



CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 235

	Page
<i>A Hoard of 216 Bronze Coins of Later Indo-Greek Kings</i> ~ Heinz Gawlik	1
<i>Kobadian Coins with Turkic Stag-Shaped Tamga</i> ~ Michael Fedorov & Andrew Kuznetsov	17
<i>The Chhindaka Nagas of Chakrakota</i> ~ Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor	19
<i>Kākhētābād, A New Georgian-Safavid Mint</i> ~ Irakli Paghava	23
<i>Countermarked Dollars of the Madras Presidency</i> ~ Paul Stevens	25
<i>Tibetan Gaden Tangkas in Gold</i> ~ Wolfgang Bertsch	26
ONS News and Meetings	28
Book Review: <i>The Silver Damma</i> ~ John Deyell	30

From the Editor

I am pleased to report that the Journal is moving to a new layout, with a greater emphasis on academic research in numismatics. Our papers are peer-reviewed and are increasingly referred to in the study of oriental numismatics.

In this issue we have papers on topics ranging from Indo-Greek bronzes and Kobadian coins, to medieval Hindu coinage and 19th century countermarked Spanish dollars. We look forward to submissions from interested members.

Our thanks once again to Spink, who have graciously sponsored the editing of the journal for 2019.

Karan Singh

A HOARD OF 216 BRONZE COINS OF LATER INDO-GREEK KINGS

Heinz Gawlik

A remarkable number of silver drachms and bronze coins of later Indo-Greek kings began to appear in the markets of northern Pakistan during March-May 2017. A friend took photos and collected additional information about the drachms offered by a shopkeeper in Peshawar – these were compiled in a paper titled ‘A Hoard of 127 Drachms of Later Indo-Greek Kings’, published in JONS 234 (Gawlik 2018).

Almost parallel to and separate from the drachms, an unusual number of bronze coins of later Indo-Greek kings were offered with an almost similar composition of rulers: Apollodotos II, Dionysios,

Zoilos II and Strato II. The coins were not sold as a complete hoard, but were offered as small and larger lots, and even single pieces, by dealers and villagers. The two largest lots contained 73 and 52 coins respectively. In contrast to the hoard of drachms, most of the bronze coins were inferior in quality and suffered from heavy corrosion. The low quality might have been the reason why professional dealers selected only single pieces or smaller lots of the better bronzes. The remaining coins of lower quality were sold by villagers and hawkers.

It is obvious from the sudden quantity of such coins that they are most probably parts of one or even more than one hoard. It was not confirmed by any of the villagers nor any dealer whether the hoard consisted of bronzes alone or whether they were found with the drachms. As is usual practice, the location of the find(s) was not revealed for both the drachms and the bronzes. With respect to the find of bronze coins dealt with in this paper, the dealers took the view that these bronzes come from the same area as the drachms. The area in question is not far away from the city of Chakwal, a place already known for another hoard of late Indo-Greek coins described by Senior (2006). It seems that the bronze coins surfaced under similar circumstances as described for the drachms (Gawlik 2018).

The bronze coinage of the later Indo-Greek kings is characteristic in that many of the coins, in particular the obols, follow a standard design with the Greek god Apollo on obverse and a tripod on reverse. The tripod, together with a bow and arrow as well as the *kithara* (a version of lyre), are attributes or symbols associated with the prophetic deity Apollo. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi, with the exception of the king’s name, are almost uniform on the coins. The total number of bronze coins covered by this paper is 216 pieces. The classification of the coin types follows Mitchiner (1975), and if a type is not listed by Mitchiner other references are used, such as Senior (2006), Bopéarachchi (1991) and Jakobsson

(2010). These references are used without adding the year of publication.

1. Apollodotos II (c. 110-80 BCE Mitchiner; c. 85-55 BCE Senior; 80-65 BCE Bopearachchi, Jakobsson)
 Coins: 110 (number of coins in the hoard)

The earliest, and also the majority, of the 216 coins are struck in the name of king Apollodotos II. The various monograms identified on the coins of the hoard are illustrated in Fig. 1. The numbering of the monograms is in line with those on the drachms described in Gawlik (2018).

Monograms are linked with the locations of mintage, and the monograms illustrated in Fig. 1 are linked by scholars in the past to Jammu, a town and region in the foothills of the western Himalayas. Most coins bear, in addition to the monogram, a single symbol or a combination of field symbols, mainly in the form of Kharoshthi letters/ *aksharas*. Kharoshthi is a syllabary script and *akshara* is a Sanskrit term for syllables.

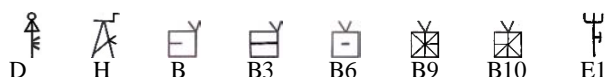


Fig. 1. Monograms on coins of the hoard

1.1 Apollodotos II: Æ unit, Type 432e Mitchiner
 Coins: 51

The circular bilingual Æ obols/units of Type 432e Mitchiner with monogram D (Fig. 2) are the most common coins in the hoard. Falk (2016) describes the Greek monogram D as a composition of the letters *P*, *Δ* and *E* or *O*, *Δ*, *I* and *E*.

Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow, monogram D left, Greek legend on three sides: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ* (King Apollodotus the Saviour), Reverse: tripod with field letters *U* and *Di*, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasā* (Great King Apollodotus the Saviour).



16.10 g, 30.1-31.3 mm, 1 h, NM

Fig. 2. Apollodotos II: 4 Æ obols, Type 432e Mitchiner

Three of the four illustrated coins are struck on larger flans showing the full size of the obverse die and the Greek legend is surrounded by a raised ring. About 20 coins could be checked and all were found to be made of non-magnetic material. This circular type with monogram D and the field letters *Di* and *U* is not only the most common coin in the hoard, but it seems that this was also the most common obol issued by Apollodotos II.

1.2 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 432f Mitchiner
 Coins: 8

Eight coins in the hoard bear the same monogram D on obverse as it is known from Type 432e, but the reverse has a different combination of field letters, *Di* and *Ram* (Fig. 3). The text and arrangement of the legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are similar to the coins of the previous type.



16.26 g, 25.4-26.8 mm, NM

15.70 g, 27.3-29.1 mm, 1h, NM

15.88 g, 28.0-26.4 mm, 1h, M

Fig. 3. Apollodotos II: 3 Æ obols, Type 432f Mitchiner

A certain inconsistency is observed in the reading of the Kharoshthi characters *Ti* and *Di* on bronze coins of later Indo-Greek rulers. Senior read the characters correctly as *U* and *Di* on Type 432e, but he changed the reading from *Di* to *Ti* on Type 432f. Mitchiner illustrated the Kharoshthi letters as *Ti* and *Di* or *Ta* and *Da*, but he did not write down the spelling. There is no doubt that the characters *Da*, *Ta* and *Ra* look quite similar and that the limited space on a die for the work of an engraver can lead to some inconsistency and misunderstanding. If the reverse of coins in Figs. 2-3 are compared it is clear that the Kharoshthi character in the left field of Type 432f looks similar to the character in the right field of Type 432e. This similarity leads to the conclusion that the characters are the same

and should be read as *Di* on both coins. This conclusion is supported by the form of the two characters *Da* and *Ta* in the king's name *Apaladatasā*, marked here in a close-up of the second coin illustrated in Fig. 3.



Considering the form of the characters *Ta* and *Da* in *Apaladatasā* the characters *Ti* and *Di* used by the mints as field letters have consequently this form:



The check for magnetic properties shows that in general almost all circular obols of Apollodotos II with the monogram D are made of non-magnetic material. Only one of the coins illustrated in Fig. 3 showed a magnetic reaction as the coin could be lifted with the help of a magnet.

1.3 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, unpublished

Coins: 2

Fig. 4 shows two obols of an unpublished square type of Apollodotos II which corresponds to the common round Type 432e Mitchiner with monogram D and the field letters *U* and *Di*.



Fig. 4. Apollodotos II: 2 Æ obols, unpublished

1.4 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 (Senior)

Coins: 17

The introduction of the monogram H on obverse and the rectangular arranged legends in Greek and Kharoshthi on three sides are the differences between the square and the circular obols discussed above. The combination of the control marks is different, with the Kharoshthi characters *Ra* in the left and *Ti* in the right field. The difference in writing *Ti* in comparison to the letter *Di* is clearly visible. Bopparachchi (2010) states that this type of square obol with the monogram H and the Kharoshthi field letters *Ra* and *Ti* is so far unknown, but the type was described earlier by Senior (2006). Bopparachchi might have missed the supplementary volume of Senior that discusses the Chakwal Hoard, including two obols of this type. Senior describes the coins as slightly magnetic. 16 obols of this rare variety could be identified in the present hoard, of which three are illustrated in Fig. 5.



Fig. 5. Apollodotos II: 5 Æ obols, not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 (Senior)

The fourth coin in Fig. 5 is of lower quality, but the flan is of a remarkable size. The weight, the cracks and the size are all indications that it was overstruck on another coin. There are traces of the legend of the undertype on the left side on obverse, but it is also possible that this was caused by a double strike. The last coin in Fig. 5 shows additional field letters below the normal *Ra* and *Ti*. The cause might be double striking or an unknown undertype. The magnetic properties of eight coins could be checked, with the result that three showed a magnetic response.

1.5 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 (Senior); unpublished

Coins: 1

The coin in Fig. 6 bears the monogram H on obverse, similar to the square obols illustrated above, but this coin has only a single field letter *Bu* on reverse. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are the same as on the coins before. It is therefore an unpublished variant of the type listed above as 1.4. The Type 428c in Mitchiner also shows a single Kharoshthi field letter *Bu* on the reverse, but the type is without a monogram on obverse.

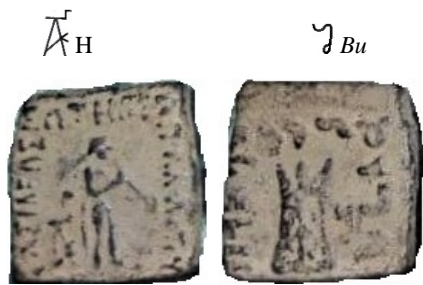


Fig. 6. Apollodotos II: *Æ* obol, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 var. (Senior), unpublished

1.6 Apollodotos II: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)
Coins: 6

This type was unknown to Mitchiner, but Senior published a specimen from the Chakwal Hoard (no. 27) for the first time. Despite the quality, four coins of this rare type are illustrated in Fig. 7. Senior describes the single coin of the Chakwal Hoard as slightly magnetic, while two of the specimens from the present hoard could be checked and were found to be non-magnetic.

The dies used for this type of circular obol are similar to the dies used for the square coins discussed in 1.3. It seems that similar dies were used on both square and circular flans. Senior considered this question for the coins of Dionysios and wrote: "Why coins of same design, possibly even struck from the same dies (?), should be issued in both round and square form is uncertain". If these rare coins are compared with the most common circular obols of Type 432e with monogram D, then it is noticeable that the weight is slightly lower, the diameter is slightly larger and the thickness is slightly less. A possible explanation could be that due to a shortage of square flans some old or worn round coins were flattened and reused for striking these circular coins.



15.51 g, 28.1-29.1 mm, 12h, NM



15.16 g, 28.8-30.4 mm, 12h, NM



15.24 g, 27 mm, NM



15.51 g, 28.1 mm

Fig. 7. Apollodotos II: 4 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)

1.7 Apollodotos II: *Æ* obol, Type 432g Mitchiner
Coins: 4

All the following types of Apollodotos' circular and square obols are without a monogram or mintmark on the obverse, but the design and the legends are similar to obols with a monogram. The two coins shown in Fig. 8 are similar to Type 432f Mitchiner and also the combination of the field letters is the same with *Di* and *Ram*. The size of the dies used for these circular obols is noticeably smaller than the other circular obols of Apollodotos II. Mitchiner has illustrated one coin of this variety, but did not mention anything about the size of the die. This particular variety of circular obol was absent from the Chakwal Hoard.



16.10 g

15.65 g, 23.7-26.0 mm, 12 h, M

Fig. 8. Apollodotos II: 2 *Æ* obols, Type 432g Mitchiner

1.8 Apollodotos II: *Æ* obol, Type 428a Mitchiner
Coins: 7

Four square coins of Type 428a Mitchiner without a monogram on obverse, and the combination of field letters *Ji* and *Mim*, are illustrated in Fig. 9. Senior published a coin of this type as no. 23 of the Chakwal Hoard. Unfortunately, he has mistaken the description of coin no. 23 with coin no. 24, and read the field letters beside the tripod on reverse as a combination of *Na* and *Mi*, despite his coin having the field letters *Ji* and *Mim*. Mitchiner (1975) has drawn the field letters as *Ti* and *Mim*, but the letter in the left field is a quite clear *Ji* in my opinion.





16.72 g, 24.8 x 24.1 mm, M



17.18 g, 25.4 x 24.2 mm, M



14.24 g, 24 x 24 mm, M

Fig. 9. Apollodotos II: 4 Æ obols, Type 428a Mitchiner

Three of the seven coins could be checked by magnet and all three coins showed magnetic properties.

1.9 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428b & c Mitchiner

Coins: 4

Mitchiner and Senior have illustrated similar coins as Type 428b & c and coin no. 24 of the Chakwal Hoard respectively. Senior did not provide the correct description for coin no. 24 due to a mix up with coin no. 23. The obols of Type 428b & c (Fig. 10) follow the design of the unpublished type with monogram H illustrated in Fig. 6, but do not have a monogram; what they have in common is a single field letter *Ba* or *Bu* on the reverse. The general design and arrangement of legends is the same as on other square obols.



17.17 g, 22.9 x 23.3 mm, M



17.33 g, 25.8 x 24.3 mm, M

γ Bu



17.12 g, 23.6 x 23.2 mm, M



12.96 g, 24.2 x 24.8 mm, M

Fig. 10. Apollodotos II: 4 Æ obols, Type 428b & c Mitchiner

The weight of the last coin (12.96 g) is clearly below the standard. This deviation might be caused by workers who prepared the flans. There is also the possibility of a different denomination – 6 chalkoi with a standard weight of 12.75 g – but this is uncertain because the size of all the coins here is almost the same. All four coins were found to be made of magnetic material.

1.10 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var. 1 Mitchiner; unpublished

Coins: 1

Mitchiner does not list this variety of a square obol of Type 428 without monogram (Fig. 11) and the combination of characters *Ti* and *Ram*. The design of the coin with Apollo/ tripod and legends on three sides is similar to other square types with monogram. The coin corresponds to circular obols of Type 432g Mitchiner without monogram and the same characters *Ti* and *Ram*. It is worth mentioning that the letter *O* in Apollodotos II is reduced to a dot. The coins of this type may be later issues rather than the issues of a particular mint.



13.99 g

Fig. 11. Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var.1 Mitchiner, unpublished

1.11 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var. 2 Mitchiner; unpublished

Coins: 1

Another new variety of a square obol with similar design as above, but without monogram, is illustrated in Fig. 12. The combination of field characters *Na* (?) with *Kra* on reverse is unknown so far. The left field letter *Na* could be also a wrongly engraved *Ra* or *Va*, because such errors appear from time to time if the engravers failed to engrave the mirror image on the die.



Fig. 12. Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var. 2 Mitchiner, unpublished

1.12 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 431 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished
Coins: 1

The coin in Fig. 13 appears to be a new variety of a circular type with angular arranged legends. The obverse is without monogram and the reverse bears a retrograde *Di* and *Mim* as the field letters. It seems the engraver failed to cut the mirrored image of the Kharoshthi character *Di* into the die. Mitchiner has illustrated the field letters for Type 431b as *Ji* or *Dhi* and *Mim*, but this is questionable in my opinion. Another two coins of Type 431 are illustrated by Senior for the Chakwal Hoard as nos. 17-18, but he notes the combination as *Gi* and *Da* and *Ji* and *Ga* (?) respectively.



Fig. 13. Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 431 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished

1.13 Apollodotos II: Æ hemi-obol, Type 429a Mitchiner
Coins: 1

A single bilingual hemi-obol issued by Apollodotos II was offered along with the obols by a dealer. This specimen is shown in Fig. 14. Obverse: similar design as on square obols, with Greek legend on three sides. Reverse: tripod in a beaded border, surrounded by a Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasasa*. The monogram D is part of the border on the right side, while the Kharoshthi character *Tri* is in the border on the left.



Fig. 14. Apollodotos II: Æ hemi-obol, Type 429a Mitchiner

Senior describes a half unit of Type 429b Mitchiner in the Chakwal Hoard (no. 25) with a dotted interior border on the reverse, but the monogram is different and that coin is without the Kharoshthi letter.

1.14 Apollodotos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 437 Mitchiner
Coins: 1

A monolingual di-chalkon issued by Apollodotos II is shown in Fig. 15. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; bead and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasasa*.



Fig. 15. Apollodotos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 437 Mitchiner

1.15 Apollodotos II: Æ units of uncertain type
Coins: 5

Three square obols of Apollodotos II without a monogram, and two round obols with monogram D on obverse, are mentioned here only because all their reverses are heavily corroded and make any classification impossible.

2. Dionysios (c. 80-75 BCE Mitchiner; c. 65-55 BCE Boppearachchi; c. 55-50 BCE Senior; c. 55-45 BCE Jakobsson)
Coins: 22

After Apollodotos II his kingdom appears to have been split: Hippostratos ruled parts of the Indo-Greek territories in parallel with Apollodotos II and inherited the western parts of Apollodotos II's realm after the latter's death, while Dionysios took power in the eastern parts. It is assumed that Hippostratos and Dionysios were related to the family of Apollodotos II, because all three used the same epithet and also the same reverse with Athena Alkidemos on their silver coinage. Nevertheless, this is speculation from the coins only and the real relationship between the successors of Apollodotos II still remains uncertain. Coins are the only real source of information about the later Indo-Greek kings and their sequence and duration of rule. The coins of Dionysios, whether silver or bronze, are scarce or even rare, and all new finds might offer new information to close the gaps in our knowledge about this period.

2.1 Dionysios: Æ obol, Type 455b Mitchiner
Coins: 13

The hoard contained 13 square obols issued by Dionysios, of which five are illustrated in Fig. 16. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow, monogram left, Greek legend on three sides: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ*, monogram H left. Reverse: tripod, *Ra* and *Ti*, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa*. Mitchiner has written *Diunisiyasa*, but on most coins *u* looks rather like an *a*.





16.1 g, 24 x 23 mm



14.31 g, 26.7 x 26.8 mm, M



14.1 g, 23 x 24 mm

Fig. 16. Dionysios: 5 *Æ* obols, Type 455b Mitchiner

Six of the 13 coins could be checked for magnetic properties and only one was found to be made from magnetic material.

2.2 Dionysios: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)
Coins: 4

Two of the four circular obols with monogram H and the Kharoshthi characters *Ra* and *Ti* are shown in Fig. 17. Senior describes a single coin of the type in the Chakwal Hoard as unique. Additional coins of the type appeared in the Jhang Hoard (Senior 2013). It is the specimen from the Chakwal Hoard for which Senior raised the question: Why are coins with a similar design, and probably the same die, struck on both square and round flans? The answer might be as simple as it was discussed for similar coins of Apollodotos II. It is assumed that there might have been a shortage of square flans and so round flans were used. These round flans might have come from outdated or worn circular coins. An example for the reuse of such coins has been published by Senior (2008). He records a round obol of Apollodotos II with a circular legend overstruck by Dionysios with a square legend and the Kharoshthi field letters *Ra* and *Ti*, similar to the coins illustrated in Fig. 17. Traces of Apollodotos II's name written in Kharoshthi (*Apaladata...*) are still visible on the overstrike discussed by Senior (2008). Senior states further that this coin might be the first identified overstrike confirming the relative sequence of these two kings.



15.46 g, 29.5-28.8 mm, 12 h



15.16 g

Fig. 17. Dionysios: 2 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)

2.3 Dionysios: *Æ* obol, Type 455 Mitchiner
Coins: 1

A heavily corroded single coin of Dionysios belongs to the square Type 455 Mitchiner. The coin is without a monogram on obverse, but it was impossible to identify the Kharoshthi field letters on reverse. The coin is magnetic and the other details are as follows: 17.63 g, 23.8 x 23.4 mm, M

2.4 Dionysios: *Æ* obol (?), type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 32 (Senior)
Coins: 1

Senior describes a similar coin in the Chakwal Hoard (no. 32) as the most important coin, because it is the earliest known coin to bear the boxy 'Jammu' monogram. The coin illustrated in Fig. 18 is the second known coin of this type, but in a better quality with all details, and it confirms the observations of Senior. At 11.11 g and 12.30 g, both coins are clearly lighter than the other square obols (Type 455 Mitchiner) of Dionysios with the Greek legend on three sides: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ*. Also, the size of the two specimens is visibly less than the square obols. As mentioned above, the remarkable difference is the boxy 'Jammu' monogram B3 with the Kharoshthi field characters *Pi* and *E*. The Kharoshthi legend on three sides reads: *Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisi(yasa)* with the last two characters off the flan. Senior wasn't sure whether the second character of the name is a *ya* or *a*, but on this coin it is more likely an *a*. The coin of the Chakwal Hoard weighs 11.11 g – quite a low weight for an obol compared to the standard of 17.0 g. Senior therefore mentioned the possibility that this coin could be of a lighter standard. The specimen from the present hoard weighs 12.30 g, thereby supporting his assumption. This would match with the weight of a 6 chalkoi known from Apollodotos II. Another observation is the new combination of Kharoshthi field letters *Pi* and *E* on reverse. This combination will become the standard combination on square obols, bearing the names of Strato or Strato with Strato Philopator, that are referred to later in this paper.



12.33 g, 22.0 x 21.3 mm, NM

Fig. 18. Dionysios: *Æ* obol (?), not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 32 (Senior)

2.5 Dionysios: *Æ* hemi-obol (?), type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 35 as obol (Senior); unpublished
Coins: 1

An unpublished denomination of the type with Apollo/ tripod, weighing about 5 g, is illustrated in Fig. 19. Senior describes a comparable coin in the Chakwal Hoard, but that specimen has the weight of an obol. Both coins have no monogram on obverse, but

they do have the same combination of Kharoshthi field letters, *Di* or *Ti* and *Spa*, on reverse.



4.98 g, 19 x 17 mm

Fig. 19. Dionysios: *Æ* hemi-obol (?), not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 35 as obol (Senior), unpublished

A hemi-obol or half unit is unknown for Dionysios. There is the impression that this specimen was slightly tooled and repatinated, but even under these circumstances the size speaks for a hemi-obol.

2.6 Dionysios: *Æ* di-chalkon, Type 457 Mitchiner
Coins: 2

This type of monolingual di-chalkon (Fig. 20) is known in two metals: lead and bronze. One coin could be checked and showed magnetic properties. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; bead and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Diunisiyasa*.



4.30 g, 15.8 x 15.6 mm, M

4.29 g, 15 x 15 mm

Fig. 20. Dionysios: 2 *Æ* di-chalkon, Type 457 Mitchiner

3. Zoilos II (c. 75-50 BCE Mitchiner; c. 65-55 BCE Boppearachchi; c. 55-35 BCE Jakobsson) / Zoilos III (c. 55-35 BCE Jakobsson)
Coins: 74

If the proposed introduction of a Zoilos III by Jakobsson with respect to the variation in portraits on drachms is still comprehensible, the classification of the bronze coinage and their assignment to Zoilos II or a Zoilos III is rather difficult, if not impossible, given our present knowledge. Therefore all *Æ* coins of Zoilos II/III are listed together as Zoilos II.

3.1 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior)
Coins: 19

The type of square obol with monogram H and Apollo/ tripod, with the combination of field letters *Ra* and *Ti*, is the most common type issued in the name of Zoilos II. Senior (2006) described and published the type for the first time. Six specimens are illustrated in Fig. 21. The Greek legend is on three sides and reads: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ*. The Kharoshthi legend is also on three sides and reads: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*. 15 out of the 19 coins of this type could be checked and all were magnetic except for four coins. Magnetism was not noted by Senior for this type, but he did mention the variation in size which is most probably the result of reusing old coins.



15.39 g, 25.6 x 24.9 mm, M

14.70 g, 23.9 x 26.3mm, M

13.65 g, 26.6 x 29.1 mm, M

The size and cracks of the coin above indicate that it may have been struck on a flattened and reused flan, rather than enlarged by double striking.



15.16 g, 24.8 x 24.1 mm, NM

14.5 g, 25 x 25.5 mm NM

13.52 g, 25.5 x 25 mm, NM

Fig. 21. Zoilos II: 6 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior)

The Kharoshthi character *Ti* in the right field on the reverse of the second coin appears to be retrograde. The engraver has failed to mirror the character on the die to appear correctly on the coin. The Zeta in *ZOIAOY* is engraved on 15 coins of this type in the archaic/classical form as **Ι**. It is the form of Zeta derived from the Phoenician letter *Zayim*. The Zeta appears as a Z on a single coin, illustrated as the third coin in Fig. 21. The flan of this coin is larger

than the others, which might be caused by a double strike or a restrike on an old flattened flan.

A friend from Pakistan sent photos of nine obols of the same type (Fig. 22) which he acquired from a dealer recently. The Zeta is seen in the form of a Z on five coins, of which three are illustrated in Fig. 22.



Fig. 22. Zoilos II: 3 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior) (these specimens are not part of the present hoard)

3.2 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior); unpublished
Coins: 1

An unpublished variety of a square obol is shown in Fig. 23. It bears the monogram H and the combination of Kharoshthi characters Pa and a second control letter that is not readable due to corrosion.



15.41 g, 25.0 x 24.8 mm, NM

Fig. 23. Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, not in Mitchiner, variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior), unpublished

3.3 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 74 (Senior)
Coins: 5

Senior was the first to report a single coin of this circular obol with legend on three sides as known from square coins. Five coins of this rare type (Fig. 24) have been identified among the coins of the hoard. The coins have the same monogram H and combination of Kharoshthi characters as the rectangular obols and they correspond with similar circular coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The letter Zeta in *ZOIAOY* is written as Z on the second and third coin of this type.



14.76 g, 31.7-33.3 mm, 12 h (overstrike on Dionysios?)



12.49 g, 29.7 x 30.9 mm, NM



14.08 g, 29.4-30.2 mm, NM

Fig. 24. Zoilos II: 3 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 74 (Senior)

The Kharoshthi legend on the upper coin in Fig. 24 is the same as it is on the square coins in Fig. 21 and reads: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*, but the Greek legend shows a deviation from the standard. For a better understanding, the angular arrangement of the Greek legends on obols of Apollodotos II, Dionysios, and Zoilos II and III is shown in Fig. 25. The titles and names in the legend have different lengths, so the engravers have either changed the starting point or compressed/ stretched the words on the die to match the size of the flan.

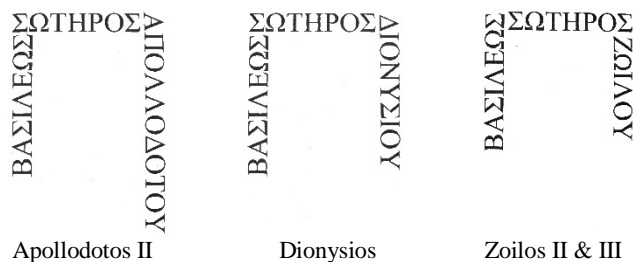


Fig. 25. Angular arrangement of Greek legends on *Æ* units

The obverse of the overstruck coin in Fig. 24 is shown in detail in Fig. 26, with the Greek letters highlighted to make the differences more visible. A comparison with the design of legends on the obols of other rulers (Fig. 25) shows that the left leg of the legend with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* is in line with the arrangement on obols of Zoilos II and it ends with a *Σ* on top. The top line on obols of Zoilos II with *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* should continue, but the first *Σ* is missing. It is an indication that *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* on the coin is left from the undertype and this could be a coin of Apollodotos II or Dionysios. The last *Σ* of *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* is the end of the top line on coins of Zoilos II, but there is another letter as on the coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The first two letters of the undertype read most probably *ΔΙ* with an *I* away from the upper line, and that speaks for a coin of Dionysios. Coins of Apollodotos II have the first leg of *Π* always close to the upper line, because the engravers have to accommodate more letters for Apollodotos II than for Dionysios. The name of Zoilos II is quite

clearly readable, especially the last letters *IAOY*. The conclusion would be that this coin is an overstrike of Zoilos II on Dionysios.



Fig. 26. Zoilos II: Obverse of Aetolian unit overstruck on an obol of Dionysios? (Fig. 23)

A similar coin turned up in trade during the preparation of this paper. The author would like to thank Saad Mirza for the permission to use his photos. The obverse of the coin with the Greek legend highlighted (Fig. 27) is an obol of Zoilos II. The legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ* is almost clearly readable, except the *Z* of Zoilos is weak. On top of *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* are additional letters visible of the undertype, which also read *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ*, but the title starts in the left corner as on coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The upper line of the undertype ends with a *Δ* of the king's name. The arrangement of *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* also ends with a *Δ* of the right vertical line. The conclusion is that a coin of Apollodotos II or Dionysios was used. There are also traces of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* of the undertype on the left side which are not marked. The reverse shows the Kharoshthi legend of obols struck in the name of Zoilos II, without traces of the undertype. The overstrikes of Dionysios on Apollodotos II (Senior 2008, 2018) and these two coins of Zoilos II on Apollodotos II/ Dionysios are good examples of the reuse of circulated coins. Such overstrikes provide information about the sequence of rulers, and indicate they may have succeeded each other or at least that their reigns were close chronologically.



12.75 g, 32.2 mm, 12h, NM

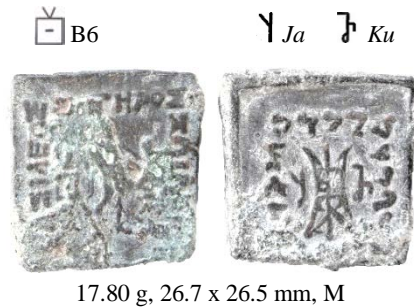
Fig. 27. Zoilos II: Aetolian unit, overstrike on Dionysios or Apollodotos II? (this coin is not part of the hoard)

3.4 Zoilos II: Aetolian unit, Type 460a Mitchiner

Coins: 1

The boxy monogram of 'Jammu' is mentioned for the first time on a single coin (no. 32) of Dionysios in the Chakwal Hoard by Senior, and the use of the monogram continues on coins of Zoilos II and his successors. The obol with Apollo/ tripod illustrated in Fig. 28 has the boxy monogram B on the obverse. The field letters on the reverse are *Ja* and *Ku*, but there are different opinions about the reading. Mitchiner reads *Ja* and *Ka*, while Senior has illustrated six coins from the Chakwal Hoard with a combination of *Ja* and *Kam*. In my opinion it is *Ja* and *Ku* on all the coins, including the six coins of the Chakwal Hoard. The boxy monogram is also seen on all the coins, including the coins of the Chakwal Hoard, as variant M-B6 with two wings on top in the centre. The Greek and Kharoshthi legends on the three sides are the same as on the types discussed

earlier. The illustrated coin has the Zeta in *ZOIAOY* written as *Z*, just like the coin in Mitchiner and the coins of the Chakwal Hoard.



17.80 g, 26.7 x 26.5 mm, M

Fig. 28. Zoilos II: Aetolian unit, Type 460a Mitchiner

3.5 Zoilos II: Aetolian unit, type not in Mitchiner; unpublished

Coins: 3

The square Apollo/ tripod coins illustrated in Fig. 29 are of a new variety of Type 460 which is not recorded in Mitchiner nor found in the Chakwal Hoard (Senior). The obverse bears the monogram B and the Kharoshthi character *Ji*. The field letters on the reverse are *Ma* and *Tam* (?), while Senior (2018) states a combination of *Ma* and *Dham* (?).



16.28 g, 25.7 x 27.0 mm

16.27 g, 21.6 x 25.8 mm, M

Fig. 29. Zoilos II: 3 Aetolian units, Type 460 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished

3.6 Zoilos II: Aetolian unit, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 84 (Senior)

Coins: 3

Three obols shown in Fig. 30 bear two unique varieties of a monogram classified as B9/ B10. The field letters on reverse are *Mi* and *Sa*. Senior describes a similar coin as no. 84 in the Chakwal Hoard. The coin has the same field letters *Mi* and *Sa*, but the sketch of the monogram differs in the lower part from the monogram on the actual coins. The reason for the difference can be put down to the condition of the coin, which looks worn or damaged in the lower part of the monogram. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are the same as the legends found on other obols of Zoilos II and III.



Fig. 30. Zoilos II: 3 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 84 (Senior)

The unique monograms on the obols in Fig. 30 have the body of monograms attributed to Taxila by Mitchiner and the top of the 'Jammu' monograms. The illustration (Fig. 31) of two rectangular 6 chalkoi of Apollodotos II (Type 433 Mitchiner) is shown for an easy comparison of monograms. On the obverse Apollo stands facing with a dorsal bow. The reverse shows a slightly different design of tripod, with the discussed monogram in the left field and a single letter in the right field. The field letter is uncertain, but close to a *Na* with two small ends on top left. It has to be noted that the two coins of 6 chalkoi are not part of the hoard. The 'Taxila' monograms on the 6 chalkoi also show minor variations in the execution of the lines inside the box. These variations, along with those on the obols of Zoilos II, might be the result of the inaccuracy of the engravers.



Fig. 31: Apollodotos II: 2 *Æ* 6 chalkoi, Type 433 in Mitchiner (these coins are not part of the hoard)

3.7 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; unpublished
Coins: 1

The identification of the field letters on the reverse of the coin in Fig. 32 is difficult, but the combination could be *Pra* with *Mi* (?), which is unrecorded for obols of Zoilos II bearing monogram B.



Fig. 32. Zoilos II: *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, unpublished

Another observation is the design of the tripod. The reverse shows a broad tripod with a prominent top, which differs from most other obols of Zoilos II. The first character *tra* in *tratarasa* has the form of a 'W'.

3.8 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol without monogram, type not in Mitchiner; unpublished
Coins: 1

The coin shown in Fig. 33 is almost similar to nos. 75-81 of the Chakwal Hoard (Senior). It has the same combination of field letters *Ra* and *Ti*, but the difference is the missing monogram on the obverse. Another feature is the starting point of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ in the left corner of the upper line and the missing last Σ of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on this specimen.



Fig. 33. Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, not in Mitchiner, unpublished

3.9 Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, Type 462 Mitchiner
Coins: 1

A single coin of Type 462 Mitchiner was found in the hoard (Fig. 34). This circular obol does not have a monogram, but a small elephant in the left field on the obverse. The combination of the Kharoshthi characters on the reverse is *Ra* and *A*.



13.53 g, 26.5-26.0 mm, 1 h, NM

Fig. 34. Zoilos II: *Æ* obol, Type 462 Mitchiner

3.10 Zoilos II: *Æ* chalkous, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 90-92 (Senior)
Coins: 2

This type was first published by Senior, with three coins found in the Chakwal Hoard. Another two coins of this rare type are illustrated in Fig. 35. Obverse: Apollo standing right, 'Jammu' monogram B in left field, no legend; square bead and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem with Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*, without any field letter.



Fig. 35. Zoilos II: 2 Æ chalkous, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 90-92 (Senior)

3.11 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 (Apollo/ elephant) Mitchiner
Coins: 36

Several varieties of the lower Æ denomination of Apollo/ elephant type are known already. Senior mentions 81 coins in the Chakwal Hoard, with five illustrated, and 41 coins in the Jhang Hoard (Senior 2013). The high number of varieties is remarkable, and is much more than shown in literature. Several varieties, including new ones, are illustrated in this paper. The large number of varieties might indicate an extensive mintage, but this is not reflected in the market nor in literature. One reason for this may be the general low quality of these small coins makes them less attractive to dealers and collectors. Another issue is the assignment of the coins. All have been issued by a ruler with the name Zoilos, but there are good reasons that there may have been more than one ruler with the name Zoilos during this period (Jakobsson). All these coins have only a Kharoshthi legend on three sides of the reverse: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*. The *tra* of *tratarasa* is engraved on all coins in the correct form where it is visible.

3.11.1 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 1 Mitchiner; B3-4 Senior (2018)
Coins: 1

The coin shown in Fig. 36 seems to be an early issue with monogram H attributed to the area of Jammu. This type has been reported by Senior (2018). Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; monogram H in the left field; square bead and reel border. Reverse: elephant right, without any monogram or field letter; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*.



Fig. 36. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 1 Mitchiner, B3-4 Senior (2018)

3.11.2 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 2 Mitchiner; unpublished
Coins: 1

An unpublished variety of Type 466 Mitchiner is illustrated in Fig. 37. The obverse is worn and the possible monogram on the left side

is off the flan. Below the bow of Apollo is most probably the field letter *Ra*. The reverse shows the monogram E1, which is known from the obverse on other varieties of this type.

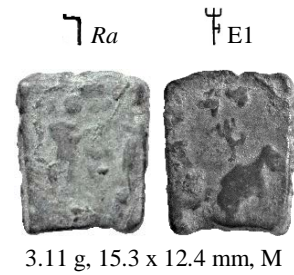
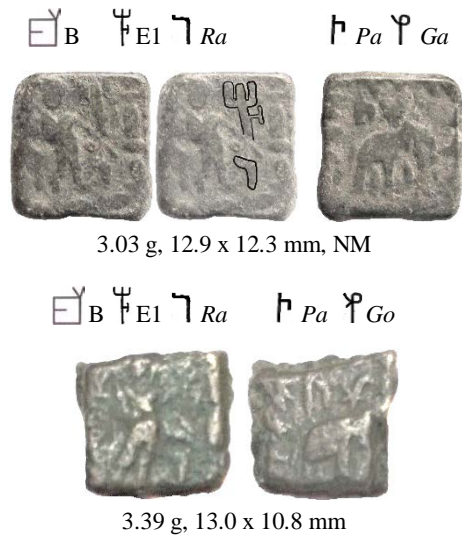


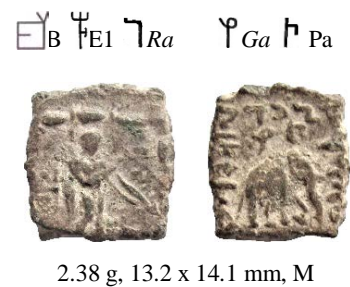
Fig. 37. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 2 Mitchiner, unpublished

3.11.3 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 3a, 3b & 3c Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 95 (Senior)
Coins: 6

Mitchiner illustrated just a single coin as a chalkous of Type 466 with the boxy monogram, field letter *Ra*, and probably monogram E1 on obverse. The denomination weight is given as 2.35 g. The illustrations in Fig. 38 show several varieties of a similar Apollo/ elephant type with monogram B and monogram E1, known already in a mirrored form on rare drachms of Zoilos. Obverse: Apollo right with 'Jammu' monogram B left and monogram M-E1 right, with field letter *Ra* below. Senior reads the character on obverse as *Va*, which could be the result of an inaccurate engraving as *Va* and *Ra* are quite similar. Reverse: elephant right, and above, a combination of field letter *Pa* with *Ga* or *Go*.



The position of field letters *Ga* and *Pa* is changed on sub-variety 3c. Two of the three coins could be checked and were found to be magnetic.



2.38 g, 13.2 x 14.1 mm, M



Fig. 38. Zoilos II: 4 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 3a, 3b & 3c Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 95 (Senior)

3.11.4 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 4 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

The next coin (Fig. 39) also bears the two monograms B and E1 on obverse, but the combination of Kharoshthi characters is different, with *Ra* left and *Na* right. The reverse shows *Pa*, but the second letter cannot be identified.

☐ B 𑀲 Ra 𑀧 E1 𑀭 Na 𑀧 Pa



2.87 g, 12.5 x 14.6 mm, M

Fig. 39. Zoilos II: 2 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 4 Mitchiner

3.11.5 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 5 Mitchiner

Coins: 4

Two coins of this unpublished variety of Apollo/ elephant type are illustrated in Fig. 40. The coins most probably also have the two monograms B and E1 together with Kharoshthi characters *Ra* and *Va* on the obverse. Some parts of the design are off flan and others are not readable, but it seems that both coins are of the same variety. The reverse bears the characters *Śa* and *Ga*.

☐ B 𑀲 Ra 𑀧 E1 𑀭 Śa 𑀧 Ga



3.07 g, 14.0 x 15.1 mm, M

☐ B 𑀲 Ra 𑀧 Va 𑀭 Śa 𑀧 Ga



Fig. 40: Zoilos II: 3 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 5 Mitchiner

3.11.6 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 6 Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 97 (Senior); Jhang Hoard nos. 27a-42 (Senior 2013)

Coins: 3

The variety shown in Fig. 41 seems to be another example of coin no. 97 of the Chakwal Hoard. It has on obverse the 'Jammu' monogram B and the letter *Ji* in the right field below the bow. The reverse has the combination of field letters *Śa* and *Pa* above the elephant.

☐ B 𑀲 Ji 𑀭 Śa 𑀧 Pa



2.47 g, 13 mm



Fig. 41. Zoilos II: 3 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 6 Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 97 (Senior), Jhang Hoard nos. 27a-42 (Senior 2013)

3.11.7 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 7 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

Another variety of Type 466 with the 'Jammu' monogram B, but with the field letter *Ña* in the right field on the obverse and the characters *Śa* and *Pu* on the reverse (Fig. 42). The single coin in the present hoard may be the result of an error made by the engraver rather than another variety.

☐ B 𑀲 Ña 𑀭 Śa 𑀧 Pu



2.86 g, 14.62 x 13.7 mm, NM

Fig. 42. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 7 Mitchiner

3.11.8 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 8 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

The unpublished variety in Fig. 43 is almost similar to the previous coin, but it bears the combination of letters *Ña* and *Śa* on reverse.

☐ B 𑀲 Ña 𑀧 Ja 𑀭 Śa



Fig. 43. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 8 Mitchiner

3.11.9 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 9a & 9b Mitchiner
Coins: 6

Six coins could be identified of this variety with the monogram B and letter Va on the obverse, and a combination of field letters Dha and Bu on the reverse. Four of the five coins are illustrated in Fig. 44.



Fig. 44. Zoilos II: 4 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466, var. 9a & 9b Mitchiner

The last coin above shows a minor deviation because it has a Ba in place of Bu, but this could be an inaccuracy on the part of the engraver. The worn surface of the obverse shows a part of the boxy monogram in the left field, but the other field letters or monograms are not visible.

3.11.10 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 10 Mitchiner
Coins: 1



Fig. 45. Zoilos II: 4 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466, var. 10 Mitchiner

3.11.11 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 11 Mitchiner
Coins: 2

Although the obverse of the coin in Fig. 46 is not very clear, the boxy 'Jammu' monogram can be seen. The combination of field

letters Ga and Bu on the reverse identifies the coin as another variety of type 466.



Fig. 46. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 11 Mitchiner

3.11.12 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 Mitchiner
Coins: 9

An additional nine coins belong to the same Type 466 Mitchiner with Apollo/ elephant, but their condition is so weak that these cannot be assigned to any particular variety. Two coins could be checked and both showed magnetism.

3.12 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 464 variety Mitchiner
Coins: 1

The Æ di-chalkon of Type 464 Mitchiner with elephant/ tripod is known as a circular coin. The variety shown in Fig. 47 is struck on a square flan, but the die used for the obverse left a circular image. Obverse: elephant walking right, no legend; circular bead and reel border. It is uncertain whether there is a monogram in the left field behind the elephant. Reverse: tripod with an angular-looking legend Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa. The combination of field letters is Śi on the right side and possibly Thi or Ji on the left side of the tripod.

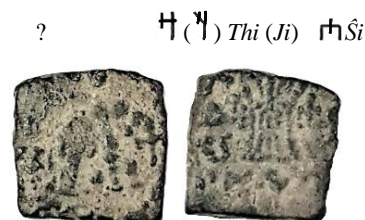


Fig. 47. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 464 var. Mitchiner

4. Strato II (c. 40-15 BCE Mitchiner; c. 40-25 BCE Senior 2003; c. 25 BCE-10 CE Bopearachchi, Jacobsson)
Coins: 10

The Æ coinage struck in the name of Strato contributes the smallest number, only 10 coins, out of the total quantity of 216 coins in the hoard. Besides the rarity of these coins, this might also be an indication that the hoard was deposited in the early part of Strato II's reign.

4.1 Strato II: Æ obol/ 6 chalkoi (?), Type 470? Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 107? (Senior)
Coins: 1

Hemi-obols of Strato II, and Strato II with Strato III, are illustrated by Mitchiner as Types 470 and 474 respectively. The coin shown in Fig. 48 does not have a monogram, and the few visible letters of the legends suggest that it was issued by Strato II.



12.70 g, 21.1-22.7 mm, 12 h, M

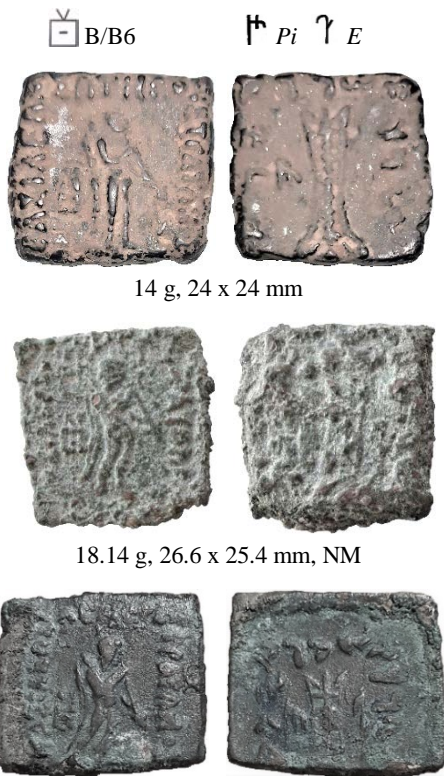
Fig. 48. Strato II: Æ obol/ 6 chalkoi (?), Type 470? Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 107? (Senior)

Senior has identified coin no. 107 with field letters *Na* and *A* in the Chakwal Hoard as struck by Strato II, and describes it with a weight of 11.70 g as a new denomination. The field letters on the coin in Fig. 48 are uncertain, but it most likely belongs to the same type.

4.2 Strato II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior)

Coins: 3

Bronze coins of Strato II bearing the boxy monogram associated with Jammu were described by Senior (2003) for the first time. The design of the coins follows the very rare type of Dionysios (Fig. 17) who introduced this boxy 'Jammu' monogram. Three coins of this type are illustrated in Fig. 49 and it is remarkable that the combination of the Kharoshthi field letters *Pi* and *E* is also the same as on the coin of Dionysios. The Greek and Kharoshthi legends on three sides are *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ* and *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa* respectively.



14 g, 24 x 24 mm

18.14 g, 26.6 x 25.4 mm, NM

Fig. 49. Strato II: 3 Æ obols, not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior)

4.3 Strato II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior); unpublished

Coins: 1

An unusual variety of the type described by Senior as nos. 108-116 in the Chakwal Hoard is illustrated in Fig. 50. The coin is of good quality with all details, but the weight of 11.94 g is clearly lower compared to the standard weight of 17.0 g for a full unit. There are a few additional differences. Senior (2003) mentions that the left leg of the Greek letter *Nu* seems to be missing in *ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ*, but the illustrated coin shows a perfect Greek *N*. The first letter of

ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ looks either like a weak *Σ* or a *C*. The *tra* in *tratarasa* which looks like a 'W' on the coins of Apollodotos II, Zoilos II and Dionysios is missing on this coin. The Kharoshthi legend reads: *Maharajasa tarasa Stratasa*. Finally, the engraving of the tripod looks rougher than the tripod on other bronze coins of Strato II.



11.94 g, 23.6 x 23.5 mm, NM

Fig. 50. Strato II: Æ obol, not in Mitchiner, variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior), unpublished

It is not clear whether these deviations are caused by the carelessness of the engraver and the low weight of the flan is just a coincidence, or whether the coin has been tooled to improve its appearance. Alternatively, it could be a different denomination altogether.

4.4 Strato II: Æ obol, unpublished

Coins: 1

An unpublished half unit of Apollo/ tripod type issued in the name of Strato is shown in Fig. 51. The coin bears monogram *B3* on the obverse with the combination of field letters *Ti* and *Ra*. The top line of the Greek legend shows parallels to the coin in Fig. 50, because the last *Σ* of *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* is either missing or the *Σ* of *ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ* looks like a *C*. The Greek legend reads: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟ CTPATΩΝΟΣ*. The missing first character *Tra* of *tratarasa* (top line) causes a blundered Kharoshthi legend: *Maharajasa tarasa Stratasa*.



6.5 g, 21 x 21 mm

Fig. 51. Strato II: Æ hemi-obol, unpublished

4.5 Strato II: Æ hemi-obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 117 (Senior); Jhang Hoard no. 79 (Senior 2013)

Coins: 1

Senior describes a till-now unlisted half unit of Strato II in the Chakwal Hoard as no. 117. The coin is without a monogram on the obverse, and on the reverse, beside the field letter *Ha* the second letter on the left side is uncertain. A similar coin is listed by Senior (2013) as no. 79 in the Jhang Hoard. He identifies the field letters on reverse as *Ha* and *Ϝ* in the left field as *Stri*. The coin illustrated in Fig 52 is also a half unit issued in the name of Strato. The letter *Ha* is in the right field, but the letter on the left looks more like a *Phsa*. A similar coin offered by CNG in e-Auction no. 425 (July 2018), as part of Lot 837, has beside the *Ha* a letter very similar to the letter on the coin in the Jhang Hoard. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are not missing any letters on the three sides, and read as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ CTPATΩΝΟΣ* and *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa* respectively.



Fig. 52. Strato II: *Æ* hemi-obol, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 117 (Senior), Jhang Hoard no. 79 (Senior 2013)

5. Strato II & Strato Philopator: same period as Strato II alone

5.1 Strato II & Strato Philopator: *Æ* obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 122–129 & 130–133 (Senior)
Coins: 3

The joint coinage of Strato II & Strato Philopator appeared in the Chakwal Hoard for the first time (Senior). The coins with Apollo/tripod and the boxy monogram of ‘Jammu’ continue the series of obols known from Dionysios, Zoilos II and Strato II.

The obols of Strato & Strato Philopator shown in Fig. 53 have the Greek and the Kharoshthi legends on four sides: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ* and *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa putrasa casa priyapitra Stratasa* respectively. The combination of the field letter *Pi* and *E* is the same as on the coins issued by Strato II, but there are minor variations or deviations. These minor deviations might be the result of inaccuracy in cutting the dies.

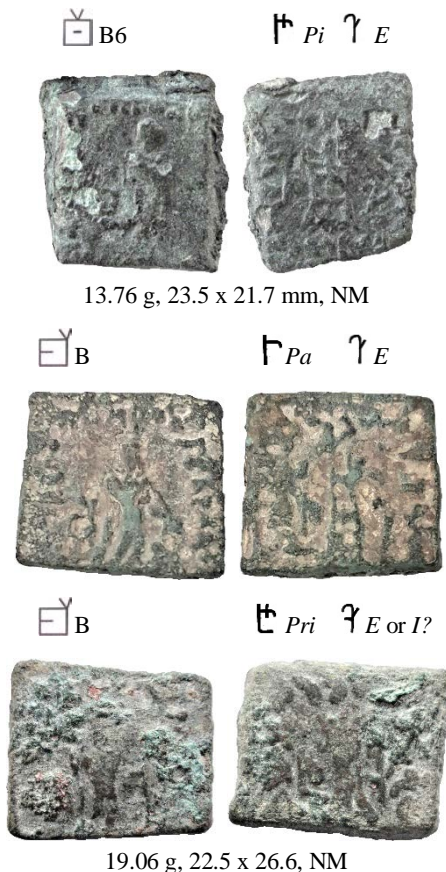


Fig. 53. Strato II & Strato Philopator: 3 *Æ* obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 122–129 (Senior) variations

Concluding remarks

In spring 2017 a larger number of bronze coins of later Indo-Greek kings Apollodotos II, Dionysios, Zoilos II and Strato II appeared in the markets of northern Pakistan. There is conflicting information, but the coins might have come from one or more hoards found in connection with infrastructure construction activity in northern

Pakistan. Hoards are an important source to understand and confirm the sequence of rulers, particularly if other information is not available. Unfortunately, in many cases valuable details of a hoard like its find spot and composition are rare because such information is often kept secret for commercial reasons.

The 216 coins of the present hoard are an important reference to confirm the details described by Senior (2006) for the Chakwal Hoard, but also for adding a number of new varieties and denominations. One of the interesting finds is a second coin of Dionysios with the so-called boxy ‘Jammu’ monogram, which confirms the finding of Senior (2006) that the monogram in all probability was introduced by Dionysios. Out of the total number, about 50% of the coins studied were issued by Apollodotos II, followed by Zoilos II. This could be an indication of their relative importance and influence, as well as the duration of their rule.

The 51 circular obols of Type 432e Mitchiner, issued by Apollodotos II with monogram M-D, constitute the largest number of coins in the hoard, at about 25%. A rough estimation of Apollodotos II’s obols, referred to in literature, catalogues, auctions etc., reveals that the number with the ‘Jammu’ monogram exceeds the number with monograms associated with other mints. This result for obols is not reflected in Apollodotos II’s silver coinage nor in smaller *Æ* denominations like hemi-obols or di-chalkons. The majority of these coins have monograms associated with Taxila.

This observation leads to a question about the importance of mintage in the Jammu area for bronze coinage in general, and for obols in particular. On the other hand, one might also question associating the various monograms with specific mints. With respect to the quality of coinage it seems that the dies used for coins with ‘Taxila’ monograms were of a higher standard. From this might arise another question whether the number of experienced engravers was limited and the best of them were used for silver coinage?

Also remarkable is that a large number of bronze coins and coin types issued by the later Indo-Greeks have surfaced during the last 15–20 years and these have been published for the first time during this period. It might be a reflection of a general rarity, but also that these bronze coins had a limited area of circulation only.

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the numerous varieties of certain coins, like the di-chalkons issued in the name of Zoilos II, are evidence of an extensive mintage. In addition, it is noticeable that the coins of Apollodotos II’s western mints are missing in the present hoard. The absence of coins issued by Hippostratos and Azes also indicates that their sphere of influence was most likely to have been west of this region.

Table A. Distribution of the 216 coins in the hoard

Indo-Greek Ruler	No. of coins	Percentage
Apollodotos II	110 coins	50.9 %
Dionysios	22	10.2 %
Zoilos	74	34.3 %
Strato	10	4.6 %

Notes

The author apologises for the quality of some photos. Often photos of several coins were taken together in a shop or on the street, and the quality is therefore inconsistent. The dimensions of square coins have been provided using height and width.

Abbreviations

CNG	Classical Numismatic Group
JONS	Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society
M	magnetic
LM	light magnetic but coin can’t be lifted
NM	non-magnetic
var.	variation
12h	die axis

Bibliography

- Bopearachchi, O., 2010, 'A note on some interesting Indo-Greek coins', JONS No. 205, pp. 19-21.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1991, *Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques, Catalogue Raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
- Falk, H., 2016, 'Two new Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas', JONS No. 227, pp. 10-12.
- Gawlik, H., 2018, 'A Hoard of 127 Drachms of Later Indo-Greek Kings', JONS 234, pp. 5-14.
- Jakobsson, J. 2010. 'A Possible New Indo-Greek King Zoilos III, and an analysis of Realism on Indo-Greek Royal Portraits', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 170, pp. 35-51.
- Mitchiner, M. B. 1978. *Oriental Coins and their Values: The Ancient and Classical World 600 BC - AD 650*. London: Hawkins Publications.
- Mitchiner, M. B. 1975. *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage, Vol. 3 – The Decline of the Indo-Greeks*, Hawkins Publications, London.
- Senior, R., 2018, 'Late Indo-Greek Issues and Sequences', JONS 232, pp. 4-10.
- Senior, R., 2013, 'The Jhang Hoard and the Later Indo-Greeks', JONS 217, pp. 15-19.
- Senior, R., 2008, 'A few more Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian discoveries', JONS 195, pp. 14-17.
- Senior, R., 2006, *Indo-Scythians Coins and History*, London (Volume 4).
- Senior, R., 2003, 'More Unpublished Indo-Greek Coins', JONS 175, pp. 9-11.
- Senior, R., 1999, 'Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Ramblings and Novelties', JONS 161, pp. 15-18.

KOBADIAN COINS WITH TURKIC STAG-SHAPED TAMGA

Michael Fedorov and Andrew Kuznetsov

The first such coin was found in 1967 at Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort and published 11 years later in 1978 (Zeimal 1978, 205, 210, table V/18; 1983, 164). The Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort is well-known for the famous 'Treasure of the Oxus', consisting of jewellery and coins of Achaemenid and early Hellenistic times (circa 600-300 BCE), which was found here in 1877. It was probably a depository of some ancient temple, where the treasure was amassed and kept for several ages. This find was brought by merchants to India and is now kept in the British Museum (Zeimal 1979, 5).

The Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort is situated near the confluence of rivers Piandj and Vakhsh, which form the Amu Darya. About five kilometres higher, on the right bank of the Vakhsh there lies another well-known hill-fort, Takhti-Sangin. It is quite possible that both these hill-forts made a common complex near the ancient Amu Darya crossing known in the Middle Ages as Mela (Staviskii 1977, 74).

In 1978 E.V. Zeimal (1978, 205, 210, table V/18) did not give any description and identification of the coin. He only provided a photo and wrote that this coin had so far not been properly identified. By 1983 another 3 such coins were known: two were found at Takhti-Kuvad, while the provenance of the third coin is not known. Zeimal (1983, 164) named these coins "Kobadian mintage of V-VI centuries". He wrote: "On the reverse side all the coin field occupies tanga of complicated configuration".

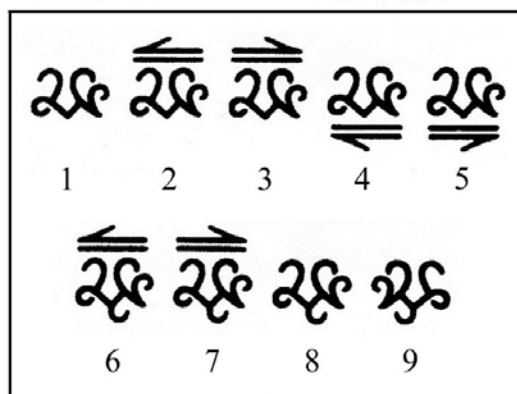


Fig. 1. Variants of tamga on Chachian coins, according to V.D. Shagalov and A.V. Kuznetsov

Michael Fedorov identified this tamga as a Turkic 'stag-shaped tamga' with two Turkic runic letters: *S* and *B*. It resembles a schematic picture of a stag, with antlers going back and then turning forth as it is with stags (the stag could be the tribal totem). On earlier variants of this tamga the "neck of the stag" was bent and the "head of the stag" was thrown back, as seen on the rutting stag. He throws his head back and roars, challenging rivals and summoning up females. Fedorov also established that the date given by Zeimal was not correct. He dated such coins to the first half-middle of the 7th century CE.

There are early-medieval Chachian coins with tamga which scholars, including Fedorov (Fedorov 2003, 14), named "lyre-shaped". Later Fedorov changed the name of this tamga. If we turn it at a right angle, we shall have a stylized picture of a stag with antlers going back and turning forth (as it is with the stags), head, body and legs (Fig. 2, upper row). Later this tamga became even more sophisticated: the mythical creature acquired a sinuous tail and bowed its head forward (Fig. 2, lower row).

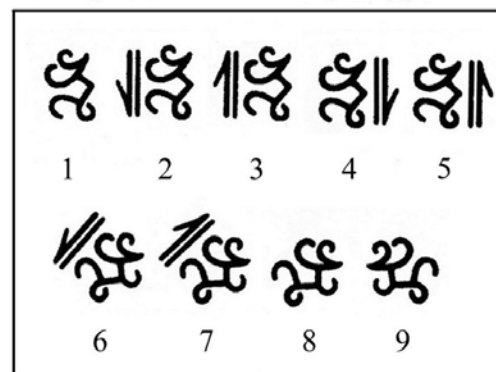


Fig. 2. Later variants of the stag-shaped tamga on Chachian coins, according to Fedorov

The correctness of this label, 'stag-shaped tamga', is confirmed by the coin with the king sitting astride a horse and the queen standing in front of him (Fig. 3, 5-6). The fire altar on the reverse allows us to realise the correct position of the tamga. On the left of the altar is the standing "stag" with "head" thrown back. It is also possible to determine the correct position of the Turkic runes *S* and *Y*. On other Chachian coins with the stag-shaped tamga, we find runes *SP* and *SL*. The Turkic stag-shaped tamga unites the series of copper Chachian coins, which may have different obverses and reverses, but all have the stag-shaped tamga and Turkic runes (Fig. 3, 1-9). The full series of such coins was published by V.D. Shagalov and A.V. Kuznetsov (2006, 60-160).



Fig. 3. Coins of Chach with the stag-shaped tamga, according to V. Shagalov and A. Kuznetsov

1. Imitation of Byzantine emperor bust, "stag" (turned right), runes SL.
2. King on the throne, "stag" (turned right), runes SL.
3. Sitting king and queen, "stag" (turned right), runes SL.
4. Imitation of Byzantine emperor bust, "stag" (turned right), runes SP.
- 5-6. King sitting astride a horse (turned right), queen standing in front of him (turned left), "stag" (turned right), fire altar, runes SY.
7. King on the throne, "stag with sinuous tail" (turned right), runes SL.
8. King on the throne, "stag with sinuous tail" (turned right), runes SL.
9. Busts of king and queen, "stag with sinuous tail" (turned right), runes SL.

Later analysis of the written sources allowed Fedorov to make the date more precise: it is the second-fourth quarters of the 7th century. Turkic rulers appeared in Kobadian after the conquest of Tokharistan by Ton Djabgu kagan in 618-620 CE.

Here is a description of Kobadian coins with stag-shaped tamga:



Coin 1

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and runes SB (Zemal 1978, 210, tb. V/18; 1983, 164. D. 17 mm, W. 0.73 g.).

Obverse: Bust of ruler without beard and moustache, with long lean face, round eyes, aquiline nose and straight chin. On his head is a ribbon-diadem tied at occiput.

Reverse: In linear circle "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes SB. On Chachian coins with stag-shaped tamga were Turkic runes SL, SP and SY. As one can see, the rune S is omnipresent. But second runes differ one from another. These combinations of runes may have represented different clans of the same S dynasty.



Coin 2

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and runes SB (zeno.ru no. 197853. D. 17 mm, W. not given; zeno.ru no. 166591, D. and W. not given).

Obverse: In broad linear circle, bust of ruler without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal), with oblong face, brow with high temples, arched eyebrows, round eyes, massive aquiline nose, thick lips and straight chin. His hair, combed back above the brow, falls down the sides of his face, covering his ears and reaching his shoulders. The ruler had a diadem adorned above the brow with a crescent and tied at the occiput. In front of his face there are three circlets (two above, one below).

Reverse: In broad linear circle "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes SB.



Coin 3

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes SB (zeno.ru no. 48390. D. not given, W. 1.3 g.).

Obverse: In linear circle, the ruler's bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal). His swept-up hair leaves his ears open and is apparently collected in chignon at sinciput (the bad preservation of this coin, though, does not leave one certain about the chignon). If there was the chignon at sinciput, then it was a Buddhist coiffure. The ruler had a round face, small eyes and a short nose. The lower part of his face did not survive. He did not wear a diadem, but had a necklace. In front of his face is the Sogdian legend *prn* ('glory, royal charisma'). Behind his head is something indiscernible.

Reverse: In linear circle "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and runes SB.



Coin 4

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes SB (zeno.ru no. 25362. D. 17x19 mm, W. 0.9 g.).

Obverse: In linear circle the ruler's bust without beard and moustache (turned right) with a long face, low brow, arched eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes of middle size, long nose, fleshy lips and straight chin. He wore an hemispherical hat with diadem, which was high above forehead, but narrowing to occiput so that it resembled a triangle. The hat's hemisphere was divided by a vertical line, descending from sinciput, into two equal parts. From under the

hat curly locks of hair fall down, leaving his ears uncovered, and not reaching his shoulder. In front of the face is the Sogdian legend *mx/šymn/z*: 'M(a)khgh(u)m(a)n', 'M(a)shghum(a)n', 'M(a)khgh(u)m(a)z' or 'M(a)khshumaz' (a name?). Behind the head is something indiscernible (a rune?).
Reverse: In linear circle "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and runes *SB*.



Coin 5

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes *SB* (zeno.ru no. 77536. D. and W. are not given).

Obverse: In linear circle (with free space around it) is the ruler's bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal) with round face, low brow, arched eyebrows, small round eyes, short nose, fleshy lips and straight chin. He wore a hemispherical hat with diadem (or cap-band). Along the hat's top is a line of pearls (from brow to occiput). From under the hat, curly locks of hair fall down, covering the ears and reaching his shoulder. The ruler had a necklace of pearls. In front of his face is the Sogdian legend *prn* ('glory, royal charisma').

Reverse: In the same circle (with free space around) "stag with tail" tamga (turned left) and runes *SB*.



Coin 6

Kobadian coin with "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes *SB* (zeno.ru no. 45815. D. not given, W. 1.2 g.; zeno.ru no. 166591, D. and W. not given).

Obverse: Ruler's bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal), with slightly puffy face, low brow, almond-shaped eyes, aquiline nose, thick lips and straight chin. His hair, cut short, leaves his ears uncovered. The ruler wore a tape diadem, adorned with a row of adjoining round plaques (or pearls?), tied at his occiput. Above his brow a heart-shaped adornment hangs down from the diadem. A triangular lapel of the ruler's caftan is seen. Behind his head is something indiscernible (a rune?).

Reverse: In broad linear circle "stag with tail" tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes *SB*.

The Turkic dynasty with stag-shaped tamga appeared in Chach in 605 CE, when the Turks, having killed a native ruler, put a Turkic prince on the throne. The coins found in Kobadian tell that some part of Turkic tribes with the stag-shaped tamga, who created in Chach their principality, went south, participating in the Ton Djagby kaga's conquest of Tokharistan, and created a principality in Kobadian that minted coins with the stag-shaped tamga and runes *SB*. As one can see the rune *S* is omnipresent. Second runes are various: *SB*, *SL*, *SP*, *SY*. These combinations of runes represented different clans of the same *S* dynasty.

E.V. Zeimal dated such coins to the 5th-6th centuries, but actually they were minted in the last three quarters of the 7th century, after the Turks conquered Tokharistan.

Chinese pilgrims Hsuan-Tsiang (about 629-645 CE) and Huei-chao (about 726 CE) wrote about the Turks in Tokharistan.

According to Hsuan-Tsiang, all 27 states in Tokharistan submitted to the Turks and some of those Turks were kings. Hsuan-Tsiang wrote that the king of Shuman (the eastern neighbour of Kobadian) was a Turk. According to Huei-Chao, the king of Khuttal (the western neighbour of Kobadian) was also a Turk, and that half of Khuttal's population were Turks and speaking the Turkic language (The Life of Hsuan-Tsiang 1959, 48-49; Fuchs, 1938, 449, 452-453; Gafurov 1972, 226-227).

The coins of Kobadian with Turkic stag-shaped tamga and Turkic runes *SB* show that the kings of Kobadian were also Turks.

Bibliography

Gafurov, B. G. 1972. *Tadjiki drevneishaia, drevniaia i srednevekovaia istoriia*, Moskva.

Fedorov, M. 2003. "Money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 176.

Fuchs, W. 1938. Huei-chaos Pilgerreise durch Nordwest Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*. Berlin.

The life of Hsuan-Tsiang. Compiled by monk Hui-li, 1959, Peking.

Litvinsky, B. A., Sedov, A. V. 1983. *Tepai-Shah. Kul'tura i sviazi kushanskoi Baktrii*, Moskva.

Litvinsky, B. A., Solov'ev, V. S. 1985. *Srednevekovaia kul'tura Tokharistana*, Moskva.

Shagalov, V. D, Kuznetsov, A. V. 2006. *Katalog monet Chacha III-IV vv.*, Tashkent.

Staviskii, 1977. *Srednevekovaia kul'tura Tokharistana*, Moskva.

Zeimal', E. V. 1978. "Politicheskaia istoriia drevnei Transoxiany po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kul'tura Vostoka Drevnost' i rannee srednevekov'e*, Leningrad.

Zeimal', E. V. 1979. *Amudar'inskii klad*, Leningrad.

Zeimal', E. V. 1983. "Monetnye nakhodki 1972 g. iz Shaartuzskogo raiona. Reestr", (in the book: Litvinsky, B. A., Sedov, A. V. 1983. *Tepai-Shah kul'tura i sviazi kushanskoi Baktrii*, Moskva).

THE CHHINDAKA NAGAS OF CHAKRAKOTA

Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor

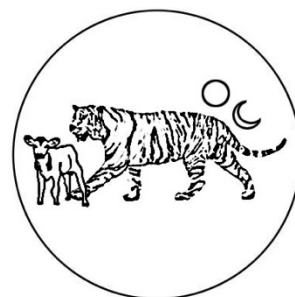


Fig. 1. The 'Vyagra-Savatsa Dhenu' Lanchana of the Chhindaka Nagas

Synopsis

The history of this dynasty and its coinage were first covered in an article on the Eluru Hoard in JONS 206.¹ That article exhibited all the available coins of the hoard, including those of the Chhindaka Nagas. Now that the hoard has been completely dispersed and more information and details have become available, it is now possible to fill in the previous gaps.

Interestingly, another group of five coins belonging to the same dynasty subsequently appeared in the market in 2016. The exact provenance has yet to be ascertained, but this lot first appeared in the hands of a Rajahmundry jeweller. Rajahmundry is about 100 km

northwest of Eluru. With this additional data, the present article attempts to attribute the coins of the Chhindaka Nagas in full and with more precision, and, together with information from stone inscriptions, literary sources and a copper plate, to reconstruct the hitherto unknown history of this dynasty.

The Chhindaka Nagas founded their kingdom along the river basins of the Godavari and the Indravati, a region referred to as Chakrakota. This encompassed the southernmost districts of the present-day state of Chhattisgarh, including Bastar, Jagdalpur and Dantewada. The Vengi Chalukyas and Kalinga Gangas were their southern and eastern neighbours respectively. The Chakrakota kingdom soon expanded east and westward, eventually coming to be known as Chakrakota Mandala. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence suggest that they ruled this region for more than 500 years from the 8th and 14th centuries CE.

The dynasty linked their lineage to Nagavamsha and carried the snake banner. Literary sources suggest that they were devoted Shaivites belonging to the Kashyapa gotra. The royal emblem of the kingdom was a tiger with a calf. One of the significant titles for the kings was 'The Lord of Bhogavati'. The dynasty declined after their defeat by the Kakatiya ruler, Prola, who was a Kalyani Chalukya feudatory. Though there are a few inscriptions of later Chhindaka Naga rulers, not many details are available other than the name of the rulers and their grants.

Chhindaka Naga coins are interesting as the legends are inscribed in both Kannada and Telugu. All the coins observed so far have a central crest comprising the tiger and calf motif, and stand out among the gold coins of medieval India for their richness of size, elegance and design.



Fig. 2. Geographical location of the Chakrakota Mandala

History²

The first known historical record of this dynasty is a copper plate found at the village of Upet near Chitrakuta. The inscription is dated 760 CE and records the name of the ruler Vallabharaja. A second inscription from around the 9th century CE records the name of the ruler Rajamalla. A third inscription from the same period mentions the ruler Vankhaditya, who was perhaps the successor to Rajamalla. A Paramara record reveals yet another name, Shankhapala, which is also known from a historical account, *Kavya Navasahasanka Charita*. The poetry therein describes the help sought by the Chhindaka Nagas from Sindhuraja, who was, in turn, accompanied by the Vidhyadharas. Although a handful of records is known for the Chhindaka Naga dynasty, the chronology is unclear except for a brief period when the Kakatiyas overthrew them.

The inscription dated 1023 CE at Errakot, 16 km from Jagdalpur, belongs to king Nripatihbushana. Another fragmentary inscription attributed to this ruler is known, but most of the inscription is illegible. Dharavarsha, the successor of Nripatihbushana, left four recorded inscriptions mentioning his name. The inscription dated 1060 CE³ at Barsur, 90 km west of Jagdalpur, Bastar state, refers to Dharavarsha by the title *Maharaja Jagadekabhushana*. The next

significant information about the dynasty comes from the Narayanpur inscription. This refers to Mahadevi as the chief queen of Maharaja Dharavarsha and the mother of Someshvaradeva. This record also mentions the place as Narayanpal. It is in this record that we see the dynasty's claim to Nagavamsha lineage and Kashyapa gotra. Moreover, the dynastic crest – tiger with a calf – is also mentioned. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the lords of Bhogavati.⁴ The inscriptions of Dharavarsha are scattered over a radius of 100 km from Jagdalpur. His grants are also known from the Potinar and Barsur inscriptions. The Dantewada inscription, dated 1061 CE, also belongs to Dharavarsha's reign. He was a vassal of the Kalyani Chalukya ruler, Someshvara I.

The Rajapura plate,⁵ dated 1065 CE, dates to the Chola occupation of Chhindaka Naga territory. It refers to the capital as *Bhramarakotya Mandala*, which is another name for Chakrakota Mandala.⁶ The record mentions the grant of the village of Rajapura, along with 70 *gadyanaka*, perhaps as compensation given to a family for human sacrifice. This ritual practice was common even in the recent past, perhaps as a belief followed since the days of the Chhindaka Naga kings. Human sacrifice to goddess Danteshwari of Danteshwara, Bastar, was celebrated as a public oblation during natural disasters or diseases, or whenever death by tigers or other wild beasts increased. The *Madurantakadeva* mentioned in this record may be a title of Chola king Vira Rajendra.

The next Chhindaka Naga ruler, Someshvaradeva, is known from several inscriptions. His inscription at Gadia, 30 km from Jagdalpur, records the grant of land to the same god. The record names the king with the title *Rajabhushana* and is dated 1065 CE. It also mentions the continuation of dancing girls. The next known record of this king is the Kuruspal inscription, dated 1069 CE. This mentions that the *Rajabhushana* killed *Madurantaka* in battle. With this war, the five-year occupation by the Cholas ended in victory for the Chhindaka Nagas. The inscription at Kuruspal village, 35 km from Jagdalpur, mentions the grant given to the village by Someshvaradeva. It is also mentioned that he had a tiger crest and snake banner, and he acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakota through the favour of the goddess Vindhyavasini. His father was Dharavarsha and his son was Kanharadeva. The record states that Someshvara burnt Vengi, subjugated Bhadrappattana and Vajra, and took 600,096 villages of the Kosala country. The Chakrakota kings appear to have had a long feud with the rulers of Vengi. The taking of over half a million Kosala villages was clearly an exaggeration and may have in fact referred to the entire Mahakosala or modern-day Chhattisgarh. The political success of this king is evident from the discovery of gold coins at Sonasari in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The other inscription found on the tank slab belongs to Dharana Mahadevi, the queen of Someshvaradeva, wherein a grant of land is mentioned to the god Kamesvara. This record is dated 1069 CE.

Kuruspal has yielded two more inscriptions of Someshvaradeva. One of them is dated 1097 CE and mentions the dedication of a lamp to the god Lokesvara with a subscription of 11 *gadyanaka*.⁷ Another inscription, of his queen and dated to 1108 CE, records the gift of a village to two temples. A younger sister's name, Masakadevi, is known from the Gadia inscription. This stone mentions that she is the sister of *Rajabhushana Maharaja*, the crest jewel of the Chhindaka Nagas. The inscription labels a few tax-collecting officers as traitors for collecting taxes in advance. An inscription dated 1109 CE mentions Mahadevi, the queen of Someshvaradeva. It also records that the king belonged to the Nagavamsha and his capital was Bhogavati.⁸ An inscription found 38 km northwest of Jagdalpur mentions the queen's name as Ganga Mahadevi. It records the grant of the village to Lord Narayana.⁹ The inscription names Someshvaradeva who killed *Madurantaka*. The battle with *Madurantaka* may have taken place when Someshvaradeva was very young, and, if so, he would have had a long reign. The Barsur inscription of 1108 CE records the grant of a village given by the Ganga Mahadevi, the chief queen of Someshvaradeva, to a temple of Shiva.

An inscription found in Narayanpal dates to 1111 CE and records the grant given by Gunda Mahadevi, the chief queen of the deceased king, Dharavasha, and the mother of Someshvaradeva. This

inscription names the grandson as Kanharadeva. Someshvara must have died before 1111 CE and the chief queen must have acted as regent for Kanharadeva. In the year 1158 CE, another inscription records that the Kakatiya king, Prola II, feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, defeated the Chhindaka Nagas.

An inscription dated 1218 CE at Jatanpal,¹⁰ a village 65 km from Dantewada, mentions a grant of land by the king Narasimhadeva. The Dantewada pillar inscription,¹¹ dated 1224 CE, records the name of *Jagdekabhushana Maharaja Narasimhadeva*. There is yet another inscription belonging to the same king, at Sunarpal,¹² 16 km from Narayanpal, which mentions a gift given by the queen of Jayasimhadeva in the same year. This also mentions the dynastic crest, the tiger with a calf. The queen's name is given as Lakamahadevi and the great queen's name is Sasanadevi.

An inscription dated 1324 CE¹³ at Tamar, near Kuruspal, records the immolation of the wife of an officer of the king Harischandradeva. Nothing is recorded of the Chhindaka Naga dynasty after this point and it is hard to know what their status was thereafter.

Chronology

The chronology of the Chhindaka Nagas is shown below, along with the inscription dates known for each ruler.

Table A. Chronology of the Chhindaka Nagas

Ruler's name	Inscription date
Vallabharaja	760 CE
Rajamalla	9 th century CE
Vankhaditya	9 th century CE
Shankhapala	10 th century CE
Nripathibhushana	1023 CE
Jagadekabhushana Dharavarsha	1061, 1062, 1065 CE
Madurantakadeva (Chola rule and control)	1065-1069 CE
Rajabhushana Maharaja Someshvaradeva	1065, 1069, 1097, 1108 CE
Kanharadeva I	1111 CE
Prola II (Kakatiya)	1158 CE
Jagadekabhushana Narasimhadeva	1218, 1224 CE
Kanharadeva II	1242 CE
Jayasimhadeva	Undated
Harischandradeva	1324 CE

Coinage

Numismatic records mention two discoveries of Chhindaka Naga gold coins. The first was found in the Sonasari region of the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh, and the second from the Dumadei Reserve Forest area under the Kodinga Police station in the Koraput district of Orissa in 1957. The Orissa hoard is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Twenty seven of the coins bear the name of *Rajabhushana*¹⁴ and one is in the name of *Papratiganda Bhairava*. Similar coins were discovered from the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh in a small hoard, comprising coins of *Lenkana Singhama* and *Rajabhushana*.¹⁵

The next known hoard of Chhindaka Naga gold coins was found in 2007, containing about eight coins of the *Rajabhushana* type. In 2009 a hoard of approximately 80 coins of the Vengi Chalukyas, Matsyas and Chhindaka Nagas were found in Eluru, Andhra Pradesh. In this hoard, only four coins were of the Vengi Chalukyas, one was of the Matsyas, and the rest were coins of the Chhindaka Nagas. Since the Chhindaka Nagas were more or less independent throughout their rule, it is hard to understand the migration of those coins to Eluru.

In 2016, yet another hoard of an unknown number surfaced in Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh – named AP-2016 – before it was confiscated by the police. Prior to its seizure, a few pieces made it to local jewellers. This hoard contained coins carrying the title *Lenkana Singama*. Other than these six hoards, no other major hoards are known for this dynasty.

Table B. Royal titles on Chhindaka Naga coinage

<i>Achala Narayana</i>
<i>Raja Bhushana</i>
<i>Anana Singama</i>
<i>Lenkana Singama</i>
<i>Pralaganda Bhairava</i>
<i>Pratiganda Bhairava</i>
<i>Tribhuvana Pratiganda Bhairava Raja</i>

Based on their inscriptions, the gold coins of the Chhindaka Nagas were called *gadyanaka*. All the coins observed are circular punch-marked coins. Interestingly, similar coins called *padmatanka* are already known to exist from other southern kingdoms. Around the periphery of the coins, there are typically eight punches with Chalukya-style Kannada legends, though some exceptions have been noted. The central, bigger punch shows the 'tiger and calf' crest along with sun and moon symbols. With eight peripheral punches and one central punch, the coin resembles a lotus flower. The lotus represents goddess Lakshmi and such a representation is common in medieval coins that bear a lotus symbol or are in the form of a lotus with a legend punch of *Sri*.

The *Sri Rajabhushana* type is assigned to Someshvara I based on the title *Rajabhushana*,¹⁶ which translates as 'Precious among kings'. The *Anana Singama* coins have been also been attributed to the same ruler, based on the legend translation as 'As fierce as a lion'. Someshvaradeva had not only defeated the Cholas, but also saved the pride of the Chalukyas and the Gangas. Interestingly, all known hoards contained both types of coins together in large numbers.

Coins have also been recorded with the titles *Sri Pralaganda Bhairava*, *Sri Pratiganda Bhairava* and *Tribhuvana Sri Pratiganda Bhairava Raja*. These three types were found only in the Eluru hoard. All five specimens belonging to these three types are tentatively attributed to Someshvaradeva's predecessor, Dharavarsha, because of their relatively worn state. Moreover, the form of the script is consistent with an earlier period than the *Rajabhushana* type.

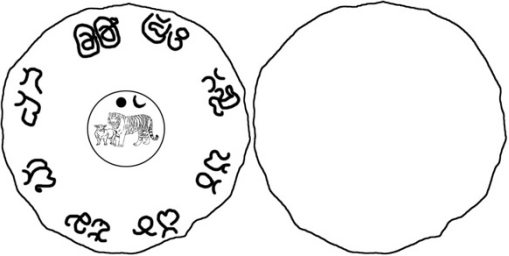


The coins with the legend *Sri Achala Narayana* have been attributed to Someshvaradeva. The fish symbol, along with the tiger-calf crest, shows the allegiance of the Matsyas of Oddadi.




The *Lenkana Singama* title seen in the AP-2016 hoard has the script form of the 12th century CE and therefore probably belongs to a later period. The central punch is also much more stylised than the earlier types. In addition, the word *Lenka* is commonly found on the punch-marked coins of the Kakatias and means 'bodyguard'. *Lenkana Singama* perhaps means 'the Lion of the Army'.

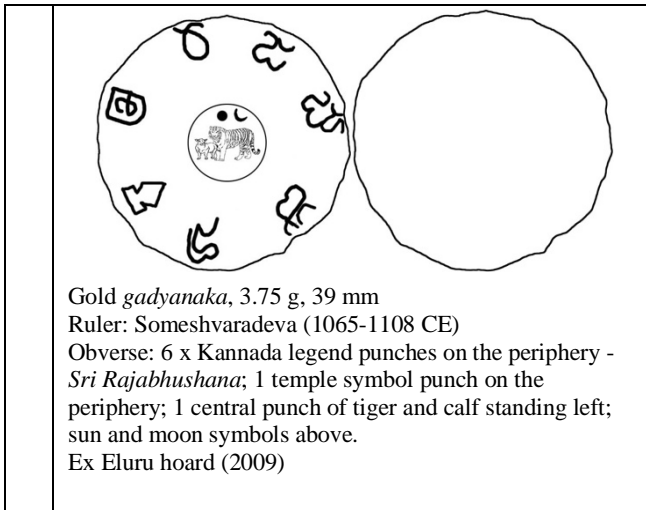
It is surprising to note that all the known coins of the Chhindaka Nagas have been found outside the territory of Chakrakota Mandala, such as Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh, the Koraput district of Orissa, the Khammam district, and the Rajahmundry and West Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Vishakhapatnam was the nearest port and was under the rule of the Chalukyas and Matsyas during different periods. It is suggested that a thriving sea trade may be the reason for the coins of the Matsyas, Vengi Chalukyas, Kalinga Gangas, and Chhindaka Nagas being found in this region.

Catalogue of Coins

	Obverse	Reverse
1		

	 <p>Gold <i>gadyanaka</i>, 3.8 g, 41 mm Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE) Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - <i>Bhuvana Sri Sri, Pratiganda, Bhairava Rajasri</i>; 1 central punch with tiger and calf standing left; sun and crescent symbols above. Note: Perhaps the title is intended to read <i>Tribhuvana Pratiganda Bhairava Raja</i> Ex Eluru hoard (2009)</p>
2	 <p>Gold <i>gadyanaka</i>, 3.8 g, 40 mm Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE) Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - <i>Sri Pratiganda Bhairava</i>; 1 central punch with tiger and calf standing left; sun and crescent symbols above. Ex Eluru hoard (2009)</p>
3	 <p>Gold <i>gadyanaka</i>, 3.8 g, 40 mm Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE) Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - <i>Sri Pralaganda Bhairava</i>; bow-arrow-flywhisk punch on the periphery; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above. Ex Eluru hoard (2009)</p>

4	 <p>Gold <i>gadyanaka</i>, 3.76 g, 41 mm Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE) Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - <i>Sri Sri Aanana Singama</i>; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above. Ex Eluru hoard (2009)</p>
5	 <p>Gold <i>gadyanaka</i>, 3.77 g, 40 mm Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE) Obverse: 7 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - <i>Sri Sri Rajabhushana</i>; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above. Ex Eluru hoard (2009)</p>
6	



Gold *gadyanaka*, 3.75 g, 39 mm
 Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE)
 Obverse: 6 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - *Sri Rajabhushana*; 1 temple symbol punch on the periphery; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above.
 Ex Eluru hoard (2009)



7

Gold *gadyanaka*, 3.78 g, 42 mm
 Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE)
 Obverse: 7 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - *Achala Narayana*; 1 central punch with tiger and calf standing right; fish, sun and moon symbols above.
 National Museum, New Delhi



8

Gold *gadyanaka*, 3.79 g, 33 mm
 Ruler: Anonymous (2nd part of 12th century CE)
 Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - *Sri Sri Lenkana Singama*; 1 central punch with tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above.
 Ex Rajahmundry hoard of 5 similar coins (2016)

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his sincere gratitude to all the authors of the materials that are referred to in this work. The paper would be incomplete without acknowledging the hardship of review by Murli Narayan, USA, and Stan Goron, UK. The author is grateful to them.

References

1. Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor, 'Influence of Kannada in the Gold Coins of the Eluru Hoard', JONS 206, pp. 13-19.
2. A.A. Abbasi ed., *Dimensions of Human Cultures in Central India, Prof. S.K. Tiwari Felicitation Volume*, 2001, Sarup & Sons, New Delhi.
3. EI Vol. X.
4. EI Vol. IX, p311 ff, pp 161-162.
5. EI Vol. IX, p311.
6. EI Vol. IX, p174.
7. EI Vol. X, pp 37-38, p35 ff.
8. EI Vol. 3, p. 164.
9. EI Vol. IX, p. 162.
10. EI Vol. X, p. 40.
11. EI Vol. X, p. 40.
12. EI Vol. X, pp. 35-36.
13. EI Vol. X pp. 39-40.
14. Snigdha Tripathy, *Early and Mediaeval Coins and Currency Systems of Orissa*, pp. 106-7, pl. L.
15. *The Gold coins of the Kakatiyas (A Treasure Trove finds from Kammarigudem, Khammam District)*, Archaeology and Museums, AP, Hyderabad.
16. Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor, 'Chindaka Nagas', JONS 162, p. 17.

Bibliography

- Descriptive lists of inscriptions in the central provinces and Berar, 1916.
- Shiv Kumar Tiwari, *Tribal roots of Hinduism*, Sarup & Sons, 2002.
- S.K. Tiwari, A. Abbasi, *Dimensions of human cultures in South India*.
- Yashoda Devi, *The history of Andhra country 1000 AD to 1500 AD*, Gyan Publishing House, 1993.

KĀKHETĀBĀD, A NEW GEORGIAN-SAFAVID MINT

Irakli Paghava

By means of this short article we would like to publish a so-far unique coin bearing a previously unknown mint name: Kākhētābād. We will attempt to establish the location and chronology of the money-issuing activity at this mint, as well as the general historical background and significance of this discovery.

The coin was discovered (presumably, by metal-detecting activities) in 2016. We know only the approximate find location: Zaqatala or Qax rayon of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan (i.e. Saingilo, south-eastern part of the historical east-Georgian province/ Kingdom of K'akheti, occupied by the Safavids by the early 17th century and still preserving a significant Georgian minority).

The coin constitutes a regular full-weight (1 tūmān = 2000 nokhūd, 'abbāsī of 7.68 g) Safavid silver issue in the name of 'Abbās I, namely, an 'abbāsī (mint, date and royal protocol in the centre, neat calligraphy, the die not significantly broader than the flan, i.e. D2 type)¹: AR, weight 7.62 g, dimensions 19-21 mm, die axis 6:30 o'clock (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. 'Abbās I, AR 'abbāsī, AH 1031, Kākhetābād 'mint'

Obverse: Persian legend within a cartouche (standard royal formula along with the date and mint-place indication):

عباس بنده شاه ولایت
ضرب کاخْت آباد ۱۰۳۰۱

(بند serves as horizontal divider)

Reverse: Persian legend:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله
(ولي of لي and على serve as horizontal dividers)

All within ornate border (dots between two lines), surrounded by marginal legend, most probably the names of 12 imams:

حسین علی محمد جعفر موسی علی محمد علی حسن محمد
علی حسن

Where was this *Kākhetābād* mint? In our opinion, *Kākhetābād* (کاخْت آباد) was another name for the mint *Kākhed* (کاخْد) (cf. copper coin from this mint - Fig. 2 - discovered back in 2012).² It minted Safavid and Ottoman type silver and copper coins.³



Fig. 2. Copper coin of Kākhed mint

Our reasons for attributing both mint names to the same mint are as follows:

1. The origin and general similarity of both words, derived from the name of the corresponding province of Georgia – *K'akheti* (კახეთი) (Kingdom of K'akheti) (this Georgian name was normally spelled in both Safavid and Ottoman primary sources⁴ as *Kākhet*/ کاخْت, although we know an instance of a later spelling as *Qāketī*/ قاکتی.⁵ While the previously published copper and possibly also silver coins bore the distorted variant of کاخْد, *Kākhetābād* was produced by adding to a more authentic *Kākhet* (instead of *Kākhed*) a standard Persian suffix “-ābād” (~ cultivated place, i.e. village or city);
2. The provenance of the coin with the mint name *Kākhetābād*: the region of historical Georgia, which abound in finds of the *Kākhed* coins, and where the actual city minting the coins with the latter mint-name has been located (vide infra);

We consider that these two arguments are convincing enough to claim the equivalence of *Kākhetābād* and *Kākhed*, i.e. the *Kākhed* and *Kākhetābād* coins were both issued at the same mint.

But where was this mint located? We have already shown in an earlier work that *Kākhed* coins were minted at one of the prominent contemporary Georgian cities in the province/ kingdom of K'akheti – *K'ak'i* (modern *Qax* in Azerbaijan, center of the Qax rayon; the Georgian variant of spelling being *K'akhi*/ კახი).⁷

We tend to interpret the indicated date (۱۰۳۰۱) as AH 1031 (1621/2 CE) with one extra dot (•): that fits very well the reign of Shah 'Abbās I (1587-1629), whose name is indicated, as well the time period when his type D2 coins were issued (AH 1026-1038).⁸

Alexandre II, king of K'akheti, had to cede the city of K'ak'i and its vicinity to the Safavid puppet state of Elisu Sultanate. According to prince Vakhushhti Bagrationi, the Georgian historian, it happened (right?) after 'Abbās I seized the Yerevan fortress,⁹ i.e. in 1604 (as the siege started in AH 1011 (1602/3),¹⁰ and lasted till 1604).¹¹ Since then the Sultanate and K'ak'i, its economic centre (as we would conjecture), were seemingly controlled by 'Alī-Sultān (Alibek II),¹² who took sides alternately with the Safavids and Ottomans (during the Safavid-Ottoman war of 1603-1618), as demonstrated by correspondingly Ottoman and Safavid farmāns bestowed upon him.¹³ 'Alī-Sultān was killed by Georgians in 1629 (1630?).¹⁴ Therefore, all the K'ak'i coinage within the above said timeframe (1604-1629) was *de facto* issued by the Elisu Sultanate (*de jure* in the name of 'Abbās I, the Safavid overlord), namely by 'Alī-Sultān, and not the kings of the Georgian Christian state of K'akheti.

We can now discuss the historiographical meaning of our discovery. Firstly, in terms of the general numismatic history of Georgia, and even the entire Caucasus, as well as that of the Safavid dynasty, a discovery of an absolutely new mint/ mint name is a valuable addition to the data collected by other scholars. We now have one more (Georgian) mint and money-issuing political unit on the regional numismatic map.

Secondly, the general historical significance of our discovery seems to be substantial as well. Naturally, this finding with its historical implications bears a particular value for those researching the past of Georgia and the Georgian nation. It sheds some more light on the complex relations between the east-Georgian kingdom of K'akheti, the Safavids, and the mountainous tribes of Daghestan by the early 17th century; the political and economic transformation of the then frontier area of K'akheti; and its gradual annexation by the Ts'akhurs, Avars and Qizilbash, initiated under the aegis of 'Abbās I. The recent discoveries provide interested scholars with an opportunity to base their research of Georgian-Safavid relations, specifically K'akheti and the Elisu Sultanate, on the numismatic data as well.¹⁵

Acknowledgement

We are grateful to Malkhaz Archvadze for his consultation.

References

1. Albus Stephen, *Checklist of Islamic Coins. 3rd Edition* (Santa Rosa, 2011), p. 278.
2. Александр Акопян, Давид Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”], *Энцклопедика Востока XXXI* (2015), pp.146-170 (the initial version of the article was available online already in 2012 and was intended for publication in the collection of articles - *Пути средневековых монет: Археолого- numизматический сборник памяти Алексея Владимировича Фомина*; however, evidently, the latter has never been published).
3. Ibid.; ფაღავა ირაკლი, გოგავა გიორგი, „კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები“ [Paghava Irakli, Gogava Giorgi. “Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti“], *სტორია აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო IX* (2015): pp. 271-280, 345; Paghava Irakli, Gabashvili Goga, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?” *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 223 (2015): 20-21 (the silver coins were minted in the name of the Ottoman sultan, and not the Safavid shah, as the authors of the latter article considered initially); Paghava Irakli, “Telavi Hoard: New Data on the Ottoman Coinage Minted in the Georgian Kingdom of K'akheti” (in print).
4. ფეთურიძე ვლადიმერი (სპარსულ ტექსტი ქართულ თარგმანითა და შესავლთურთ

გამოსცა), ისქანდერ მუნშის ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ. [Puturidze Vladimeri (published Persian text with Georgian translation and preface). *Iskandar Munshi's Notes on Georgia*], p. 20, 1; ალსანიას გიულთ, ქათბ ჩელების ცნობები საქართველოსა და კავკასიის შესახებ. [Alasania Giuli. *Katib Chelebi's Notes on Georgia and Caucasus*] (თბილისი: ჰორუსი XXI, 2013), p. 49.

5. Акоюн, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”], p. 151.

6. ფაღავა ირაკლი, გოგავა გიორგი. „კახეთის სამეფოში გამოსვებული ოსმალური მონეტები“ [Paghava Irakli, Gogava Giorgi, “Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti”]; Paghava, Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”; Акоюн, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”].

7. Paghava Irakli, ‘K'ak'i (Kākhed, Kākhetābād): One More Georgian Coin-Minting Urban Center’, *Pro Georgia* 26 (2016), pp. 117-139.

8. Alexander Akopyan and David Aleksanyan considered that *Kākhed* coinage was issued in Zagami. Акоюн, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”], pp. 155-156. Irakli Paghava and Goga Gabashvili conjectured that *Kākhed* coinage could be issued in Gremi, yet another major city within the Kingdom of K'akheti. Paghava, Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”, p. 21. Both hypotheses have naturally become obsolete by now.

9. ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა. ქართლის ცხოვრება, ტომი IV. ტუქსტი დადგენილი ყველა ძირითად ნელაწერის მიხედვით. ყაუზბაშის მიერ [Prince Vakhushti. *Description of the Kingdom Georgia*] (თბილისი: საბჭოთა საქართველო, 1973), p. 579.

10. ფუთურბე ვლადიმერი (სპარსული ტუქსტი ქართული თარგმანითა და შესავლთურთ გამოსცა), ისქანდერ მუნშის ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ. [Puturidze Vladimeri (published Persian text with Georgian translation and preface), *Iskandar Munshi's Notes on Georgia*] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1969), pp. 41-44.11. There is some data that the Safavids made an attempt to seize that part of K'akheti even earlier: ჭილაშვილი ლევანი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Ch'ilashvili Levani, *Cities of K'akheti*] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980), pp. 185-187; Айтберов Тимирлан, Хапизов Шахбан, *Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики)* [Aytberov Timirlan, Khapizov Shakhban, *Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th-19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)*] (Махачкала, 2011), p. 257.

12. Cf. ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა, [Vakhushti, *Description of the Kingdom Georgia*], p. 539.

13. *Акты собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссиею. Томъ II.* [The Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archeographic committee. Volume II] (Тифлисъ, 1868), pp. 1085-1086; Айтберов, Хапизов, *Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики)* [Aytberov, Khapizov, *Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th – 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)*], pp. 257-258.

14. ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა, [Vakhushti, *Description of the Kingdom Georgia*], p. 437; Айтберов, Хапизов, *Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики)* [Aytberov, Khapizov, *Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th – 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)*], pp. 257-258.

15. A work on the numismatic legacy of the east-Georgian Kingdom of K'akheti, encompassing a plethora of new discoveries, is currently in progress. Authors Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava plan to publish the results as a single volume.

Bibliography:

1. ალსანიას გიულთ. ქათბ ჩელების ცნობები საქართველოსა და კავკასიის შესახებ. [Alasania Giuli. *Katib Chelebi's Notes on Georgia and Caucasus*] (თბილისი: ჰორუსი XXI, 2013).

2. ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა. ქართლის ცხოვრება, ტომი IV. ტუქსტი დადგენილი ყველა ძირითად ნელაწერის მიხედვით. ყაუზბაშის მიერ [Prince Vakhushti. *Description of the Kingdom Georgia*] (თბილისი: საბჭოთა საქართველო, 1973), p. 579.

მიერ [Prince Vakhushti. *Description of the Kingdom Georgia*]. თბილისი: საბჭოთა საქართველო, 1973.

3. ფაღავა ირაკლი. “ახალი ქართული წარაფანა - კაკი“ [Paghava Irakli, “New Georgian Mint: K'ak'i”] [იბეჭედა].

4. ფაღავა ირაკლი, გოგავა გიორგი. „კახეთის სამეფოში გამოსვებული ოსმალური მონეტები“ [Paghava Irakli, Gogava Giorgi. “Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti“]. *ახალი ოსმალური და საქართველო IX* (2015), pp. 271-280, 345.

5. ფუთურბე ვლადიმერი (სპარსული ტუქსტი ქართული თარგმანითა და შესავლთურთ გამოსცა). ისქანდერ მუნშის ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ. [Puturidze Vladimeri (published Persian text with Georgian translation and preface). *Iskandar Munshi's Notes on Georgia*]. თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1969.

6. ჭილაშვილი ლევანი. *ქალაქები*. [Ch'ilashvili Levani. *Cities of K'akheti*]. თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980.

7. Album Stephen. *Checklist of Islamic Coins. 3rd Edition*. Santa Rosa, 2011.

8. Paghava Irakli. ‘K'ak'i (Kākhed, Kākhetābād): One More Georgian Coin-Minting Urban Center’. *Pro Georgia* 26 (2016): pp. 117-139.

9. Paghava Irakli. ‘Telavi Hoard: New Data on the Ottoman Coinage Minted in the Georgian Kingdom of K'akheti’ (in print).

10. Paghava Irakli, Gabashvili Goga. ‘Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?’. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 223 (2015), pp. 20-21.

11. Айтберов Тимирлан, Хапизов Шахбан. *Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики)* [Aytberov Timirlan, Khapizov Shakhban. *Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th – 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)*]. Махачкала, 2011.

12. *Акты собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссиею. Томъ II.* [The Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archeographic committee. Volume II]. Тифлисъ, 1868.

13. Александр Акоюн, Давид Алексанян. “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”]. *Энграфика Востока XXXI* (2015), pp. 146-170.

COUNTERMARKED DOLLARS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Paul Stevens

Spanish dollars countermarked with the impression of an Arcot rupee have been known for some time, although they are quite rare. The reason for the existence of these pieces has not been known. However, in my searches through the records of the East India Company, held in the British Library in London, I came across these two entries, which seem to provide the answer:

April 1804¹

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council having been pleased to resolve that the coining of dollars into Arcot rupees at the Honorable Company's mint in Fort St George shall for the present be suspended, notice is hereby given that during such temporary suspension, all dollars which may be brought to the mint will be returned to proprietors after having been stamped with the impression of our Arcot rupee in the centre of each dollar.

All dollars which have been so stamped at the mint, will be received into the Honorable Company's treasury and in general circulation at the exchange of 16 3/8 dollars for 10 star pagodas, being the amount which standard Spanish dollars yield when coined at the mint.

When it shall be deemed advisable that the coinage of Arcot rupees should recommence, of which public notice will be given, all stamped dollars will be first coined at the mint, in preference to any other dollars or to bullion.



Fig. 1. Examples of countermarked dollars

November 1804²

Notice is hereby given that the treasury of Fort St George will until further intimation be open for the receipt of Dollars at the exchange of 15/2 Spanish Dollars for 10 pagodas to be repaid either in bills on Bengal at the present rate of exchange, in treasury notes or in promissory notes according to the terms of the loan which was opened under date the 2nd instant.

All stamped Dollars which may be paid into the treasury will be received on the terms of this advertisement.

Persons paying Dollars into the treasury will state to the sub-treasurer the mode in which they be desirous that repayment should be made.

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council having resolved that the coinage of Dollars on individual account, which was suspended by the advertisement dated the 21st April last, shall be renewed. Notice is given that all persons having stamped Dollars shall be at liberty to send them to the treasury for the purpose of their being coined into Arcot rupees in the usual manner.

References

1. Madras Public Consultations. P/242/62, p. 2401. Notice issued 26th April 1804.
2. Madras Public Consultations. P/242/69. p. 5911. Government advertisement issued 9th November 1804.

**TIBETAN GADEN TANGKAS
IN GOLD**

Wolfgang Bertsch

Gaden tangkas are the most common and popular silver coins of Tibet. They were struck in endless varieties between 1840 and 1930. Their name is derived from the reverse legend which reads *dga' ldan pho brang phyogs las rnam rgyal*, which can be translated as 'Gaden Palace, victorious in all directions'. The Gaden Palace is part of Tibet's largest monastery, Drepung, near Lhasa, and served as the residence of the Dalai Lamas up to the Great Fifth. The reverse of these tangkas shows a lotus flower in the centre, surrounded by petals which are attached to the inner circle; each petal containing one of the eight auspicious emblems of Buddhism referred to as *aṣṭamaṅgala*.

The major variants of the silver Gaden tangkas were classified by various authors (see the bibliography), the most widely used being the classification by Nicholas Rhodes (1983).



Fig. 1. Normal tangka in silver of Rhodes Type F viii.
Diameter: 26.9-27.0 mm; weight: 3.94 g.

René van den Hooff (2015, p. 39) records three subvarieties of this type.

However, none of these publications mentions that there exist some specimens of Gaden tangkas produced in gold, which appeared for the first time in Nepal in the 1960s.

The Italian collector Carlo Valdettaro (1921-1988) was probably the first student of Tibetan coins to mention the gold issues of Gaden tangkas of Rhodes Type F viii. He remarks the following (Valdettaro, 1974): "From information gathered from Tibetan friends, it has been confirmed that AV Tangkas (single) did circulate in Tibet." This 'confirmation' may be based on a misunderstanding. Between 1918 and 1921 Tibetan gold coins were struck, the denomination of which is marked on the coins as *ṭam srang 20* (20 Srang); Tibetans referred to these issues as *gser ṭam* (gold tangka), and it is quite possible that Valdettaro's informants referred to these coins (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. 20 ṭam srang in gold, date 15-52 (= AD 1918).
Diameter: 26.5 mm; weight: 11.22 g.
(Wolfgang Bertsch collection)

Valdettaro also mentions a gold tangka of double weight and larger diameter (10.8 g; 25.5 mm) and writes: "Doubtful coin; it looks cast and not struck; moreover the existence of 'double' AV tangkas has

still to be confirmed, as my Tibetan informers were not aware of them.”

The German collector Karl Gabrisch (1927-1995), an expert in Tibetan coins, mentions in a footnote that the gold tangkas which appear occasionally are thought to be forgeries (Gabrisch, 1990, p. 44, footnote 12). As supporting evidence for his assertion, he quotes a statement by Charles Bell, saying that there are no gold coins in Tibet (Bell, 1919 and 1977, p. 137).

According to my information, the Gaden tangkas of Rhodes Type F viii made of gold are only found in Nepal. Both the single and the double tangkas in gold have the appearance of being cast rather than struck coins. Originally, they may have been made by Nepalese craftsmen to serve as offerings for *pujas* (religious worships) or as talismans, since the eight auspicious symbols found on these coins would make them very suitable for such a purpose. Later on, when western collectors starting buying Nepalese and Tibetan coins in Nepal, they may also have been offered as genuine coins to interested parties.



Fig. 3. Left, double tangka in gold; right, single tangka in gold. (Photograph taken in the 1960s by Carlo Valdetaro. These gold coins were part of a Nepalese collection.)

These gold tangkas are quite rare, and we know of the existence of only three double tangkas and five single tangkas; all appear to have been produced from two pairs of moulds. The specimens from the Valdetaro collection (now in the British Museum; Figs. 4 and 5) have a clearer design than those which exist in other collections or those which were sold recently by the auction house Gorny & Mosch (Figs. 6 and 7). This may be attributable to the fact that the moulds which were probably made from clay, were wearing out after little use or had not been properly cleaned before casting some of the coins.



Fig. 4. Single tangka in gold. Diameter: 25 mm; weight: 5.32 g. British Museum (ex Carlo Valdetaro)



Fig. 5. Double tangka in gold. Diameter: 25 mm; weight: 10.85 g. British Museum (ex Carlo Valdetaro)



Fig. 6. Single tangka in gold, ex Gorny & Mosch (2018). Diameter 24 mm; weight: 4.7 g. Fineness of gold: 95.46%. (Kris van der Cruyce collection)



Fig. 7. Double tangka in gold, ex Gorny & Mosch (2018). Diameter: 26 mm; weight 10.72 g. Fineness of gold: 96.05%. (Wolfgang Bertsch collection)



Fig. 8. Single tangka in gold, cast from the same moulds as the Valdetaro coin of Fig. 3. Diameter: 25 mm; weight: 5.07 g. (Wilfried Klug collection, photographed in May 2009)

The double tangka illustrated by Valdetaro (ex Nepalese collection, Fig. 3) and the one ex Gorny & Mosch (Fig. 7) have a larger diameter than their single counterparts. However, the double and single tangka in gold which were bequeathed to the British Museum by Carlo Valdetaro (Figs. 4 and 5) are catalogued as having the same diameter of 25 mm, which is probably incorrect.

Bibliography

Bell, Charles: *Grammar of Coloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta 1919, reprint, New York, 1977.

- Bertsch, Wolfgang: *The Currency of Tibet. A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins, Paper Money and other Forms of Currency*, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala, 2002.
- Bertsch, Wolfgang: 'Tibetan Gold Coins'. *Numismatique Asiatique. Revue de la Société Numismatique Asiatique*, No. 21, Mars, 2017, pp. 35-59.
- Bruce II, Colin R.: 'The Silver Tangka, Y-13, a Preliminary Study', *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 2, no. 1, 1973, p. 75.
- Gabrisch, Karl: *Geld aus Tibet. Sammlung Dr. Karl Gabrisch*, Winterthur and Rikon, 1990.
- Gabrich, Karl: 'Beiträge zur Tibetischen Numismatik II: Die Tibetischen Goldmünzen und deren Fälschungen'. *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1990), p. 1-3 and vol. 21, no. 2 (1991), pp. 1-5.
- Gorny & Mosch, e-auction, no. 259, München, Oct. 20/21, 2018, Lot 4804.
- Rhodes, Nicholas: *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. Oriental Numismatic Society, Occasional Paper, no. 17, January 1983. http://gorila.netlab.cz/coins/Tibet/ONS_TangkaTibet.pdf
- Semans, Scott: *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*, Info-Sheet no. 11, Cleveland, no date. <http://gorila.netlab.cz/coins/Tibet/Gaden%20Tangka.pdf>
- Valdettaro, Carlo: *Tibetan Coins in the Collection of CVR (Draft for III Ed)*, Breganzona, April 1974. Unpublished.
- Van den Hooff, René: *The Tibetan Gaden tangka – A die study*, The Netherlands, 2015.

ONS NEWS

Obituary: Klaus Bronny

Klaus Bronny, a well-known, dedicated and impassioned numismatist and researcher, died on June 20, 2019. He was the author of *The Coinage of Bhutan* (2014), co-author with Tyll Kroha and others of *Lexikon der Numismatik* (1977) and provided assistance to the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. He travelled regularly to the Himalayan states in the last 30 years of his life and collected numismatic and other collectible items of that region. With his book *The Coinage of Bhutan* continuing the classification adopted by Nicholas Rhodes, he took the opportunity to bring order to the bewildering variety of base metal 'Deb' (½) rupees, struck from the 19th century until 1928. The numismatic world, and in particular our Society, has lost a dear member.



Klaus Bronny

Patrick Pasmans

ONS North America meeting, New York (12 January, 2019)

The Annual Meeting of the North America branch of the Society was held on the evening of Saturday, January 12, 2019, in the Julliard Room at The Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York. There were four speakers and their talks were webcast on Facebook Live and continue to be available on the ONS-North America Facebook page. Collectively, the four talks have been viewed 1,330 times (as of March 22), a testament to the usefulness of recording them. Special thanks are due to member Ed Snible for handling the webcasting of the talks.

The first speaker, Razieh Taasob of Princeton University, spoke on *The Heraios Coinage and Khalchayan, Attribution and Chronology: Revisited*. In her talk, Taasob examined the conclusions of Joe Cribb, that the Heraios coinage was minted by Kujula Kadphises, that the word Kushan (*KOPPAN*) appearing on the coins was his personal name, and that the word *ΣANAB* with all its variations referred to a mint or magistrate. Using a die analysis of 89 tetradrachms, Taasob argued that the Heraios coins were issued in different phases of production by the head of the four *yabgus*, *HIAOY*, *ΣANAB*, *ΣANABOY* and *ANTEIX*, who were seen as "allied princes" in Bactria. The clan identity as an ethnic affiliation, rather than a personal name, was clearly attested on the coins as *KOPPANOY*. It is therefore likely that power was granted to these local princes to coin money in Bactria to keep the political

dominance of the Kushan in the north Oxus, while Kujula Kadphises was expanding and establishing his power toward the south of the Hindu Kush.



Fig. 1 Heraios, ΣANAB Series, potential minting place A, Group I, Variety A, Gorny & Mosch Auction 211, 2013/03/04, no. 465

Taasob further pointed to the interconnection between the Heraios coin series and the sculptural friezes at Khalchayan. She proposed additional possible identifications for the four identical personages flanking the seated figure, supposedly Kujula Kadphises, in the right scene of the sculptural frieze on the west wall of the central hall. The attribution is supported by the fact that, for the entire Heraios series, all royal images are alike, and that they were distinguished primarily by the various names and different forms of inscription on the reverse type of their coins. Therefore, in view of the clear numismatic, archaeological and iconographical links, it seems plausible to attribute the right scene of the central hall to the final victory of Kujula Kadphises. This would yield a *terminus post quem* for the Heraios tetradrachm series of around AD 20 and a *terminus ante quem* of around AD 50 for the right scene, the time when Kujula officially began his reign south of Hindu Kush; the right scene of the main hall may have been constructed to commemorate his victory.



Fig.2. Nakhshab horsehead type (zeno.ru no. 202957)

The next speaker was Aleksandr Naymark of Hofstra University, who spoke on *The Coinage of South Soghd*. After reviewing the history of our growing knowledge of this coinage since the 1960s, Naymark pointed out that, as of today, we know 11 series of Nakhshab coins that cover the period of roughly 770 years from the beginning of CE to the third quarter of the 8th century:

1. Early horse head series, first half of the 1st century CE
2. Three denominational coinage of Ashtat(w), second half of the 1st century CE
3. Imitations of Ashtat(w) coins, 2nd century CE
4. Silver and copper archer coins with the title *MR'Y* in the legend, datable to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century
5. Silver and copper sword-bearer coins, first half of the 3rd century
6. Late copper archer series, second half of the 3rd-first half of the 4th century
7. Leontomachia (king slaying a lion) coins with the profile portrait, middle of the 4th to the middle of the 6th centuries
8. Leontomachia coins with the obverse portrait in ¾ turn, second half of the 6th century
9. Coins with the obverse portrait in ¾ turn and the reverse with a large tamgha in the center
10. Coins with portraits on both sides

11. Five types of the walking horse series.

We are just at the beginning of our study of Nakhshab coinage: the dates assigned to individual series are still vague, typology is rather incomplete (there are series for which we have 3 or fewer coins), and we can expect additions and adjustments to this scheme on an annual basis. There are also major questions to answer: for example, we still do not know what money circulated in Nakhshab from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 1st centuries BCE.

The localisation of multiple early series in Nakhshab “pushed” the coins with Hercules and Zeus, which Zeimal had already attributed to South Soghd, towards a more precise localisation in the principality of Kesh as the second major realm in Kashka-darya valley. The Hercules and Zeus coinage is the latest in the sequence of three series:

1. Alexander imitations started in 220s BCE
2. Phseighacharis coins started in the third quarter of the 1st century CE
3. Hercules and Zeus coinage started at the end of the 2nd century CE and continued to the middle of the 3rd century.

The known find spots of the coins belonging to these three series confirm the attribution: altogether there are 17 recorded finds of coins belonging to these three series on the territory of ancient Kesh, while no single specimen has come to light in the Nakhshab oasis. We are currently not aware of Kesh coins datable to the long time span from the second half of the 3rd to the end of the 7th century. It is possible that some known coins belong to the period from the second half the 4th to the middle of the 6th century.



Fig. 3. Nakhshab leontomachia type (CNG 72, 1122)

The first part of the legend on leontomachia coins with a profile portrait definitely reads *kyšnk*, which is a legitimate Sogdian demonym from Kish/Kesh. It seems plausible that the Kesh dynasty seized control over Nakhshab in the middle of the 4th century, uniting the entire Kashka-darya valley under its sway until the middle of the 6th century. Indeed, the leontomachia coins are quite numerous in the western Kesh area. We are aware of Kesh coppers minted under Lord Akhurpat in the 8th century, which are represented by three different types minted during 720-730s CE. In the late 730s or in 740s a ruler of Kesh, whose name hasn't survived on the three known specimens, introduced a type combining a Sogdian obverse, in the style of Akhurpat coins, with a reverse of three lines in Arabic, announcing the exchange rate for these coins at 240 per dirham. Towards the end of the same 740s, Ikhrīd, Dihqan of Kesh, minted *fulus* where both sides were in Arabic. The first known *fulus* of Kesh struck on a regular Caliphate pattern dates to 173 AH/ 789-790 CE.

In addition to the 11 series of Nakhshab and 6 series of Kesh coins, there are 3 non-localised ones. The first of these is known from just four specimens, marking four successive stages in the development of the imitation of the imitation (sic!) of Eukratides to a completely new type. Of the second, we know four types with trident-anchor tamgha datable to the 8th century. This series cannot be assigned to Nakhshab or Kesh, because the dates of its coins fall upon the time when Nakhshab issued the horse series coins, while Kesh struck coins in the name of Akhurpat. Finally, there is a South Sogdian series, coins of which carry a sinusoid tamgha. This one can currently be dated only within the broad bracket of the second half of the 7th to the middle of the 8th century and still cannot be localised precisely.



Fig. 4. Habbarid Amirs of Sind, Amir Ali citing Amir Abd al-Rahman as overlord, silver damma, unpublished

The third speaker was Bilal Ahmed, who spoke on *Coinage of the Habbarid Rajas of Al-Mansura: A Medieval Eastern Islamic state in India*. The Habbarid Emirate of al-Sind constitutes an important but mostly unknown chapter of the history of Islam in India. Most of what is known about the dynasty and its placement within the political landscapes of both India and Islam is through its coinage. The talk was aimed at providing an overview of the Habbarid coinage and to identify the insights that can be inferred from the numismatic evidence about the origins, order of succession and religious inclinations of the Habbarid Amirs of Sind. In light of some recently discovered new coin types, he outlined an alternative order of succession of the Habbarid rulers to that recently published by Fishman and Todd, supported by the traditional norms of succession in medieval Arabian tribes.

Finally, Pankaj Tandon presented his ongoing work on *Women on South Asian Coins*. Focusing specifically on women (and not goddesses), Tandon is attempting a census of coins from the subcontinent on which women are featured. He divided his presentation into four classes (the numbers in the parentheses reflect the number of women he found in each category):

1. Women rulers who were depicted with realistic portraits (7)
2. Women rulers who were depicted with stylised portraits (4)
3. Women rulers who were not portrayed, but were mentioned in legends (9)
4. Women who were not rulers, but were either portrayed or mentioned on coins (71)



Fig. 5. Agathokleia silver drachm (CNG Triton XVIII, 843)

Tandon acknowledged that the list is still incomplete and more will be added as needed. Of all the coins, only one reflects a woman who was actually ruling on the ground and was represented with a realistic portrait while she was alive: the Indo-Greek queen Agathokleia. The other women rulers who were represented with realistic portraits were either distant figureheads: the Portuguese queens Maria I and Maria II, and the British queens Victoria and Elizabeth II, or were honored posthumously: Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto.

After the meeting, the gathering adjourned to Bukhara Grill for the traditional post-meeting dinner.

Pankaj Tandon

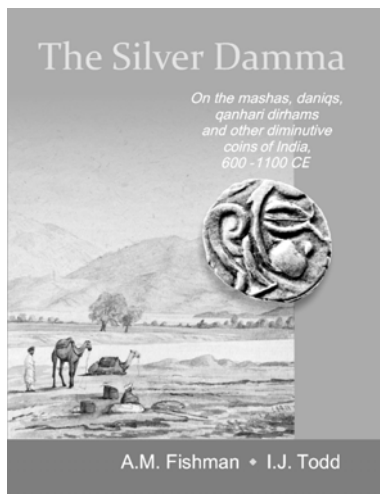
New Members

North America

Bernie Smith
Interests: Western Kshatrapas
Robert Varrone
Interests: China (ancient and modern), Egypt/ Crusaders

Book Review

The Silver Damma: On the Mashas, Daniqs, Qanhari Dirhams and Other Diminutive Coins of India, 600-100 CE, by A.M. Fishman and I.J. Todd, Mumbai: IIRNS Press, 2018. 423 pages, illustrations throughout.



If we take this book's title at face value, it concerns silver coins with odd names. For those not well-versed in the denomination terminology of medieval India, it's about the tiny 'three-dot' coins that have appeared in numbers only in recent decades. It also deals with the parallel series of equally tiny coins known for many generations as 'Sind Amirs'. The authors ascribe their use of the term *damma* to a pioneering work by Robert Tye, acknowledging that this term was not in use during the period of the coins' circulation. It has, however, caught on in the coin trade, and so was adopted to facilitate recognition by modern collectors. They see it as a term of convenience, to differentiate these coins (less than a gram), from the more common *dramma* (three to four grams).

For collectors wanting to identify, classify or understand the myriad minuscule coins of these (and related) series, this is the one book to own. It is profusely illustrated with numerous specimens of every type, carefully selected and very clearly printed. Photos and explanatory line drawings abound. It has a plethora of tables giving the metrology (size and weight) of virtually all types listed. It presents, for the first time, many tables of metallic content for practically all coins in each series. It lists and analyses the contents of an impressive number of hoards. It maps the find-spots of these coins. More than a catalogue, it is a corpus, listing and discussing literally every type and variety known to the cataloguers. It is a significant primary resource, an irreplaceable reference work of high technical merit. Its historical background is simply the icing on the cake.

It has been noticed by many that parts of western India have always had a preference for small silver coins. Even in the recent eras of the universal Mughal and British Indian one-*tola* silver rupees, these regions preferred much smaller local *koris*. The preference of the Sind Amirs for even tinier silver coins of less than a gram apiece, has also been long remarked. However, the context, antecedents, purpose and influence of the minuscule coins was imperfectly understood until fairly recently. Tiny 'three-dot' coins started appearing in the market and started being published in very tentative ways by researchers in India and elsewhere. The authors of this book have upped the game considerably, by studying dozens of hoards containing thousands of coins, subjecting the coins to metrological and metallurgical analysis on a large scale. The resultant book is a major contribution to the numismatics of northwest India and Pakistan, especially the Punjab and Sindh.

Alex Fishman has had first-hand access to numerous hoards of all these coins through commercial channels. Indeed, coin hoards

distributed in the trade form the bulk of the evidence. Normally one would be critical of using un-provenanced groups of coins passing through private hands, but if one were to rely solely on official treasure trove reports for modern Pakistan, there would be nothing to study. With few exceptions, there has been virtually no publication of coins in Pakistani archaeological digs. The authors are careful to assess the reliability of whatever provenance testimony was available to them and make clear the limitations of this information.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, of which the most important sections are likely the following:

Chapter 2 explores the uniface Gandharan *dammās* (ca. 650 to 800 CE), which may have evolved from the Multani three-dot coins (Chapter 8), or the Yashaaditya series (Chapter 4). It includes coins in the name of 'Ranavigraha' in two distinct types. The chapter's main focus is the obscure, uniface, four-dot coinage. Some 35 different types are catalogued, most previously unpublished.

Chapter 4's 40 pages examine the tiny coins of Yashaaditya (previously published by Tye, Senior, Pieper, Tandon and Fishman), with coins of three new rulers. A comprehensive analysis of style and metrology leads to the conclusion that the coins may be attributed to particular rulers of the Rai and Chach dynasties of Sindh.

Chapter 5 deals with coins of the Caliphal province of Sindh, ca. 712-854 CE. At 31 pages, it is a major study, based on close inspection of six coin hoards, comprising 8,500 coins, many of them tested for silver content. It had long been assumed that the first Islamic Sindh *dammās* were minted by the Habbarid Amirs in the later 9th century CE. However, this chapter catalogues the coins of numerous governors, covering the entire period of gubernatorial rule of the Al-Sindh province from the Arab invasion, previously unattributed and unpublished.

Chapter 6 catalogues the coinage of Habbarid Sindh, ca. 854/55-1025 CE. Its 56 pages propose a completely new classification of the Habbarid series based on a three-mint model. Numerous discoveries are revealed for the first time. The catalogue of 48 coin types enables reconstruction of both a tentative genealogy and a broad chronology of the Habbarid Amirs.

Chapter 7 documents a strange and fairly extensive series of *dammās* conceivably minted in the last years of the Habbarid dynasty or perhaps by the early Soomras who succeeded them. The nine types listed are all previously unpublished.

Chapter 8, the largest in the book at 143 pages, examines in detail the 'three-dot' coinage of Multan, ca. 650-950 CE. Based on the close inspection of over 3,000 coins, it catalogues 80 distinct types issued by as many as 20 or more Amirs over three centuries. Tables of silver content and close attention to metrology, considerably enhance the catalogue of types and support the proposed sequencing and chronology.

Chapter 9 examines the Qarmatian-Isma'ili *dammās* from Multan issued from ca. 965-1010 CE, first catalogued by Nicholas Lowick. His typology is expanded with new discoveries.

Chapters 10 and 11 concern the Ghaznavid *dammās* issued after 998 CE. Although most of the Ghaznavid coins are well-studied and understood (and are outside the scope of this book), the tiny silver and billon *dammās* have received scant attention. Chapter 10 bases its typology on Goron & Goenka, while Chapter 11 introduces a fresh classification. Many new, unpublished and hitherto untranslated types appear in this chapter for the first time.

SPINK

Consign Today & Achieve Great Results

SEPTEMBER 2018 | LONDON



Cooch Behar,
issued for
Aurangzeb
Half - Tanka

Realised: £2,880



Seljuqs of
Rum, Trisul-
tanate Dinar

Realised: £1,020



Gupta, Ka-
maragupta i
Gold Dinar

Realised: £1,200



Kushano
Sasanian
Hormazd
I Gold
Dinar

Realised: £2,400

JANUARY 2019 | NEW YORK



Afghanistan.
Durrani. Ahmad
Shah
Gold Nazarana
Mohur

Realised: \$72,000



British India. East
India Company.
Regal Series

Realised: \$69,000



India. Sikh Empire.
Khalsa Period.
Gobindshahi Mohur.

Realised: \$19,800

JANUARY 2019 | LONDON



Mysore Double
Rupees

Realised: £3,120



Delhi Sultans,
Balban, gold Tanka

Realised: £3,600



Mughal
Empire, Far-
rukhsiyar,
Mohur, Mac-
chlipatan

Realised: £2,160

We offer competitive consignment rates and some great results.

Consign now, contact: BARBARA MEARS

Indian & Islamic Coin Specialist

SPINK | 69 Southampton Row | London | WC1B 4ET

Tel: +44 (0)20 7563 4091 | bmears@spink.com

In such a wealth of new and exciting types, it is difficult to focus on the most important. Clearly chapters 5 to 7 offer important observations on the coinage of early Arab Sind, offering a chronological and historical framework that considerably advances our knowledge. It proposes a three-mint model to help understand the complexity of the typology. Starting with a concordance with the prior listings of Album, Cribb and Bracey, it goes on to develop its own chronology, introducing many new coins in the process.

In my mind, by far the most important contribution of this book is the eighth chapter on 'three-dot' coins and their analogues. The pioneers in the field (Handa, Cribb, Bhandare, etc.) have established an interpretive framework under considerable difficulties, managing to decipher a large number (but not all) of the Kufic and Sarada legends. Fishman and Todd complete this task, bringing clarity to the coin legends. Given the tiny size of the coin flans, it is surprising that so few of the coins still resist conclusive reading.

But although the coins are read, what is one to make of the information they bear? The authors propose two scenarios: one involving a succession of nineteen rulers from a single mint, with many names repeating (Muhammad I, II, II, IV, for example). This is called the 'linear arrangement'. The second scenario proposes multiple mints for a succession of only eleven rulers. This is called the 'parallel issues'. In either event, their final ordering exactly reverses that proposed by Goron & Goenka.

These coins generally mix Arab and Indian names and/or titles. The book proposes three explanations for this situation: First, acknowledgement by the Islamic rulers (named in Arabic), of the religious beliefs of the majority of the population, by referring to Hindu deities in local temples (in Prakrit). A second explanation explains the Prakrit names as epithets of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperors, implying a subordinate relationship of the Multan rulers

to the imperial neighbours on their eastern frontier. The third, preferred, explanation, is that the Prakrit name on each coin is the *biruda* (honorific) of the Amir himself. Without revealing the plot, it is recommended that the reader take up the volume to find the solution to the mystery.

No book can meet the expectations of all readers, and this is no exception. The period and region has attracted considerable academic attention, but it appears it is not the purpose of this book to contribute to this vein of scholarship. Considering its very rich narrative and interpretive structure, the book is very lightly annotated as to references. Long sections of historical summary give little or no guidance as to sources. The original works that are cited, have been carefully chosen for their utility in developing a chronological and political framework, but for the most part, are used uncritically.

Given the book's purpose of identifying, organising, measuring, illustrating, analysing and interpreting such a great number of poorly-understood coin types, this can be forgiven. This is a highly capable technical work that presents a very large body of observations in a rigorous analytic framework. It provides a major body of new evidence and leaves considerable scope for future researchers to carry forward the historical and numismatic studies.

John Deyell

Officers of the Oriental Numismatic Society

Secretary General: Paul Stevens, pjes3288@hotmail.com

Deputy Secretary General: Stan Goron, s.goron@blueyonder.co.uk

Publications Secretary: Shailendra Bhandare, shailen10@hotmail.com

Membership Secretary: Barbara Mears, barbaramears@ymail.com

Regional Secretaries:

General: Graham Byfield, graham@sovr.co.uk

Europe: Patrick Pasmans, parthianstudies@hotmail.com

U.K. & Eire: Paramdip Khera, paramdipk@hotmail.com

America: Pankaj Tandon, pntandon@bu.edu

South Asia: Mohit Kapoor, reg.sec@ons-sa.org

Pakistan Chapter: Shafqat Mirza, shafqatmirza@hotmail.com

The Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society is an international peer-reviewed journal that is published quarterly.

Annual Subscription: UK: £25; rest of Europe €30; American continent \$35
for other areas please consult the appropriate Regional Secretary

Website: www.orientalnumismaticssociety.org

Printed by Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, U.K.