

ONS



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Editor: Stan Goron, [REDACTED]

Assistant Editor: Robert Bracey, Dept. of Coins & Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG, UK [REDACTED]

ONS NEWS

From Joe Cribb, ONS Secretary General

We are delighted to announce the appointment of two new Regional Secretaries and wish to express our thanks to their retiring predecessors. Mahesh Kalra will be taking over from Dilip Rajgor as South Asian Section Regional Secretary and Pankaj Tandon will be taking over from Charlie Karukstis as North American Section Regional Secretary. It's good to know that the Society is so well served by its Regional Secretaries.

I would like to take up a few inches of the Journal to introduce our new officers and to thank our retiring officers.

Firstly, I would like to welcome our new South Asia Section Regional Secretary **Mahesh A. Kalra**. Mahesh is well known in Indian numismatic circles. He is the Academic Co-ordinator, Assistant Professor at the Dinesh Mody Institute for Numismatics & Archaeology and Curator in the Dinesh Mody Numismatic Museum, University of Mumbai. Mahesh has numerous qualifications in numismatics and museum studies to his credit and has travelled widely to develop his

expertise in Indian coinage and curating. He has just delivered his first book to the press, *Forging Cosmopolitan Cultures: The Story of the old Bombay Mint c. 1672-1830*. He also runs a numismatic blog at <http://coinsoftheworld-mckalra.blogspot.co.uk/>. On behalf of the Society I wish him every success in his new role.

We also say thanks and best wishes for the future to **Dilip Rajgor**, our retiring South Asian Section Regional Secretary. Dilip, who has represented the society in South Asia since 2006, is well known as a specialist in Indian coinage. His many books and articles are well respected. Since 1990, Dilip has also been a consultant to numerous numismatic auction houses in India and has contributed to over 115 auction catalogues. He is the only person who has been a founder cataloguer for as many as 4 auction houses. In 2012, Dilip established his own auction house, Rajgor's, with the view to contribute to an ever-growing community of collectors of coins and antiquities. Since its establishment, Rajgor's has already conducted 16 auctions in venues from small coin shows to 5-star hotels. Rajgor's will soon establish its online store: www.MyHobby.com. Thanks Dilip for all your hard work on our behalf.



Welcome, also, to our new North America Section Regional Secretary **Dr Pankaj Tandon**. Pankaj is an economist by training and is currently an Economics professor at Boston University. He is the co-author of two books on the economics of divestiture and is currently working on a textbook in microeconomics. He has been collecting coins seriously since 1998 and has now written over thirty research articles on various aspects of ancient Indian coins. He is also the creator of the educational website <http://www.coinindia.com>, which aims to become a comprehensive online "Museum" of Indian coins. His areas of greatest interest and expertise are the Paratarajas, Kushans, Western Kshatrapas, Guptas and Alchon Huns. Pankaj is married and the father of three daughters.



We also say thanks and best wishes for the future to **Charlie Karukstis**, our retiring North America Section Regional Secretary. Charlie has represented the Society in North America since 2000 with wisdom and diligence.

He was born in Buffalo, New York and educated at Duke University. While an assistant at the Duke Museum of Art, he had, in his own words, the good fortune of being introduced to and trained in numismatics, and has pursued a study of Arab-Byzantine and early Umayyad coinage for some thirty-five years. He joined the Society in 1990 and became North American Secretary in 2000, succeeding the late Bill Warden. In addition to his involvement with the Society, he is a Life Fellow and former Trustee of the American Numismatic Society. As he leaves numismatics behind, he says that what he will miss most are the relationships he was fortunate to form over the years with a number of members, without whose kind and generous education he would know very little. He sends his highest regards and continued best wishes to the Society and its members.

Meetings

Oxford

An ONS meeting will take place at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford on 17 May 2014 on the theme of 'What Lies Beneath: Metallic Analysis in Coinage'

There will be four papers including one by a representative from Brucker, manufacturers of XRF machines who will

demonstrate and discuss the technology and its applications. The other speakers will be Paul Stevens, Simon Glenn and Robert Bracey. The talks will take place in the Coin Study Room.

Programme:

- 10 am coffee in the basement cafeteria
- 11 am first session
- 12.30 pm lunch at The Red Lion pub on Gloucester Green
- 2.30 pm second session

The meeting will end at 4.30 pm at the latest.

For additional information please contact Shailendra Bhandare at

Moving back to Leiden again.

The annual meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society in the Netherlands will be held in Leiden again.

For many years the annual meeting in the Netherlands was hosted by the Royal Coin Cabinet in Leiden. After the merger of the three largest national numismatic collections into a single institution, the Geldmuseum (Money Museum), we moved with them from Leiden to the premises of the Royal Dutch Mint in Utrecht, where the Money Museum opened its doors in 2006. So from 2007 to 2013 it acted as our host for the annual meeting of the ONS in the Netherlands. This long standing co-operation of the ONS with the trustees of our national numismatic collection unfortunately has suddenly come to an end.

As some of you may be aware, the Money Museum in Utrecht had, by the end of 2013, to close its doors due to severe budget cuts by the government. The numismatic collection, formerly in Utrecht is now managed by De Nederlandsche Bank (the Central Bank of the Netherlands) in Amsterdam. The coins, banknotes, medals, library and other numismatic objects have all, by the end of last year, been transferred to Amsterdam. The engraved gemstones, however, have been relocated to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden.

The present trustee of the national numismatic collection, De Nederlandsche Bank, would or could not meet our request to host the ONS-meeting as well as house the collection at the premises of the Bank in Amsterdam.

Some members, who frequently attended the meeting in the Netherlands, expressed their preference to get back to our former meeting place, Leiden and, thanks to our member Dr Ellen Raven of the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies of the Leiden Institute of Area Studies (LIAS), we will be able to have our meeting at Leiden at the premises of the Leiden University, the oldest University in the Netherlands!

Our annual meeting this year will take place on **Saturday 18 October 2014**. Further details about the exact meeting place, the programme, etc. will be communicated later, but please do mark the date and place in your diary. Moreover, anyone proposing to present a paper please contact the Regional Secretary, Jan Lingen lingen@wx.nl.

New Members

UK Region

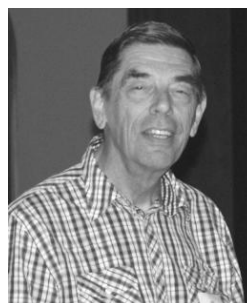
European Region

Revised Addresses

Obituary

Nicolaas Laurentius Maria Arkesteijn

(2 March 1944 – 2 March 2014)



On 2 March 2014, precisely on his 70th birthday, Nico Arkesteijn suddenly passed away following a cerebral haemorrhage the night before. Nico, a medical practitioner by profession, was a passionate collector who started his hobby as a schoolboy. At that time, Asiatic coins were the most affordable and, therefore, this part of his collection grew much more quickly than other parts.

Nico was, so to speak, a numismatic ‘omnivore’. There was practically no part of the numismatic landscape which did not attract his fancy or formed part of his collection. In the 1970s he participated in a foundation named ‘Numismatica’ and was regularly present at coin fairs, with small exhibits, responding to questions, writing pamphlets and small booklets which accompanied those exhibits. The first such booklet was about 25 Centuries of ‘Turkish’ coins.

It was also during this time that he joined the ONS (membership no. 526) and participated frequently in the Society’s meetings in the Netherlands and abroad. His most recent talk for the ONS was in October 2007 on Thai coins, particular the gold and silver ticals, donated by the late Hans Meesters and, at that time, part of the collection of the Geldmuseum.

He stimulated and advised many beginners as well as more advanced collectors. For 34 years he served the Rotterdam Coin Club, first as secretary and, from 1990, as president.

His general numismatic knowledge was unsurpassed and he was, therefore, frequently invited to give lectures at museums, regional coin clubs, the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society and several other historical societies. He wrote many articles and several book reviews, mainly in Dutch.

His major scholarly research was on the French Assignats. Assignats were paper money issued by the National Assembly in France from 1789 to 1796, during the French Revolution. The Assignats were also forcibly introduced in the Netherlands and caused a monetary drain of the country. Nico Arkesteijn was the authority on this subject and wrote extensively about this early paper money. His articles in the annual Yearbook of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society for 1982 and 1984 are particularly outstanding and of high scholarly quality.

For his research and his several numismatic publications, I had the honour, in 1991, to award him the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society’s bronze medal for distinguished service to numismatics. In 2008 he experienced a major setback when, during a burglary of his apartment, a substantial part of his collection was stolen. It naturally effected him tremendously and he lost much of the pleasure of collecting. Nevertheless he continued his voluntary work with the Royal Coin Cabinet in Leiden and, after the merger of the three major national collections into the Geldmuseum (Money Museum), he continued doing the same in Utrecht till the Museum, at the end of last year, was closed and the collection moved to the premises of the Central Bank of the Netherlands in Amsterdam.

During the meeting in 2011 of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society, jointly with the Rotterdam Coin Club, celebrating its 50th anniversary, Nico was awarded the Society's **silver** medal (the previously awarded bronze medal had also disappeared in the theft).

In his last couple of months, Nico became passionately involved in the preparation of a new publication about the Dutch medallist, engraver and sculptor, J.C. Wienecke (1872-1945). When, after his untimely death, his computer was started again, it showed that he had been working on the book all Saturday afternoon (1 March) up till almost 19.00 h. The full catalogue was updated and contained 859 records of objects by Wienecke. What persistence and enthusiasm! Hopefully it will not have been in vain and, when finally completed, it should no doubt be dedicated to Nico, for his everlasting friendship, helpfulness and passion.

Jan Lingem

Other News

The 'First J.B. Bhattacharjee Endowment Lecture' and the 'Nicholas Rhodes Memorial Seminar on Northeast Indian Numismatics' were held at the Institute of Northeast India Studies, Madhyamgram, Kolkata, on 25th January 2014 amidst great enthusiasm among the local scholars of Northeast India Studies.

The Endowment Lecture was delivered by the eminent historian, Prof. Suranjan Das, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, and it was chaired by Prof. S.C. Saha, former Vice-Chancellor of Assam University, Silchar and Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar.

The Nicholas Rhodes Memorial Seminar was indeed a befitting tribute to the great numismatist of international repute who had taken a great interest in the former coin-issuing states of the northeast and unfurled the numismatic traditions of the region before the world by meticulously documenting the coinages of all the coin-issuing kingdoms. Prof. J.B. Bhattacharjee, ex-founder Vice-Chancellor of Assam University and Chairman, Institute of Northeast India Studies, chaired the seminar in which some of the eminent numismatists of Kolkata like Sukhwinder Kalsi Saggi, Anup Mitra, Benoy Kumar Kundu, Samaran Das, Somnath Basu, Sushmita Basu Mazumdar, Ujjal Saha and S.K. Bose presented papers.

The day-long programme - in two parts, namely, the endowment lecture and the memorial seminar - attracted a very distinguished gathering of a large number of serious scholars - veterans and the young, who made it livelier by their presence and participation in discussions. Dr K.L. Chattopadhyay, Secretary, Institute of Northeast India Studies, delivered the welcome address in the morning and at the end of the day Dr S. B. Chakrabarti, Member, Board of Trustees of the Institute, offered a comprehensive vote of thanks.

Papers read at the seminar were:

Dr Susmita Basu Majumdar: "Samatata - The distinct Monetary Zone"

Somnath Basu: "The coinage of the Koch kings"

Binoy Kundu: "The coinage of Tripura"

Dr Sukhwinder Kalsi Saggi: "The numismatic history of Kachar"

Smaran Das: "The numismatic influence of neighbouring states on Jaintia coins"

Anup Mitra: "The money economy of Assam under the Ahom kingdom"

S.K. Bose: "The Brahmakunda hoard - A new discovery in Tripura"

It is planned to edit and publish the papers in book form by the end of 2015.



Prof. Suranjan Das, Vice Chancellor, University of Calcutta releasing the Journal 'Northeast Researches, 2014 issue, which contains the list of publications of the late N.G. Rhodes and an article 'A Nepalese Coin of Rupamati Devi of Cooch Behar' written by N.G. Rhodes

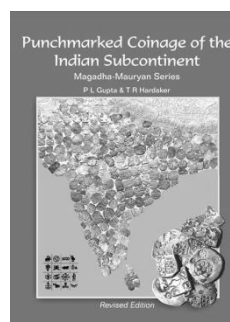
Dr Sukhwinder Kalsi Saggi presenting her paper on the Numismatic History of Kachar

Lists Received

1. Tim Wilkes ([redacted])
[redacted] www.wilkescoins.com; [redacted] (om)
list 22 of oriental coins (January 2014).

2. Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. ([redacted])
[redacted]; www.elsen.eu; numismatique@elsen.eu) list
267 (January-March 2014) has some 340 items of Oriental
interest.

New and Recent Publications



Punchmarked Coinage of the Indian Subcontinent: Magadha-Mauryan Series, Revised Edition by P.L. Gupta & T.R. Hardaker, Mumbai 2014, hardback, 296 pp; ISBN 978-81-86786-35-2. Price in India: Rs 2400. Published by IIRNS Publications Pvt. Ltd., www.iirnspublications.com, iirns-publications@ucil.co.in

From the publisher:

"The long-awaited second edition of this catalogue of Indian punchmarked coins is now available, twenty-nine years after its first publication. It introduces the new

data and types accumulated over this period.

Nearly three times the length of the first edition, the book has been extensively rewritten by the surviving author (Hardaker) and is superbly printed with clear photographs including three colour maps. Whereas the original volume catalogued 613 types, this edition included 1043 and expands the original seven Series to nine. These now include the pre-karshapana coinages of the early Magadhan state as "Series 0", and the post-Mauryan karshapana-like coinages as "Series VIII"

Many improvements have been made. The catalogue section (132 pp) includes photos next to the symbol drawings. The task of identification is made easier with extensive symbol lists, guidance on rarity, and a 'critical path' chart, as well as a 35-page section of enlarged photos. Users of the first edition will be glad to see that the old type numbers are retained, new types being added by way of 'a', 'b' etc

The first two introductory sections (57pp) provide some exciting insights into Magadha-Mauryan coinage resulting from ongoing study since the 1980s. The narrative is set into the wider context of late Iron Age society. The bankers and other additional marks seen on these coins are for the first time classified into chronological phases, and the way these marks can be used to reconstruct the economic and social history of the period is described. Recent research, including much fresh hoard evidence, is evaluated in the discussions on chronology and date, and the most likely options are laid out. Especially interesting is the progress that has been made in the chronology of the Series I coins, which now total 505 types."

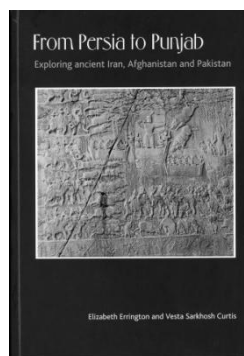
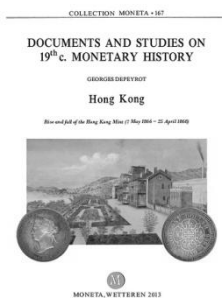
Documents and Studies on 19th c. Monetary History: Hong Kong - Rise and Fall of the Hong Kong Mint (7 May 1866 – 25 April 1868) by Georges Depeyrot. Moneta Publication 167, Wetteren 2013. 340pp. Price: 90 Euros.

From the publisher:

"This series of volumes Documents and Studies on 19th c. Monetary History aims to republish the main documents related to the question of bimetallism at the end of the 19th century. The series will include several sub-series devoted to the International Monetary Conferences held in various capitals during the second half of the century and to the specific situation of different countries (i.e. India, Japan, United States of America, China, etc.), since the question of monetary systems was a global one. It will also include specific studies on monetary questions and on monetary history. The scientific community will thus have access to the enormous collection of statistics, analyses and discussions on and around the subject of gold and silver coinages. These documents will be useful to specialists of the 19th century but also to all specialists in monetary history and in particular those studying the question of the ratio between gold and silver and that of the gold or silver standard, which are relevant to all periods.

The Hong Kong mint produced coins for only two years. The project was discussed for years, but by the time England and Hong Kong decided to open the plant, the economic situation was changed. The mint was never profitable and a few weeks after the inauguration, the question of the closure of the establishment was opened. For months, the master of the mint, Thomas Kinder and the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, tried to find a solution to all the difficulties. In the final months they hoped to produce coins for China and Japan. This failed and the machines were sold to Japan to create the Osaka mint.

This volume presents the unpublished documents, letters and reports from and to Hong Kong concerning the mint. It explains why and how the mint opened and closed. It also gives information and details on the monetary situation in China and Japan.



From Persia to Punjab: Exploring ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan by Elizabeth Errington & Vest Sarkhosh Curtis. Mumbai, 2014. ISBN 978-81-908323-4-2, is a reprint of *From Persepolis to the Punjab* (originally published by British Museum Press, London 2007, reprinted 2011), which has been out of print since 2012. The publication of this latest reprint was made possible through generous funding from Jamsheed and Pheroza Godrej. It is

published by the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya Museum (CSMVS, former Prince of Wales Museum) and copies are available from the bookshop of this museum. The book is divided into three parts:

Part 1 ('Awakening the past') deals with nineteenth-century pioneering discoveries including the decipherment of ancient scripts. It concentrates on the work of eight men and their collections in the British Museum, namely Robert Ker Porter, Claudius James Rich, Henry Creswicke Rawlinson and William Kennet Loftus in Iran; Charles Masson in Afghanistan; Claude-August Court and Alexander Cunningham in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab; and James Prinsep in Calcutta. Their fascination with the east helped to make the material culture of these regions better known to the west, while the coins, inscriptions and archaeological remains they discovered and studied provided the key to unlocking the ancient history of these lands.

In Part 2 ('Constructing the past') their finds and collections, mainly coins, are used as a starting point for a critical appraisal of current views and the sources now available for interpreting the history and archaeology of these countries.

Part 3 ('Encountering the past') comprises six individual contributions by Jean-Marie Lafont, St John Simpson, Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, Joe Cribb, Elizabeth Errington and Helen Wang. The papers all cover specific aspects of the discoveries made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Issue 8 of *Numismatique Asiatique*, the journal of the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, has been published (December 2013). It contains the following items:

Thuan Luc: "Vietnamese measuring device *Vi Tiền* for counting coins"

Craig Greenbaum: "Newly discovered tin coins of Vietnam"

Alain Escabasse: "Les animaux mythiques des monnaies cambodgiennes: recherches sur les quadrupèdes associés à l'*hippogriffe*"

Guillaume Epinal: "Quelques remarques relatives aux découvertes monétaires d'Angkor Borei"

Archives: "Monnaies du Laos et du Yunnan, d'après Francis Garnier"

Craig Greenbaum: "The book *Tozai Senpu* and Kutsuki Masatsuna's coin collection"

News and reviews

The Numismatic Chronicle, vol.173, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, 2013, contains the following items of Oriental interest:

Chenyu (David) Zeng: "Some notable die-links among Bactrian gold staters"

Pankaj Tandon: "Horseman coins of Candragupta III"

Wolfgang Schulze: "The Byzantine-Arab transitional coinage of Tārtūs"

Oren Tal, Robert Kool & Issa Baidoun: "A hoard twice buried? Fatimid gold from thirteenth century crusader Arsuf (Apollonia-Arsuf)

Stefan Heidemann: "A hoard from the time of the collapse of the Sasanian empire (AD 638-9)

Nikolaus Schindel: "A group of Ottoman coins of Murad III and Mehmed III"

Late Sasanian Coinage and the Collection in the Muzeh Melli Iran reviewed by Hodge Mehdi Malek

Corrigenda

In Journal 218 we inadvertently omitted the name of the reviewer of Michael Mitchiner's recently published book on Indian tokens: it was Dr Shailendra Bhandare, whose name did, in fact, appear in the Table of Contents on the back page, and to whom our apologies are due for this omission.

In Journal 217 we published an article by F. Mosanef & M.T.Saffar on an Umayyad dirham of Tocharistan. Unfortunately on converting the text to PDF format, the coin legends became rather garbled. Our apologies to the authors for this oversight. Below, we publish the correct legends together with the coin illustrations.



Obv:

لا إله إلا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بطخرستان في سنة ثمانين



Rev:

الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد
ولم يولد ولم يك
نله كفوا احد (sic)

Margin:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
ولو كره المشركون

Weight: 2.74 g, diameter: 27 mm

Articles

TWO UNPUBLISHED ISLAMIC COINS

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

This short article describes two unpublished Islamic coins of particular interest, both currently in private collections in Iran.

The first coin is a remarkable dinar struck in Madinat al-Salam in 210h during the caliphate of Abu Ja'far 'Abd Allah Al-Ma'mun (AH 194-218):



Fig. 1

Obv.

لا إله إلا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Inner Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام سنة عشر ومائتين

Outer Margin:

الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد و يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev:

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره
المشركون

Weight: 4.23g; diameter: 21mm

The caliph al-Ma'mun was born in Rabi' Al-Awwal AH 170, the son of the caliph Harun al-Rashid and an Iranian concubine named Marajil¹. According to a covenant drawn up by their father and signed in his presence in the Holy City of Makka, Al-Ma'mun and his half-brother, Amin, were to divide the Abbasid lands between them. Al-Amin was to succeed his father as caliph, while al-Ma'mun was to be his half-brother's crown prince and governor of Khurasan.

After the death of Harun in Khurasan during Jumada al-Awwal 193h, al-Amin duly succeeded his father as the new 'Abbasid caliph. In the following year, however, he appointed his own son as crown prince instead of al-Ma'mun, breaking the agreement devised by their father. Al-Ma'mun's response was to rebel against al-Amin and declare himself sole caliph. The

¹ General sources for the history of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun include: Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari, *Tarikh Tabari (Tarikh al-rusul va al-muluk)*, Vol XIII, Tehran, 1385h, pp 5517-5776; Ahmad ibn Abu Ya'qub al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh Ya qubi*, Vol II, Tehran, 1382h, pp 446-494; Abu Hanifa Ahmad ibn Da'ud al-Dinawari, *Kitab al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*, Tehran, 1386, pp 430-443; 'Izz al-Din Ibn Athir Ali ibn Muhammad, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh*, Vol. IX, Tehran, 1381, pp 3777-3979, Abu Sa'id 'Abd al-Hayy ibn Zayn al-Din Mahmud Gardizi, *Zayn al-akhbar*, Tehran, 1384, pp 129-135; Abu'l Faraj Isfahani, *al-Maqatil al-Talibiyyin*, Tehran, pp 498-534. Numismatic references: Giulio Bernardi, *Arabic Gold Coins Corpus I*, Trieste, 2010; Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition, Santa Rosa, 2011, pp. 47-55.

resulting civil war between the two half-brothers and their supporters split the Islamic world politically and geographically, but eventually al-Ma'mun proved victorious, capturing Madinat al-Salam in Muharram of AH 198. Al-Amin was arrested and later executed by al-Ma'mun's Persian general, Tahir b. Husayn (known as Dhu'l-Yaminayn, 'He of the two right hands'). Tahir sent al-Amin's head to al-Ma'mun, who was now recognised as sole caliph throughout the Islamic lands.

After the defeat of al-Amin, al-Ma'mun was faced by two 'Alid uprisings against his rule. Ibrahim b. Musa rebelled in Yemen and the Hijaz, while Muhammad b. Ibrahim (known as Ibn Tabataba) rebelled in Kufa and southern Iraq. In response, al-Ma'mun attempted to consolidate his position by inviting the Shi'ite 'Ali ibn Musa Rida (Imam Reza) to Khurasan, appointing him his crown prince and heir apparent. Meanwhile, the 'Alid revolts were suppressed and the rebels forced to accept al-Ma'mun as caliph.

But the 'Abbasids in Iraq were unhappy about al-Ma'mun's choice of an 'Alid as the heir to the 'Abbasid caliphate, and some Arab commanders were also resentful of the influence of al-Ma'mun's Persian vizier, al-Fadl b. Sahl (Dhu'l-Riyasatayn). In Muharram of AH 202 this discontent saw Ma'mun's uncle, Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, who was well known by the titles al-Mubarak and al-Mardi, acclaimed as the new caliph in Baghdad. So once again there were two rival caliphs in the 'Abbasid lands and a new period of civil war began.

For some reason it seems that al-Fadl b. Sahl did not inform Ma'mun about these developments straight away, but when al-Ma'mun learned of this new revolt and that a rival caliph had been installed in Baghdad, he decided to come back to Iraq in person. Before he arrived there, however, al-Fadl b. Sahl was assassinated in AH 202, while 'Ali ibn Musa Rida also died in Safar AH 203, with some suggesting that he had been poisoned. These events removed the main reasons behind Iraqi opposition to al-Ma'mun, and support for his rival began to wane. Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi tried to prepare his forces for battle with al-Ma'mun in AH 203, but his commanders deserted him and he fled. Al-Ma'mun entered Madinat al-Salam later in the year and took control of Iraq.

By AH 210, when this dinar was struck, two further important developments had taken place. After searching for six years, al-Ma'mun's agents had finally located the rival caliph, Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, who was arrested in Baghdad. Al-Ma'mun forgave him and, magnanimously, ordered that his lands and money should be returned to him. Meanwhile, AH 210 was also the year in which al-Ma'mun married Buran, daughter of al-Hasan b. Sahl, and contemporary accounts record that the royal wedding saw new heights of luxury and extravagance. Al-Ma'mun was also involved in several wars with the Byzantines until his death in Tarsus in AH 218, when he was succeeded by his half-brother, Muhammad b. al-Rashid (the caliph al-Mu'tasim billah, AH 218-227).

It was during the reign of al-Ma'mun that a second margin, bearing Qur'an xxx, 3-4, was added to the obverse of the precious metal coinage. Dinars with this new double obverse margin, with date but without mint-name, are known for AH 206-210. The present coin demonstrates that the mint was first added to the inner obverse marginal legend in 210h, and is the earliest recorded example of this type from Madinat al-Salam by two years (see Bernardi 116Jh, where the earliest example cited is dated AH 212).

The second coin was struck by the Lords of Alamut², who were a leading source of political and religious opposition to the 'Abbasid caliphs.



Fig. 2

Obv:

لا إله
إلا الله
محمد
رسول الله

At both sides of obverse:

بزرگ امید محمد بن

Margin:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بكرسى ديلم سنة ست وثلثين
وخمسائه

Rev:

على ولي الله
المصطفى
لدين الله
نزار

Margin:

اميرالمومنين صلوات الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين وابنائهم الاكبرمين

Weight: 2.6g; diameter: 20mm

Shi'a Islam in Iran was not restricted to the mainstream 'Twelver' branch. Other groups, including Isma'ilis and Zaydis, flourished there for centuries, especially in Tabaristan and Daylam. With the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt, Isma'ilism became the strongest source of religious dissent against the Abbasid caliphs in the Islamic world. The Fatimids established a powerful propaganda machine to disseminate and promote Isma'ili ideas and beliefs, and their activities helped to reinforce Isma'ili influence all over the Islamic world but especially in Iran.

The Fatimids claimed that the 'Abbasids were not the rightful caliphs, but instead argued that the caliphate could only be held by a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad – such as the Fatimid caliph. As the Fatimids developed and refined this argument, the 'Abbasids became increasingly concerned by the threat this posed to their authority, especially among the educated classes. The 'Abbasid caliphs themselves and those loyal to them took increasingly strong action in response, torturing and executing people suspected of being Isma'ili partisans. For their part, the 'Abbasids also began to spread anti-Isma'ili propaganda, accusing them of perpetrating all manner of criminal acts and crimes against Islam.

In these difficult circumstances Hasan al-Sabbah, a Nizari Isma'ili, established a powerful and secretive kingdom centred on Daylam, with its capital at Alamut. The Lords of Alamut also held fortresses further afield in Khurasan, Tabaristan and Qumis. To strike back against opponents of Isma'ilism, he trained some of his followers as special forces who were sent out to assassinate key opponents. For more than a century Hasan al-Sabbah and his successors created an atmosphere of fear where any caliph, sultan, vizier, military commander or judge who had been involved in the crackdown on the Isma'ilis lived in fear of the Assassins' knives.

On the 26th day of Jumada al-Awwal AH 532, Muhammad b. Buzurgumid ascended the throne as third Lord of Alamut. He continued the policy established by Hasan al-Sabbah and followed by Muhammad's own father of disposing of his enemies by assassination. During his reign, Muhammad was faced by several

²General sources for this period include: Rashid al-Din Fadl-Allah Hamadani, Tehran, 1387, pp 97-158, Abu Zayd, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. IV, Tehran, 1383h, pp128-134; Muhammad ibn Khavand Shah Balkhi, Vol. IV, Tehran, 1375h, pp 635-651.

Numismatic reference: Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition, Santa Rosa, 2011, pp. 47-55, p 206.

assaults on his stronghold made by the Seljuqs and Atabegs, all of which he successfully repulsed, forcing them to withdraw from his territory. His assassins also killed such prominent figures as the ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Mustarshid billah, Amir Gurbaz and ‘Ali b. Shahriyar, ruler of Tabaristan. Muhammad b. Buzurgumid died in AH 557.

Numismatic evidence shows that Muhammad b. Buzurgumid was the first Lord of Alamut to strike coins. His coinage was limited to quarter-dinars which come in two types: one citing his personal name (as here) as well as al-Mustafa li-din Allah Nizar, while the second type (also a quarter dinar) is similar but lacks his personal name.

The coin described here bears similar legends to the first type but by weight would appear to be a half-dinar: it is therefore the first example of this denomination known for Muhammad b. Buzurgumid.

A MARINID HALF DIRHAM STRUCK IN TANGIER

By Ludovic Liétard

The town of Tangier is situated in northern Morocco and the first Islamic coins struck in Tangier can be dated to the beginning of the Umayyad dynasty. After the collapse of the Umayyads, very few coins were struck in this town (the modern period excepted). According to Hazard³, Tangier was completely overshadowed by the nearby town of Sebta which somewhat explains the rarity of medieval coins struck in Tangier (the economic importance of Sebta and its tradition of minting is also stressed by El Hadri⁴).

The reported Islamic coins bearing the mint name Tangier are briefly introduced below (listed in chronological order):

- From around AH 92⁵ (AD 711), a few brass or copper coins struck in Tangier of byzantine (latin) type⁶ and post-reform type⁷ were issued by the Umayyads.
- Thereafter, the mint name Tangier is reported for a few Idrisid dirhams: two dirhams⁸ struck by Idris II (AH 192-213 / AD 808-828) and two others⁹ struck by his son, al-Qasim ibn Idris II, in AH 251 (AD 865-866) and AH 23x (AD 844-854), this last year being incomplete. Another dirham¹⁰ is known for Muhammad ibn al-Qasim in AH 277 (AD 890-891) and two dirhams with an unread year are known¹¹ for Muhammad ibn Ahmad. The filiation of these last two Idrisid sovereigns is unknown but hypotheses are proposed in the book by Maamri [10].
- The mint name Tangier appears on a Murabit qirat¹² struck by ‘Ali ibn-Yusuf (AH 500-537 / AD 1106-1142).
- As far as I know, the next known coin struck in Tangier is not medieval. It is an ‘Alawite silver muzuna struck in AH 1179 (AD 1765-1766) or AH 1183 (AD 1769-1770)¹³. From this date, the minting in Tangier is more or less regular and frequent.

This article introduces a new medieval coin struck in Tangier (a half dirham) which can be attributed to the Marinid dynasty (AH 614-869 / AD 1217-1465) and to the last Marinid sultan, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II, who ruled in Morocco from AH 823 to 869 (AD 142-1465).

1. A Marinid half dirham struck in Tangier

Two specimens of this new coin are presented in this article (specimen A: 0.70 g ; 15 x 15 mm and specimen B: 0.81 g ; 15 x 17 mm). The coin type is already known and is that of coins 402 and 403 (respectively struck in Fas and Asilah) described in [3] and those described in [9] with the mint names Meknes, Tāza and Sāla.

The obverse (fig. 1 and 2) bears the end of verse 2 of sura 65 of the Qur’an and can be translated as "And whoever fears Allah, He will make for him a way out":

و من يتق
الله يجعل
له مخرجا



Fig. 1: a half dirham (obverse of specimen A) struck by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Tangier



Fig. 2: a half dirham (obverse of specimen B) struck by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Tangier

The reverse side (fig. 3 and 4) shows the name of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II and the mint name of Tangier. The reverse legend can be translated as "Abd al-Ḥaqq, Tangier, Commander of the Muslims":

عبد الحق
طنجة
امير
المسلمين



Fig. 3: a half dirham (reverse of specimen A) struck by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Tangier

³ Hazard [8] page 14.

⁴ El Hadri [2] page 242.

⁵ Walker page xlv [12].

⁶ Walker P28 and P29 pages 62-63 [12], Brêthes 331 [1].

⁷ Walker 900, 901 and 902 pages 270-273 [12], Frochoso Sánchez [7] pages 41 and 48, Frochoso Sánchez [6], Brêthes 332 [1].

⁸ Eustache 90 and 91 [4].

⁹ Maamri 16 and 105 [10].

¹⁰ Maamri 39 [10].

¹¹ Maamri 94 and 96 [10].

¹² Hazard 974 [8], Vives 1765 [11].

¹³ Eustache 246 and 247 [5].

NEWLY DISCOVERED TYPES OF MID-13th CENTURY CHINGIZID SILVER COINS

by V.A. Belyaev and S.V. Sidorovich



Fig. 4: a half dirham (reverse of specimen B) struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Tangier

The mint name Tangier (طنجة) can be observed on the reverse:

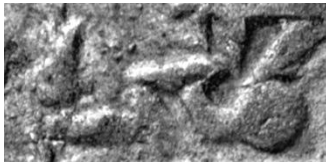


Fig. 5: the mint name Tangier (طنجة) on specimen A

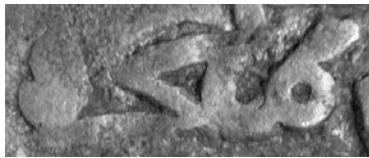


Fig. 6: the mint name Tangier (طنجة) on specimen B

2. Conclusion

A half dirham struck by the last Marinid sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II (AH 823-869 / AD 1420-1465), has been described in this article. This half dirham type is known with the mint names: Fas, Asilah (see [3]), Meknes, Tāza, Sāla (see [9]) and Tangier (this article).

It is the first time that the mint name Tangier is reported for 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II and for the Marinids.

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In September 2007, during construction work in the area of Longxi (Gansu province, China), a broken ceramic vessel containing a hoard of silver coins and other ware¹⁴ was found.

The main findings in the hoard were cast silver coins with the legend *dachao tongbao* 大朝通寶 and with counterstamps on the reverse, amounting to nearly 400 specimens. In addition, unique coins of previously unknown types¹⁵ were found. This paper presents the reading and interpretation of the legends of these new coins without an in-depth analysis of the historical situation and the circumstances of their minting, which will be discussed in subsequent publications.

Type 1 - with Möngke's tamgha, Uighur-Mongolian and Chinese legends.

Coin 1 (fig.1).

Struck silver coin. Weight 2.55 g¹⁶, diameter 21.0-21.2 mm. Die axis 90°. There is a double linear circle with beads between the lines near the outer rim. The empty space in the centre on both sides is filled with one-, two- and three-beam beads.



Fig.1. Coin 1. Zeno 60041. Photo and drawing. (all images somewhat enlarged)

¹⁴ The discovery of the hoard was first reported at the VIIth MNCs in Bakhchisarai in 2008 (Alexandrov, Belyaev, Sidorovich, Cao, 2008). The analysis of counterstamps on the *dachao tongbao* coins from this hoard was presented by the authors at the XVIth ANC in April 2011 (Belyaev, Sidorovich, 2011a). Because of the heterogeneity and novelty of the coin material, an overall problem with unambiguous attribution of the *dachao tongbao* coins, the authors decided on a step-by-step publication of the hoard, as the consideration of issues related to multi-faceted hoard material.

¹⁵ In addition to the coins in the hoard discussed in this paper, there were found cast silver *dachao tongbao* coins of a reduced diameter with the character *bao* written in simplified form (5-6 pcs, 2 of them with counterstamps on the reverse); silver coins of an Islamic type with the Möngke *qa'an*'s tamgha and bilingual - Uighur-Mongolian and Arabic - legends, among them 2 dirhams and 1 or 2 fractional dirhams; on one of the dirhams Dr P.N.Petrov (Nizhniy Novgorod) has read the date AH [6]53. These struck coins are referred to by numismatists as Qaraqorum issues (Petrov, 2008, p. 203). One of the coins of the hoard is the same type as Zeno #27561, found in Mongolia.

¹⁶ The weight of the coin is after removal of layers of mineralisation.

Obv.: The centre of the coin has a large tamgha of the Möngke *qa'an*. To the left and right of the tamgha there is a vertical inscription in Uighur-Mongolian script.

Rev.: The centre of the coin has a double square frame which imitates the central hole of Chinese cast cash coins. Around the central 'hole', the Chinese legend 西寧通寶 *xining tongbao* is written, read top-bottom-right-left. The character *bao* is presented in its simplified form¹⁷. The bottom character 寧 is written in the

calligraphical variety 寧 (instead of the key *mian* 𠂇 it uses the key *tou* 𠂇, instead of *xin* 心 - it uses the key *yi* 一, instead of *ding* 丁 a "hook" is drawn). This way of writing is recorded in "Dictionary of Chinese characters variants" (YTZZD, №A01043), but not represented in "The glossary of demotic characters of the Song-Yuan period" (SZP, 1930).

Coin 2 (fig.2).

Struck silver coin. The metrology data is missing. Die axis 115°. There is a double linear circle with beads between lines near the outer rim.



Fig.2. Coin 2. Zeno #40148. Photo and drawing.

Obv.: The obverse side was struck with the same die as coin 1, which allows us to specify the diameter of the coin. Calculations show that it equals 22.3 mm.

Rev.: The centre of the coin has a double square frame which imitates the central hole of Chinese cash coins. Apart from the central "hole" there are diagonally radiating triple lines dividing

¹⁷ Simplified Chinese character writing was popular among the people in the early Middle Ages. In some periods, for example, during the Tang dynasty, their usage in the official language was prohibited. By the Song times, the "demotic" characters appeared more frequently, but they apparently were not used in the coin legends, which continued to use the traditional calligraphic styles. Established tradition was broken by the Mongols. Examples of the usage of the character *bao* in simplified form 宝 in monetary legends by the Mongols are numerous: in the legend of *dachao tongbao* coin mentioned in Note 2; on the reverse side of silver bars weighing 50 liang (ca. 1865 g), dated from the 14th year of the reign period *zhi-yuan* 至元 (1277); on the so-called temple cash coins from the reign period *zhong-tong* 中统 (1260-1264) and until the end of the Yuan Dynasty. The character *bao* is not the only example of the simplified characters on Mongol coins. At the conference "Two Centuries of Islamic Numismatics in Russia. Results and Prospects" (24-28 September 2012, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage) the authors presented a Golden Horde coin with a Chinese legend on the reverse, on which the two characters - *ji* 济 and *guo* 国 - were also written in simplified form (Belyaev, Sidorovich, 2013).

the central field of the coin into four sectors¹⁸. In the sectors read top-bottom-right-left are written the Chinese characters 西寧通寶 *xining tongbao*. The character *bao*, as also seen on coin 1, is presented in its simplified form. Since the surface of the coin is covered with a significant mineralised crust, the authors were unable to determine by photo the calligraphic style of the character 寧. We can only note that the top key is *mian* 𠂇, and instead of *xin* 心 there is the key *yi* 一.

Since the reading and interpretation of Chinese legends does not present any difficulties, the analysis of the inscriptions is more conveniently begun with the reverse of the coin.

Traditionally the standard formula of the obverse of Chinese cash coins combined the reign title (in some of the rarer cases - the name of the state or dynasty) with the designation of the coin (*tongbao*, *yuanbao*, *zhongbao*). In the case of *tongbao* the legend was interpreted as "[having a universal] circulation legitimate coin" of the named reign title (Belyaev, Sidorovich, 2011). However, *xining* in the legend of the coin which we review here is not the reign title or the state name, but the toponym Xiningzhou¹⁹. Such precedents are not traced in Chinese numismatics for medieval coins. The legend can be interpreted as "[having a universal] circulation legitimate coin of Xining[-zhou]"²⁰. In this case, one can hardly argue that the circulation of the coin was limited to this area. Most likely the semantics of the legend imply the location of the coin issue.

Xining has for many centuries been an important node of the so-called "Gansu corridor"²¹ - the northern part of the Silk Road in western China. This area has long been under Tibetan influence, and from the first third of the 12th century, Xining belonged to the Tangut state of Xi Xia. At the time of capture of Xining by the Mongols in 1227²², the territory of the modern Chinese provinces of Gansu and Qinghai was inhabited by the tribes of Tanguts and Uighurs, who settled here as early as in the 9th century. (Roerich, 1999a, p.142).

¹⁸ This reverse design - four rays emanating from the corners of a rectangular hole (*sichu* 四出) - is a well-known motif in the design of Chinese coins and coin-amulets occurring since the Han Dynasty (He Lin, 1999, p. 98).

¹⁹ 州 - *zhou*, an administrative unit until 1911, often translated as "region" or "county". The sources represents *zhou* itself as a locality with management functions over "area" as well as all the "area". YS reports: "During the Yuan there were four categories [of administrative unit] - *lu*, *fu*, *zhou*, and *xian*. Typically, *lu* ruled *zhou* and *zhou* governed *xian*. But in *fuli* (腹里) <i.e. the area around the capital - V.B., S.S.> ... there were some *lu*, who govern the *fu*, [in this case] *fu* govern *zhou* and *zhou* govern *xian*. There were also *fu* and *zhou*, who subordinated directly to *sheng* (province)" (YS, ch. 58). Quote of YS makes it clear that the hierarchy of the administrative system in the Yuan was not strictly fixed and *zhou* show different levels of subordination. For this reason, a modern interpretation of the concept as a "county" or "region" for the given time is rather arbitrary, so the authors will continue to use the term *zhou* without translation. Xining-zhou was "in the area of present-day Xining, capital of Qinghai Province" (Diming daqidian, 2005, p. 920), the largest city of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.

²⁰ On page 120 of the paper (Belyaev, Sidorovich, 2012) the authors reference Chinese researcher Mr. Wang Jian by pointing out that the sign 通 *tong* in this context means "unimpeded circulation". In explaining the formula *tongbao* on p.122-123, the expression "[having a universal] circulation" meant that the coin is obligatory for accepting as legal tender, that is, its appeal in this sense - the unimpeded. Unfortunately, in comments to this work this observation was missed, so the authors take the opportunity to make it now.

²¹ Gansu corridor or Hexi Corridor (河西走廊 *Hexi zoulun*, "corridor to the west of the [Huanghe] river") is a chain of narrow valleys, stretching about 1,000 km along the northern foothills of the mountain ranges of Nanshan from the central part of Gansu province to the north-west of Xinjiang.

²² Sources date (YS, ch. 1) this event as belonging to the third moon of the 22nd year of Tai Zu (Genghis Khan) (19.03.1227-17.04.1227).

The Uighur-Mongolian obverse legend consists of three syllables (two to the left of the tamgha and one to the right). The first two syllables are written with large distortions, so the search for a meaningful variant of reading and interpretation of the legend took a long time. Yet, finally, we managed to come to the following reading of the inscription²³:



SY-LY-ČW = [si-li-chu]

Based on the study of palaeographic and epigraphic relics of the 10-13th centuries from the Turfan oasis, it was determined that the Uighurs pronounced 寧 *ning* as [ni], and the nasal phoneme [n] in the initial position was replaced by the lateral [l], eventually turning *ning* into [li] (Matsui, 2011, pp. 152-153). Given these features, Dr. Matsui, in personal correspondence, confirmed the assumption of the authors that the coin obverse has the same toponym written upon it as the Chinese legend of the reverse - 西宁 Xining.

Along with this, it is known that, in the Uighur pronunciation, the Chinese 州 *zhou* was conveyed as ČW [chu]. The following place names can be shown as an example:

甘州	Ganzhou	Uigh. Qamču	(Matsui, 2008b, p.21)
沙州	Shazhou	Uigh. Šaču	(Matsui, 2008a, p.166)
肅州	Suzhou	Uigh. Sügčü	(<i>ibid.</i>)
瓜州	Guazhou	Uigh.-Mong. Qaču	(<i>ibid.</i>)

Thus, the inscription [si-li-chu] is a phonetic transmission of the Chinese name of the administrative unit Xining-zhou in Uighur-Mongolian script²⁴. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say for sure whether this is the designation of the mint name in the coin legend, or it merely pointed to the region in which the coin was released²⁵. We can only say that at the moment this is the only known case of designating this toponym in Chinese as well in Islamic coin legends.

Despite the seemingly fundamentally different designs of the coin's obverse and reverse, a closer examination reveals that their semantics are identical as far as it can be presented on a tiny metal circle, one side using the concept inherent for the Mongol nomadic society and the other side a highly developed sedentary Chinese.

Placement of Möngke *qa'an's* tamgha on the same side with the toponym indicates that this area is the property of the *qa'an* and that he manages the taxes collected here on his own (Petrov,

2010, p.130). Thus, we can conclude that, during the reign of Möngke, Xining was in the *qa'an's* possession.

As shown above, the Chinese legend of the obverse sounds like "[having a universal] circulation legitimate coin of Xining[-zhou]". Naming taboos of the monarch's personal name determined the Chinese tradition of coinage. Thus, it was impossible to directly mention the name of the possessor of the monetary regalia in the coin's legend. The reign title of the emperor and the character *bao* both act in this capacity as an indication of the imperial seal, the most important regalia of the possessor of the Mandate of Heaven (Belyaev, Sidorovich, 2011b, p. 1792, 1794). Möngke *qa'an* was not a Chinese emperor and did not follow the Chinese tradition of the proclamation of reign titles, but he was the possessor of the seal *bao* and therefore of the monetary regalia, as it is unambiguously implied by the reverse legend.

To reveal the true reasons for the issue of such unusual coins would require a separate study, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Here the authors allow themselves to express only some general comments on the coins of this type.

1. Despite the semantic concordance of obverse and reverse legends described above, it should be noted that the coin by metal, weight parameters, manufacturing method and general appearance corresponds to the standards of the Central Asian coinage during the Great Mongol Empire. Thus, only the reverse legend and its arrangement are "Chinese" on this particular coin type.

2. The design of the coins of this type has a close resemblance to the so-called dirhams of the "Qaraqorum type" (see Note 2): standardised obverse with the tamgha of Möngke *qa'an*, unified style of outer rims - double linear circle with dots (Fig. 1, 2). This observation allows us not only to expand the "Qaraqorum series", but also to look at it from a completely different angle. In this case, perhaps, it is the general type of coins that served in the part of the territories adjacent to the routes of the Silk Road to the capital of the empire²⁶. We can assume that there will be future new discoveries of coins of the "Qaraqorum series" struck by other mints of this area.

Of particular interest are the reasons for including the Chinese toponym in the Uighur legend of this coin. As noted above, the Uighurs settled in the area a few centuries before its capture by the Mongols. On the other hand, from the time that the Idikut state submitted to the Mongols in 1209²⁷, until the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368, many Uighurs held important positions in the Mongolian bureaucracy. The presence of these characteristic dialect features in the coin legend may indicate that a Uighur member of the local administration was involved in its drafting.

In addition, it is believed that the Uighur script used by the Mongols underwent changes over time. Despite the fact that

²³ Reading and phonemic analyses of the inscriptions are made by Dr. D. Matsui, Hirotsuki University (Japan).

²⁴ The Middle Chinese reading of this toponym sounds like *sei'-niθŋ' tšiu'* (Kim, 1983, p. 89, 111, 144). In this paper, to simplify the perception we use a modern Chinese character reading. Compare with Sinju (Xining-zhou) in Marco Polo: "There are plenty of cities in this kingdom, but the capital is ERGUIUL. You can travel in a south-easterly direction from this place into the province of Cathay. Should you follow that road to the south-east, you come to a city called SINJU, belonging also to Tangut, and subject to the Great Kaan, which has under it many towns and villages." (Polo, ch. LVII). There is also an interesting comment about Xining by Yule, illustrating the replacement [n] to [l] in the initial position in the syllable *ning*: "Sining is called by the Tibetans *Ziling* or *Jiling*, by the Mongols *Seling Khot*. A shawl wool texture, apparently made in this quarter, is imported into Kashmir and Ladak, under the name of *S'ling*" (Polo, ch. LVII, note 2). The question of who borrowed such pronunciation - the Tibetans from Uighurs or vice versa - is a matter for specialised linguistic research.



²⁵ Noting a region rather than a city as the place of coin issue was, for example, a common practice in the Qarakhanid coinage (Kochnev, 2006, pp.42-43).

²⁶ Due to the remoteness of Qaraqorum from regions with a developed economy, the supply of capital issue had already matured during Ögedei *qa'an's* reign. One of the methods of solving this problem was organizing the supply by relay stations (*yams*). Rashid al-Din also reports that Ögedei stimulated non-resident merchants, paying them 10% more than the actual market price of the product (Rashid al-Din, p. 54). It also makes sense to mention the following fact: understanding the dependency of Mongolian capital upon the external supply, Qubilai *qa'an* during the war with Ariq Böke, first blocked food deliveries to Qaraqorum, which caused a terrible famine (Rashid al-Din, p. 161). For more information about the position of Qaraqorum and its supply apparatus see (Dardess, 1972). Möngke *qa'an* could not be unaware of the presence of this problem, so the promotion of trade on the way to the capital, and providing the circulation of hard cash in the area seem reasonable measures.

²⁷ Information about this fact was given, for example, in the epitaph of Prince Hindu (transl. from Chin. F.Cleaves): "Whereas our Imperial Yuan had received the brilliant mandate of Heaven, in the fourth year [1209] after T'ai-tsu *huang-ti* 太祖皇帝 took the field, the *i-tu-hu* 亦都護 (*idug qut*) Pa-êrh-chu A 巴而木阿 (Barčuq Art), ruler of the Weiwu 畏兀 (Uigur), came with his whole nation and submitted. Under [T'ai-tsu] he participated in the expedition against the Western Region and rendered great meritorious service to the Royal House." (Cleaves, 1949, p.30).

Mongols used the Uighur script for several decades before the period of Möngke's reign, the question of its adaptation to the peculiarities of the Mongolian language has not been resolved, and, as a result, may have served as an incentive for the development of the new state Mongolian script²⁸. G.N.Roerich reports numerous written source references to the fact that the head of the Tibetan Buddhist school, Sa-skya Pandita, during his stay in Prince Godan's camp²⁹, created a new script for the Mongols, who already used the Uighur script. However, in his own words, in the earlier Tibetan sources the development of a new script was not mentioned. Most likely, Sa-skya Pandita only limited itself to the formulation of phonetic rules for the use of Uighur script. In addition, Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles mention Lama Čhos-kyi ĥod-zer - successor to the unfinished work of Sa-skya Pandita. Like Sa-skya Pandita, Čhos-kyi ĥod-zer did not create a new script, but at the end of the 13th century he did substantial grammatical and philological work that allowed him to translate the Tibetan Buddhist texts into Mongolian. However, he modified the Uighur script by introducing the labial vowels, diphthongs and terminal consonants (Roerich, 1945, p. 52, 54, 57; Pelliot, 1925, p. 286). The legends of the coins considered herein which reflect the local features of the Uighur transmission of Chinese words can also suggest the absence of generally accepted standards. Examples of the standard transmission of the toponym Xining in Mongolian pronunciation are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Transmission of the Chinese toponym 西寧 Xining by Uighur-Mongolian script.

Coins 1, 2. 1250s	Funerary inscription in Memory of Prince Hindu, 1362 ³⁰
Uighur [si-li]	Mongolian [si-nin]
	

Type 2 - with the Chinese legend *dachao tongbao* on the obverse and the Arabic legend *al-Ordu al-A'zam* on the reverse.

Coin 3 (Fig.3).

²⁸ Known as the Mongolian *phags-pa* (*pagsba*) square script, created at the request of Qubilai *qa'an* by his spiritual mentor Pagba Lama (Drogön Chögyal Phagpa 1235-1280, *Mong. Pagva lam*). Tibetan script was used as the basis of the new script, revised by taking into account the characteristics of the Mongolian language.

²⁹ Godan (Köden, 阔端 Koduan), the second son of Ögedei *qa'an*. The name of Godan is associated with the establishment of Mongolian relations with Tibet and its subsequent conquest. Also, Godan's assistance helped start the infiltration of Tibetan Buddhism into the Mongol Empire. Godan's camp, to which the Sa-skya Pandita came in 1245, was in the vicinity of Liangzhou (凉州, modern Wuwei 武威 in Gansu Province). Sa-skya met with Godan, who had returned from Qaraqorum in 1247 and stayed in his headquarters until his death in 1251.

³⁰ This Sino-Mongolian epigraphic monument, found in Gansu Province, is a unique source of genealogy and history of the Turkic clan, whose members were in the service to the Mongols for five generations, as well as an invaluable example of the written Mongolian language of the 14th century. The Uighur-Mongolian writing of the toponym Xining (Table 1) is represented in the title of the Mongolian text of the stele (Cleaves, 1949, plate XV).

This coin, unlike the first two, is cast and its design follows the typology of Chinese coins with a square central hole - *qian*. Silver. Weight 3.28 g, diameter 23.15-23.53 mm. The obverse mould was shifted to the right and down during the casting process so that the hole partially overlaps the left and top borders of the internal square rim. The hole is irregular and occupies much less space than allocated for it; it was formed during the casting process, and the final processing of the central hole was not made.



Fig.3. Coin 3. Zeno 46092. Photo and drawing.

Obv. Around the central square rim there is the Chinese legend 大朝通寶 *dachao tongbao*, rendered in crude and sloppy style by a mint master who obviously was not familiar with the basics of Chinese calligraphy. The writing of the Chinese characters is very different from all known calligraphic variants of the legends of the *dachao tongbao* coins, both known from publications and found in the above-mentioned hoard from Longxi.

Rev.: on the left of the central aperture, الاردو *al-urdū* 'Ordu'; on the right, الاعظم *al-a'zam* 'the Greatest'³¹; vignettes above and below.

The legends are composed in Arabic and are reproduced with the uneven archaic Kufi writing, devoid of definite epigraphic style. The proportions of the separate signs are not sustained; a number of graphic distortions is observed: in particular, an excessive "hook" at the top of the letter *dāl* in *al-urdū*; uneven base and random slopes of both verticals in the ligature *lām-alif*; an open loop of the penultimate letter (*zā*) in *al-a'zam*, separated from the preceding *ayn*; the final *mīm* with a long lower "tail", also not characteristic of the given type of script. However, all these peculiarities, alongside the overall slipshod appearance of the inscription evidently made by a non-professional hand, are rather typical for various coin issues of the early Mongol period.

Let us consider the obverse legend. It is believed that *dachao* is an endonym accepted by the Mongols during the life of Genghis Khan, and it was used along with the *da-meng-gu-guo* ("The Great Mongol State"). In literature, there are two interpretations of the term *dachao* - as Great Dynasty³² and the Great Court that, in general, correlate well with one of the modern dictionary

³¹ The authors would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Vladimir N. Nastich (Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences) for the reading and paleographic description of the Arabic legends on the coin.

³² D.Farquhar writes: "It was also known to have adopted a Chinese official title, *Ta Ch'ao* 大朝 "Great Dynasty", around 1217, when Muqali was entrusted by Chinggis with the consolidation of Mongolian rule in North China. This name was in use along with *Ta Meng-ku kuo* until it was replaced by the new name, *Ta Yüan*, under Qubilai" (Farquhar, p. 427).

meanings of this expression³³. Thus, the obverse legend of this coin shall be treated as “[having a universal] circulation legitimate coin of the Great Dynasty / Great Court”. It is known that the borrowing of the administrative system and usage of appropriate Chinese terminology by Mongols from Jurchens began at a very early stage of the Mongolian state. I. de Rachewiltz, for example, has convincingly shown that the endonym *yeke-mongyol-ulus* (“The Great Mongolian Empire”) is not a native Mongolian expression but is the Mongolian literal translation of the Chinese expression *da-meng-gu-guo*, the earliest reference of which in sources relates to the year 1211. In turn, the phrase *da-meng-gu-guo* used by the Mongols is a calque of *da-jin-guo* (“The Great Jin Nation”) (Rachewiltz, p. 54-55). The narrative source “Meng-da bei-lu”³⁴ has information that the Mongols learned literacy and clerical work from officials who had fled the Jin state. In the same source one also meets one of the earliest mentions of the term *dachao* in relation to the Mongols, referring to the Spring of 1220³⁵.

Many epigraphic relics containing the term *dachao* have survived until our time. The ambiguity of the use of the term in these texts has allowed some authors to put forward the theory that it was used by the Mongols as a state title (*guohao*), and also as a reign title (*nianhao*) (Whaley, 2001; Yu, 2005). Detailed consideration of these relics for determination of the meaning of the term *dachao*, corresponding to the period under review, requires a separate volumetric research that goes beyond the scope of this paper. Here, we only allow ourselves to dwell briefly on the following points.

The discovery of this coin can serve as a confirmation of the hypothesis regarding the identity of the Arabic expression *al-Ordu al-A`zam* and Chinese binomial *dachao*. As far the writers know, the first examination of the idea of semantic identity of these concepts was expressed by the Dutch numismatist, Dr. Tjong D. Yih, voicing it in a private message to one of the authors on 5 September 2000³⁶. “As you might realise “**Da Chao**” is not a reign legend. Actually it means something like “**Great Court**” and I was considering the hypothesis that it was actually nothing more than the Chinese version of the arabic legends “**al-Urdu al-A`zam**”, that occurs on a number of early Chaghatayid coins”. This idea was also supported by M. Whaley (Whaley, 2001, p. 6).

Apparently, the earliest mention of *al-Ordu al-A`zam* is found on the silver dirhams struck in the name of al-Nasir li-Din Allah and lacking a mint name, but stylistically close to Ghazni coins dated no later than the 630s AH / c.a. 1230s AD (Zeno, № 9749), i.e. more than 10 years later than the first mention of the term *dachao* in “Meng-da bei-lu” (see note 21). This fact does in itself not prove that the term *dachao* appeared in Mongols’ everyday

³³ The Hanyu Qidian Dictionary gives the following interpretation - 1. an audience with the emperor, princes and ministers, 2. place of such an audience (in the palace), 3. name, referring to the legal (legitimate) imperial court (dynasty).

³⁴ 蒙鞬備錄 “Meng-da bei-lu” (“A refined [report] of the Mongol-Tartars”) - report of Chinese ambassador Zhao Hong, who in 1221 visited the camp of Genghis Khan's governor, the Mongol commander-in-chief Muqali in Yanjing (now Beijing).

³⁵ “(Daher) haben (die Tatan) bis jetzt in den Schriftstücken, welche sie selber (im Verkehr) mit anderen Staaten verwenden, überall die uigurische Schrift benutzt, welche aussieht wie chinesische Notenzeichen für Querflöte. Erst jetzt, seit zwei Jahren, verwenden Sie im Verkehr mit dem Kin-Reich die chinesische Schrift, seitdem abtrünnige Beamte des Kin-Reiches, die sich (den Tatan) unterworfen hatten und freiwillig in ihre Dienste getreten waren, weil sie sonst nirgends Zuflucht fanden, sie nun in der Anfertigung amtlicher Schriftstücke unterwiesen haben. Im Frühling des vergangenen Jahres hatten sie, soweit ich, Hung, gesehen habe, auf den von ihnen versandten Schriftstücken noch den Ausdruck “Große Dynastie”...” (MDBL, p. 16). Binomial 大朝 *dachao* is translated in German as “Große Dynastie”. By “Im Frühling des vergangenen Jahres” (“In the Spring of last year”) Hong meant spring of the year *geng-chen* (06.02.1220-24.01.1221).

³⁶ Simultaneously published on the Internet at <http://www.charm.ru/coins/china/dazhao-silver.shtml>.

life earlier than *al-Ordu al-A`zam*, but, until there have been found earlier reports of the latter, this is certainly a strong argument in support of the primacy of the use of the Chinese term by the Mongols.

The multi-ethnic Mongol Empire led to the presence of similar concepts in other languages. For example, Mongolian versions can be found in the “Secret History of the Mongols”³⁷. Original Mongol terms for nomadian camps, used in this source, are *yeke auruh* and *yeke ordos*. The “Secret History of the Mongols” was translated in Western languages by different scholars and we can find explanations for these terms. For example, S.A.Kozin gives the following interpretation: “Yeke Auruq - khan’s camp with old and young”; “Yeke Auruq ~ Yeke Ordos Great Camp, Great Court” (Sokrovennoe skazanie, p. 564, 573). F.W. Cleaves translates the terms *yeke ordos* as “great palaces” and *yeke a'uruq* - “great camp for the old and young” (i.e. “great camp for the family dependents”) (Cleaves, p. 211, 277). In the parallel Chinese text the corresponding term *laoying* 老营 (*lit.* “camp for the old”) was used for designating the camp of the khan, his family and entourage (YCBS, juan 14; Haenisch 1939, p. 10, 125, 126, 171; Haenisch 1948, p. 137).

A direct explanation of the terms *ordo* and *yeke ordo* can be found in “Heida shilüe”³⁸. The place where the yurt of a Mongol ruler was located, say, during a hunt, was called an *Ordu*. It was called a Great Ordu in cases when the ruler's court (wives, concubines, children, officials, bodyguards etc.) also placed their yurts nearby.

Rashid al-Din used an exact Persian calque for *al-Ordu al-A`zam*, only in the plural - the phrase وردوهای بزرگ *ürdühā-yi buzurğ* (*lit.* “Great Hordes”)³⁹.

As the Arabic *al-Ordu al-A`zam* unambiguously translates as “The Greatest Horde”, then, if we consider semantically identical concepts, it also allows us to specify the translation of the term *dachao*. From modern dictionary meanings the most suitable one is “Great [Regal] Court”, but this translation does not emphasize the mobility of the Khan's court, so the authors propose to treat the term as “The Supreme [nomad] Court”⁴⁰. Thus, we must recognise

³⁷ “Secret History of the Mongols” (*Mong.* *Mongyol-un Niyuča tobēiyan*) - one of the most ancient Mongol literary and historiographical monuments, presumably composed in 1240 by an unknown author. A surviving version of the source under the title “Yuan-chao bi-shi” was compiled during the Ming Dynasty in the Mongolian language using the Chinese hieroglyphic transcription.

³⁸ 黑鞬事略 - a Song period account of the Mongols and their customs written by Peng Daya 彭大雅 and Xu Ting 徐霆 “Wo auch immer die Jurte des Tatan-Herrschers bei den Jagden steht, nennt man sie “Ordo”. Seine goldene Jurte, [die Pfosten sind mit Gold hergestellt, daher der Name], nennt man immer nur dann, wenn die sogenannten Kaiserlichen Konkubinen und alle Horden mitziehen, die “Große Ordo” [HDSL, p. 104].

³⁹ Rashid al-Din reports that Temür *qa'an* sent his brother Gammala “to the Qaraqorum, within which are located yurts and camps of Genghis Khan, and subjugated to him the troops of that country. The areas of the Qaraqorum, ..., Onon, Keluren, Kem-Kemjiyut, Selenga, Bayaliq, to the borders of Kyrgyz and the great reserve of Genghis Khan, also called Burkhan Khaldun, are all under his management, and he guards the great camps of Genghis Khan, which are still there. There are only nine of them: four large camps, and five [more]” (Rashid al-Din, p. 206-207.). In the translation of the text source for the phrase “great camps” the Farsi expression *ürdühā-yi buzurğ* (reading by Dr. V.N.Nastich) is used in the footnote.

⁴⁰ This refers to the headquarters of the Great Khan (*qa'an*). Despite being designated as such with the Arabic *al-Ordu al-A`zam*, Mongol *yeke ordos*, Persian *ürdühā-yi buzurğ* (see Notes 25 and 26), the authors, however, in interpreting the Chinese legend *dachao* deliberately do not use the Turkic term “horde” and do not propose to translate *dachao* as “The Greatest Horde”. We have discussed in this article coins of the 1st and 2nd types, which are similar in that the obverse and reverse of each type has almost the same semantic content. However, the translation must take into account differences in lifestyle, culture and language abilities. All of this certainly requires a certain nuance to the interpretation. From this point of view, the difference between *dachao* and *al-Ordu al-A`zam* is about the

that the translation of *dachao* frequently encountered in the literature as the "Great Dynasty" does not fully reflect the essence of the concept.

Dr P.N.Petrov concluded that the *al-Ordu al-A`zam* in the coin legends of Islamic type was used to denote the *qa'an*'s camp as the place where the coins were struck, or as an indication of the fact that the issue was ordered by decree of the *qa'an* (Petrov, 2006, p. 20-21). This does not contradict the semantics of the legends of *dachao tongbao* coins, which, taking into account all of the above, can be interpreted as "[having a universal] circulation legitimate coin of the Supreme [nomad] Camp".

Unfortunately, the characteristic feature of the *dachao tongbao* coins - the absence of issuing data - makes it difficult to secure the attribution of issue. However, despite the significant visual differences, the authors, until proven otherwise, place coin type 2 on a par with the rest of the known *dachao* coins. Future studies of the *dachao tongbao* coins should shed more light on this question, which so far remains open.

Upon review of the submitted new types of Chingizid silver coins we can formulate the following conclusions and suggestions:

Type 1. It is ascertained that the Xining area was a possession of Möngke *qa'an*. Design elements of the coins typologically relate them to silver coins of the so-called "Qaraqorum type", which, according to the authors' conclusions, were used on the territory adjacent to the routes of the Western-Chinese section of the Silk Road to the capital of the Mongol Empire.

Type 2. As numismatic monuments are sources of a legal nature (Petrov, 2006, p. 20), the hypothesis about the identity of the Arabic expression *al-Ordu al-A`zam* and the Chinese binomial, *dachao*, can be regarded as documentarily proven. In this case, an additional source study and numismatic material can suggest the primacy of the Chinese term, and clarify its interpretation in this context as "The Supreme [nomad] Camp".

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same as that between the *guo* (state, appanage, principality) and *ulus*, between *huang-di* (Emperor) and *qa'an*, between *sheng-zhi* (highest/imperial decree), and *yarlyq*, etc. There is a transmission of the same semantic elements not only in different languages, but also in the use of terminology to distinguish between the settled world on the one hand and the nomadic world on the other. It is interesting to note that, in some respects, there were similar cultural interaction of the three streams - Chinese, Central Asian Islamic and West-Mongolian nomadic - taking place in the empire of the Kara-Khitay - State of Western Liao (Pikov, 2007). Thus, when interpreting the legends, the authors suggest using the most appropriate terminology for each case.

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YTZZD:

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Yu 2005:

于采岩 Yu Caiqi. "大朝"文物考略 *Dachao wenwu kao lue* (Study of historical relic "Dachao") in 中国历史文物 *Zhongguo lishiwenwu* (Historical Relics of China), # 4 (57), 2005, pp 12-19.

Zeno:

Zeno, Oriental Coins Database, <http://zeno.ru>.

Abbreviations:

SIAL: 内陸アジア言語の研究 (Studies on the Inner Asian Languages), The Society of Central Eurasian Studies.

A NEW VARIETY OF MAHĀDEVA TYPE SILVER COIN

By Devendra Handa

Alexander Cunningham brought to light a silver coin (0.65 inch, 33 grains = 2.138 g) showing an elephant with upraised trunk moving to left towards trident-battleaxe of Śiva with the Brāhmī legend around reading *Bhagavata Mahadevasa Raja-raja* on the obverse and humped Indian bull to right with a lotus flower under its head and Kharoshthī legend around *Bhagavata Mahādevasa Rājarāj(ñ)a* on the reverse (Fig. 1), which he attributed to king Mahādeva belonging to the Audumbara tribe which ruled Pathankot-Kangra-Hamirpur region during the second-first centuries BC.¹



1. Mahādeva-type silver coin

Coins of Mahādeva type continued to come out sporadically subsequently and, though about three dozen specimens have been published, these coins are still quite rare and highly sought after. These coins show the bull and elephant facing right or left on different specimens with varying subsidiary symbols.² The attribution of this coin-type to Audumbara Mahādeva has been the subject of a long-drawnout controversy amongst scholars.³ The Temple-type square copper coins attributed to the alleged Audumbara king Mahādeva like other Audumbara coins (Fig.2-3) show the following legend pattern without the king's name as illustrated in Table 1 below.

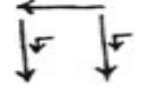


2. Audumbara copper coin without issuer's name



3. Similar Audumbara copper coin

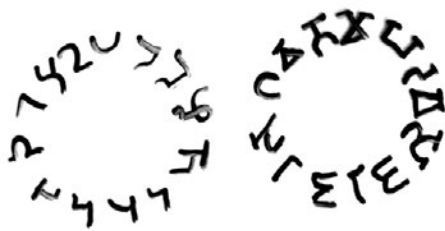
Table 1

Serial No.	Legend details	Kharosh-h»	Br'hm»
a.	Title (<i>Mahadevasa raña</i>)	Above	Above
b.	Name of issuer	On left	On right
c.	Name of the tribe	On right 	On left

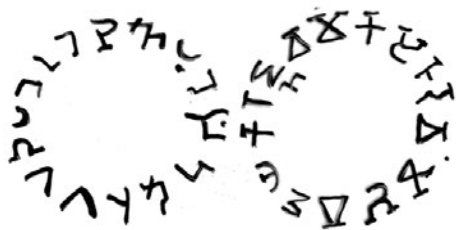
The silver coins of Audumbara Dharaghosha (Fig. 4) also differ substantially from the legend pattern of the Mahādeva-type silver coins (Fig. 5) under discussion. These coins therefore cannot be attributed to any Audumbara chief of the name of Mahādeva.⁴ The legend pattern of these coins compares better with the Vemaki coins of Rudravarma and Bhavavarman (Figs. 6-7)



4. Silver coin of Dharaghosha



5. Legend pattern on Mahādeva-type coin



6. Legend pattern on the silver coin of Vemaki Rudravarma

7. Silver coin of Vemaki Bhavavarman

Since the coin-type has a bull and elephant as the main devices like those of the Vemakī coins who probably ruled in the neighbourhood of the Audumbaras, a spatial and temporal proximity may be guessed. Sircar regarded the Bull/Elephant type silver round pieces bearing the legend *Bhagavata-Mahādevasa rājarāña* (or *rājarājasa*) [Sanskrit *Bhagavata-Mahādevasya rājarājasya*] ‘of Mahādeva, the worshipper of the Bhagavata (and) the king of kings’ as “issued in the name of the god Mahādeva conceived as a ruler apparently because the kingdom had been dedicated to the deity”.⁵ Jai Prakash Singh also takes these coins as Audumbara and compares them with the Brahmanyadeva type Yaudheya coins. He feels that “these pieces were issued by Dharaghosha to commemorate his victory over the Indo-Greeks. And since Dharaghosha is said to have imitated the money of Apollodotus, it may be justified to think that the same Indo-Greek king had to suffer a political humiliation sometime towards the close of his reign”.⁶ Earlier, S.K. Chakraborty⁷ had also taken Mahādeva of the legend as god Śiva observing that “the legend on these coins had been interpreted to refer to a king named Mahādeva. But this cannot be taken to be certain. The word *bhagavata* is generally applicable to gods, and the title *rājarāja*, the king of kings, is more applicable to a god than to the king of a small principality. . . So I would rather take this legend as applicable to god Mahādeva and the coin seems to be dedicated to him like the Chatreśvara type or the Kuṇinda coins. The legend therefore may be interpreted as follows: ‘in the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings’”. Bela Lahiri⁸ and P.L. Gupta⁹ too follow Chakraborty and Sircar to interpret Mahādeva as Śiva but attribute these coins to the Vemakis following Chakraborty’s suggestion that, during the critical period of the Indo-Scythian inroads, the Vemakis dedicated their state to their presiding deity, Mahādeva, like the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas who dedicated their states to their respective national gods, Chatreśvara and Brahmanyadeva-Kumāra.

Coins of this type were quite rare till the early eighties of the last century when a big hoard containing specimens of this type and numerous Kuninda silver coins was discovered probably in the Palampur area.¹⁰ Taking stock of almost all known specimens and on the basis of an analytical analysis thereof in 2007, I reached the conclusion that these coins belong neither to any Audumbara or Vemakī king nor were they struck in the name of Mahādeva-Śiva. I brought to light some specimens showing the Brāhmī legend as *Bhagavata Mahādevasya Rāja-rājña(ā*)* (Fig. 8) which clearly indicated that they were issued by a king who was a devotee of Mahādeva and probably bore the personal name Rāja-rājan on the model of Indo-Greek hemi-drachms struck by Apollodotus.¹¹



8. Coin showing the legend *Bhagavata Māhādevasa Rājarājña(ḥ*)*

It is notable that the line below the bull is undulating, representing perhaps a river, near which stood the Śaiva temple indicated probably by the bull. The elephant on the other side may represent the vehicle of the ruler and indirectly the king himself. The elephant is always shown on a straight line, representing perhaps the road or the track. Numerous variations are noticeable in the forms of the symbols like the lotus in front of the bull, the plough or the parasol held by the elephant in its trunk, the trident-battleaxe in front of the elephant, the figures of the bull and the elephant, etc. An analysis based on the direction of the bull and the elephant and the placement of the subsidiary symbols revealed the following types, varieties and sub-varieties (Table 2) –

Table 2

Type	Variety	Bull's face	Elephant's face	Sub-varieties	Nos.
I	A	→	←	8	1-8
	B	→		1	9
	C		←	1	10
II	A	→	→	5	11-15
	B		→	1	16
III	A	←	→	3	17-19
	B		→	1	20
IV	A	←	←	1	21
	B		←	1	22
	C			1	23

In the classification of the Mahādeva type coins, the two types of legends as noted above distinguish their two Classes. In two specimens I have noticed the existence of a triangle-headed symbol after *Mahādevasa* in the Kharoshthī legend and a *śrīvatsa* preceding *Bhagavata*.¹² Coins showing both the bull and the elephant walking to left and right and those with both the animals walking to left are comparatively rare. Of the latter only a few specimens represent the known varieties. Most of the known coins seem to have been struck from different dies which can be made out from the forms of the subsidiary symbols.

Early in 2013, probably in the month of February, a very big hoard of more than a thousand silver coins of the Kuṇḍas containing some specimens of Mahādeva type surfaced in Himachal Pradesh and has been on the market. The exact provenance is not revealed by the traders but according to one source the hoard came from somewhere near Dharampur on the Kalka-Shimla highway. Scans of three specimens were forwarded to me by Mr Jeevandeep Singh of Ludhiana for identification (Figs. 9-11). Of these, one specimen (Fig. 11) depicts the bull and the elephant walking to the right, the bull having a *svastika* on its back, i.e. belonging to Type II, Variety B, and two coins show both the animals walking to the left (Figs. 9-10). These two specimens are, however, interesting as they show the bull with a *nandipada* above its back and a *svastika* near its face, located between the letters *va* and *sa* of *Mahadevasa* of the legend. These coins thus represent a hitherto unknown variety. They were struck from different dies.



9-11. Mahādeva Type coins from a recently discovered hoard

The hoard may have probably contained many other unknown varieties of Mahādeva and Kuṇḍa type coins but alas it seems to have been disposed off in parts.

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THE BRAHMAKUNDA HOARD

By S. K. Bose

On the morning of 8 September 2013, there was a chance discovery of fourteen debased gold coins at a pilgrim site in the village of Brahmakunda in the district of West Tripura. Three labourers, namely Dulal Sarkar, Mintu Munda and Anil Munda, were engaged at the said site in removing heaps of earth from the lower bank of the river Kundeswari Chhara. While transferring the soil, a broken earthen pot containing gold coins surfaced. It was a site where a staircase leading to the stream was being built for both tourists and pilgrims. They found fourteen coins, which they duly retained. On 10 September, one of the said labourers, Dulal Sarkar, found another three gold coins at the same spot. This time, news of the discovery spread, which led to a newspaper reporter informing the Sub-Divisional Magistrate at Mohanpur. In accordance with the latter's instruction, police from the Siddhai Police Station intervened and were in due course able to recover eleven pieces from the labourers. All the gold coins were



promptly removed to the safe custody of the State Museum of Tripura, Agartala.



The find-spot

Most interestingly, similar to the *Mahākumbh* or the *Ardhakumbh Melā* (fair), an annual holy congregation takes place at Brahmakunda each year when thousands of devotees, both tribal and non-tribal, from Tripura and the neighbouring states, also from the undivided Comilla and Sylhet districts of Bangladesh, gather on the 7th, 8th and 9th day of *Chaitra* (around March). The devotees take a bath in the stream and pay their homage to the river Ganga. The possibility of such events during the 7th or 8th centuries cannot entirely be excluded, as the present locals are only able to say that it has been going on from time immemorial. If such were the case, it is probable that the then rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms might also have gathered there to invoke the goddess Ganga's blessings and offered homage in cash or kind.

Hill Tripura was not isolated from Samatata even in the pre-Manikyā period. The history of the Manikyās, based on a reliable chronology, began in the mid-fifteenth century. The above-mentioned numismatic evidence, however, shows that there must have been Brahminical settlements in the early medieval period in that part of the state. The names of the rivers Brahmakunda, Gumati and Manu or other names such as Hrishyamuk, Unokoti or Trilochana suggest links with Sanskrit culture and stand as evidence for early settlements in Tripura of the people familiar with the language.⁴¹ All such discoveries have not only proved the existence of trade relations with neighbouring kingdoms, but also strengthen the argument that many border areas of Hill Tripura were also once a part of the Samatata kingdom.

Controversy exists among scholars as regards the exact geographical location of Samatata. The Buddhist chronicle, *Manjusree Mulakalpa*⁴², written in c. 6th sixth century AD, mentions that Harikela, Samatata and Banga were three *Janapadas*⁴³. Geographically, Samatata as well as Harikela or Harikelā was sometime synonymous with the whole of Banga or a part of the latter. The Allahabad pillar inscription of the 4th century clearly mentions the ruler of Samatata as being a '*protiyanta nripati*' or frontier king⁴⁴, who had paid tribute and homage to Samudragupta⁴⁵. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri identified Samatata as one of the most important amongst the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta emperor⁴⁶. He also mentioned that Samatata was a part of Eastern Bengal

bordering on the sea, with its capital at Bad-Kamta near Comilla⁴⁷.

Notwithstanding the controversy that exists about the exact location of the Samatata kingdom, the find places of almost all Samatata debased gold coins undoubtedly indicate that the areas mentioned above were within a separate economic zone as these coins were not found in west and northern undivided Bengal.

Most interestingly, a die-struck silver coin with the legend "Samatata", very similar to Harikela coins in design, has been discovered and published⁴⁸. This coin was probably in circulation when the powers of the kingdom were on the wane and the influence of Harikela over Samatata was increasing⁴⁹. This assumption is based on the fact that Samatata rulers had consecutively issued gold coins, whether debased or not, with the names of the ruler mentioned thereon⁵⁰. Again, the lettering on the Samatata silver coin may be assigned to the 7th or 8th century AD on paleographical grounds⁵¹.

Though debased, the gold coins found at Brahmakunda, located close to the Habiganj and Comilla districts (Bangladesh), provide very important information about an unknown chapter of Tripura's history. The coins bear the names of kings such as Śri Kumara (AD c.640-655), Śri[dharanarata] (AD c.664-675), Śri Jiva[dharanarata] (c.662-664) and Virachandra (a Chandra ruler of Arakan, who ruled between AD c.455-462). Virachandra's coin is also similar to Samatata gold coins in fabric and style. Fortunately, though Virachandra's coin could not be recovered, the reporter, Nripesh Ananda Das of the 'Dainik Sambad' newspaper sent a report with a photograph where Virachandra's coin can clearly be seen at the top left⁵². This also indicates that the view expressed in the news that all the coins relate to the Kharga dynasty of Samatata does not hold water.

If Virachandra ruling in Arakan during the years AD c.455-462⁵³ is accepted, then the gap in information as to when exactly the Chandra dynasty extended their political influence in Tripura or Samatata can be filled in⁵⁴. In the genealogical chart of the Chandra dynasty in East Bengal there is no mention of Virachandra. The latter dynasty also ruled between the early 9th century and early 11th century. The thirteen inscriptions discovered in East Bengal, have enabled historians to place the ruling period of the Chandra kings of East Bengal to between AD c.825 and 1035⁵⁵.

The composition of the Brahmakunda hoard, as preserved at the museum, set out by king and denomination, is as follows. All the coins are of debased gold.



1. Sri(dharanarata), 5.6 g, 19 mm

⁴¹ K.D. Menon (ed), *Tripura District Gazetteers*, Department of Education, Govt. of Tripura, 1975, p.7.

⁴² Ganapati Sastri, *Manjusree Mulakalpa* 22nd Patala, p. 232-33.

⁴³ R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, Kolkata, Tulsi Prakashani, Kolkata Edition, 2005 (1st edition- 1971), p. 8.

⁴⁴ Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, University of Calcutta, 1972, 2nd Edition, pp 479..

⁴⁵ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 4th Edition, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981, p.166.

⁴⁶ Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.* pp 479-80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ B. N. Mukherjee & J. Acharjee, 'A Coin with the legend Samatata', *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 25-26, IIRNS, Anjaneri, pp. 81-83.

⁴⁹ S. Data Choudhury, 'Harikel', *Srihatta Kacharer Prachin Itihās* (Bengali), Rabindra Smriti Granthagar & Bangiya Sahitya parisad, Shillong, 1996, p. 126.

⁵⁰ N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose, *The Coinage of Assam*, Vol. I, Pre-Ahom Period, Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata 2003, pp.65-78.

⁵¹ Samaresh Bandyopadhyay, 'Fresh light on geographical names from early Bengal coins', *Mudranusilana*, Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2006, p. 55.

⁵² *Dainik sambad* (Bengali news paper), Agartala, 17.09.2013, p. 7.

⁵³ Michael Mitchiner, *op. cit.* pp. 59-60.

⁵⁴ J. Gan-Chaudhuri, *Tripura-The Land and its People*, Leeladevi Publications, Delhi, 1980, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁵ R. C. Majumdar, *Op. cit.* 175-76.



2. Sri(dharanarata), 5.51 g, 20 mm



3. Sri(dharanarata), 4.97 g, 19 mm



4. Sri(dharanarata), 5.72 g, 20 mm



5. Sri(dharanarata), 5.65 g, 19.5 mm



6. Sri(dharanarata), 5.67 g, 20 mm



7. Sri(dharanarata), 5.72 g, 19 mm



8. Jiva(dharanarata), 5.72 g, 19 mm



9. Sri Kumara, 5.43 g, 19 mm



10. Sri Kumara, 5.62 g, 21 mm



11. Sri Kumara, 5.42 g, 19 mm



12. Virachandra, 5.71 g, 19 mm
(seen at the site with a labourer)

The prompt collection of the coins for preservation was possible thanks to the active support and initiative of Shri D. Debbarmann, D.M., Shri S. Biswas, S.D.P.O. Sidhhai Mohanpur, Shri D. Banerjee, O.C. and Shri P. Bhattacharjee, Tripura Govt. Museum, Agartala.

THE KONGALVAS



By Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor⁵⁶

Introduction

The history and coinage of the Kongalvas is hardly known in any of the history or numismatic books. Dr Venkatesha re-constructed the history to the best of his abilities, and this is narrated in his work¹. The late Sri Mukunda Prabhu, Mangalore, brought to light one Kongalva gold coin, which was inscribed with the title Adataraditya. No other Kongalva coins are known in any publications since then. Deciphering the history of the Kongalvas has been extremely difficult due to the utmost rarity of their coins as well as the lack of monumental records. Thus, this article is an

⁵⁶ [REDACTED]

attempt to synthesize the already available data and to throw new light on the Kongalvas.

The Kongalvas ruled the area north of Coorg, also known as Kodagu in Kannada, and the region surrounding Malambi, now in Shanivarsanthe of Kodagu (Coorg) of Karnataka. Two rivers, namely the Kaveri and Hemavati, flow in this fertile land. This fertile area was once part of the mighty Ganga dynasty (during the 9th century AD). Following the Chola conquest of Gangavadi, the Chola monarch Rajaraja handed the region of Malavvi, the present Malambi, to the Kongalvas for the feudal service they rendered.

The Kongalvas claimed to be Cholas, as is known from their inscriptions; but we know that the Cholas imposed their names upon the provinces they conquered, the temples they built, and the vassal kings or administrative authorities whom they left in the government of them. Ultimately, it became the practice to use a Chola suffix to their names, starting from the rule of the second ruler.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the roots of the Kongalvas, it is commonly assumed that they were one of the branches of the Alupas. The Alupas were the rulers of the neighbouring Alvakhed² region, which is now part of the Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts of Karnataka. "Konga" comes from the territory name, the Konganadu-8000 that the Kongalvas ruled. This region comprised Kodagu and Malambi, now part of modern Coorg (Kodagu) district. "Aluva" is used as a synonym for the Alupas. Interestingly, the Alupas, during the beginning of their rule, were referred to as Aluvas. The word "Aluva" in Kannada means 'ruling'. The name Kodagu appears only in the subsequent inscriptions of their successors, the Chengalvas.

History

The earliest mention of the Kongalvas is in the Ravivarma's Gundapur inscription. So it is quite probable that they were the feudatories of the Kadambas of Banavasi. The next mention is seen in the epigraph that mentions one of the Kongalva chiefs, namely Manija, who fought a war as a warrior under the general Panchavan-Maharaya. He brought victory to the Cholas in the battle of Panasoge³. As a reward, Manija was conferred the title, "Kshatriya Sikhamani Kongalva" and was given the land of Malambi. The territory extended over the Arkalgud taluq of Mysore and the Yelusavira (7000) country during Manija's rule.

Over time, the Cholas were driven away by the Chalukyas, and the Kongalvas switched their allegiance to the then major power, the Chalukyas. At this juncture one can witness Chalukya names such as Tribhuvanamalla used by the rulers in place of the Chola prefix.

With the coming of the Hoysalas to power, the power of the Kongalvas greatly declined and the region of Gangavadi passed under Hoysala control in AD 1213, following which the Kongalvas disappeared from the political scene.

Shift of allegiance

The first known member of the family, "Manija", ruled from AD 1005 to 1020. Manija had helped the Cholas in their quest to defeat the Gangas. He was made the "Mandalika" and allowed to rule some northern areas of Kodagu. He further extended his territory over some parts of Arakalgud in Hassan district.

The name of the next ruler, Rajendrachola, is mentioned on a few hero stones. Rajendra is described as a wild fire in the forest (to the Hoysalas). He ruled from AD 1020 to 1055. Rajendra Chola Prithvi Maharaja Kongalva defeated the Hoysala ruler, Nripakama, in AD 1026, at Manni.

Rajadhiraja Kongalva (AD 1055 - 1065), the son of Rajendra Kongalva, succeeded the throne as mentioned in his three epigraphs.

Rajendra Prithvi Kongalva (AD 1065 - 1100) in turn succeeded Rajadhiraja Kongalva. An eleventh century epigraph mentions his titles "Orayur Puravareshwara" and "Suryasikhamani". In a hero-stone dated AD 1077, his name is shown as Rajendrachola Kongalva. Many of the epigraphs of his time make mention of the

grants offered to Lord Vira Sidheswara, Adityadeva and Polleswara.

The next known ruler is Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva, who seems to have ruled from AD 1100 – 1120. One of the epigraph mentions an attack by the Changalvas, which shows rivalry between the Changalvas and Kongalvas. It is assumed that Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva is the son of Rajendra II. Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva is also a contemporary of Ballala-I (AD 1102 - 1108) of Hoysala lineage. Ballala I defeated Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva, who was forced to become his vassal. The Gubbi epigraph⁴ refers to the same ruler with the title "Mahamandaleswara Adataradiya Tribhuvanamalla Chola". The "Adataraditya" title was also conferred on the same ruler in yet another epigraph. Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva tried to become independent, but the Hoysala king, Vishnuvardhana, defeated him again, in battle. This is evidenced by the inscription in which Vishnuvardhana called himself "The burning fire in the forest of the Kongalvas". This is in retaliation for the same phrase that the first ruler, Manija, had used earlier. Vishnuvardhana married Chandaladevi, the Kongalva princess, in AD 1115-1116, and allowed Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva to rule as his feudatory⁵.

The next ruler, Vira Kongalva, ruled nearly for about 25 years, but not much is known of him due to the paucity of records. He seems to have ruled from AD 1120 till 1145. Vira Kongalva was succeeded by Vira Dodda Kongalva. The Hoysala kings desired to possess the Kongalva kingdom, but in a treaty signed during the rule of Hoysala Ballala II, there seemed to have been recognition of Vira Dodda Kongalva's rule.

Rajendra Billa Kongalva (AD 1213) seems to be the last ruler of this lineage. This king bore the titles "Maleraja" and "Malaparoluganda". Henceforth only the Hoysalas used the title "Malaparoluganda" exclusively, making it clear that the territory became part of the Hoysala realm. Kongalva rule can, thus, be said to have come to an abrupt end at the hands of the Hoysalas.



Map of Konganadu-8000

Coinage

Coins are often used across political boundaries. Many kingdoms in India minted their own gold coins, for a variety of purposes, one of which was to facilitate trade. So that the issuing authority could be recognised and the gold content and monetary value authenticated, the coins followed a definite weight standard set by the kingdom and typically bore a royal emblem on the obverse. Coins also bore the ruler's name or title and, in some cases, religious symbols.

The symbols and motifs on the coins had significance within the communities for which they were struck and provided a type of emotional and religious attachment. Coins of neighbouring

kingdoms were also often an influencing factor and, in this respect, the coins of the Kongalvas were no exception, being influenced by the coins issues of the neighbouring dynasties namely, the Cholas and Alupas.

There are very few known coins of this dynasty. The late Sri Mukunda Prabhu, a numismatist from Mangalore, was the first to identify their coins. This article, based on detailed research since 2001, is the second attempt to discuss and catalogue them.

As explained in the history section, the rulers up to Rajendrachola Kongalva were loyal to the Cholas and adopted their dynastic name as a suffix to their names. Though, there is no mention of the dynastic emblems in any of their inscriptions, the coins found in the Konganadu region suggest that the dynasty imitated the Cholas even in choosing their insignia in addition to the Chola suffix to their family names. A seated tiger along with other religious attributes such as a ceremonial umbrella, elephant goad, lotus, fruit-bearing tree and lamp etc., similar to the coins of the neighbouring ruling house of the Alupas, are seen on the coins of the Kongalvas. Moreover, the Chola coins do not depict religious symbols: rather they show their dynastic crest only.

The bigger denomination coin with the Tiger motif has the ruler's name in Nagari script on the reverse. Again, they closely followed even the usage of Nagari script as on the Chola coins. In addition to three new Gadyanas, this article also presents four Panams for the first time. The symbols in front of the tiger on these coins are all unique. One has the elephant goad, the second one has a ceremonial lamp, the third one has a fruit-bearing tree, and the last one has a Poorna Kumbha.

The coins carrying the legend "Sri Adataraditya" were previously assigned to Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva (AD 1100-1120), based on the title of Adataraditya that the ruler adopted. The Gubbi inscription⁴ referring to a ruler named Mahamandaleshvara Adataraditya Tribhuvanamalla Chola Kongalva supports this. There is yet another inscription that mentions the title Adataraditya for the ruler, Tribhuvanamalla⁶.

The Later Santaras also had epithets like Adataraditya⁷, Adiyara Kulatilaka, and are described as worshippers of the feet of the God Adibillesvara of Hombuchcha⁸. To resolve the confusion of this commonly used title "Adataraditya" by various rulers and dynasties, other features such as the lion symbol, provenance etc., were looked at as well. So far two of the coins were noted in Shimoga, and two from the jewellers of the Kongalva territory, with one obtained from Shanivarasanth (a place in Coorg district) and another from Hassan. Since Shimoga is not that far from Coorg, and is also on an ancient trade route, such finds need not necessarily indicate a local issue. All the known Adataraditya coins are of an earlier period and hence cannot be attributed to the Santaras. Moreover the Santaras used this title only during the 13th century AD.

In the year 2002, a Hoysala hoard was found in Sosevuru. The hoard is believed to be a treasure of the royal court of the Hoysalas as their capital was at Sosevuru. The hoard had several coins of the Alupas, Hoysalas and Kongalvas. Two dealers distributed the hoard and hence the quantity and types of coins are roughly estimated based on the information obtained from the primary and secondary sources. To the best of my knowledge, there were four coins with a lion symbol on the obverse. At least 7 Alupa coins were noted out of around 55 coins in total. Subsequently some articles were published that attributed these lion motif coins to the Kadambas of Goa and the legends were read as 'Sri Malavaramari'.

On close observation of two of the lion coins, I determined that the legend reads 'Sri Malaparolu ganda'. This simply means "Chief among the Malapas". The fact is that the Kongalva king, Rajendra Billa Kongalva, also used the same title of 'Malaparolu ganda'. Rajendra Billa Kongalva was the last of the Kongalva lineage and was defeated by the Hoysala king, Ballala. He was a Chalukya feudatory and the lion was his motif as witnessed from the later coins whereas the Hoysala motif was a walking tiger. In this article, the inscribed coins with the lion emblem on the obverse and Kannada legend 'Malaparolu ganda' on the reverse are attributed to this ruler based on the above facts. Also, the

weight of 3.8g is more inline with the weight standard of the Kongalvas, not of the Hoysalas. Panams may exist that have a similar lion motif and religious symbols, but the absence of other evidence makes them hard to assign to this dynasty.

Kongalva coins follow a weight standard in line with that of the Alupas, Santaras, Gangas and Chalukyas. The bigger denomination gold coin was known by the name of Gadyana and the smaller denomination was Pana. So far, no example of a Haga has been found. The table below shows the weight standard that was prevalent during the rule of the Kongalvas as adopted by the contemporary and adjoining ruling houses of the Alupas, Chalukyas and the Gangas.

No.	Denomination	Unit	Weight
1	Gadyana	1	3.8 g
2	Pana (Panam or Fanam)	1/10	0.38 g
3	Haga (quarter Fanam)	1/40	0.095 g

Table 1: Monetary weight standard

Chronology

Shown below is a table that records the period of rule for each of the Kongalva rulers. This tabulation has a reference to the work of Dr Venkatesha⁹.

Ruler's name	Ruling period AD
Manija	1005-1020
Rajendra Chola Kongalva	1020-1055
Rajadhiraja Kongalva	1055-1065
Rajendra Prithvi Kongalva	1066-1100
Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva	1100-1120
Vira Kongalva	1120-1145
Vira Dodda Kongalva	1145-1180
Rajendra Billa Kongalva	1213

Table 2: Chronology of the Kongalvas



Catalogue

The following listing is an attempt to bring the unknown rulers to light through their coinage. The beauty of the coins is evident and shows the various influences of their neighbours, the Alupas, Hoysalas and the mighty Gangas.

The weight standard is similar to that of their neighbours and the flan size and techniques used in minting them are similar too.

It should be noted that the punchmarked gold coin that is shown below in the listing is debatable. Though the title "Adataraditya" is seen punchmarked, the coin may be of another dynasty. There does not seem to be any rationale for the Kongalvas to have issued a punchmarked coin, as the next issues are all die-struck.



GADYANA (Seated tiger motif)	
1	
	<p>Ruler: Rajadhiraja Kongalva (AD 1055-1065) Obv: Tiger seated facing left, on a lotus. Lotus in front, ceremonial lamp on back, umbrella above</p>

	<p>Rev: Nagari legend “Sri” inscribed thrice on first line and Kannada legend “Sri ” inscribed thrice on second line Gold Gadyana, 3.8 g, 14 mm Provenance: Coorg</p>	3		
2			<p>Obv: Tiger seated on a lotus, facing left. Pedestal lamp in front Rev: Votive Lamp with wick edge facing left Gold Pana, 0.38 g, 6 mm Provenance: Not known Courtesy: Sri Pramod Vernekar, Belgaum</p>	
	<p>Ruler: Rajendra Prithvi Kongalva (AD 1066-1100) Obv: Tiger seated on an ornate pedestal, facing left. Fruit-bearing tree and a conch in front, Poorna Kumbha on back, umbrella above Rev: Nagari legend that reads “Sri Rajendra Pri (thvi)” Gold Gadyana, 3.8 g, 14 mm Provenance: Coorg</p>		4	
3			<p>Obv: Tiger seated facing left, on a lotus. Flywhisk in front, crescent and moon in top left field. Lotus below and ceremonial umbrella above, Poorna Kumbha behind. Rev: Votive Lamp with wick edge facing right Gold Pana, 0.38 g, 6 mm Provenance: Obtained at Hassan, from the jeweller</p>	
	<p>Ruler: Rajendra Prithvi Kongalva (AD 1066-1100) Obv: Tiger seated on ornate pedestal, facing left. Fruit bearing tree in front, Poorna Kumbha behind, umbrella above Rev: Nagari legend that reads “Sri Sr Ra /jendra Pri th vi” Gold Gadyana, 3.8 gm, 15 mm Provenance: Coorg</p>			

GADYANA (Lion motif)

1			
	<p>Ruler: Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva Date: AD 1100-1120 Obv: Lion facing left; sun, moon and conch symbols above. Pedestal lamps in front and behind the lion. Rev: “Sri Adadaraditya” in Kannada arranged in three lines Provenance: Coorg Gold Gadyana, 3.8 g, around 14 mm Provenance: Believed to be Coorg, with a Shimoga collector</p>		
2			
	<p>Ruler: Tribhuvanamalla Kongalva Date: AD 1100-1120 Obv: Lion facing right, sun, moon and Poorna Kumbha above. Pedestal lamps in front and behind the lion. Rev: “Sri Adadaraditya” in Kannada, arranged in three lines Gold Gadyana, 3.8 g, 15 mm Provenance: Shimoga for a similar but different specimen Courtesy: Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad, auction 5, Lot 354</p>		

PANA (Seated tiger motif)

1		
	<p>Obv: Tiger seated facing left, on a lotus. Poorna Kumbha in front, ceremonial lamp behind; ceremonial umbrella above Rev: Votive lamp with wick edge facing right Gold Pana, 0.38 g, 6 mm Provenance: Coorg</p>	
2		
	<p>Obv: Tiger seated on a lotus, facing left. Fruit-bearing tree in front, stylised Poorna Kumbha behind; ceremonial umbrella above Rev: Votive lamp with wick edge facing left Gold Pana, 0.38 g, 7 mm Provenance: Not known, but sourced in Mangalore Courtesy: M Nithyananda Pai, Karkala</p>	

3	
	<p>Date: AD 1120-1213 Obv: Lion facing right, crescent, royal throne and sun symbols above. Rev: “Sri Adadaraditya” in Kannada, arranged in three lines Gold Gadyana, 3.2 g, 14 mm Provenance: Coorg, obtained from a Hassan jeweller</p>
4	
	<p>Ruler: Cannot be assigned due to unknown provenance, but carries the title “Adada” and “raditya” in two punches Obv: Lion facing right X 5, “Sri” X 2, “Adada” X 1, “Raditya” X 1 Rev: Blank Gold Gadyana, punchmarked coin, 3.6 g, 16 mm Provenance: Unknown</p>
5	
	<p>Ruler: Rajendra Billa Kongalva Date: AD 1180-1213 Obv: Lion facing right beneath an umbrella, Gandaberunda bird above, ceremonial lamps in front and behind. Rev: “Sri Malaparolu ganda” in Kannada, arranged in three lines Gold Gadyana, 3.8 g, 13 mm Provenance: Sosevuru hoard¹⁰ - 2002</p>

INDIAN ZINC COINS, A SERIES FROM NORTH-WESTERN INDIA (KANGRA?)

By Joe Cribb

Several years ago, my former colleague, Dr. Paul Craddock, then of the British Museum Research Laboratory, tested four groups of white-metal coins in the Museum’s Indian coin collection. His tests identified their main constituent to be zinc. Fortunately small amounts of lead were also present in the coins (apparently residual traces in the ore from which the metallic zinc was extracted), so he was able to commission lead isotope measurement of the coins from Professor Noel Gale of the Oxford University Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art. The isotope ratio values of the coins are all very similar, which suggests that a common source of zinc ore was used. However the groups of coins each have a distinctive trace element composition suggesting that the zinc ore was smelted on different occasions, and possibly at different locations. Ore samples were collected in 2009 from sites in the Tons valley separating the states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal in North West India, where early zinc smelting retorts have been previously reported and lead isotope analyses were performed at the British Geological Survey at Keyworth, Nottingham. This showed the lead isotope ratios to be reasonably close to those of the coins, suggesting the source of the zinc used to make them to be either in the Tons valley, or possibly ore sources in neighbouring areas (zinc mining has also been reported in the Kullu valley, from which the Beas river flowed; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 20, p. 317).

One group of these zinc coins (series A) was found at Nadaun on the Beas river in Himachal Pradesh, to the east of the Tons valley. Another group (series B) was acquired from the collector, C.J. Rodgers, as part of a group of coins from the Punjab including some coins of the kings of Kangra, now in Himachal Pradesh, who had ruled the area where the first group of zinc coins were found. A few years previously Rodgers had been conducting excavations in Kangra for the Punjab Archaeological Survey. A third group (series C) was donated to the British Museum by the government of N.W. Provinces and Oudh, the area which included Uttar Pradesh, the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The fourth group (series D) was said by its donor to have been found between Agra and Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. Although there was a lack of precision in the provenance of series B and C, their context places them in the same broad region of the other two series, so all four series can be said to have originated in the northwestern part of India. Their lead isotope ratios independently also suggest a North-West Indian origin for the coins-

The Zinc Coins

Series A



Obv.

Rev. a

Rev. b



Series A with rev. type a

References

I would like to express my gratitude to Sri Pramod Vernekar (Belgaum), Sri Ramdas Mallya (Mangalore), Sri Shatrughan Saravaghi (Classical Numismatic Gallery India), Sri L Subramanya (Shimoga) and Sri M Nithyananda Pai (Karkala) for giving permission to display their coins in this article. I also express my sincere thanks to the authors of the following works, which have been referred to in this work.

1. Dr Venkatesha, *South Indian Feudatory Dynasties*, Sharada Publishing House, New Delhi-110035, 2000, pp 132-137
2. Govindraya Prabhu, Nithyananda Pai, *The Alupas, Coinage and History*, 2005
3. *Epigraphia Carnatica, Coorg inscriptions* – CG 46
4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V (1902), Hassan 16
5. *Karnataka Gazetteer – Hassan*, p 55.
6. *South Indian Inscriptions IX*, Pt I, No.269
7. *Epigraphia Carnatica XII*, 1904, p 79
8. *South Indian Feudatory Dynasties*, Dr Venkatesha, p 51
9. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, V (1902) introduction, p VIII
10. *The Alupas, Coinage and History*, Prabhu & Pai, p 122



Series A with rev. type b

Obv.: Square divided into nine smaller squares (3x3), each containing a dot, with unclear lines around edges of square.
Rev.: A central vertical line with shorter lines (arrow heads, crescents and unclear lines) projecting from the central line.
 Two versions of this design are designated as a) and b) here.

Purchase via the Indian Museum Calcutta (Kolkata), from The Punjab Archaeological Survey, ten coins found at Nadaun, Hamipur District, Himachal Pradesh, British Museum registration numbers 1889,1203.49–58.

49	2.83 g, 12.5 mm; rev. b
50	2.45 g, 12.5 mm; rev. b
51	2.48 g, 14.5x12 mm; rev. a
52	2.18 g, 12x11mm; rev. a
53	2.67 g, 13 mm; rev. a
54	2.53 g, 13 mm; rev. a
55	3.12 g, 13x12 mm; rev. b
56	2.22 g, 11 mm; rev. a
57	2.83 g, 14x11.5 mm; rev. b
58	2.76 g, 13 mm; rev. b

Series B



Obverse

Obverse – mirror image



Reverse

Reverse – mirror image



Series B

Obv.: four Devanagari characters in two lines written in mirror form, reading *Rādha Kṛṣṇa* (the names of the Hindu god Krishna and his wife Radha).
Rev.: four Devanagari characters in two lines written in mirror form, reading *Sītā Rāma* (the names of the Hindu god Rama and his wife Sita).

Purchased from C.J. Rodgers, British Museum registration numbers 1892,0207.46–51.

Rodgers' collection mostly contains coins of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The six zinc pieces (listed in the BM C&M register as 'uncertain lead coin of India' were acquired by the British Museum in 1892 with other Punjab and Himachal Pradesh material from Rodgers' collection. BM C&M Reports 2 March 1892: the following purchases had been made in the Dept.:– C.J. Rodgers: 3 Ar, 49 Ae Or[iental] coins, £6.17s.

46	2.27 g, 14.5 mm
47	2.65 g, 15.5x13 mm
48	2.25 g, 14 mm
49	2.55 g, 15x13 mm
50	2.94 g, 15 mm
51	3.41 g, 15 mm

Series C



Series C

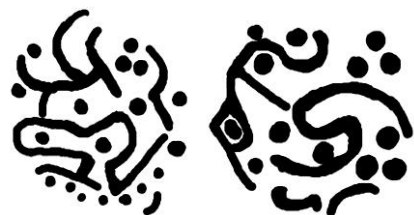
Obv.: linear form, consisting of double central line, with projecting symmetrical lines suggesting arms and legs or fish fins.

Rev.: linear form, consisting of central line, with projecting symmetrical lines suggesting arms and legs or fish fins.

Presented by Government of North West Provinces and Oudh, British Museum registration numbers 1900,0805.1–15
 BM C&M report, Donations August 1900: 1 Sept. 1900: 'From the Govt. of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, through the Under Secretary Financial Dept., Naini Tel:– 15 Ancient uncertain leaden coins.'

1	3.85 g, 15 mm
2	3.78 g, 14 mm
3	2.60 g, 12 mm
4	2.75 g, 11.5 mm
5	3.03 g, 13 mm
6	3.24 g, 13 mm
7	3.48 g, 14x13 mm
8	3.92 g, 15.5x14 mm
9	3.06 g, 15x12.5 mm
10	2.45 g, 12 mm
11	2.98 g, 13 mm
12	2.58 g, 12.5x11.5 mm
13	3.12 g, 14 mm
14	2.61 g, 12 mm
15	3.02 g, 12.5 mm

Series D





Series D

Obverse and reverse: curved lines and dots

Presented by J.H. Twigg, British Museum registration numbers 1877,0707.1–18

According to the British Museum Coins and Medals Department reports, these 18 coins were acquired by gift 'from J.H. Twigg Esq., Bengal Civil Service, care of Messrs. Henry Y. King Ho. Pall Mall. Eighteen small silver coins of Northern India found in a field between Agra & Mathura [Uttar Pradesh].'

1	1.99 g, 12 mm
2	1.55 g, 12 mm
3	1.97 g, 12 mm
4	1.98 g, 12.5 mm
5	1.98 g, 12 mm
6	2.09 g, 12 mm
7	2.00 g, 11.5 mm
8	1.66 g, 12 mm
9	1.70 g, 11.5 mm
10	1.64 g, 11.5 mm
11	2.22 g, 12.5 mm
12	2.04 g, 12.5 mm
13	1.98 g, 12 mm
14	1.54 g, 11.5 mm
15	1.56 g, 12 mm
16	2.09 g, 13 mm
17	1.84 g, 12 mm
18	2.16 g, 12.5 mm

The context of the zinc coins

The designs of the coins do not provide any direct evidence of their issuers, but some conclusions about the context of their production can be drawn from their North-West Indian origin, their size and weight, their techniques of production. The context also offers insights into the possible prototypes for some aspects of their designs.

Size and weight of the zinc coins

All four series of zinc coins are struck on small dumpy blanks, between 11 and 15 mm in diameter, weighing between 1.4 and 3.8g. Each series had its own more precise range of size and weight. Series D stands slightly apart from the others, as its examples are slightly smaller and lighter than the others. It also stands apart as flans of its examples are thinner and flatter, whereas the coins of the other series are all thicker and have more rounded edges.

Number of coins of each series by diameter:

mm	11	12	13	14	15
A	1	3	4	2	
B				2	4
C	1	5	3	3	3
D	4	13	1		

Number of coins of each series by weight:

g	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.8	4.0
A				1	1	3	2	2	1					
B					2	1	1	1			1			
C						2	3	1	4	1	1	1	2	
D	3	3	6	5	1									

The size of the zinc coins of all series suggest that they were made using the production technique and size of the base silver coinage circulating in North-West India during the medieval period. These base silver coins, known as *jitals*, were in circulation from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (Tye 1995). Their designs, often featuring a horseman on one side and a bull on the other, were derived from the silver coinages of the Shahi kings who ruled in Afghanistan and Pakistan from the ninth to eleventh centuries. Inscriptions on *jitals* were written in Arabic or Sanskrit, sometimes both. The inscriptions often copied the original Shahi-period Sanskrit inscriptions, but also added the name of the local ruler responsible for their issue.

The thick round-edged fabric of the zinc coins of series A, B and C, are closest to the *jitals* issued by the last three coin-issuing kings of Kangra, the Himachal Pradesh region where series A coins were found. Series A and B coins were both acquired in groups containing *jital* coins issued by the kings of Kangra, suggesting that group B also came from the same region. Group C was donated by the British Indian administrative authority which governed the Kangra region. Group D coins were found further south, in the region where *jitals* with horseman and bull issued by the sultans of Delhi were in circulation during the thirteenth century.

The designs of the zinc coins

The design on the reverse of series A appears to be an ill-drawn rendering of the *jital* horseman design as it appears on Kangra coins, with the straight line at the centre of the design repeating the horseman's banner. The square design on the other side has no known parallels. The inscription design on both sides of series B coins is arranged in the same way as the inscriptions on most Kangra *jitals*, but appears to be in a later style of writing.

The Kangra connections of the zinc coins

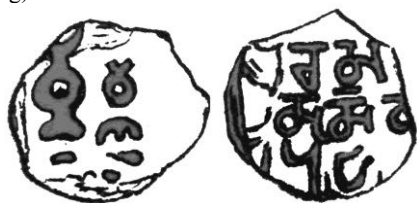
These links between the zinc coins and the *jitals* of the Kangra kings offers the only evidence for their chronology. Unfortunately there is no consensus on the dating of the Kangra kings who issued *jitals*. There are at least 12 Kangra kings named on *jital* coins (Jha and Garg 1991, p. 22; Tye 1995, pp. 99–101), but some names may represent more than one king. The chronology of the Kangra *jitals* was originally proposed by Cunningham as dating from the fourteenth until the seventeenth century (1894, pp. 99–108). Gupta (1985, pp. 39–43) rejected Cunningham's dating by drawing attention to the reference to four types of Kangra *jital* coins in the money manual *Dravya Pariksha* written in AD 1318 by the Delhi mint master Thakkura Pheru (Agrawal 1969, p. 109). There are surviving coins which seems to match three of the types mentioned by Thakkura Pheru. These are among the earliest Kangra coins, suggesting that their issue began in the thirteenth century. It also suggests that the remaining recorded issues of Kangra coins were issued immediately after Thakkura Pheru wrote his manual, i.e. through the fourteenth century. Gupta, however, still suggested that some late issues of Kangra *jitals* were produced in the sixteenth century.



Coin of Trailoka Chandra of Kangra

More recently, Jha and Garg (1991) suggested a modified version of Gupta's analysis, but also placed the last issues in the sixteenth century (p. 40). One of the hoards of Kangra coins examined by Jha and Garg contained coins of almost all the Kangra kings, including the kings responsible for coins with the thick rounded-edged fabric. This hoard also included coins of three Delhi sultans, Balban (1266–87), 'Ala al-Din Muhammad Khalji (1295–1315) and Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325–51), suggesting again that the Kangra kings were issuing these coins in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

The sixteenth century date for late Kangra issues, as proposed by Cunningham and agreed by Gupta and Jha and Garg, is based on the attribution of two coins which are thought to have the name of a Kangra king on one side and of a Delhi sultan, Ibrahim Shah (1554–5) on the other (Rodgers 1895, p. 10, Tye 1995, p. 101, nos. 79–80; Goron and Goenka 2001, p. 88, nos. D714–715; the coin illustrated by Goron and Goenka is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, acquired from Thorburn Collection 1966, weight 1.91 g).



Cunningham coin 26



Drawing of above legend



Goron & Goenka D 715



Drawing of the legend visible on the above coin

However this is thrown into doubt by a coin in the British Museum (1889,1203.7, 1.29g, 13mm), acquired in the same purchase as zinc coins series A from the Punjab Archaeological Survey (via the Indian Museum).



British Museum coin



Drawing of the legend on the BM coin

This coin has the same characteristics as the coins attributed to Ibrahim Shah, but the inscription appears to read *al-sultan al-mu'azzam* (the Kangra king's name is Ramachandra, not otherwise known on the regular Kangra coinage). Comparison with the Ibrahim Shah coins suggests that they have been misread and have the same *al-sultan al-mu'azzam* inscription. This inscription is a royal title and does not contain a name. The only rulers in this region to issue jital coins with this title were Muhammad bin Sam, the Ghurid sultan (AD 1193–1206) or Muhammad Qarlugh, ruler of Sind and Multan (AD 1249–59) (Goron and Goenka, p. 490, no. SS16). Cunningham (1894, plate XI, no. 26) also had an example of this coin, if his drawing is accurate. His representation of the Sanskrit inscription is identical to the pieces mentioned above, but he was not expecting an Arabic inscription on the other side, so rendered what he could see as a series of unintelligible symbols. Another Kangra-Delhi sultan mixed issue has also been reported, but never illustrated (Nelson Wright 1936, p. 186: "Whitehead owned... a curious hybrid copper coin", which matched the type of a coin of the Kangra king Harichandra with that of the Delhi sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351–88). From this description it seems that this is most likely to be another example of the same mixed type. Accordingly there is no longer any evidence for dating Kangra jital coins in the sixteenth century, as the coins in question should be dated to the thirteenth century.

There is another connection between Kangra jitals and those of Muhammad Qarlugh, as another issue of this Islamic ruler has a Sanskrit inscription on the reverse using the same arrangement as on the Kangra coins. The only other jitals to use this type of inscription arrangement are the issues of the kings of Narwar in Madhya Pradesh, produced between AD 1223 and 1308.

The Kangra coinage should, therefore, be dated like the other jital issues of North India between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The evidence of Thakkura Pheru's manual suggests that Kangra jital production only began during the thirteenth century. The relationship between the zinc coins and the Kangra issues thus suggests that their production was inspired by the later Kangra jitals, so probably should not be dated earlier than the fourteenth century and might be dated later. They are, however, not likely to have been issued much later as the jital-like designs would have not been readily available as prototypes after the fifteenth century.

Although group D coins are separated by their find spot, flatter fabric and lower weight from the other zinc coins, there is no reason to place them at a later date. Their line and dot designs do not resolve into an intelligible image, but the style of design most closely resembles the horseman and bull designs of the jital coinage, so they should also be seen as related to the period of jital usage in North India, twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

Another group of zinc coins, belonging to Dr Seely, was analysed for Paul Craddock. These coins were a similar size and fabric to the coins of groups A, B and C, but their design was a spiral motif. No photographs or weights of these coins are available, but their lead isotope ratio values link them closely with the other zinc coins, so it can be presumed that they are also from North-West India and were made at a similar period.

The function of the zinc coins

The only evidence of the function of the Indian zinc coins is their coin-like appearance. Their relationship with coins of the Kangra kings is primarily based on their provenances and their shared production technology. The zinc coins were made using the standard production technique used in India, i.e. cast blanks being

struck between dies. The cast blanks were made in cup-shaped moulds, so that they retained the rounded edge when struck. It is clear from this that the intentions of the makers of the zinc coins was to make them look like coins. Their coin-like form does not necessarily mean that they were made to be used as coins, as coin-like objects can have other functions. The designs on two series (A and D) have a superficial resemblance to local coins, suggesting that they could have had the same purpose. The absence of any reference to a ruler in their designs suggests that they were unlikely to have been made by a state authority. Another series (D) has religious inscriptions, naming the Vaishnava deities (avatars of Vishnu), Krishna and Rama and their spouses. In the nineteenth century many coin-like objects were made for use as temple offering pieces or as personal amulets (Mitchiner 2012), so these could be an earlier manifestation of this phenomenon. These zinc coin-like objects could have been made for use as either unofficial coins or as religious objects.

Conclusions

The zinc coins recognised and tested by Paul Craddock have been shown on the basis of their provenances, metallurgy and appearance to be of north-west Indian origin, specifically of the region of Himachal Pradesh and the northwestern part of Uttar Pradesh. Their appearance associates them with the late coins of the kings of Kangra (Himachal Pradesh), which were issued in the fourteenth century. This association provides a chronological context for the zinc coins in the fourteenth century or later. There is no evidence in the designs of the zinc coins to link them with any state authority, so they could be unofficial coins or religious coin-like objects.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Paul Craddock for his help with this paper. Also I would like to thank Vesta Curtis and Stan Goron for their comments on the Islamic inscription on Kangra coins.

I would be pleased to hear from any member having examples of zinc coins from India (other than the Portuguese colonial issues) and any further examples of the Kangra bilingual series (joecribbcoins@btinternet.com).

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THE MYSTERY OF THE MORAN (MORA) RUPEES SOLVED

By Gurprit Singh Gujral

Two subjects of the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh have been of immense interest to historians and numismatists alike. One is the minting of the coins by Hari Singh Nalwa in his own name when he was the governor of Kashmir, and the other is minting of coins

from Amritsar mint in the name of the courtesan Moran on the orders of Ranjit Singh. These are among the most discussed, hotly debated and controversial subjects. Of these, it is the second subject I will deal with in this article.

Between the years VS 1861 (AD 1804) to VS 1863 (AD 1806), a series of coins of Amritsar mint was minted with a sprig-like symbol on the reverse. This sprig replaced the regular symbol of the leaf that is a distinct feature of almost all Sikh coins after VS 1845 (AD 1788). It is said that these coins had the symbol of a "Mor" (peacock) and Ranjit Singh ordered these coins to be minted in honour of Moran, the courtesan. It is also said that Ranjit Singh was chided by the Sikh clergy for the act and he had to undergo punishment at the Akaal Takht. The subject gave rise to a lot of contradictions and hot debates.

In a paper titled "Coins of Maharaja Ranjit Singh" by Madanjit Kaur published in 1984 by Punjabi University, Patiala, the author submitted that the coins from Sambat 1860 to 1866 showing 'a double branch' that was supposed to represent a peacock tail were minted during a period in which Moran was exercising considerable influence over the Maharaja. She further states that it is said that once she had a wager, like Nur Jahan, that she would get her name engraved on the state coins⁵⁷.

Also, according to J. D. Cunningham, Moran obtained a great ascendancy over the Maharaja and persuaded him to commemorate their love by striking a coin in her name.

Khushwant Singh, in his book *Ranjit Singh Maharajah of the Punjab*⁵⁸ says "Mohran enjoyed Ranjit Singh's confidence for many years, and the Maharajah had a coin minted in her honour." He did not give any reason for the statement.

Dr Surinder Singh, in particular, in his book *Sikh Coins – Symbols of Sovereignty*⁵⁹ dedicated a whole chapter on the subject wherein he vociferously opposed the very idea that any coins were minted in honour of Moran.

By numismatists - one and all - the term "Mora" or "Moran" is applied to the sprig-like symbol that is found on the so-called "Morashahi" coins. When I wrote about the so-called Mora symbol in an article titled "coins of the Sikhs: Mora and Aarsi myths"⁶⁰, my total focus was on this sprig-like symbol that is found on the so-called "Morashahi" coins. My contention was to prove that this symbol was a vegetative symbol and to remove the myth that this symbol had anything to do with the symbol of a "Mor" (peacock) or its tail implied its connection with the courtesan Moran in whose honour Maharaja Ranjit Singh was supposed to have ordered the striking of these coins.

In the article I wrote: *Most of the historians and numismatists alike have tried to add romanticism, folklore, rumour – but no rationale - to the symbol on "Morashahi" coins. This, they say, is the symbol of the tail of a "Mor" (peacock) and hence the name "Morashahi" or even "Mora Kanchani Shahi", referring to the dancing girl "Moran" to whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh is said to have taken fancy.*

This was because no-one had found any coin of that year with the clear symbol of a peacock. Most of the numismatists and historians thought that the sprig-like symbol itself was not a sprig but the tail of a peacock and hence the name "Morashahi". On the other hand, some of them who could not find any such similarity of the symbol with a peacock tail compared the symbol with "Maur", the word used for the sprouts that blossom on mango fruit trees before the fruit is formed. This, they said, was the reason for the coins to be termed "Morashahis". However there were not many takers for this line of argument.

Some time back, a silver half rupee of the frozen year series vs 1885/1901 surfaced in the USA. This coin had a full peacock

⁵⁷ Pages 329 and 330 of the book 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh Politics, Society and Economy', compilation of papers presented during a seminar organised in August, 1981 in connection with the 200th birth anniversary celebrations of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

⁵⁸ Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London; in the last paragraph on p. 53

⁵⁹ Published by Manohar, Delhi, 2004

⁶⁰ JONS 198, Winter, 2009

on the reverse. Doubts were raised about its authenticity because no such symbol had been found on a full rupee. However, since it concerned a period far away from the year VS 1862 in which coins with the peacock were supposed to have been minted, it did not invite much attention vis-à-vis “Morashahi” rupees.



Half rupee with complete peacock on the obverse vs 1885 / 1901

Recently, a similar coin of the year VS 1885 / 1902 with the figure of a complete peacock on the reverse, from the British Museum, was also posted on the Sikh Coins Group on Yahoo Groups on the internet.



Half Rupee VS 1885/1902 with a peacock on the obverse (Published by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Again, this coin was of the year VS 1902 and, thus, could have no connection with the coins minted between the years VS 1861 to 1863.

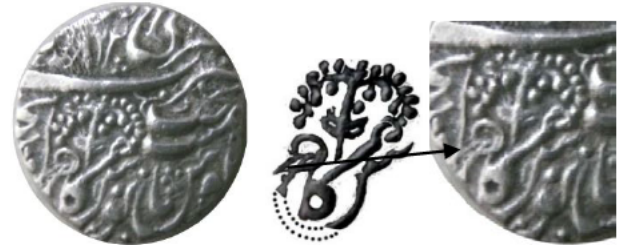
Returning to the coins of the year VS 1862 with the sprig symbol, every one of us, including me, remained focused on the sprig-like symbol and denied its connection with a peacock. Even eminent numismatists and historians have rightly been vociferous in their conviction about the sprig-like symbol having no connection with a peacock or peacock tail. All said and done, it was established with conviction that this symbol is in no way related to the peacock or the tail of a peacock. But it never came to any one’s attention that there could be more than that meets the naked eye and that there could be something other than the sprig for the coins to be termed “Morashahi” coins.

In the course of my detailed study of the coins of Amritsar mint I thought it prudent to have the actual symbols extracted from the images of the coins. To work on the symbols, the images had to be enlarged and refined to give a clearer perspective of the symbols. When I was examining sprig-like symbols of the year VS 1862, I was surprised to note that, at the bottom of one of the sprigs, there was a clear symbol of a peacock. To the naked eye it appeared like a round face-like symbol or a botched ornamental symbol.

I had to go back and recheck all the images of all such coins received from various sources - a large part of which was provided to me by Kulwant Singh Bahra and Parminder Singh, both from UK, for my database. I found that there were a few with the peacock symbol below the sprig. I separated the sprig symbol together with the peacock from the image of the coin, enlarged it and refined it. Given below is the result of my work:



Peacock below the sprig



Peacock below the sprig



Peacock below the sprig

A significant feature that was noted on these coins with the peacock symbol is that the tail (bent stroke) of *kā* ک of “Akāl” اکال is attached to the right side of the sprig whereas on normal coins with the sprig symbol the “Kā” remains unattached.



Tail (Bent stroke) of “Kā” ک attached to the sprig

The reason that the peacock symbol was missed by one and all was that the round face-like symbols are frequent on the coins of the year VS 1857 and a few subsequent years, and the symbol of the peacock was mistaken for this round face-like symbol. To make things more difficult, the tail of the peacock merged with the letter *sīn* س of *jalūs* جلوس and the vertical line of *kā* ک of “Akāl” merged with the legs of the peacock. Hence, a casual observer would be unlikely to separate the tail from the letter *sīn* of *jalūs* and to make out the straight line of *kā* as the legs of an elusive peacock.



The tail of the peacock merged with the letter *sīn* س of *jalūs* جلوس

The legs of the peacock merged with the *kā* ک of Akāl اکال

Since Kulwant Singh Bahra is not only a keen observer but has also been the largest contributor of images for my work, I sent the result of my work to him for a review. He was quick to notice the significance of the extended tail of *kā* ک of *Akāl* اکال and pointed out that there could be still more than that meets the eye. This led me to review all the images with the peacock once again.

This time I focused on the whole area below the sprig. Astonishingly, on close observation, a second peacock appears to have been placed very cleverly. Whereas in the case of the first peacock, which is quite evident, the tail of the peacock merges into the letter *sīn* س of *jalūs* جس and its legs merge into the straight line of *kā* ک of *Akāl* اکال, while in the case of the second peacock, the inclined line of the same *kā* ک of *Akāl* اکال forms the tail of the peacock. To a casual observer it is as good as non-existent. It is one of the best examples that beautifully reflect the imagination and the artistic abilities of the calligraphers of these coins.



Two peacocks below sprig



Two peacocks below the sprig

At this point it would be reasonable to ask why the engravers engraved the peacock(s) in such an obscure manner rather than as they did on the half rupees of VS 1885/1901, illustrated above.. In this context it would be interesting to refer to Dr Surinder Singh's detailed account about Mora and Mora Shahi coins in his book *Sikh Coinage: Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty*.

Taking into account all the narrations/submissions/facts by different historians and after due deliberations Dr Surinder Singh concluded that it was not possible for Ranjit Singh to openly allow the minting of the coins in the name of a courtesan – Mora in this case. Ranjit Singh always considered himself a humble servant of

the Almighty and did not dare to put even his own name on the coins. How could he allow the name of a courtesan on a coin that had the name of the Gurus on them? Hence, if a coin was ever allowed to be minted, even the symbolic representation of the courtesan on the coin had to be in the most obscure manner.

As is evident, such coins have been noted only for the year VS 1862. Yet it is interesting to note that most such coins of the year VS 1862 do not have the symbol of the peacock on them. This suggests that not all the engravers were engraving coins with the peacock symbol on them. It is very much possible that only certain highly skilful engravers, who were skilful enough to engrave the peacock in a discreet manner on the coin, were asked to engrave dies for such coins. Or perhaps some time during the year the mint was told to stop engraving coins with the peacock symbol in them. Whatever the case, many of the 1862 rupees have only the leaf-spray, as can be seen from the following images:



From the above it is clear that some coins with the sprig-like symbol in the year VS 1862 were minted with the peacock symbol on them. In mint condition the peacock must have been very evident and clearly noticeable on these coins. The affair of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the courtesan Moran notwithstanding, the presence of the peacock on the coins was enough for the people in general to term these as "Morashahi" rupees. Thus was born the "Morashahi" rupee.

In view of the above facts, we can now safely have two types of coins with the sprig-like symbol on them. The ones with the sprig-like symbol without the peacock symbol can be termed "Bershahi" coins whereas the ones with the peacock(s) on them can continue to be termed "Morashahi" coins.

It is hoped that this permanently lays to rest the controversy about the "Morashahi" coins.

ONE CASH COINS FOR THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY OR ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD BUT SOMETIMES IT IS

Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

Copper coins dated 1803 for the use of the Madras Presidency were struck at the Soho mint in Birmingham. They consisted of denominations of 20, 10, 5 and one cash coins and have been recorded by Major Pridmore amongst the coins numbered between 190 and 215 in his catalogue. In addition to currency coins the coins are known as copper proofs, silver proofs and copper gilt proofs. Some years ago I acquire a one cash coin described as copper gilt but I noticed that it was considerably heavier than my other copper gilt specimen and I suspected that it may be solid gold instead of copper gilt.

More recently I have had access to an X-ray fluorescence (XRF) machine and have finally been able to analyse the elemental content of this coin. The results of that investigation are discussed herein.

The Coins

Not shown actual sizes

Twenty cash. Wt = 11.90-12.32g. Diam = 30.5-30.9mm

Ten cash. Wt = 6.24-6.46g. Diam = 25.5-25.7



Five cash. Wt = 2.99-3.17. Diam = 21.0-21.1mm



One cash. Wt = 0.60-0.64. Diam = 11.4-11.5mm

Method of Elemental Analysis

The machine used was a Bruker M1 Mistral tabletop μ XRF Spectrometer, kindly lent by the Bruker Corporation and I should like to thank Mike Dobby of the Bruker Corporation for his kind help in using the machine. The machine was set up and used in the Ashmolean museum, Oxford, and I would like to thank Dr. S. Bhandare and his colleagues at the Ashmolean, for allowing me to use those premises. The voltage was 40 kV, current 800 μ A, the duration of each examination was 30 sec and the area examined was 1.5mm diameter. Each coin was examined in at least two places one on each side of the coin.

Preliminary investigation

It is well known that XRF examination of materials only reveals the elements present in the surface of the material and does not penetrate to any great depth. Since the coins under consideration were known to be coated with a thin layer of gold, there was some doubt that the machine would be able to distinguish between solid gold coins and copper gilt coins. A number of copper gilt coins

were therefore examined in order to answer this question. The following copper gilt coins were tested with the results shown:

Five cash 1803

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)	Sn (%)
50.09	0.55	48.6	0.21	0	0.05
50.41	0.57	48.34	0.16	0	0.08
	Bi (%)	Pb (%)	As (%)		Fe (%)
	0.11	0	0.24		0.15
	0.1	0.04	0.24		0.06

Half dub 1797

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)	
56.55	0.7	41.91	0.25	0.05	
55.82	0.67	42.74	0.22	0.04	
59.44	0.75	39.12	0.21	0	
	Sn (%) <td>Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td></td>	Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td>	Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td>	As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td>	Fe (%)
	0.1	0.11	0.06	0.17	0.1
	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.24	0.09
	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.21	0.09

Half dub 1794

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)	
57.65	0.73	41.01	0.18	0	
58.79	0.8	39.79	0.24	0	
	Sn (%) <td>Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td></td>	Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td>	Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td>	As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td>	Fe (%)
	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.2	0.05
	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.16	0.09

Dub 1797

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)	
45.28	0.48	53.62	0.2	0	
52.71	0.63	46.01	0.23	0	
	Sn (%) <td>Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td></td>	Bi (%) <td>Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td></td>	Pb (%) <td>As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td> </td>	As (%) <td>Fe (%)</td>	Fe (%)
	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.27	0.05
	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.23	0.07

As can be seen, these coins all showed around 50%-60% gold and around 40%-50% copper. This shows both the strength and weakness of the technique. It is obvious that the coins are not solid gold but equally the coins do not contain about 50% gold, being mainly composed of copper. Of course, because the gold is located on the surface of the coin it is seen as a much higher concentration than is found throughout the coin.

Examination of the 'Copper Gilt' One Cash Coins

The following results were obtained with the two supposedly copper gilt coins:

Coin 1. Wt = 0.66g

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)
28.55	0.35	70.33	0.18	0.04
22.53	0.26	76.51	0.13	0.04
21.39	0.24	77.67	0.11	0.05

Sn (%)	Bi (%)	Pb (%)	As (%)	Fe (%)
0.05	0.07	0.03	0.36	0.05
0	0.05	0.05	0.42	0
0.04	0.06	0.04	0.41	0

Coin 2. Wt = 1.53g

Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Zn (%)	Ni (%)
90.08	4.99	4.65	0.04	0
90.41	4.99	4.43	0.09	0

Sn (%)	Bi (%)	Pb (%)	As (%)	Fe (%)
0.1	0	0	0	0.14
0.07	0	0.02	0	0

The above results clearly show that one of the coins is copper gilt and other is gold.

Conclusion

Not only does this small piece of work prove the existence of a hitherto unknown coin but it also confirms the value of the XRF technology in studying coins

THE FIRST EVER AULIKARA COIN OF SIMHAVARMAN

By Devendra Handa*

Published here is a corroded copper-alloy coin of unknown provenance, found somewhere in western India. It bears the following details –



Æ, oval, 18 x 24 mm, 3.98 g

Obv. Traces of bull to right above, legend Śrī Simhavarma below in the Northern Brāhmī characters of the later half of fourth century CE

Rev.: Śrīvatsa symbol with partially visible lined frame around

Below the last two letters of the legend on the obverse may be seen a part of another syllable which is not very clear but may have been the suffix *sya* attached to the name of the king. The name of the issuer of this coin can easily be restored as Simhavarma. There were as many as five kings of this name in the Pallava dynasty which supplanted the later Sātavāhanas in the south.¹ The provenance of the coin, the depiction of the animal and the fabric rule out the possibility of any of the Pallava potentates having issued this coin. Another Simhavarma, to whom this coin may be attributed with a fair amount of probability, is known to us from the Mandasor Inscription of the Kṛīta (Mālava) Era 461 (= AD 404) belonging to the local ruler Naravarman which mentions Simhavarma as his father and Jayavarman as his grandfather.² In this epigraph Jayavarman is designated simply as *Narendra* ('lord of men', i.e. king) and Simhavarma is described by the simple title of *Kshitiśa*, i.e., king. Naravarman, however, is referred to as *Mahārāja*, equal to Indra in valour (*Devendra-vikrama*) and *Simha-vikrānta-gāmini*. Bhandarkar interpreted it as 'the follower of Simha-vikrānta' and

equated the expression with Simha-vikrama, the title of Chandragupta II found on his coins.³ Jagannath Agrawal⁴, however, interpreted it as 'one who moves with the stride of a lion'. Some scholars have tried to identify Simhavarma with the homonymous father of Chandravarma of the Susunia Rock Inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkarana. This place was wrongly identified with Pokran in western Rajasthan while it is really to be identified with a village named Pokharan on the Damodara river in the Bankura district, some 40 km to the northwest of Susunia Hill.⁵ In the Bihar Kotra (District Rajgarh, Madhya Pradesh) stone inscription of Naravarman dated 474 (= AD 417) he is called Olikara/Aulikara.⁶ This dynastic name is confirmed by other inscriptions.⁷ Naravarman's son and successor, Viśvavarman, is mentioned in the Gangdhar stone inscription dated Mālava year 480 (= AD 423) when he was ruling.⁸ Viśvavarman's successor was Bandhuvvarman known from the Mandsaur stone inscription of Mālava Samvat 493 (= AD 436) which also mentions his overlord Kumaragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty.⁹ We, thus, have a complete genealogy of these Aulikara rulers of Madsor: Jayavarman, Simhavarma, Naravarman, Viśvavarman and Bandhuvvarman. Since Simhavarma's son and successor is known from inscriptions to have been ruling from ad 404 to 417, Simhavarma may be placed in the last quarter of the fourth century AD. The paleography of our coin perfectly conforms to this date. Though in an indifferent state of preservation, yet being the first Aulikara coin to come to light, it forms an important discovery.¹⁰

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I am thankful to Shri R.K. Aggarwal of Ambala (Haryana) for bringing this coin to my notice and allowing me to publish it.

* 1401, PUSH PAC Complex, Sector 49 B, Chandigarh – 160047 (India).

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 Five

10. Title Gongsi. Chinese inscriptions only.

A few coins catalogued under other headings also include the term Gongsi (Mining Company) in their legends.

潮順 Chao Shun + 公司 Gong Si

219. (Pinyin) Chao Shun (Hakka) Ch'au Sun
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.66 g, ex Palembang



合正通寶 He Zheng Tong Bao

+ 公司 Gongsi

220. (Pinyin) He Zheng Tong Bao
(Hakka) Hap Chen T'ung Pau
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27.5 mm, 4.30 g, ex Palembang
The character Zheng is in mirror image on both coins.



合正 He Zheng + 公司 Gong Si

221. (Pinyin) He Zheng (Hakka) Hap Chin
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27.3 mm, 4.06 g, ex Palembang



和記 Ho Ji + 公司 Gong Si

222. (Pinyin) Ho Ji (Hakka) Fo Ki
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



江夏公司 Gong Si

223. (Pinyin) Jiang Xia Gong Si
(Hakka) Kong Ha Kung Si
rev. (Pinyin) Ri ?Gong (Hakka) Ngit Fung 日永
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.72 g, ex Palembang, Yih



力伯 Li Bo + 公司 Gongsi

224. (Pinyin) Li Bo (Hakka) Lit Pak
rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih
225. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.77 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Horsfield mentioned Libo as a Kulit mine, but that does not correspond with the Hakka pronunciation Litpak.



理陽公司 *Li Yang Gongsi*

226. (Pinyin) Li Yang Gong Si
(Hakka) Li Jong Kung Si
Ornamental border

rev. (Pinyin) He Xing (Hakka) Fo Hin **和興**

Ornamental border

Tin alloy, octagonal flan, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.26 g, ex Palembang, Yih



士合 *Shi He + 公司* *Gong Si*

227. (Pinyin) Shi He (Hakka) Su Hap

rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.95 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Tai Yuan Gongsi

A coin naming Tai Yuan Gongsi has been catalogued earlier, alongside other Tai Yuan coins. The Tai Yuan coins have been kept together, because all were probably used in the same mining community.

興寧 *Xing(?) Ning + 公司* *Gongsi*

228. (Pinyin) ?Xing Ning (Hakka) Hin Nen

rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27.5 mm, 4.54 g, ex Palembang, Yih

229. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.49 g, ex Palembang

230. Same inscriptions

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.58 g, ex Palembang

When found, the obverse of this coin was corroded on to the obverse of a coin inscribed Jian Shan Xiu Se (see above).



永興 *Yung Xing + 公司* *Gongsi*

231. (Pinyin) Yung Xing (Hakka) Jun Hi

rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.53 g, ex Palembang



11. Chinese plus Malay inscriptions.

The Liegang Gongsi issued a wide range of coins. Some bear only Chinese inscriptions. Others have bilingual Chinese-Malay inscriptions. The coins are considered here as a single group.

列港 *Lie Gang + 公司* *Gongsi*

232. (Pinyin) Lie Gang (Hakka) Lie Kang

rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si

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

233. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.27 g, ex Palembang



列港 *Lie Gang + 山* *Shan*

234. (Pinyin) Lie Gang (Hakka) Lie Kang

rev. (Seal script) Shan

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.35 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The obverse legend is defective.



列港 *Lie Gang* + **公司** *Gongsi* +
'Alamat Tana

235. (Pinyin) *Lie Gang* (Hakka) *Lie Kang*
at sides: (Malay) *'Alamat Tana*
rev. (Pinyin) *Gong Si* (Hakka) *Kong Si*
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.91 g, ex Palembang, Yih

'Alamat is written in mirror image monogram form.
Tana is stylised.

The full inscription can be translated as: "Mark of the territory of the Liegang Gongsi".



تنگ لیگ
علامت تانا

列港 *Lie Gang* + *'Alamat Judi*

236. (Pinyin) *Lie Gang* (Hakka) *Lie Kang*
(at sides: Malay) *'Alamat Judi*
rev. (seal script, right) *Shan*
(around: Malay) *'Alamat Jud'ai*
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.6 g, ex Palembang, Yih

On the obverse, *'Alamat* is written in monogram form, proper. *Judi* is written with 'di' joined.

On the reverse, *'Alamat* is written in similar form. *Judi* is expanded to read *Jud'ai*

The legend can be read: Mark of the Money of Liegang

237. Similar
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.96 g, ex Palembang, Yih

گتت جو > ی
گتت جو > عی
تنگ



238. Similar inscriptions, but *Judi* is shortened on obverse to *Jud*, and more compact legend arrangement on reverse
Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 3.82 g, ex Palembang, Yih



版場辰記 *Ban Chang Chen Ji* + Malay

239. (Pinyin) *Ban Chang Chen Ji*
(Pinyin) *Pan Ch'ong Sin Ki*
rev. Malay inscription; not read
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.96 g, ex Palembang, Yih

240. Same Chinese and Malay inscriptions.
Tin alloy, square central hole, 25.9 mm, 3.81g, ex Palembang, Yih

241. Same Chinese inscription
rev. Malay inscription may be different
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26.3 mm, 3.91 g, ex Palembang, Yih





司 X X Gongsi: AH 1203

245. (Pinyin) X X Gongsi
 (Hakka) X X Kungsi
 rev. (Malay above, below) Kongsi Bangka
 Left (numbers retrograde) 12
 Right (numbers retrograde) = 3
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.74 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Small countermark on obverse.
 The Malay letters are poorly formed. The most likely intended inscription is Kongsi Bangka
 The numerals cite the date AH 1203, which was AD 1788/1789.

246. Similar, with small countermarks on obverse and reverse.
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 5.14 g, ex Palembang, Yih

- Year 1207 (rest uncertain) AD 1793
 242. (Malay) Fi sanat 1207 (rest uncertain)
 rev. (Chinese) uncertain
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 25 mm, ex Palembang, Yih
 “fi sanat” is written with the letters base outwards.
 “1207” is written with the numerals base inwards.
 The remainder of the Malay inscription has not been interpreted.

... سنه ١٢٥٧ في

كفسي بقك ٦١ = ٧



12. Identified locations. Malay inscription names Bangka

總理 Zong Li + Bangka Kongsi

243. (Pinyin) Zong Li (Hakka) Tsung Li
 rev. (Malay) Bangka Kongsi
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.95 g, ex Palembang, Yih

244. Similar
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.89 g, ex Palembang, Yih
 Zongli Gongsi on Bangka Island.

بقك كفسي



Pitis Bangka

247. (Malay) Pitis Bangka fi *
 rev. Plain with no rims
 Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27 mm, 4.25 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The intended legend might have been “Pitis Bangka fi haza”, or “Pitis Bangka fi tana”. The engraver did not leave sufficient room to complete the last word in a legible manner.

فنیس بقك ا فی ..



13. Identified locations. Malay inscription names an administrative district.

Some coins used in particular Gongsis have Chinese inscriptions only, whereas other coins of the same Gongsi have bilingual Chinese-Malay inscriptions with the administrative district named in the Malay inscription.

The seven administrative districts described by Millies, were as follows.

1. **Jebous in the north-west**
(Spellings: Djebous - Millies; Djeboes - Jackson)
2. **Klabat in the north; on the west side of the Bay of Klabat**
(Spellings: Klabat - Millies, Jackson and coins)
3. **Belinjoe in the north; on the east side of the Bay of Klabat**
(Spellings: Blinyou - Millies; Belinjoe - Jackson; Belenja - coins)
4. **Songai Liat in the north-east**
(Spellings: Soungai Liat - Millies; Soengai Liat - Jackson; Lu'at - coins)
5. **Marawang in the east; between Songai Liat and Pangkal Pinang**
(Spellings: Marawang - Millies; Merawang - Jackson)
6. **Pangkal Pinang in the east; middle of east coast**
(Spellings: Pangkal Pinang - Millies, Jackson and coins)
7. **Toboali in the south**
(Spellings: Toboali - Millies and Jackson)

The simple map of Bangka Island shown here is based on Jackson's (1969) detailed map.



Jebous district in the north-west

Coins naming Jebous district have not been observed.

Klabat district in the north-west

Klabat district was just east of Jebous, and it was bordered to the east by Belinjoe.

Klabat

南發公司 *Nan Fa Gongsi* + 'Alamat

Klabat

248. (Pinyin) Nan Fa Gong Si
(Hakka) Nam Fat Kung Si
rev. (Malay) 'Alamat Klabat
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.36 g, ex Palembang, Yih

علا م ت كلابت



Belinjoe district in the north

The district was called Blinyou by Millies and Belinjoe by Jackson. It is named Belenja on the coins. It was situated to the east of Klabat, and to the north-west of Songai Liat.

Belenja

如力 *Ru Li* + *Pitis Belenja*

249. (Pinyin) Ru Li (Hakka) Ji Lit
seal script character each side
rev. (Malay) Pitis Belenja

(Chinese at sides) Bao ?chang 宝 ?場

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 5.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih

قنيس بلنجا



Songai Liat district in the north-east

Songai Liat lay to the south-east of Belinjoe, and north of Marawang and Pangkal Pinang.

Lu'at

武羅公司 *Wu Luo Gongsi*

250. (Pinyin) Wu Luo Gong Si
(Hakka) Vu Lo Kung Si

rev. (Pinyin) Zhong Xin (Hakka) Chung Hin 中興

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.01 g, ex Palembang, Yih

武羅寶金 *Wu Luo Bao Jin*

251. (Pinyin) Wu Luo Bao Jin
(Hakka) Vu Lo Bo Kim

rev. (Pinyin) Ying Chuan Shun Ji 穎川順記

(Hakka) Jin Chon Sun Ki

Small countermark on reverse.

Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.88 g, ex Palembang, Yih

武羅公司 *Wu Luo Gongsi (Walain)*

+ *Lu'at*

252. (Pinyin) Wu Luo Gong Si
(Hakka) Vu Lo Kong Si

rev. (Malay) Fi Tanah Kongsu Lu'at bi-Walain

Small countermarks on obverse and reverse.

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.91 g, ex Palembang, Yih

“In (fi) the territory (tanah) of the Gongsi of Lu'at at (bi-) Walain (Vu Lo)”



Marawang district in the east

Coins naming Marawang district have not been observed.

Pangkal Pinang district in the east

Pangkal Pinang was bordered by Songai Liat to the north and Toboali district to the south-east.

Two separate mining companies worked mines at Pangkal Pinang. They were the Binlong Kungsi and the Paokim Kungsi (Hakka).

Pangkal Pinang

兵郎公司 *Bing Lang Gongsi + Pangkal Pinang*

253. (Pinyin) Bing Lang Gong Si

(Hakka) Bin Long Kung Si

rev. (Malay) Haza Falus Pangkal Pinang

Small countermark on reverse.

Tin alloy, square central hole, 30 mm, 6.05 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The letters 'lam' and 'waw' in Falus are separated.

هذا فلوس فوكل فنغ
فلوس

寶金公司 *Bao Jin Gongsi + Pangkal*

Pinang

254. (Pinyin) Bao Jin Gong Si

(Hakka) Pau Kim Kung Si

rev. (Malay) Pokok Pangkal Pinang

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 5.50 g, ex Palembang, Yih

فوك فوكل فنغ



Toboali district in the south

Coins naming Toboali district have not been observed.

14. Identified locations. Chinese and Malay inscriptions name a mining community

The places named on the coins in this section were not the chief locations in an administrative district. The names belong to mining communities situated within administrative districts bearing different names.

Mining communities in Jebous district

Songai Boeloe, Pelangas, Muntok, Belo, Ranggam, Tempilang (Jackson 1969)

Early phase coins were minted for Tempilang.

a. Belo

Belo was situated close to the coast in the south-west of Jebous district. Coins were minted for the Manao Gongsi at Belo.

瑪瑙 Ma Nao + 公司 Gongsi

255. (Pinyin) Ma Nao (Hakka) Ma Nao
 rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.87 g, ex Palembang, Yih

256. Similar
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.67 g, ex Palembang

257 Same inscription. Variety with a small circle above-left of Ma
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.63 g, ex Palembang



瑪瑙 錫記 Ma Nao Xi Ji

258. (Pinyin) Ma Nao Xi Ji
 (Hakka) Ma Nau Siak Ki
 rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si **公司**
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 29 mm, 4.34 g, ex Palembang, Yih



瑪瑙 Ma Nao + Belo Kongsi

259. (Pinyin) Ma Nao (Hakka) Ma Nao
 rev. (Malay) Belo Kongsi
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

b. Palangas

Palangas was situated about half way between Belo to the south-west and Jebous to the north-east. Coins were minted for Lichang at Palangas.

理場武記 Li Chang Wu Ji
 + Pokok Banqa Palangas

260. (Pinyin) Li Chang Wu Ji
 (Hakka) Li Ch'ong Vu Ki
 rev. (Malay) Pokok Banqah Palangas
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.04 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The two coins of Palangas catalogued here each bear the same Malay inscription. The 'kaf' and 'qaf' in Pokoq are abbreviated, perhaps in order to fit the top segment of the flan. The 'lam' and 'nga' in Palangas are run together on both coins.

261. Similar
 Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

فوق بنقا فالقس



c. Tempilang

Tempilang was situated to the south-east of Palangas and Belo. The coin issue minted during the early phase has been catalogued above in that context. It bears a simple Malay inscription, which names Kongsi Bangka on the obverse and Kongsi Temallang on the reverse.

The known late phase coins catalogued here bear two different forms of Malay inscription, which each name Tempilang in the form Tap 'a Pilang. The issue with the longer inscription reads "Tap" above right, followed by "a" in isolated form above, and concludes with "Pilang" above left. The word "Kongsi" is below.

The issue with the shorter inscription reads “Tap” above and has ‘ain joined to pilang below. Its legend reads “Tap ‘a Pilang”. The same Chinese inscription occurs for each issue, and is pronounced “Tam Pi” in Hakka. The Hakka inscription refers to the same Kongsu at Tempilang.

淡 陂 公 司 *Dan Pi Gong Si*

262. (Pinyin) Dan Po/pi Gong Si
(Hakka) Tam Pi Kung Si

rev. (Pinyin) Ho Xing (Hakka) Hap Hin **合 興**

Tin alloy, square central hole, 23.5 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



淡 陂 公 司 *Dan Pi Gong Si*

+ *Tap ‘a-Pilang Kongsu*

263. (Pinyin) Dan Po/pi Gong Si
(Hakka) Tam Pi Kung Si

rev. (Malay) Tap ‘a Pilang Kongsu

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

淡 陂 總 理 *Dan Pi Zong Li*

+ *Tap ‘a-Pilang*

264. (Pinyin) Dan Po/pi Zong Li
(Hakka) Tam Pi Tsung Li

Zongli is written in seal script

rev. (Malay) Tap ‘a-Pilang

Tin alloy, square central hole, 28 mm, 4.51 g, ex Palembang, Yih

265. Similar, but flan has been clipped

Tin alloy, clipped, square central hole, 20.9 mm, 2.00 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Handwritten Arabic script:
 تف ع فلغ
 تف ء فلغ كفسلي
 تف ع فلغ



Mining communities in Klabat district

Mampang, Tingo, Lama, Antan, Bellum, Poesoek, Tenum (Jackson)

d. Mampang in the north-west

Mampang, in Klabat district, lay close to the coast, and was north-west from Klabat.

On the coins, Mampang is called Nambong in Hakka and Nampong in Malay.

The legend refers to the Nambong mining company (Hakka) in the territory of the Nampong Company (Malay).

南 榜 公 司 *Nan Beng Gongsu*

+ *Pokok Nampong Tanah*

266. (Pinyin) Nan Beng Gong Si
(Hakka) Nam Bong Kung Si

Small countermark on obverse

rev. (Malay) Pokok Nampong

on left: Tanah

Tin alloy, square central hole, 30 mm, 4.87 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Netscher and van der Chijs (no 275) read the Chinese name as Nan Fang and the Malay name as Lampong.

Handwritten Arabic script:
 فوكف نمفغ
 تنه



e. Tingo in the north-west

Tingo, in Klabat district, lay a short distance south of Mampang, and to the west of Klabat.

‘Alamat Tana Kongsu Tingo

267. (Malay) ‘Alamat Tana Kongsu Tingo

rev. (Malay) ‘Alamat Judi

(Seal script) Shan

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.24 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The coin is very unusual for not naming the Gongsu in Chinese. The obverse is arranged anticlockwise, with 'Alamat below, Tana (abbreviated) on the right, Kongsu above (with 's' separated from 'y'), and Tenco on the left.

The translation is: Mark of the territory of the Gongsu Tenco + Mark of the Money.



Handwritten seal script: 丹安公司 (top), 坤甸 (left), 坤甸 (right), 坤甸 (bottom). Below it is the Malay word 'جودي' (Judi).



丹安公司 Antan Kongsu + Pokok Judi

271. (Pinyin) An Dan Gong Si

(Hakka) An Tan Kung Si

rev. (Malay) Pokok Judi

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 3.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih
Company Money (Pokok Judi) of the Antan Mining Company (Gongsu)

272. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27.8 mm, 3.86 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Handwritten Malay: ڤوکڤ جودي (Pokok Judi)



f. Antan in the north-west

Antan, in Klabat district, is a short distance south of Klabat.

丹安 Antan + Gongsu

268. (Pinyin) An Dan (Hakka) An Tan

rev. (Seal script) Gongsu

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 3.76 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Antan Mining Company.

269. Similar

Tin alloy, square central hole, 26.8 mm, 4.03 g, ex Palembang, Yih

丹安 Antan + Antan Kongsu sanat 1191

(AD 1777)

273. (Pinyin) An Dan (Hakka) An Tan

Petalled cross above and below

rev. (Malay) Antan Kongsu Sanat 1191

numeral (written base inwards): 700

Tin alloy, circular central hole, 27.5 mm, 4.19 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Malay legend has Antan on the left, Kongsu above right and Sanat 1191 below. The significance of the numbers 700, above left, is not known. The year AH 1191 was AD 1777.

274. Same description. The number '7' in '700' is inverted.

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



Handwritten Malay: انتن كقسى سنه 1191 (Antan Kongsu Sanat 1191)

Handwritten numeral: 700

丹安 Antan + Dong Yuan

270. (Pinyin) An Dan (Hakka) An Tan

Small countermark 'He' on obverse.

rev. (Pinyin) Dong Yuan (Hakka) Tung Yuan

Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.06 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The seal script reverse inscription Dong Yuan means East Park.



Mining communities in Belinjoe district

Panji, Loemoet (Jackson)

g. Panji

Panji, in Belinjoe district, is to the east of Antan

版易公司 Ban Ji Gongsi

275. (Pinyin) Ban Ji (Hakka) Pan I
 rev. (Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.28 g, ex Palembang, Yih

276. (Pinyin) Ban Ji Gong Si
 (Hakka) Pan I Kong Si
 rev. Pinyin) Gong Si (Hakka) Kung Si
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.32 g, ex Palembang, Yih



版易公司 Ban Ji Gong Si

277. (Pinyin) Ban Ji Gong Si
 (Hakka) Pan I Kung Si

 rev. (Seal script) Zhi Shan
Tin alloy, square central hole, 26 mm, 4.02 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Hakka inscription Pani Kongsu gives the name of the mining community. This is best identified as Panji, whose location is south-east of Belinjoe and east of Antan. There is no Malay inscription.

Mining communities in Songai Liat district

Lajang (Jackson)
 Early Phase coins were minted for Lajang (Lazang)

Mining communities in Marawang district

None cited (Jackson)

Mining communities in Pangkal Pinang district

Terak, Benkuang, Mesoe, Songai Selan, Koba (Jackson)
 Early phase coins were minted for Pangkal Pinang, Songai Selan, Koba (Kob'aa)

h. Perhaps naming Benkuang in the east

Location

Two different coin issues have a Malay legend naming a place called Kanga Bun, or alternatively, Kangas Bun. The full Malay legend on the first issue reads: Pokok Judi Kanga Bun, Company money of Kangabun. On the other issue, the full Malay legend reads: Kongsu Kangas Bun, with Bangqa written below, Mining Company of Kangasbun at Bangka. Both issues probably relate to the same community.

Among the known Europeanised versions for the names of mining communities, the best candidate is Benkuang, which is situated a short distance from Pangkal Pinang. The suggestion put forward here is that, at some stage in transcription, the sequence of the two syllables became transposed. Thus, KangaBun became Bunkanga, which is a reasonable equivalent for the European reading Benkuang.

Nature of the businesses

The various Chinese and Malay legends provide useful information concerning the nature of the companies that used coins in the place called Kangabun. The clearest information is provided by the Lai Li coins catalogued first. The first coin, with monolingual Chinese legends, identifies the issuer as the "Lai Li Company" (Pau Kok; Pokok; Company). Its reverse shows that the company ran a Gambling House (Du Chang). The other coins of the Lai Li Company have bilingual Chinese-Malay legends. Their Malay legends indicate that the pieces were Company Money (Pokok Judi) used in a place named Kangabun.

The other coin issue from Kangabun (in this case spelt: Kangasbun) relates to a different company, but the first part of the Chinese name is not clear. The Malay legend shows that this was an issue of the mining company (Kongsu: Gongsu).

At the place called Kangabun, some coins were issued by the mining company, itself, and other coins were issued by the local gambling house.

宝阁来离 Bao Ge Lai Li

278. (Pinyin) Bao Ge Lai Li
 (Hakka) Pau Kok Loi Li
 Small countermark on rim

rev. (Pinyin) Du Chang (Hakka) Tu Ch'ang 赌场

Small countermark on rim
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, 4.10 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The Hakka "Pau Kok" corresponds to the Malay "Pokok", meaning "Company". *Du Chang* on the reverse signifies a Gambling House. The legend reads Laili Company Gambling House



寶閣來離 *Bao Ge Lai Li*

Pokok Judi Kanga Bun

279. (Pinyin) Bao Ge Lai Li
 (Hakka) Pau Kok Loi Li
 rev. (Malay) Pokok Judi Kanga Bun
Tin alloy, irregular central hole, 27 mm, 3.93 g, ex Palembang, Yih
 Lai Li Company (Pau Kok).
 Company Money (Pokok Judi) of Kangabun.

280. Similar
Tin alloy, irregular central hole, 27 mm, 3.92 g, ex Palembang, Yih

فوكف جودي كفا بون



X 記寶公土 *X Ji Bao Gong Tu*

281. (Pinyin) X Ji Bao Gong Tu
 (Hakka) X Ki Pau Kung T'u
 rev. (Malay) Above: Kongsu Kanga Bun
 Below: Bangqa
Tin alloy, square central hole, 27 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

Gong Tu (on the left) is written with Gong above Tu.
 Issued by the Mining Company (Kongsu) of Kanga Bun on Bangqa.

كفسى كفس بون بققا



Mining communities in Toboali district

None cited (Jackson)

15. Dated issues of the 1770s and 1780s

Dated coin issues were minted for Antan in AH 1191 (AD 1777), and for Kongsu Bangka in AH 1203 (AD 1788/9). They have been catalogued in the previous sections. A dated issue of uncertain location was issued in AH 1207 (AD 1793). It has also been catalogued above.

Another issue providing possible significance for dating was minted for Pangkal Pinang district. Its denomination, cited as Haza Falus, was probably imitating the Haza Falus coinage minted for Palembang in AH 1198 (AD 1783/4).

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THE COINAGE OF THE SAFFARIDS OF SIJISTAN AND RELATED DYNASTIES, 247h-332h

PART I

By Stephen Lloyd

The history and coins of the Saffarids of Sijistan are of particular interest and importance. As one of the first dynasties to emerge as Abbasid control of the Islamic lands weakened, the interaction between the caliphs and the Saffarids established the fundamentals of a balance of power which was to endure for centuries. While the Abbasids often lacked the military might to confront the Saffarids directly, the caliph was the only figure who could make the Saffarid ruler's position legitimate. The result was often a compromise: recognising that he could not eject the Saffarid ruler by force, the caliph would make him the legally appointed governor of the lands he already controlled *de facto*. In return for this formal recognition, which greatly strengthened his position, the Saffarid undertook to pay large amounts of money as tax revenues to the caliphal treasury.

The aim of this series of articles is simple: to compile as accurate and complete a catalogue of Saffarid and related coins as possible. The monographs by Vasmer and Walker on the coins of the First and Second Saffarid Dynasties (spanning the periods from 247-300h and 311-391h respectively) were both written in the 1930s and have become increasingly obsolete in the light of new discoveries. It is unfortunate that Deborah Tor's more recent numismatic history of the First Saffarid Dynasty was not supported by an up-to-date catalogue of the coins themselves, and her otherwise interesting article is sometimes contradicted by numismatic evidence of which she was not aware. As a glaring example, Tor states that no dinars whatsoever are known from the First Saffarid dynasty, even though an example was described, illustrated and published by Lane Poole in the British Museum catalogue over a century ago. It will be seen that five dinars from this period are described here.

The time period covered here also requires some explanation. Walker, Vasmer and Tor all framed their studies within the traditional historical divisions of the First and Second Saffarid dynasties, normally dated from 247-298h and 311-391h respectively. While this may seem so obvious as to be hardly worthy of comment, this approach obscures the interesting fact that changes of dynasty and ruler between the mid-290s and the accession of Khalaf b. Ahmad in 311h did not cause any great changes to the coinage. The fall of the First Saffarid dynasty in 298h is, of course, reflected in the coinage record, insofar as dirhams struck in Sijistan between 299h and 304h do not cite a Saffarid governor. But in other respects the coinage struck in the Saffarid lands changes little for a quarter of a century after the end of the First Saffarid dynasty. Dirhams struck in the 310s and 320s by Khalaf b. Ahmad are of standard Abbasid type, naming the Saffarid on the obverse and the Abbasid caliph on the reverse, which is exactly the same pattern found on the first Saffarid dirhams issued by Ya'qub b. al-Layth sixty years earlier. Moreover, when the Saffarid coinage was reformed in the late 320s and early 330s – and it was a radical and remarkable reform, where the existing coinage system based around the silver Abbasid-style dirham was replaced by one consisting of fractional gold dinars and copper fulus – this did not coincide with a change of ruler. As this is a numismatic catalogue rather than a historical study, I have preferred to follow numismatic rather than historical divisions and to include all pre-Reform Saffarid and related coins in this catalogue.

Neither the Saffarids nor their coins existed in a vacuum, and any catalogue of Saffarid coins which excluded issues from other dynasties would quickly be found wanting. Gaps in Saffarid minting activity which might otherwise be puzzling can be readily explained when Abbasid or Dulafid coins exist to show that the mint in question was not then controlled by the Saffarids. Equally, if no coins at all are known for some dates of a particular mint, this is itself of interest and explanations can be sought. The present catalogue describes in full coins of all those other dynasties which struck coins at these mints during this period. Where possible, I have tried to include *all* issues struck between the first and last

Saffarid emissions from a given mint, as well as those struck immediately before and after that mint came under Saffarid control. As this is a catalogue rather than a corpus no attempt has been made to list every single Saffarid dirham ever mentioned or sold. But in general *all* examples which have been published in public collections are mentioned (either directly or by cross-reference to Vasmer), while coins offered in auctions and on dealers' lists are cited if they are rare or otherwise unpublished, or if the sale catalogue included an image of a type which is not illustrated elsewhere.

The coins are organized alphabetically by mint-name. Legends of each coin are given in full, along with references and weights of published specimens. Where possible these are accompanied by a photograph so that readings can readily be checked. The specimen illustrated is always the first listed and marked with an asterisk.

The numbering system used here is similar to that used by Treadwell (*Buyid Coinage*) and Jafar (*The Seljuq Period in Baghdad*). Each Saffarid coin is given a reference derived from its mint (in a simple and obvious two-letter code) and its date. A Saffarid dirham of Fars 255h thus becomes Fa255, and the four varieties of Saffarid dirhams of Fars 291h are classified as Fa291.1 through Fa291.4. Coins of other dynasties add a single-letter suffix, so an Abbasid dirham of Arrajan 271h would be listed as Ar271A, as opposed to Ar271D for a Dulafid coin of the same mint and date. Gold dinars add 'G' as a prefix (so GJa275 for a Saffarid dinar of Jannaba 275h). This system occasionally yields something like Fa274A.2, which is inelegant, but does allow new discoveries to be incorporated in a revised version of the catalogue without the need to renumber.

The following table lists the mints discussed in this catalogue, with their two-letter codes:

MINTS (alphabetical order)	MINTS (by province)
Arrajan (Ar)	ARABIA 'Uman
Isbahan (Is)	IRAQ Al-Basra
Andaraba (An)	JIBAL Isbahan
Al-Ahwaz (Ah)	KHUZISTAN Al-Muhammadiya (Rayy)
Bust (Bu)	Al-Ahwaz
Al-Basra (Bs)	FARS Arrajan
Balkh (Bl)	Jannaba
Al-Banjhir (Bn)	Shiraz
Jannaba (Jn)	Fars
Zaranj (Za)	Na'in
Sijistan (Sj)	SIJISTAN Bust
Shiraz (Sh)	Al-Banjhir
Fars (Fa)	Zaranj
'Uman (Um)	Sijistan
al-Muhammadiya	KHURASAN Andaraba
Marw (Mr)	Balkh
Na'in (Na)	Marw
Naysabur (Ns)	Naysabur
Harat (Hr)	Harat

Coins of the following dynasties are also listed here, indicated by a single letter at the end of their reference. Saffarid issues have no additional letter:

Abbasid (A)	Harthamid (H)
Banijurid (B)	Khujistanid (K)
Dulafid (D)	Governors of Oman (M)

Finally, I hope that this article, which will be split over several instalments, may encourage those who own or administer collections to review the material in their care. If anyone finds a new type or variety, is able to supply additional or clearer images of coins already described here, or would be kind enough to correct any errors on my part, they are most welcome to contact me at [redacted] or via the Editor. Once the entire series of articles has appeared here I hope to publish them electronically as a single document incorporating all additions, revisions and corrections, and with all help, guidance and advice fully acknowledged.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Album FPL/ Auction** Stephen Album, Fixed Price Lists and auction catalogues, Santa Rosa, CA
- ANS NNM** *American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, New York
- Artuk** Artuk, I. and C., *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslami Sikkeler Kataloğu*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1970-1974
- Bates** Bates, M.L., 'The 'Abbasid Coinage System, 833-946', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The Middle East Studies Association, 1996, online at <http://data.numismatics.org/collections/abbasid.html>
- Bernardi** Bernardi, G., *Arabic Gold Coins Corpus I*, Trieste, 2010
- BMC** Lane Poole, S., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, 10 vols, London 1875-1890
- Bosworth** Bosworth, C.E., *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York, 1994
- Cairo** Nicol, N.D. et al., *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo*, Malibu, 1982.
- Centuries of Gold** *Centuries of Gold: The Coinage of Medieval Islam*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Zamana Gallery, London, 1986
- Checklist** Album, S., *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition, Santa Rosa, 2011
- CNS** *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt*, 6 vols, Lund, 1975-
- Diler** Diler, O., *Islamic Mints*, 3 vols, Istanbul, 2009
- DNW** Dix Noonan Webb, London, auction catalogues
- Fahmy** Fahmy, A., *Fajr as-Sikka al-'Arabiya*, Cairo, 1965
- Gorny & Mosch** Gorny & Mosch, formerly Giessener Münzhandlung, Munich, auction catalogues: 153
- ICA** Islamic Coin Auctions 1-25, Baldwin's Auctions Ltd/Arabian Coins and Medals (LLC), 1999-2013
- Ilisch** Ilisch, L., 'Munzgeschenke und Geschenkmünzen in der mittelalterlichen islamischen Welt,' *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, volumes XIV, 3 – XV, 1, 1984-1985
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- Lowick** Lowick, N.M., 'An Early Tenth Century Hoard from Isfahan,' NC 1975, pp.110-154
- Miles** Miles, G.C., *Rare Islamic Coins*, ANS NNM 118, New York, 1950
- MWI** Mitchiner, M., *Oriental Coins and their Values: The World of Islam*, London, 1977
- NC** *Numismatic Chronicle*, London
- NS** Göbl, R., G. Le Rider, G.C. Miles and J. Walker, *Numismatique Susienne: Monnaies trouvées à Suse de 1946 à 1956*, Paris, 1960
- NZ** *Numismatische Zeitschrift*
- Peus** Dr Busso Peus Nachf., Frankfurt, auction catalogues: 276: 24 March 1971
341: 3 November 1994
363: *2500 Jahre persische Münzprägung*, 26 April 2000
369: 31 October 2001
372: 30 October 2002
378: 28 April 2004
380: 3 November 2004
384: 2 November 2005
386: 26 April 2006
- Qatar** *Arab Islamic Coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar*:
Volume I: Doha, 1984 (Arabic), Doha, 2003 (English)
Volume III: Doha, 2005
- Sotheby's** Sotheby's (London), auction catalogues
- Spink Zurich** Spink and Son Ltd, auction catalogues: 22: 17 March 1987 (Zurich)
27: 1 June 1988 (Zurich)
31: 20 June 1989 (Zurich)
34: 19 June 1990 (Zurich)
- SICA** *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*
Volume IV:
Volume X: Album, S., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Volume 10: Arabia and East Africa*, Oxford, 1999.
- Tor** Tor, D.G., 'A Numismatic History of the First Saffarid Dynasty (AH 247-300/AD 861-911)', NC, 2002, pp.293-314
- Tornberg** Tornberg, C.J., *Numi cufici regii numophylacii Holmiensis, omnes in terra Sveciae reperti*, Uppsala, 1848
- Tübingen** Coins in the *Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen*
- Vasmer** 'Über die Münzen der Saffariden und ihrer Gegner in Fars und Hurasan', NZ 1930, pp. 131-162
- Walker** Walker, J., *The Coinage of the Second Saffarid Dynasty in Sistan*, ANS NNM 72, New York, 1936
- Zambaur** Zambaur, E. von., *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, Wiesbaden, 1968

As mentioned above, this article will be spread over several issues of the *Journal*. It seems fairer to thank everyone properly for their help and advice in the final instalment so that contributions and help received during publication can also be properly acknowledged. But in the meanwhile I would like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their kind permission to reproduce images here:

A.H. Baldwin & Sons (London); Gorny & Mosch (Munich); Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen); Muhammad Limbada (London); Morton & Eden Ltd (London); Dr Busso Peus Nachf. (Frankfurt); Spink and Son Ltd (London); Tim Wilkes of Wilkes & Curtis (Tonbridge); and other private collectors who have asked to remain anonymous.

ARRAJAN

Arrajan was one of several Saffarid mints in Fars which operated during the 270s and 280s, having previously been inactive since the time of Harun al-Rashid. Tor, who apparently was not aware of the Fars/Arrajan dirham of 270h, suggested that the mint had been reopened at the instigation of the Abbasids in 271h.

The last known Saffarid dirhams of Arrajan were struck in 289h. No coins are known thereafter until production of standard Abbasid dirhams resumed under al-Muqtadir in 298h.

Arrajan 260h

Diler mentions a Saffarid dirham of this mint and date, apparently listed by Østrup (Diler I, 11, note 191); this appears to be an error where the date of the coin has been mistakenly repeated instead of the reference.



Ar270

Fars/Arrajan 270h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله | عمرو بن الليث
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | ارجان

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.51g)
Tübingen 92-11-64 (4.13g)

Ar271A

Arrajan 271h

Tübingen 93-17-6 (2.93g)



Ar271D

Arrajan 271h (Dulafid)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله | احمد بن عبد العزيز
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | ذو الوزرتين

*Album auction 16, lot 382 (3.09g) = Album auction 7, lot 252
Tübingen EA2 B6 (2.96g)



Ar272

Arrajan 272h

Obv. border unclear but possibly: محمد | بن | عمر | و, in four quadrants divided by four stars within crescents
Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله
Rev. border: four stars within crescents at cardinal points, within four triplets of pellets at half-cardinal points
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | عمرو بن الليث

*ICA 12, 25 April 2007, lot 3333 = ICA 14, 8 July 2008, lot 301 (3.08g)



Ar273A

Arrajan 273h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله

*Album FPL 92, 74 (2.90g)



Ar274A

Arrajan 274h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.66g); Tübingen AI2 A4; SICA IV, 37-39 (3.06, 2.64, 2.88g)



Ar275A

Arrajan 275h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله

*ICA 12, 25 April 2007, lot 3170 (3.34g)
SICA IV, 40 (2.89g); Tübingen AI2 A5; SCC 1348



Ar275

Arrajan 275h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field:

لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله

*BMC II, 246 = Vasmer 37 = Walker p.6 (2.97g)



Ar279.2

Arrajan 279h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله | أمير المؤمنين

*ICA10, lot 254 (3.17g)

Vasmer 43 (1 example cited, 2.90g)

Ar277

Arrajan 277h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | الموفق بالله

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | عمرو بن الليث

Vasmer 39 (3 examples cited); Limbada (6.8g)



Ar279.3

Arrajan 279h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.00g)

Vasmer -



Ar278

Arrajan 278h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | المعتضد بالله | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | المفوض الى الله

*ICA10, lot 253 (2.97g);

Tübingen 96-37-4 (3.19g)



Ar280

Arrajan 280h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله | أمير المؤمنين

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.32g)

Vasmer 44 (2 examples cited)



Ar279.1

Arrajan 279h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | المعتضد بالله

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | عمرو بن الليث

*ICA12, lot 3325 (2.56g);

Tübingen 2000-12-21 (5.58g); EA3 A3 (2.85g)



Ar281

Arrajan 281h

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Tübingen EA3 A4 (2.91g)

Vasmer 47 (1 example cited, 2.65g)



Ar282 Arrajan 282h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*ICA10, lot 255 (2.88g); Vasmer 49 (3 examples cited); Qatar III, 3607 (3.67g); ANS 75.73.1 (3.40g); Tübingen EA3 A5 (2.88g)



Ar286 Arrajan 286h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Tübingen 2000-11-25 (3.77g)



Ar283 Arrajan 283h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Tübingen 90-33-4 (3.03g); 98-16-60 (fragment, 1.83g)
 Vasmer 51 (1 example cited, 3.29g)

Ar287 Arrajan 287h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

Tübingen (non vidi)



Ar289 Arrajan 289h
 In border on each side: three annulets
 Obv. margin: mint and date
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | طاهر بن محمد
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.40g); Zeno 85935 (4.10g);
 Diler p.11, note 194 = Peus auction 355, 27 April 1998, lot 31;
 Morton and Eden auction 49, 9 June 2011, lot 606 (2.38g)



Ar284 Arrajan 284h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.34g); Vasmer 55 (2 examples cited); ICA10, lot 256 (3.37g); Tübingen 97-14-9 (2.70g)

ISBAHAN

The first Saffarid issue of Isbahan is a dirham dated 269h, attributed by Vasmer and – if correctly read - still apparently unique. Before this, Abbasid dirhams are known for most years between 250h and 264h, but coins of Isbahan are not known for the years 265h-268h. Dulafid dirhams were issued there in 277h and 279h, and standard Abbasid dirhams in 280h and for most years between 282h and 322h.



Ar285 Arrajan 285h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.86g);
 Vasmer 57 (2 examples cited); Tübingen 98-16-61 (3.00g), EA3 A6 (5.07g); Klukowicze 134 (1.76g)



Is269 Isbahan 2xxh
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله | منصور
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | عمرو
 Vasmer 16 = Tornberg 19.

Tornberg read the mint-name on this piece as Adharbayjan, which is impossible. Vasmer corrected this to Isbahan from Tornberg's line drawing (reproduced here) and assigned it to 269h because it cites Mansur (b. Shurkub), only otherwise known from coins of Naysabur from this year (Ns269; Vasmer 15). Since the coin appears to be poorly preserved Tornberg's line drawing may be inaccurate, and the mint-name on this coin may in fact also be Naysabur.



Is270A Isbahan 270h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | ذو الوزرتين

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.89g)

Is271A Isbahan 271h
 Sole authority Diler p.122, citing Zambaur p.48 (no reference given)



Is271D Isbahan 271h (Dulafid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو احمد الناصر لدين الله | احمد بن عبد العزيز | د
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | ذو الوزرتين

*Album FPL 129, 94 (3.28g); ANS 1971.316.173;
 Tübingen 97-29-25 (3.34g)

Is272D Isbahan 272h (Dulafid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله | احمد بن عبد العزيز
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله
 Fahmy 2384 (3.12g)



Is273 Isbahan 273h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | عمرو بن الليث

*Peus auction 341, lot 1667 (3.47g)

Is273D Isbahan 273h (Dulafid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله | احمد بن عبد العزيز
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد الى الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله
 Tübingen EA2 C3 (3.78g)



Is274D Isbahan 274h (Dulafid)
 Legends as Is273D above.
 *MWI 591 ('circa 3g'); Tübingen 99-14-11 (3.05g)



Is276A.1 Isbahan 276h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: الموفق بالله | شكر
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33 (outer); Qur'an xxii, 22 (inner)
 Rev. field: الناصر لدين الله

*ICA 13, 30 October 2007, lot 154 (2.73g)
 Ilisch 13 = Tübingen AI2 E5 (2.76g)



Is276A.2 Isbahan 276h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: mint and date
 Obv. field: الموفق بالله | شكر
 Rev. margin: Qur'an xxii, 22
 Rev. field: الناصر لدين الله

*Album auction 16, lot 169 (2.71g); Tübingen AI6 C2 (1.10g)

Is276A.3 Isbahan 276h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 3-4 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله
 جميعا | القوه | to right: جميعا | to left: القوه

Album FPL 196, 115 (weight not given, not fully described but presumably of this type)

Late News – Another new publication

Issue 9 of *Numismatique Asiatique* (March 2014) has just arrived.
This has medals as its theme
The contents are:

Frances Simmons: “The art of the medal – Japanese style

Christian Charlet: “La médaille Burnes ou médaille des
Fondateurs; Bombay 1843-1844”

Caniel Cariou: “Souvenirs numismatiques de la campagne militaire
du Tonkin (1883-1886)

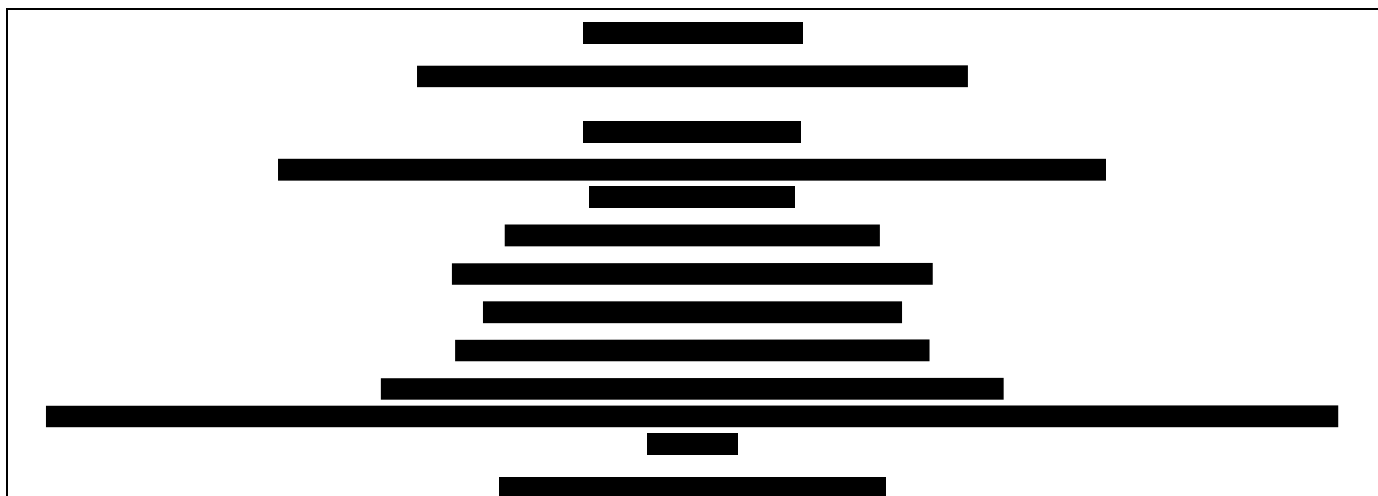
François Joyaux: “La médaille commémorative du voyage du roi
Chulalongkorn en Europe (1897)”

Archives: “A propos des monnaies du Cambodge au XIXe siècle”

Catalogue: “Les monnaies Song de la Bibliothèque Nationale de
France”

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