christmas rose or Hellebore



Fig. 17 Wreath type AV mohur, Shahjahanabad, AH 1220/ RY 48



Fig. 14 Wreath type AR rupee, Shahjahanabad, AH 1219/ RY 47



Fig. 15 Christmas-holly



Maharaja Balwant Singh 1825-1853

⁷⁰ Cooper, op.cit. pp. 171-189, quote on p. 188.

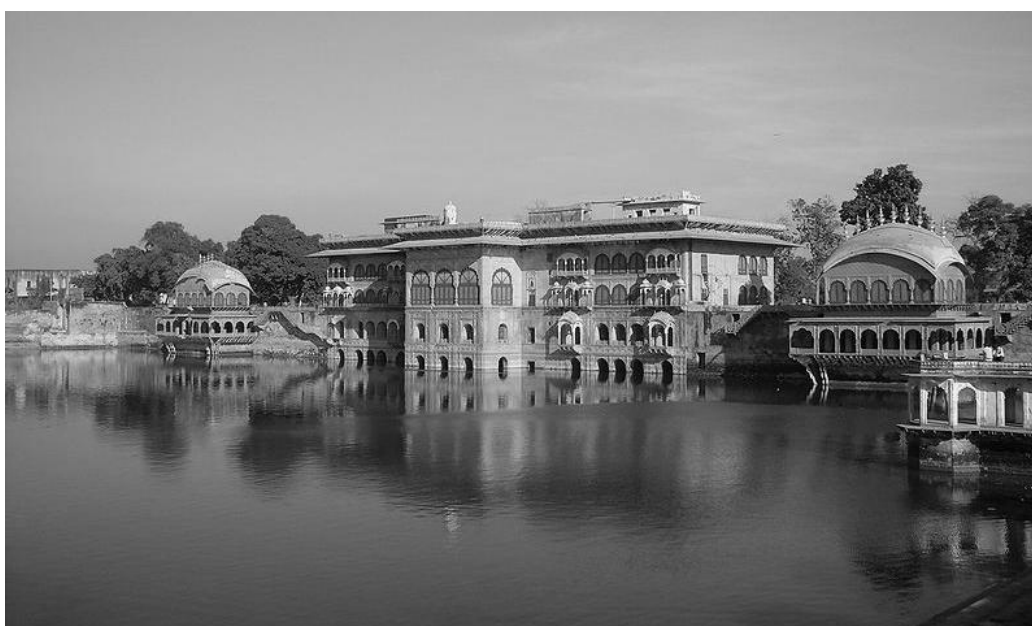
⁷¹ Stevens, Paul, The Coins of the Bengal Presidency (London: Baldwin, 2012), pp. 428-429, 433-434]

⁷² *Helleborus niger* is commonly called the Christmas rose, due to an old legend that it sprouted in the snow from the tears of a young girl who had no gift to give the Christ child in Bethlehem.

Appendix

Statements of prize property, captured from the enemy from 13-10-1803 to 10-04-1805 by the Grand Army under the command of the Right Honourable Lord Lake Commander in Chief &ca &ca &ca S.P. Hay Lieutt & Arty Prize Agent, Agra 28-08-1805⁷³

Where and when captured	Names of articles	remarks
At the action of Deeg 13-11-1804	453 rupees of different kinds	Taken charge of by the prize agents
During the siege and at the capture of Deeg	208,900 Burtpore rupees	Taken charge of by the prize agents and delivered by them by order of the commander in chief to Captain Staunton Depy Field Paymaster
	50 Bindrabund rupees	Taken charge of by the prize agents
	15 bags of copper pice	Taken charge of by the prize agents and sold by public auction [together with other goods]
	552 maunds of salt and saltpetre	For the use of the garrison
	8000 maunds of firewood	
57 maunds 20 seers sulphur		
During the siege of Burtpore	[No cash or materials for manufacturing gunpowder]	
Total prize money from auctions, cash and goods kept, probl amount of the Fund	Rs 399,483:6:8	
Minus rupees	Rs 209,403	52.4%
Value of auctioned goods (including the copper pyce) and the materials for making gun powder	Rs 190,080	47.6%



Dig Palace

⁷³ *National Archives of India (New Delhi), Military Board Proceedings*, Friday 14-03-1806, pp. 3774-3781(our selection from these long lists, whereby we concentrate mainly on the cash; the last two rows are ours, to simplify matters here taking all rupees at the same rate).

**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 Three

**3. Two character Chinese obverse inscriptions, often
with small ornaments (continued)**

正 順 Zheng Shun + 利 ?記 Li ?Ji

112. (Pinyin) Zheng Shun (Hakka) Zhang Sun
Lozenge ornament each side
rev. (Pinyin) Li ?Ji (Hakka) Li ?Ki
Lozenge ornament each side.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.62 g, ex Palembang,
Yih



正 用 Zheng Yong

113. (Pinyin) Zheng Yong (Hakka) Chen Jung
Circle above and below
rev. Paired circles x2, Star x2
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.47 g, ex Palembang,
Yih
114. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 28 mm, 3.65 g, ex Palembang
115. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 28 mm, 3.61 g, ex Palembang
116. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 28 mm, 3.70 g, ex Palembang



正 用 Zheng Yong

117. (Pinyin) Zheng Yong (Hakka) Chen Yung
Star above and below
rev. Paired circles x2, Star x2
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25 mm, 3.37 g, ex Palembang,
Yih
118. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.66 g, ex Palembang



119. Same designs as previous. Small countermarks on obverse
and reverse
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.21 g, ex Palembang,
Yih



和 X He

120. (Pinyin) X He (Hakka) X Fo
rev. Two stars, 2 diamonds
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 2.88 g, ex Palembang,
Yih
121. Similar, with two small countermarks added on obverse
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 2.70 g, ex Palembang,
Yih



Coins with three seal script characters on the obverse

Shan Gong Si + 'Alamat

- 122. (Seal script) Shan on right. Above Gong, left Si + cross below
rev. (Malay: reversed monogram) 'Alamat. + Pseudo-seal character
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.85 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 123. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.71 g, ex Palembang
- 124. Same obverse
rev. Plain
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 28 mm, 3.51 g, ex Palembang
- 125. Same obverse
rev. 'Alamat monogram is not reversed + Pseudo-seal character
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.85 g, ex Palembang, Yih



4. Malay inscriptions only, sometimes with small ornaments.

The Malay inscriptions on monolingual Malay coins are often poorly written. These pieces tend to belong to the early phase of Bangka's coinage. They commonly lack diacritical marks and this also makes the inscriptions difficult to read. The majority of coins with clear Malay inscriptions belong to the bilingual Chinese-Malay series.

Uncertain

- 126. Uncertain Malay inscriptions on obverse and reverse.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 5.71 g, ex Palembang, Yih



- 27. Simple figure on obverse and reverse, which could be read as (Malay) Pang
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 3.93 g, ex Palembang, Yih

- 128. Two similar figures on obverse and on reverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 30 mm, 4.31 g, ex Palembang, Yih



129. Pseudo-Malay inscription
 rev. Four stars (or flowers)
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25 mm, 3.21 g, ex Palembang,
 Yih



130. Pseudo-Malay inscription
 rev. Uncertain geometric design
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.45 g, ex Palembang,
 Yih



5. Simple Chinese plus Malay inscriptions

合 He Sun + Patis Judi

131. (Pinyin) He ?Sun (Hakka) Hap
 rev. (Malay) Patis Judi
 Small countermarks on obverse and reverse.
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 4.09 g, ex Palembang,
 Yih

132. Similar
 Same countermark on obverse, different countermark on
 reverse
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 4.53 g, ex Palembang,
 Yih

The Chinese character on the right is *He*, That on the left has provisionally been read as *Sun*.

The straightforward reading of the lower word on the reverse could be “5 Annas”, but the anna denomination was not used in the region where this coin circulated.

A much more likely interpretation in the local context is that the word was intended to cite the local coin denomination “pitis”. The letter “p” is written as a circle, and a letter “a” follows. The remainder of the word is “t s”; thus “Patis”. The term “Pitis judai” – “Pitis money” occurs on several Bangka coins. In the present case, it is “Patis judi”.



6. Identified locations. Simple Chinese, or Chinese+Malay, or Malay inscriptions, often with small ornaments

The administrative districts and their mining communities are discussed in greater detail alongside the Late Phase coinage. A summary of the various districts and mining communities named on coins is given first.

Jebous district in the north-west

Early phase coins : Tempilang (Temallang)
 Late phase coins: Belo, Palangas, Tempilang (Tap ‘a-Pilang)

Klabat district in the north

Early phase: no coins attributed
 Late-phase coins: Klabat, Mampang, Tingo, Antan

Belinjoe district in the north

Early phase: no coins attributed
 Late-phase coins: Belinjoe (Belenja), Panji

Songai Liat district in the north-east

Early-phase coins: Lajang (Lazang)
 Late-phase coins: Liat (Lu’at)

Marawang district in the east

No coins attributed

Pangkal Pinang district in the east

Early-phase coins: Pangkal Pinang, Songai Selan, Koba
 Late-phase coins: Pangkal Pinang, perhaps Benkuang

Toboali district in the south

No coins attributed

Jebous district in the north-west

1. Tempilang (Temallang)

The early-phase coins of Tempilang have short Malay legends on the obverse and reverse, plus simple ancillary ornaments on the reverse. The coins name Kongsu Bangka on the obverse and Kongsu Temallang on the reverse. The word Kongsu on the obverse is written in clear orthodox script. The other three words, including Kongsu on the reverse, are written in more cursive script. The ‘nga’ has an unusual form.

Late-phase coins were also minted for Tempilang. They have a four-character Chinese inscription on the obverse. The Malay inscription on the reverse shows two variations, in both of which the Kongsu is named in a slightly longer form, as “Tep’apilang”.

Kongsu Bangka + Kongsu Temallang

133. (Malay above, below) Kongsu Bangka
 rectangular ornaments each side
 rev. (Malay, above, below) Kongsu Temallang
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.25 g, ex Palembang,
 Yih



The following coin is poorly preserved. The Malay can be read from comparison with the previous coin. It is significant for having a slightly different spelling of Tempilang.

134. (Malay: above, below) Kongsī Bangka
rev. (Malay: above, below) Kongsī Tempala
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 2.83 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Songai Liat district in the north-east

1. Lajang (Lazang)

Jin Shun, Shun Jin and Shun Ji

These three groups of coins are all closely related and may refer to the same mining community. Jin Shun and Shun Ji possess the same Chinese characters, whose order depends on which character is on the left and which is on the right. Shun Ji occurs on the reverse of coins bearing the obverse legend Jin Shun, and also bearing the obverse legend Shun Jin. Shun Ji also occurs as the sole legend on other coins.

The whole complex is attributable to Lajang (Lazang) in the Songai Liat administrative district. This is because one issue with Shun Jin on the obverse has a Malay reverse legend citing “Lajang Banqah”.

順 金 Shun Jin + Lazang Banqah

135. (Pinyin) Shun Jin (Hakka) Sun Kim
 Pair of linked circles above and below
 Rectangular countermark in margin.
rev. (Malay) Lazang Banqah
 Star each side
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.75 g, ex Palembang, Yih



金 Shun Jin + 順 記 Shun Ji

136. (Pinyin) Shun Jin (Hakka) Sun Kim
 Small circle above and below
 Margin of small circles
rev. (Pinyin) Shun Ji (Hakka) Sun Ki
 Pair of linked circles above and below
 Margin of small circles
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.60 g, ex Palembang, Yih



順 Jin Shun

137. (Pinyin) Jin Shun (Hakka) Kim Sun
rev. Two pairs of linked circles. Two stars
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.06 gm, ex Palembang, Yih
138. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.23 g, ex Palembang
139. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.06 g, ex Palembang



金 順 Jin Shun + 順 記 Shun Ji

140. (Pinyin) Jin Shun (Hakka) Kim Sun
rev. (Pinyin) Shun Ji (Hakka) Sun Ki
 Pair of linked circles above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.69 g, ex Palembang, Yih

141. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.81 g, ex Palembang, Yih



順記 *Shun Ji*

142. (Pinyin) Shun Ji (Hakka) Sun Ki
rev. Two stars. Two pairs of linked circles
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

143. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.80 g, ex Palembang, Yih



順記 *Shun Ji*

144. (Pinyin) Shun Ji (Hakka) Sun Ki
rev. Floral border
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.80 g, ex Palembang, Yih

145. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 2.64 g, ex Palembang



Pangkal Pinang district in the east

The early-phase coins minted in this district bear the names of Pangkal Pinang, Songai Selan and Koba. The coins of Pangkal Pinang and Songai Selan share the very unusual feature of bearing Malay legends, which are compressed and arranged in four quadrants after the manner of Chinese inscriptions.

1. Pangkal Pinang

Pangkal Pinang, in the eastern central region, was the seat of the administrative district.

146. Ang (above), Kal (right), Pang (below), Judi (left)
rev. Circle x2, Star x2
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih

147. Similar
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25 mm, 3.14 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Several coins were minted for Pangkal Pinang during the late phase of Bangka's coinage. They have complete literate inscriptions, which are not compressed to fit into four quadrants. These early coins appears to have been their predecessor.

"Ang" and "Kal" are reasonably clear. Thus, "Angkal". The initial letter, read as 'A, is likely to be a poorly written 'P' – thus, Pangkal.

The lower word has been compressed to read "Pang". The letter 'N' which separates 'P' from 'Ng' in Pinang, has been lost. It could be represented by the oblique stroke written below this word.

"Judi", on the left, is written in a semi-monogram compressed form, with the depending stroke of "waw" missing, and with "waw" and "dal" joined to "ye". It is the kind of compression observed on coins of this period bearing the reversed monogram form of the word "alamat". Taking account of the vocabulary encountered on these coins, the reading 'Judi' seems likely.

It is reasonable to read the inscription as "Money of Pangkal Pinang", but there remains some scope for debate.

عق كل فغ جوي
فق كل فغ جوي



2. Songai Selan

Songai Selan is a short distance to the south-west of Pangkal Pinang.

Son-Ngai-Sa-Y + 公司 *Gongsi*

148. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kong Si
rev. (Malay) Son (left) Ngai (above) Sa (right) Y (below)
Tin alloy, square central hole, 30 mm, 6.47 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Mining Company (Gongsi) at Songai Selan.

149. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 6.62 g, ex Palembang, Yih



3. Koba (Kob'aa)

Koba is in the south-east of the district.

150. Kob'aa (above), 'Alamat (below), uncertain (right)
rev. Shan (seal script, right), Pitis Judi (? below)
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 2.83 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Koba (kaf, be, ain, alif) is written without indicating the 'o' vowel. The frequently used Malay word 'kongsi' also has no written indication of the 'o' vowel.

The seal script Chinese character "Shan" occurs on many coins.

"Pitis Judi – Pitis money" is a term that has been observed on several coins. This is the likely reading for the lower part of the reverse inscription. Unfortunately, the letter "S" is not preserved. The remainder is legible (pit ... judi).

The legend can be read: The Mark of Koba's Pitis Money.



Part Four

Late phase: 1740's until circa 1816

7. Four character Chinese obverse inscriptions without title Gongsi

安定通寶 *An Ding Tong Bao*

151. (Pinyin) An Ding Tong Bao
(Hakka) An T'in T'ung Pao
rev. Flat field with no rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.72 g, ex Palembang, Yih



保合太和 *Bao He Tai He*

152. (Pinyin) Bao He Tai He
(Hakka) Pau Hap Tai Fo
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



財元維金 *Cai (?) Yuan Wei Jin*

153. (Pinyin) Cai (?) Yuan Wei Jin
(Hakka) Ts'oi Ngien Vui Kim

rev. (Pinyin) Yu Shi (Hakka) Juk Su **浴士**

Small circle on left and right
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih

154. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.79 g, ex Palembang, Yih



大吉茂記 *Da Ji Mao Ji*

155. (Pinyin) Da Ji Mao Ji
(Hakka) T'ai Kit Meu Ki

rev. (Pinyin) Zhong Yong (Hakka) Chung Jung **眾**

用
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.86 g, ex Palembang, Yih



公平取利 *Gong Ping Qu Li*

156. (Pinyin) Gong Ping Qu Li
(Hakka) Kung Ping Ts'i Li
rev. Two stars, two circles
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.37 g, ex Palembang, Yih



公正和合 *Gong Zheng He He*

157. (Pinyin) Gong Zheng He He
(Hakka) Kung Chin Fo Hap

rev. (Pinyin) Rong Yang **榮(榮) 陽**

(Hakka) Jung Jong
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.73 g, ex Palembang, Yih



公正*合 *Gong Zheng X He*

158. (Pinyin) Gong Zheng X He
(Hakka) Kung Chin X Hap
rev. Poor casting, apparently blank. No rims
Tin alloy, square central hole, 25 mm, 2.04 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光道聚寶 *Guang Dao Ju Bao*

159. (Pinyin) Guang Dao Ju Bao
(Hakka) Kwong Thao Ts'i Pao

rev. (Pinyin) Yuan Ji (Hakka) Yan Ki **源記**

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.35 g, ex Palembang, Yih

160. Same inscriptions.
Small countermark on obverse and reverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.84 g, ex Palembang

161. Same description; also with countermarks
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.70 g, ex Palembang



光道聚寶 *Guang Dao Ju Bao*

162. (Pinyin) Guang Dao Ju Bao
(Hakka) Kwang T'o Ts'i Pau

rev. (Pinyin) Li Ji (Hakka) Li Ki **利記**

Small symbols above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

163. Similar, but different ornaments on reverse and broader rims
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26.6 mm, 3.58 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光道聚寶 *Guang Dao Ju Bao*

164. (Pinyin) Guang Dao Ju Bao
(Hakka) Kwang T'o Ts'i Pau
rev. Seal script on left and right. Cross-in-circle above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 28 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



光道岐發 *Guang Dao Qi Fa*

165. (Pinyin) Guang Dao Qi Fa
(Hakka) Kwong Tho K'i Fak

rev. (Pinyin) Ji Li (Hakka) K i Li **記利**

small circle above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光道岐發 *Guang Dao Qi Fa*

166. (Pinyin) Guang Dao Qi Fa
(Hakka) Kwong Tho K'i Fak

rev. (Malay) ?'Alamat Judi
Star and circle at sides
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.85 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光明古記 *Guang Ming Gu Ji*

167. (Pinyin) Guang Ming Gu Ji
(Hakka) Kwong Min Ku Ki
rev. Two seal, or pseudo-seal script characters
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 3.74 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光平理地 *Guang Ping Li Di*

168. (Pinyin) Guang Ping Li Di
(Hakka) Kwong Ping Li Ti
rev. (Pinyin) Hou Sha n Wei Ji (?)

(Hakka) Hau San Wei Ki **後山為記**

Small countermark on reverse.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.15 g, ex Palembang, Yih



光平正記 *Guang Ping Zheng Ji*

169. (Pinyin) Guang Ping Zheng Ji
(Hakka) Kwong Ping Zhang Ki

rev. (Pinyin) He Shun (Hakka) Ho Sun **和順**

Diamond shaped ornament above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 26 mm, 4.01 gm, ex Palembang, Yih



廣源通寶 *Guang Yuan Tong Bao*

170. (Pinyin) Guang Yuan Tong Bao
(Hakka) Kwang Yan T'ung Pau
Small circle in each angle.

rev. As obverse **廣源通寶**

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.88 g, ex Palembang, Yih

This coin has a different character Guang from the previous coins.



合和 X 正 *He Ho X Zheng*

171. (Pinyin) He Ho X Zheng
(Hakka) Hap Fo X Chin
rev. Worn and not legible
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.54 g, ex Palembang, Yih



合利當得 *He Li Dang De*

172. (Pinyin) He Li Dang De
(Hakka) Hap Li Tong Tet
Small circle in each quadrant

rev. (Pinyin) Ben Yuan Chang Jin(?) **本原昌**

進 (Hakka) Pun Ngien Ts'ong Tsin

Small circle in each quadrant
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.24 g, ex Palembang, Yih



合利七八 *He Li Qi Ba*

173. (Pinyin) He Li Qi Ba
(Hakka) Hap Li Ts'i Pat
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.07 g, ex Palembang, Yih

"Qi Ba" could also be read as the numbers "78", otherwise "87".



合興令土 *He Xing Ling(?) Tu*

174. (Pinyin) He Xing Ling(?) Tu
(Hakka) Hap Hin Lin T'u
rev. As obverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.60 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The right character is probably Ling, but it could be Hui 會.



合用記利 *He Yong Ji Li*

175. (Pinyin) He Yong Ji Li
(Hakka) Hap Jung Ki Li

rev. (Pinyin) He Xing (Hakka) Hap Hin **合興**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.69 g, ex Palembang, Yih



全用記利 *Quan Yong Ji Li*

179. (Pinyin) Quan Yong Ji Li
(Hakka) Ts'ien Jung Ki Li

rev. (Pinyin) He Xing (Hakka) Hap Hin **合興**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.09 g, ex Palembang, Yih



聚寶光道 *Ju/zou Bao Guang Dao*

176. (Pinyin) Ju/zou Bao Guang Dao
(Hakka) Ts'i Bo Kwong To

rev. (Pinyin) Ji Yuan (Hakka) Ki Ngien **記源**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.21 g, ex Palembang, Yih
Simplified character Ji.
Small countermark on obverse.



榮陽務羅 *Rong Yang Wu Luo*

180. (Pinyin) Rong Yang Wu Luo
(Hakka) Jung Jong Vu Lo
Pellet-in-circle at 4 and 11 o'clock

rev. (Pinyin) Xiao Da You Zhi **小大由之**
(Hakka) Siau T'ai Ju Tsi
Pellet-in-circle at 1 and 8 o'clock
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.84 g, ex Palembang, Yih



利用東店 *Li Yung Dong Dian*

177. (Pinyin) Li Yong Dong Dian
(Hakka) Lik Jong Tung Diam
rev. Plain with normal rims

Tin alloy, square central hole, 25 mm, 4.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih



三港通用 *San Gang(?) Tong Yong*

181. (Pinyin) San Gong(?) Tong Yong
(Hakka) Sam Gong T'ung Jung

rev. (Pinyin) Li He (Hakka) Li Hap **利合**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.33 g, ex Palembang, Yih



樂在其中 *Le Zai Qi Zhong*

178. (Pinyin) Le Zai Qi Zhong
(Hakka) Lok Cha i Khi Chung
Seal script

rev. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan (Hakka) Tai Yan **太原**
Seal script
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.72 g, ex Palembang, Yih

山 仰 禎 記 *Shan Yang Zhen Ji*

182. (Pinyin) Shan Yang Zhen Ji
 (Hakka) San Ngiong Chin Ki
 The characters on left and right are in seal script
 rev. (Pinyin) Tong Bao (Hakka) T'ung Pau **通 寶**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.88 g, ex Palembang, Yih



望 雲 惹 鷓 *Wei Yun Re Yao*

186. (Pinyin) Wei Yun Re Yao
 (Hakka) Mong Jun Ngia Jau
 rev. (Pinyin) Bao Ben (Hakka) Pau Feb **宝 盆**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 5.10 g, ex Palembang, Yih



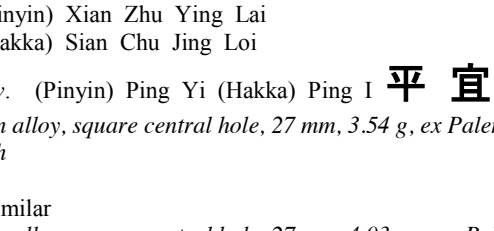
順 興 記 利 *Shun Xing Ji Li*

183. (Pinyin) Shun Xing Ji Li
 (Hakka) Sun Hin Ki Li
 Small circle in each of four angles
 rev. (Pinyin) Dai Bei (Hakka) X Pet **岱 北**
 Star above and below
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.10 g, ex Palembang, Yih



先 朱 英 來 *Xian Zhu Ying Lai*

187. (Pinyin) Xian Zhu Ying Lai
 (Hakka) Sian Chu Jing Loi
 rev. (Pinyin) Ping Yi (Hakka) Ping I **平 宜**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.54 g, ex Palembang, Yih
 188. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.03 gm, ex Palembang



順 治 記 利 *Shun Zhi Ji Li*

184. (Pinyin) Shun Zhi Ji Li
 (Hakka) Sun Ts'i Ki Li
 rev. (Pinyin) Yuan Ji (Hakka) Ngien Ki **原 記**
 Small circle on each side
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.77 g, ex Palembang, Yih



189. Same obverse inscription
 rev. (Pinyin) Mao You Ping Yi
 (Hakka) Mau Yu Ping I **矛 由 平 宜**
 Small countermark on reverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.39 g, ex Palembang, Yih



太 原 通 寶 *Tai Yuan Tong Bao*

185. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan Tong Bao
 (Hakka) Tai Yen T'ung Pau
 rev. Not read
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.09 g, ex Palembang, Yih





西河合興 *Xi He He Xing*

190. (Pinyin) Xi He He Xing
(Hakka) Si Ho Hap Hin
Small countermark

rev. (Pinyin) Tong Hang (Hakka) T'ung Hang **通行**
Small countermark
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.76 g, ex Palembang, Yih



以文会友 *Yi Wen Hui You*

191 (Pinyin) Yi Wen Hui You
(Hakka) Ji Vun Fui Ju

rev. (Pinyin) You Li (Hakka) Ju Li **有利**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.58 g, ex Palembang, Yih

192. Same inscriptions. Added small ornaments in field: 2 circles on obverse, 2 crosses on reverse.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih



有道 x 財 *You Dao X Cai*

193. (Pinyin) You Dao X Cai
(Hakka) Ju Tho X Ts'oi

rev. (Pinyin) Bao X (Hakka) Pau X **宝**
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.80 g, ex Palembang, Yih



玉 X 品 吉 *Yu(?) X Pin Ji*

194. (Pinyin) Yu(?) X Pin Ji
(Hakka) Ngiuk X P'in Kit

rev. (Pinyin) He Yuan Ji Li **合元記利**
(Hakka) Hap Ngien Ki Li

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.23 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The bottom character on the reverse is not clear on this coin, but it is clear on the next coin.

195. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



順記利 *Yuan Shun Ji Li*

196. (Pinyin) Yuan Shun Ji Li
(Hakka) Ngien Sun Ki Li

rev. Pellet-in-circle each side, pellet-in-diamond above and below
Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 3.60 g, ex Palembang, Yih



政德通寶 Zheng Te Tong Bao

197. (Pinyin) Zheng Te Tong Bao
(Hakka) Chin Tet T'ung Pau

rev. (Pinyin) Cai Yuan (Hakka) Ts'oi Ngien 才元

Small circle above and below

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



Seal script

198. Seal script: four characters not read

rev. Seal script: two characters not read

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.94 g, ex Palembang, Yih

199. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.69 g, ex Palembang

The obverse characters differ between the coins, but the reverse characters are the same on both coins.



8. Chinese plus Manchu inscriptions

The Manchu inscriptions copy those used on Chinese cash. They range from fairly literate to moderately corrupt. Manchu reverse inscriptions, usually corrupt, also occur on coins issued by Chinese Gongsu in Western Borneo (Yih and de Kreek 1993).

1. Copied from early Manchu dynasty cash Xuanfu mint in Zhili province.

得利通寶 De Li Tong Bao

200. (Pinyin) De Li Tong Bao
(Hakka) Tet Li T'ung Pau

rev. (Pinyin) Xuan (Hakka) Hsuan 宣

Manchu on left: Hsuan

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.71 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The reverse has been copied from early Manchu dynasty coins bearing a Chinese plus a Manchu character for the mint name

during the Shun Zhi (1644-1662) and Kangsi (1622-1722) reigns. The mint name 'Xuan' indicates the Xuanfu mint in Zhili province



得利通寶 De Li Tong Bao

201. (Pinyin) De Li Tong Bao
(Hakka) Tet Li T'ung Pau

rev. As obverse

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang

Minted for the same issuer, but with a double obverse design.



Shun Zhi Tong Bao copied from cash of the first Manchu emperor (1644-1662).

順治通寶 Shun Zhi Tong Bao

202. (Pinyin) Shun Zhi Tong Bao
(Hakka) Sun Ts'i T'ung Pau

Small crescent in each corner

rev. (Pinyin) Gong (?) X (Hakka) Fung X 永

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.72 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Another type of Shun Zhi coin is catalogued below in the context of the Yunnan mint signature.



2. Copied from Beijing, Board of Revenue Mint

雍正通寶 Yong Zheng Tong Bo

203. (Pinyin) Yong Zheng Tong Bao
(Hakka) Jung Zhang T'ung Pau

rev. (Manchu) Bao Chuan

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.27 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The obverse is copied from Chinese cash minted during 1723 to 1735. Bao is on the left. Chuan, signifying the Beijing, Board of Revenue Mint, is on the right.



3. Copied from Beijing, Board of Works Mint

生財通寶 *Sheng(?) Cai Tong Bao*

204. (Pinyin) Sheng(?) Cai Tong Bao
(Hakka) Sang Ts'oi T'ung Pau
rev. (Manchu) Bao Yuan
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.27 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Manchu is lacking the vertical stroke at the right of Yuan



4. Copied from Yunnan Mint

順治通寶 *Shun Zhi Tong Bao*

205. (Pinyin) Shun Zhi Tong Bao
(Hakka) Sun Ts'i T'ung Pau
rev. (Manchu) Bao Yun
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.81 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The obverse is copied from Chinese cash minted during 1644 to 1662. Bao is on the left. Yun, signifying the Yunnan Mint, is on the right.



乾隆寶通 *Qian Long Tong Bao*

206. (Pinyin) Qian Long Tong Bao
(Hakka) X Lung T'ung Pau
rev. (Manchu) Bao Yun
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 5.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The obverse is copied from Chinese cash minted during 1736 to 1775. Bao (left), Yun (right). The Manchu legend is slightly corrupt.



有三戒記 *You San Jie Ji*

207. (Pinyin) You San Jie Ji
(Hakka) Ju x Kai Ki
rev. (Manchu) Bao Yun
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.23 g, ex Palembang, Yih



周元 *Zhou Yuan*

208. (Pinyin) Zhou Yuan (Hakka) Chiu Yen
rev. (Manchu) Bao Yun
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.56 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Manchu is slightly corrupt.



5. Copied from Kweichow Mint

招客同榮 *Zhao Ke Tong Rong*

209. (Pinyin) Zhao Ke Tong Rong
(Hakka) Chau Hak T'ung Jung
rev. (Pinyin) He X (Hakka) Hap X **合 X**
(Manchu) Boo Giyan (Kweichow Province)
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

When the Manchu inscription is placed upright, the Chinese reverse inscription is at 90 degrees.



6. Manchu corrupt

太原全記 *Tai Yuan Quan Ji*

210. (Pinyin) Tai Yuan Quan Ji
(Hakka) Tai Yen Ts'ien Ki
rev. Corrupt Manchu
Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 3.47 g, ex Palembang, Yih

211. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Bao, on the left of the reverse, is slightly corrupt. The mint signature, on the right, is corrupt and in mirror image.



白王 *Bai/Bo Wang*

212. (Pinyin) Bai/Bo Wang x x

(Hakka) Pak Vong x x

rev. (Manchu) corrupt

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Bao, on the right, is slightly corrupt. The mint signature, on the left, is in mirror image and corrupt



興旺 *Xing Wang*

213. (Pinyin) Xing Wang (Hakka) Hin Vong

rev. (Manchu) corrupt

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.80 g, ex Palembang, Yih



原記 *Yuan Ji*

214. (Pinyin) Yuan Ji (Hakka) Ngien/jen Ki

rev. (Manchu) corrupt, plus star

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.96 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Uncertain

215. Uncertain Chinese character on each side

rev. Corrupt Manchu

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.30 g, ex Palembang

Bao, on the left is corrupt. The mint signature, on the right, is also corrupt.



9. Chinese plus pseudo-Javanese inscriptions

Part of the reverse inscription on the only specimens seen appears to be corrupt Javanese. Two of the three characters can be read, base inwards, as "Pan". The third character is corrupt. The intended word could have been "Pangeran". The upper part of the reverse is not legible.

如六通行 *Ru Liu Tong Han*

216. (Pinyin) Ru Liu Tong Han

(Hakka) Ji Liuk T'ung Hong

rev. Three pseudo-Javanese characters, plus two illegible characters.

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 5.10 g, ex Palembang

Small countermark on obverse and reverse.

217. Similar, and with same countermarks

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28.5 mm, 4.85 gm, ex Palembang

218. Similar. Probably the same countermarks

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 5.19 gm, ex Palembang



Auction News

Coin auctions continue apace in India with a number of companies now running auctions. One particularly worthy of notice is the Wardhaman collection of Indian coins – part 1, 2 February 2014, this part containing some fine ancient, medieval and rare Mughal coins. (Classical Numismatic Gallery, auction 15, Mumbai).

In London Spink are having an auction of Islamic coins on 26 March 2014. Please contact Barbara Mears bmears@spink.com for more details.

Morton and Eden's fourth annual sale of Important Coins of the Islamic World will take place on 10th April 2014 in Sotheby's salerooms in Bond Street.

The auction will include an exceptional offering of Umayyad material, including the first example of a 'Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin' dinar of 91h to be offered at auction, as well as rare Arab-Latin issues from Spain and a fine group of post-Reform Umayyad dirhams including some new discoveries. The Abbasid

dynasty is also strongly represented, with a number of rare gold dinars including several mints and dates missing from Bernardi's recent corpus. Other highlights include a specialised collection of Fatimid gold dinars from Palestinian mints, including Filastin, Tabariya and 'Akka. The catalogue will be available in early March. Highlights will also be exhibited at the Munich Numismata.

For all enquiries please contact Steve Lloyd, Tom Eden or Maria Queralt at Morton and Eden, Nash House, St George Street, London W1S 2FQ; +44 (0)20 7493 5344; info@mortonandeden.com

In the USA, Stephen Album Rare Coins have held their Auction 18 of over 2000 lots of oriental coins and medals. www.stevealbum.com At this auction two portrait mohurs of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, sold for a hammer price of \$75,000 and \$99,000 respectively (lots 1187, 1188).

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