



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 156

Summer 1998

ONS News

ONS - Annual General Meeting

The ONS Annual general Meeting was held on 6 June 1998 at the Cumberland hotel at the same time as the coin fair organised by Howard and Frances Simmons. There were twenty-five members present including a number from outside the UK.

Council's Report on the Society's activities during the year.

Nick Rhodes reported on the Society's activities during the year. In summary his report was as follows.

Nick said that last year was a watershed for the ONS as a result of the death of Michael Broome, without whose vision and drive the meeting would not have been taking place. As established under Michael's leadership the ONS had developed into a remarkable multinational organisation with some 500 members over 5 continents, but with no written constitution or rules. Surely few such organisations existed.

However, the structure established by Michael had continued to function effectively during the year and Nick Rhodes was able to report a significant number of activities.

Berlin congress-

There were three ONS workshops-

Islamic, twenty three papers

South Asia, nine papers

Far East, eleven papers and general discussion and sharing of information about a number of interesting projects.

Leiden, October 1997, three papers.

Cologne, November 1997.

New York, December 1997, International Numismatic Convention.

London, March 1998, a variety of short papers.

Tübingen, April 1998.

April 1998, seminar on 7th century Syria.

Today three papers.

Cambridge, 13 June 1998, Indian Coinage Study Day at the Fitzwilliam museum.

There were other events organised by ONS members in addition to these, for example in the USA.

Nick Rhodes thanked all those who had organised these activities and reported on them in our newsletter. He thanked those who produce the newsletter – Stan Goron, the Editor; Paul and Bente Withers at Galata Print, who print the newsletter. He also thanked those who contributed articles and asked members to keep them rolling in particularly if their areas of interest were under-represented.

Nick Rhodes also thanked the Regional Secretaries for their work during the year.

With such a diverse organisation finances were difficult to manage and he thanked David Priestley for keeping the Society's finances in order.

Society's accounts

David Priestly reported that the society's accounts for the year ended 31 March 1997 had been approved by the Council and

Islamabad, Pakistan.

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audited. The Summary Receipts and Payments Accounts of the Treasurer and Regional Secretaries were available on request by any member.

The Treasurer said that for various reasons the year to 31 March 1997 was one in which he had received rather less in cash than in previous years, a temporary situation which had since righted itself. He explained that the true picture was better shown by the summary of our worldwide cash balances converted to sterling.

The sum total of the Society's cash reserves increased by £417 to £7,651 at 31 March 1997. The society's finances were therefore in good shape, despite the modest level of subscriptions and the increased costs of printing and distributing ever bigger and better Newsletters. He said that keeping administrative expenses low and the efforts of Regional Secretaries in collecting subscriptions had contributed to this achievement. He explained that the reason for the accounts being late was delay in receiving summary accounts from some Regional Secretaries.

Members present approved the accounts for the year to 31 March 1997.

Adoption of new constitution

Peter Smith reported that he had received 104 poll cards in favour of the adoption of the new constitution as set out in Newsletter no.155. There were no votes against. Accordingly, the resolution was duly passed and the new constitution adopted.

Papers

Following the meeting three papers were read. Joe Cribb read a paper about Javanese tokens. Dr Venetia Porter spoke about the 17th century wreck found off Salcombe in Devon and the Moroccan coins found on it. Amiteshwar Jha read a paper about Satavahana coins and their chronology entitled *Evidence of Satavahana Coin Types vis-à-vis the Puranic sequence of Satavahana kings*. A summary of this talk follows.

Notwithstanding divergences in the list of Satavahana kings, their sequence and regnal years in the various Puranas and their different manuscripts, the Puranas almost unanimously say that there were 30 Satavahana kings who ruled. At the beginning of the Puranic list of the Satavahana rulers are kings like Chhimuka, Krishna, and Satakarni whose existence is also corroborated by epigraphic and/or numismatic evidence. In addition, there is a king named Satavahana, known through various types of coins. All of these rulers are considered to be the so-called 'early' Satavahana rulers. Then we have another set of rulers starting with Gautamiputra Satakarni, mentioned as the 23rd ruler in the Puranic list, and subsequent rulers, who are also known through coins and/or inscriptions. In addition, there are some rulers like Kochhiputra Satakarni and Kosikiputra Satakarni who are known from their coins and appear, on grounds of similarity of coin-types, to be close to Gautamiputra Satakarni. All these rulers together are generally known as the 'later' Satavahana rulers. The rulers mentioned in the Puranas in between the above set of two rulers are

generally not known through any other source. The talk presented the evidence of coin types from various sites like Kotalingala, Pedabankuru, Junnar, Nevasa, Paithan, Prakasha, and Nasik etc., to show that at all these sites there is a continuation of the coin typology of the so-called early rulers by the kings like Gautamiputra Satakarni, Kochhiputra Satakarni and Kosikiputra Satakarni. This clearly suggests that the latter rulers were much closer to the so-called early rulers in terms of time and space, which is contrary to the Puranic evidence. This also supports the shorter chronology for the Satavahanas.

Memorial Fund in Memory of Michael Broome

The sudden death of Michael Broome has deprived numismatics in the UK of one of its best known personalities. He would have earned this place just from his role as founder and long-serving Secretary General of the ONS, but his reputation as a numismatic scholar was of equal significance. His research reflected the broad range of his interests: concentrating on Islamic coinage, but also encapsulating Maria Theresa Thalers, medals and areas of general numismatic interest. His monograph on Seljuq coinage will, it is hoped, be edited and published as a Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication.

In consultation with Michael's widow, Muriel, and others of his family, and with the support of the ONS, the Royal Numismatic Society is proposing to establish a fund in his memory. The purpose of the fund would be to provide support for numismatic research, particularly in the areas of Michael's own interests. Contributions to the fund should be sent to the Royal Numismatic Society, c/o Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG, UK. Cheques should be made payable to the Royal Numismatic Society.

Leiden Meeting

The next ONS meeting in Leiden will take place on Saturday 17 October 1998 at the Royal Coin Cabinet, Museum of Antiquities, Rapenburg 28, commencing 10.00. Members who would like to contribute a talk at the meeting or who would like additional information are invited to contact the Regional Secretary, Jan Lingen by telephone on ++31 182 357092 or by e-mail: lingen@wxs.nl

Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table

This meeting, held at the British Museum Coin and Medal Department on 25 April 1998, was the first of this series for over a year and was well attended. Our thanks to the Department for letting us use both the students' room and the staff canteen which meant that most of the group stayed together over lunch.

Luke Treadwell focussed on the so-called "Millstein Coins" - imitations of a specific fabric mostly originating from Jordan - of which a part hoard was published in *INJ 10*. It is far from certain where these should be fitted into the chronology but he had his reservations about Michael Bates's suggestion that they should be dated to the eighth rather than the seventh century. He also discussed the circulation of Arab-Byzantine coins after the reform as demonstrated by the undertypes occurring in a post-reform hoard published by Qedar in *INJ 8*. He endorsed another of Bates's points, namely that immobilised issues usually commence in good style and then decline and that there is no reason why this should not apply to the Arab-Byzantine series. This point was taken up by Tony Goodwin who discussed a Damascus issue with a reverse legend that Walker doubtfully translated as "full weight dirhems" (*BMC* p.ciii). The pattern of overstrikes indicates that these coins, which are in good style, are very early in the series. Goodwin's re-interpretation of the legend was generally agreed. This will be published in the next *ONS Newsletter*.

Sam Moorhead and Tony Grey showed a series of slides of excavation sites and pottery found on them. The stylistic continuity from the Roman to the Umayyad period was often underestimated. As a result, much of the pottery was now on display in museums with very questionable dating. Unfortunately there seemed to be very little stratified coin evidence that was of any practical use. Elizabeth Savage's ideas on the iconography of the "modified cross on steps" which she presented to the RNS in December 1996 have been slightly modified. She was now more inclined to emphasise the apocalyptic element rather than the triumphalist one.

A chance acquisition of a parcel of coins which appeared to come from the collection of Sir Alec Kirkbride had encouraged Marcus Phillips to find out more about him. His diplomatic and military career was well documented but his pioneering article on barbarous Constans II coins (*Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities of Palestine*, 1947) was by no means his only numismatic publication. He had also catalogued the Islamic coins from the pre-war Jerash excavations and had apparently retained some for himself. The discussion was then monopolised by a slide of a "two standing caliphs" coin, almost certainly from Jerash.

Finally, Henri Pottier demonstrated what he hoped was the final version of his corpus of Syrian imitations of Byzantine coins from the period of the Persian occupation - which English collectors tend to call "Oriens" coins. This should appear in print in the next year or so.

Plans for future meetings include a numismatic workshop at Oxford and a colloquium of archaeologists, historians and numismatists of seventh century Syria at Birmingham. It is, however, also hoped to continue the annual meetings in London.

Marcus Phillips

Indian Coinage Study Day in Cambridge, UK

Some 20 people attended this study day on 13 June 1998 held under the auspices of the Fitzwilliam Museum. The proceedings started with a talk by Nurussaba Garg entitled *A forgotten hoard of Mughal gold coins from Kasur*. This dealt with a hoard of 783 mohurs from the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan I found at Kasur, not far from Lahore and which was subsequently distributed among a number of institutions on the sub-continent and in the UK, including the Fitzwilliam Museum. This was followed by a presentation by Nicholas Rhodes on *Altered dies in North-East India* in which, as a result of a detailed die-study, he was able to list the number of different obverse and reverse dies used for certain series of Assamese coins and show how some dies were altered for use in different years or coinings. The morning session ended with a discussion led by Sanjay Garg on various aspects of Mughal coinage and monetisation.

Sanjay also started off the afternoon session with a paper *The 200 muhrs of Shah Jehan revisited* in which he examined the illustrations published in the past of such coins and detailed the various casts of such coins that he was able to inspect or find information about. It was likely that all the casts formed a series deriving from an initial cast of a coin different from those illustrated in the old publications. Jan Lingen then gave a talk on *The dating of the reign of Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah's invasion of India*. Najaf Haidar had prepared a talk entitled *The technology of coin production in the Mughal Empire* but was unfortunately unable to attend on the day. His paper was read out. The day ended with a talk by Ken Wiggins *Hollow authority - the use of the emperor's name on coins of the new princely states* in which he showed that a variety of states and issuing authorities continued to strike coins in the name of the Mughal emperor, despite the fact that the emperor had no effective political authority.

Our thanks are due to Mark Blackburn and his colleagues at the Museum for organising the study day. It is hoped to publish some, if not all, of the papers given, in a future supplement to the newsletter.

Chinese Paper Money Day?

Are any ONS members interested in a study day on Chinese paper money? If so, please contact Helen Wang, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG. Tel: 0171-323-8172 Fax: 0171-323-8171 E-mail: coins@british-museum.ac.uk (subject: for Helen Wang)

New York

NYINC, the New York International Numismatic Convention, will take place 4-6 December 1998 at the World Trade Center. In conjunction with the Convention, the American Numismatic Society will be putting on a display of the Jem Sultan collection which was recently donated to them, and all coinage from Turkish dynasties which ruled in the Islamic world. To enhance this activity, the ONS American Region together with the ANS Islamic Department and Numismatics International plan to have a forum

on coinage of the Turks. It is hoped to get a number of well-known speakers to cover a wide range of coinages. The forum will run from 18-20.00 on Saturday 5 December 1998. For further information please contact William B. Warden, Jr, PO Box 356, New Hope, PA 18938, USA. Tel/Fax: ++1 215 297 5052.

Members News

Samuel Lachman - an influential numismatist



A distinguished member of the ONS, Samuel Lachman celebrated his 90th birthday towards the end of 1996 and this brief, belated outline of his career together with a list of his numerous original and important articles is designed to honour him and enable members to be aware of his important contributions to the study of Islamic numismatics,

particularly those about the coinage of the Ottoman Empire and the banknotes issued since 1840. His excellent series of articles about the numismatics of the Yemen is familiar to all, and has been greatly praised for the facts gleaned from early Arabic source material.

Samuel Lachman was born in Berlin on 2 November 1906. His early studies resulted in his choice of career as a technical chemist. Three of his papers were published at the Bergakademie in Freiberg (Saxony). Having worked as laboratory assistant for some years at Grube Phönix, Mumsdorf bei Meuselwitz (a mine south of Leipzig), he emigrated to Palestine on 24 December 1933, but found there were few jobs in his profession available. Nevertheless, he found work in orange groves during the seasons and then was successful in entering the Post Office of the Palestine Mandate on 30 September 1935. He left that service as Chief Secretary of the Haifa Post Office on 31 May 1967 with the rank of Assistant Head Postmaster.

His outside interests at the period included philately and with Dr Hoestr he edited *The stamp collector 1913-1960* and *Postage stamps of Palestine 1946-1960(?)*, this latter book winning the prize of the Royal Philatelic Society in 1960.

In 1948 he commenced collecting the coins of the new state of Israel and then the coins and tokens used in Palestine, which were mainly Ottoman. With his fluency in Ottoman Turkish he studied the coins of the late period of the empire, especially the ones issued in Egypt about which he contributed so much of importance for numismatists, and a source of inspiration for students everywhere. Samuel Lachman's meticulous work in the studies mentioned above has always been recognised by numismatists who have written articles and books (such as Cüneyt Ölçer) in which his work has been cited continually.

He has been a member of many numismatic societies but, due to ill health in recent years, has resigned from most of them. In a recent letter to this writer, he mentions his pleasure in reading the ONS and ANS Newsletters and discussing his favourite subjects with friends who visit him in Beit Horim, Haifa.

Kenneth M. MacKenzie

A Select Lost of Articles by Samuel Lachman, published from 1969 to 1990 (his many important articles dealing with Israeli coins and banknotes are excluded)

The following abbreviations are used:

ANSMN	American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes
ANSSL	American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Literature
BNR	Bank Note Reporter, Iola, WI
CW	Coin World, Sydney, OH
IBNS	International Bank Note Society, Cedar Rapids, IA
JIntNum	Journal of International Numismatics, Bellaire, TX
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NCirc	Numismatic Circular
NI	Numismatics International, Dallas, TX
ONS	Oriental Numismatic Society
SHEKEL	American Israel Numismatic Society
SM	Schweizer Munzblatt, Bern
WCN	World Coin News, Iola, WI

WCoins World Coins, Sydney, OH
NMess Numismatic Messenger, CA

Section 1

The standard of the silver coinage of the Ottoman Sultan Selim III.

- NCirc vol 77 no.5 (May 1969), p.167. NL 83-316
- The silver coinage of Sultan Selim III.*
NCirc vol 77 no.10 (Oct. 1969), p.332. NL 84-332
- The silver coinage of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, AH 1293-1327: die changes of the second series (El Ghazi).*
NCirc vol 77 no.12 (Dec. 1969), p.416. NL 84-333
- The coins of Ottoman Palestine.*
Exhibition of Palestine during the Ottoman period. Appendices to the catalogue. Institute of Asian and African Studies. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem 1970.
- Comments to M.L. Santamas. Cyprus: some unforgotten coins.*
NCirc vol 78 no.1 (Jan. 1970), p.4; no.5 (May 1970), p.200.
- The silver coinage of Sultan Selim III.*
NCirc vol 78 no.11 (Nov. 1970), p.449. NL 86-307
- Madeni Nuhas.*
NCirc vol 79 no.1 (Jan 1971), p. . NL 86-306.
- Egyptian bronze coins of the eighteenth century.*
NCirc vol 79 no.6 (June 1971), p.249. NL 87-341.
- Countermarked coins of the Ottoman Empire.*
NCirc vol 79 no.10 (Oct. 1971), p.361. NL 88-263
- A forgery of the Ottoman Lira of Mehmed V.*
NCirc vol 80 no.1 (Jan. 1972), p.4. NL 88-264.
- The silver coinage of Sultan Selim III.*
NCirc Vol 80 no.8 (Feb. 1972), p.60. NL 88-265.
- The Kurush struck by Ali Bey in Egypt.*
NC 7th series, vol IX p.327 (1971). NL 87-342.
- The Egyptian bronze coinage in the reign of Abdul Aziz.*
NCirc vol 80 no.6 (June 1972), p.242. NL 89-360.
- Ottoman gold coin counterfeits.*
WCoins vol 9 no.103 (July 1972) p.99. NL 89-361.
- The silver coinage of Selim III.*
NCirc vol 80 no.9 (Sep. 1972). NL 89-362
- More countermarks of the Ottoman Empire.*
NCirc vol 80 no.11 (Nov. 1972), p.412. NL 90-321.
- A hoard of silver coins of Barsbay.*
ANSMN 18 (1972), p.163ff. NL 90-319.
- Die varieties of Ottoman coins.*
NCirc vol 81 no.2 (Feb. 1973), p.51. NL 90-318.
- The missing link.*
NMessenger vol 2 no.11/12 (Nov.-Dec. 1972), p.25. NL 90-320
- Tughra banknote varieties of 1876.*
WCoins vol 10 no.117 (Sep. 1973), pp.1450-1452. NL 91-871.
- The first minting of the Zeri Mahbub.*
NCirc vol 81 no.10 (Oct. 1973), p.379, and no.11 (Nov. 1973), p.422. NL 93-395.
- An Ottoman lead seal.*
SHEKEL vol 6 no.3 (Fall 1973), p.23. NL 91-292.
- Ottoman banknotes.*
IBNS vol 12 no.4 and 5 (3rd & last quarter 1973), pp.217-226, 280-28. NL 91-870, 92-827.
- The Egyptian coinage 1885-1914.*
NCirc vol 82 no.3 (March 1974), pp.101-103, no.4 (April 1974), pp.142-143. NL 92-394.
- The Ottoman banknotes of Murad V.*
Cyprus Numismatic Society, Numismatic Report 1973 (vol IV), pp.60-61. NL 92-828.
- Banque Impériale Ottomane notes.*
IBNS vol 13 no.1 (1974), pp.33-36. NL 92-826.
- The gold coins of the last six Ottoman sultans. AH 1259-1341, AD 1844-1922. A trial listing.*
ONS (April 1974). NL 97-300.
- The watermarks of the Ottoman paper money.*
SHEKEL vol 7 no.1 (Spring 1974), pp.8-10. NL 92-829.
- The Egyptian bronze coinage in the reign of Abdul Aziz.*
NCirc vol 82 no.7/8 (July-Aug. 1974), p.288. NL 93-339.
- A die change of the gold lira of Abdul Hamid II.*
NI vol 8 no.6 (June 1974), pp.149-150. NL 93-338.
- Two early Ottoman banknotes.*
WCoins vol 11 no.129 (Sep.1974), pp.1642-3, 1648-9. NL 93-790.
- The Ottoman nickel coinage 1910-1922.*
NCirc vol 82 no.11 (Nov. 1974), pp.434-436. NL 94-366.
- Ottoman lead seals.*
NI vol 8 no.10 (Oct.1974), p.305. NL 93-341.
- Further varieties of the one lira coin.*
SHEKEL vol 7 no.3 (Fall 1974), pp.22-24. NL 94-363.
- Five livres turques Banque Impériale Ottomane.*
SHEKEL vol 7 no.4 (Winter 1974), pp.15-16. NL 94-907.
- Die Tughra des Osmanischen Sultans Murad V.*
SM vol 24 no.96 (Nov. 1974), pp.116-118. NL 94-368.
- The initial letters on Ottoman coins of the 18th century.*
ANSMN 19 (1974), pp.199-224. NL 93-340.
- Countermarks of the Ottoman Empire 1880-1922. (Book)*
By Kenneth MacKenzie and Samuel Lachman. London 1974, 56pp. NL 95-290.
- Israel expert clarifies Ottoman Empire coin dating (publisher's title).*
WCN vol 2 no.3 (4 Feb 1975), pp.38,42. NL 94-365.
- A re-engraved 20 para coin of Abdul Mejid.*
NI vol 9 no.2 (Feb. 1975), p.63. NL 94-367.
- Ottoman banknotes.*

IBNS vol 14 no.1 (1975), pp.4-6. NL 94-906.
The Djeddar Mosque at Acre.
 WCoins vol 12 (July 1975), pp.84-5,90. NL 95-747.
The dates of issue of the first modern coins of the Ottoman Empire.
 NI vol 9 no.6 (June 1975), p.174. NL 95-287.
Dating notes of the National Bank of Egypt and the Central Bank.
 WCN vol 2 no.16 (5 Aug 1975), pp.6,20. NL 95-883.
Coins struck by Ali Bey in Egypt.
 NCirc vol 83 no.5 (May 1975), pp.198-201; no.9 (Sep. 1976), pp.336-338. NL 95-286.
An unlisted coin of Sultan Murad V.
 NCirc vol 83 no.10 (Oct. 1975), p.382. NL 95-288.
The history of a French-English battle at Acre (Acco) and Haifa (publisher's title).
 SHEKEL vol 8 no.3 (Fall 1975), pp.25-27. NL 95-748.
A trial listing of the modern gold coins of Ottoman Egypt.
 ONS Occasional Paper no.9 (Sep. 1975). NL 97-303.
Egyptian five pound note variety.
 WCN vol 2 no.19 (16 Sep. 1975), p.14.
Egypt: unlisted 50 piastres note 1916.
 WCN vol 2 no.25 (9 Dec. 1975), p.30.
Signatures and dates add variety to notes of Egypt's National Bank.
 WCN vol 2 no.26 (23 Dec. 1975), p.20. NL 96-606.
A variety of the Kuruş of Abdul Hamid I.
 NI vol 10 no.1 (Jan. 1976), pp.26-27. NL 96-242.
The Ottoman silver coinage in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia etc. during the reigns of Ahmad III and Mahmud I.
 NCirc vol 84 no. 2 (Feb. 1976), pp.51-53. NL 96-240.
The silver coinage of Selim III.
 NCirc. Vol 84 no.3 (March 1976), pp.96-7. NL 96-241.
The silver 20 para coin of Abdul Mejid.
 NCirc vol 84 no.5 (May 1976), p.185. NL 97-302.
International Colonial Exhibition, Paris 1931.
 SHEKEL vol 9 no.2 (March/April 1976), p.21. NL 97-139.
An early Umayyad fals.
 NCirc vol 84, no.7/8 (July/Aug. 1976), pp.274-5. NL 97-299.
Early Egyptian banknotes.
 IBNS vol 15 no.3 (Autumn 1976), pp.150-3. NL 97-807.
Some remarks about the Gallipoli notes.
 IBNS vol 15 no.3 (Autumn 1976), pp.154-6. NL 97-809.
Some remarks about the Gallipoli notes.
 SHTAROT vol 1 no.2 (31 Oct. 1976), p. 8-9. NL 98-887.
Ottoman overstrikes on European crowns.
 ONS Newsletter no.46 (Dec. 1976). NL 99-408.
The Egyptian silver coins called "Parisi".
 JIntNum vol 10 (fourth quarter 1976), pp.81-3. NL 98-349.
A lion daalder of Zwolle.
 NCirc vol 85 no.1 (Jan. 1977), p.12. NL 98-589.
The striking of large silver coins in 18th century Egypt.
 ONS Newsletter no.47 (Feb. 1977), NL 99-409.
Some little-known silver coins of Sultan Mustafa II.
 NI vol 11 no.2 (Feb. 1977), pp.41-43. NL 98-350.
The large Ottoman copper coins.
 ONS Newsletter no.50 (Aug. 1977). NL 100-384.
Many mints struck coins for use in modern Egypt. (publisher's title)
 WCoins vol 18 no.907 (31 Aug. 1977), pp.42,44. NL 99-407.
The changes of the Ottoman silver coinage in the reign of Sultan Mustafa II AH 1106-1115.
 NI vol 11 no.10 (Oct. 1977), pp.309-317, 336. NL 99-404.
A hoard of Medin.
 NCirc vol 85 no.10 (Oct. 1977), pp.423-425; no.11 (Nov. 1977), pp.482-484. NL 100-383.
Ottoman Post Office lead seals.
 Judaica post vol 5 no.5 (Sep/Oct. 1977), pp.573ff. NL 100-386.
Coins used in Jerusalem about 1650.
 SHEKEL vol 11 no.1 (JAN/Feb. 1978), pp.22-23. NL 100-382.
The 18th century Egyptian copper coinage.
 NCirc vol 86 no.5 (May 1978), pp.238-9. NL 101-521.
The Ottoman paper money of World War I.
 SHEKEL vol 11 no.5 (Sep/Oct. 1978), pp.26-27. NL 102-192
The Egyptian coinage of the 18th century.
 NI vol 13. No.1 (Jan. 1979), pp.11-14. NL 102-560.
The Medin.
 NI vol 13 no.2 (Feb. 1979), pp.54-57. NL 102-561.
The bronze coinage of Abdul Mejid struck at Constantinople.
 NCirc vol 87 no.3 (March 1979), pp.122-123. NL 102-559.
The Egyptian coinage used in Palestine 1917-1927.
 SHEKEL vol 11 no.6 (Nov/dec. 1978), pp.12-15; vol 12 no.1 (Jan/Feb. 1979), pp.24-27; vol 12 no.2 (March/April 1979), pp. 24-27; vol 12 no.3 (May/June 1979), pp.27-30. NL 102-370.
A Magen David on an Egyptian piastre of Selim III.
 SHEKEL vol 13 no.2 (March/April 1980), p.45. NL 104-459.
Ottoman medals issued in connection with Palestine.
 SHEKEL vol 13 no.1 (Jan/Feb. 1980), pp.23-25. NL 104-101.
The silver coins of Trablus Gharb towards the end of the Qaramanli rule.
 NCirc vol 89 no.7/8 (July/August 1981), pp.240-41. NL 107-411.
The Attilik.
 SHEKEL vol 14 no.4 (July/Aug. 1981), pp. 40-41. NL 107-409.
Mints of Palestine under Islamic rule.
 SHEKEL vol 14 no.5 (Sep/Oct. 1981), pp. 32-34. NL 107-410.
An additional Islamic minting in Palestine.
 SHEKEL vol 15 no.1 (Jan/Feb. 1982). NL 108-269.
Jews and the mints of Islam.
 SHEKEL vol 19 no.4 (July/Aug. 1986), pp.10-12. NL 117-395.

The mysterious coins of Tripoli.
 WCN vol 14 no.5 (3 Feb. 1987), p.22. NL 118-402.
The Ibrahimi.
 NCirc vol 95 no.6 (July 1987), pp.182-183. NL 121-335.
Jewish minters in some mints of the Islamic west.
 SHEKEL vol 21 no.1 (Jan/Feb. 1988), pp.18-20. NL 119-354.
Jews in the mints of Ottoman Turkey.
 SHEKEL vol 21 no.2 (March/April 1988), pp.12-15. NL 120-403.
Jews in the Egyptian mints of the Fatimids and Ayyubids.
 SHEKEL vol 21 no. 3 (May/June 1988), pp. 26-28.
A document preserved in India mentioning the "Ibrahimi".
 NCirc vol 96 no.4 (May 1988), p.117.
Some notes on the Medin.
 NI vol 22 no.7 (July 1988), pp.167-170. NL 120-404.

Section 2 - The Coinage of the Yemen
The use of Mamluk coins in the Zaydi Yemen in the late 9th/15th century.
 NCirc vol 93 no.10 (Dec. 1985), pp.330-331. NL 116-389.
The first coin of the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Yahya Hamid al-Dīn.
 NI vol 20 no. 7 (July 1986), pp. 158/9. NL 117-396; NL 119-353.
A coin of the Tahirids of the Yemen.
 NCirc vol 94 no.7 (Sep.1986), p.223. NL 118-399.
The coins of the Yemen of the second Ottoman occupation, 16 Safar 1289 - Safar 1337 / 15 April 1872 - November 1918.
 NI vol 20 no.12 (Dec. 1986), pp.271-279. NL 118-401.
The period of the early Qasimid Imāms of the Yemen, 1006-1054 H / 1597-1644.
 NCirc vol 96 no.2 (March 1988), pp. 39-43. NL 121-336.
The Zaidī Imām al-Mahdī Ahmad b. al-ḥasan, 1087-1092 H / 1676-1681.
 NCirc vol 96 no.5 (June 1988), pp.143-146. NL 121-337.
The gold coins of the Zaidī Imāms of the 17th to 19th centuries.
 NCirc vol 96 no.7 (Sep. 1988), pp.211-212. NL 122-375.
Jewish minters in the Yemen.
 SHEKEL vol 21 no.5 (Sep/Oct. 1988), pp.16-20. NL 123-294.
The coins of the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, 1054-1087 H / 1644-1676.
 NCirc vol 97 no.5 (June 1989), pp.147-150; vol 97 no.6 (July/Aug. 1989), pp.183-185, 193. NL 123-295.
The coins of the Zaidī Imāms of the period 1224-1265 H / 1809-1849.
 NCirc vol 98 no.1 (Feb. 1990), pp. 1-7.
A gold coin of the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-ḥusayn.
 NI vol 25 no. 7 (July 1990), p.84.
The coins of the Zaidī Imāms of the 3rd quarter of the 19th century.
 NI vol 25 no. 7 (July 1990), pp.149-160.
A tughra on a gold coin of the Zaidī Imām al-Mahdī al-'Abbas.
 NCirc vol 98 no.10 (Dec 1990), p.351.
Some remarks about the Hamid al-din Imams of the Yemen.
 NI vol 26 no.1 (Jan. 1990), pp.7-10.

Other News

- **ICOMON**

The 18th General Conference of the International Council of Museums will be held in Melbourne, Australia, from 10-16 October 1998 with the general theme of *Museums & Cultural Diversity - Ancient Cultures, New Worlds*. ICOMON will be meeting during the course of the main conference and is planning to present an interesting programme of keynote speeches and case studies dealing with the following topics:

- responding to change
- money and mining: the Pacific Basin
- real and virtual museums

Additional information can be obtained from the ICOMON secretariat in Brussels via fax: ++32 2 221 3160.

- **ANS Lecture**

On 11 July 1998 at 11.00, Stuart Sears will be giving a lecture at the ANS on Sijistan Arab-Sasanian coins entitled *Solving an enigma: the immobilised types of Sistan's Sasanian style coinage*. Dr Sears is Assistant Professor in the Department of History,

American University in Cairo. He is author of a doctoral thesis on the subject of *A Monetary History of Iraq and Iran ca. CE 500 to 750*. The lecture will be followed by an informal luncheon (cost \$20). For further information please contact Dr Michael Bates at the ANS: tel ++1 212 234 3130; fax ++1 212 234 3381; e-mail bates@amnumsoc.org

- **World of Money CD-ROM**

The British Museum has just published its World of Money CD-ROM. This presents an interactive exploration of money worldwide from ancient times to the present day. Drawing on the collections of the British Museum, *World of Money* presents a mine of information about the use, form, history and importance of money around the globe. The CD provides direct access to the dedicated *World of Money* website; 2000 images from the British Museum's collections; 5 interactive games; a clip art gallery for export to other applications; video footage etc. Suitable for both PC and MAC, the CD costs £24.99 plus £2.50 postage and packing, UK or £3.75 per copy overseas. It is available from Marketing Department, British Museum Press, 46 Bloomsbury Street, London, UK, WC1B 3QQ; tel ++44 171 323 1234; fax

++44 171 436 7315; website www.britishmuseumcompany.co.uk
ISBN 0 7141 0889 8. It is hoped to have a review of the CD in a future newsletter.

• Chinese Counterfeits

An North American publication has reported information on what a collector has called "dangerous counterfeits of all Chinese cash coins" which have been advertised in Chinese hobby and numismatic publications. Called *The complete collection of Chinese ancient coins*, the sets each contain 4819 cast reproductions of historical cast Chinese coins in their original sizes. There is no indication on the coins that they are in fact copies. Up to 4000 sets are to be produced, 2000 of which are intended for the domestic market and 2000 for foreign buyers. They are due to be produced by the Chengdu Ancient Culture Development Corporation, located in the capital of the Sichuan province, and supervised by the China Historical Museum. In China, the price of a set is 37,500 yuan renminbi (approximately US\$ 4,500), but sets shipped to foreign destinations are priced at US\$ 18,500! It is not clear how many sets have actually been produced to date but collectors need to be aware of this material coming onto the market.

• China Banknotes Co

January 1997 saw the founding in Shanghai of the China Banknotes Co [Zhongguo zhibi she] and its journal *Zhonghua jichao* [Chinese Banknote Collecting]. The founding coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Banknote Collectors' Society [Zhongguo zhibi jicang hui] in 1947 by Mr Qian Wanneng of Shanghai.

A total of six issues of the journal *Zhonghua jichao* were published before the China Banknotes Co was forced to bring the journal to a close in November 1997. A full set of the journal was recently presented to the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

New and Recent Publications

1. Eduard Khurshudyan: *Die Parthischen Und Sasanidischen Verwaltungsinstitutionen. nach den Literarischen und Epigraphischen Quellen III Jh.V.Chr. - VII Jh.N.Chr* is the title of a new book published in Yerevan, 1998 in German with a summary in English. Edited by Prof. Dr. Vladimir Livshits and Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt. Publisher: the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

This 324 page volume (ISBN 5-8079-0181-X), contains the following chapters:

Einleitung

Kapitel I: Die Statthalter und Provinzherrscher

Kapitel II: Die höchsten Ränge der zentralen Zivilverwaltung

Kapitel III: Die höchsten Hofbeamten

Kapitel IV: Finanzbeamten

Kapitel V: Stadtverwaltung

Kapitel VI: Militärverwaltung

Kapitel VII: Die Schreiber

Summary

Anhang

The price of a single copy is US\$30 plus \$10 p&p. To order, please do the following: transfer the appropriate sum through Beneficiary Bank A/C with Marine Midland Bank New York, Swift Address: MRMDUS33, Chips//CP:108; Beneficiary Bank: Midland Armenia Bank, Yerevan, Armenia, Swift Address: MIDLAM22, Beneficiary Bank A/C No 000-05145-4; in favour of ac. No. 001-048057-120 EDUARD KHURSHUDYAN. Then send the order together with the confirmation of the bank transfer and our address to Dr. Ed. Khurshudyan, Abovian St. 41, #17, Yerevan 375009, Armenia. E-mail: eduard@akod.arminco.com

2. Kh. Mousheghian: *The Numismatics of Armenian History* is the title of a new book published in Yerevan, 1997 in English, Russian and Armenian. by ANAHIT. 166 pp, 66 photos (ISBN 5-550-00530-1) The price of a single copy is US\$30 plus \$10 p&p. To order, please do the following. Transfer the appropriate sum through Beneficiary Bank A/C with Marine Midland Bank New York, Swift Address: MRMDUS33, Chips//CP:108; Beneficiary Bank: Midland Armenia Bank, Yerevan, Armenia, Swift Address:

MIDLAM22, Beneficiary Bank A/C No 000-05145-4; in favour of ac. No. 001-048057-120 EDUARD KHURSHUDYAN. Then send the order together with the confirmation of the bank transfer and your address to Dr. Ed. Khurshudyan, Abovian St. 41, #17, Yerevan 375009, Armenia. E-mail: eduard@akod.arminco.com

3. BULLETIN OF THE ASIA INSTITUTE 10 (June 1998)

Studies in Honor of Vladimir A. Livshits

Ivan Steblin-Kamenskii and Richard Nelson Frye: *Vladimir Aronovich Livshits;*

Bibliography of V. A. Livshits

I. M. Diakonoff: *Pre-Median Indo-Iranian Tribes in Northern Iran?*

Rüdiger Schmitt: *Epigraphisch-exegetische Probleme der altpersischen Texte 'DNb' und 'XPI': Teil I*

Michael Fuller and A. D. H. Bivar: *Parthian Ostraca from the Syrian Jazira*

Antonio Invernizzi: *Old Nisa and the Art of the Steppes*

S. D. Loginov and A. B. Nikitin: *Parthian Coins from Margiana: Numismatics and History*

Richard Nelson Frye and Prods Oktor Skjærø: *The Middle Persian Inscription from Meshkinshahr*

Philippe Gignoux: *Six documents pehlevi sur cuir du California Museum of Ancient Art, Los Angeles*

Gherardo Gnoli: *More on astwand ruwan (KKZ 19 and KNRb 20-21)*

J. Harmatta: *The Wall of Alexander the Great and the Limes Sasanicus*

A. S. Melikian-Chirvani: *The Iranian Wine Horn from Pre-Achaemenid Antiquity of the Safavid Age*

D. N. MacKenzie: *Khwarezmian Enigma Variations*

Nicholas Sims-Williams and François de Blois: *The Bactrian Calendar*

Yutaka Yoshida: *The Sogdian Dhuta Text and Its Chinese Original*

Frantz Grenet and Zhang Guangda, : *The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*

Werner Sundermann: *A Manichaean View on the Resurrection of the Body*

Richard Salomon: *Five Kharosthi Inscriptions*

Helmut Humbach: *Pangul, a Turco-Bactrian Ruler*

Martin Schwartz: **Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharanges, and... "Semanglof"*

Richard Salomon: *Addendum to "Three Dated Kharosthi Inscriptions (BAI 9)*

There are also several reviews.

Clothbound, 8½ x 11½ ", printed on acid-free paper 300 pp., 130 ills.; \$65 + \$8 shipping in U.S. funds, U.S. bank. Pre-payment necessary. Order from: Bulletin of the Asia Institute, 3287 Bradway Blvd., Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301. Tel: ++1 248-647-7917; Fax: ++1 248-647-9223

E-mail: bai34@aol.com

<http://www.bulletinasiainstitute.org>

4. *Ancient, medieval & recent history and coins of Pakistan*, by Rear Admiral Sohail A. Khan, Chairman of the Pakistan Numismatic Society has recently been published in Pakistan by Leo Books of Islamabad. This 168 page, case-bound book is a very useful introduction to the coinage of the area that is now Pakistan from ancient to recent times. The information provided is quite basic, but for collectors in Pakistan and elsewhere who have difficulty in obtaining more comprehensive publications or who merely want to know what series of coins there are to collect, this book will serve a good purpose. There are various illustrations and several charts. Priced at PRs 300, the book can be obtained from Mobin Ahmed, Secretary, PNS, PO Box 1882, Islamabad, Pakistan. Tel: ++92 51 851561; fax: ++92 51 851562.

5. The second edition of Stephen Album's *Checklist of Islamic coins* has now been published, price around \$20 plus postage. As mentioned in an earlier newsletter, this edition, at 151 pages, is twice as large as the previous edition. It contains a wealth of information and makes fascinating reading despite the fact that the entries remain relatively basic. As the author says in his introduction: *the first edition of this Checklist was intended as a convenient record of Islamic coin types, within the geometric and chronological criteria described together with a subjective estimation of the rarity of each type. This second edition has added*

further information, including, for each dynasty or sub-dynasty, as indication of the most frequently encountered mints and subtypes, as well as general information on quality of strike and average preservation. Metrological data are generally not provided except where deemed essential for the classification of types. Like the first edition, this revised edition is intended especially for the beginner and the more advanced general collector, but not for the specialist, who needs detail far beyond what can be included in a synoptic guide.

6. *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings, 750-900: The Numismatic Evidence*

(Variorum Collected Studies Series), Aldershot, England, 1998, by Thomas S. Noonan: (x + 340) cloth-bound, ISBN 0-86078-657-9.

This volume contains six of the author's published articles: *Why the Vikings First Came to Russia* (1986); *Why Dirhams First Reached Russia: The Role of Arab-Khazar Relations in the Development of the Earliest Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe* (1984); *Ninth-Century Dirham Hoards from European Russia: A Preliminary Analysis* (1981); *The Regional Composition of Ninth-Century Dirham Hoards from European Russia* (1984); *A Ninth-Century Dirham Hoard from Devitsa in Southern Russia* (1982); and, *Early Abbasid Mint Output* (1986).

7. *IRNS Newline, issue 17 (January 1998)*, from the Indian Institute of Numismatic Research in Numismatic Studies has been received. It contains various comments and short items on Indian coins.

8. *VOC duiten en halve duiten*, by Lionel Sluiter, published by Numismata Nusantara, Indonesia, 1998, 76 pages, in Dutch.

The booklet is based on the works of J. P. Moquette who, during the period 1906-1910, published a number of monographs on the coinage of the Dutch East Indies in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. The present booklet is an improvement of Moquette's earlier monograph and, with the help of a few specialist collectors, new dates as well as several new varieties have been listed. It may be obtained from the author by transferring Dfl 16.95 to the Dutch postal giro account 620 43 80 of L. H. M. Sluiter, Amsterdam. The publication will be sent from Indonesia by registered mail within around 4 weeks after receipt of payment.

9. Two articles by M. I. Mochiri are as follows. *Les monnaies de Kavad I à double effigie*, published in the Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge September 1995 (Wiesbaden 1998, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag). *Petite liste de quelques ateliers sassanides inédits*, in IRAN XXXIV 1996, published by the British Institute of Persian Studies.

10. *Les Karshapana*, by J. A. Schoonheydt in Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois, t. CVII (1995), pp.23-47.

11. *Metallsiegel in der Islamischen Welt, ihre Forschungsgeschichte und orientalische Bleisiegel aus einem Siegeldfund in Konstantinopel (metal seals in the Islamic world, their research history, and oriental lead seals from a hoard found in Constantinople)* by Stefan Heidemann and Claudia Sode in Res Orientales, vol X, 1997.

12. *Money of the World*, Orbis Publishing Ltd. ISBN 0 789 43226. This is a fortnightly magazine which provides a fascinating introduction to numismatics in general. It is divided into four sections: a collectors guide, insight, history and money today. Oriental information is spread out across all four sections; for example, in the history section early Chinese coins are explained. The method of casting the copper coins is defined, and the long history of Chinese numismatics is told in a few hundred words. The paper on ancient India sweeps through the history and the coins of the empires between the 4th century BC and the 6th century AD. Some Hindu gods are described and illustrated. Coverage is lively and bright with mainly good photographs. Sections are broken down into interesting chapters, one entitled *The world's most expensive coins* uses coins from all over the world, whilst Japanese and Islamic coins feature. The text is accurate and easy to read; it may not tell ONS members anything they do not already know but for beginners and for older children it is an excellent start for further numismatic learning. Each issue comes with free coins or banknotes.

Work in Progress

John Sylvester and Andre Husken are preparing a book on the traditional awards of Annam: the khang, boi, bai, and coin-like gold and silver tien. The book will included in the appendix reproductions of the Sogny and Dang Ngoc Oanh articles from the Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hue. They would be grateful for photographs of unusual pieces or additional information, particularly on the perhaps unofficial pieces with the Chinese character inscriptions Ngu Vi Ton Ong (fifth degree respected elder) and Tu Phu Cong Dong (four, government, public, same). Any such information can be sent to John Sylvester Jr., 1114 Stonebridge Drive, Durham, NC 27712 USA.

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707-539-2120; fax ++1 707-539-3348; e-mail album@sonic.net) lists number 145 (April 1998) and 146 (May).
2. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, Calif. 92169, USA; tel ++1 619-272-9440; fax ++1 619-272-9441) list 110 (May 1998) of modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes. This list includes a fine collection of coins of Algiers, Tripoli (Libya) and Sudan.
3. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA; tel ++1 310 326 8866; fax ++1 310 326 5618; e-mail persic@msn.com) list 43 (Summer 1998).
4. Recent Spink Numismatic Circulars have included selections of Islamic coins for sale (Spink & Son Ltd, 5,6,7 King Street, St. James's, London SW1Y 6QS; tel ++44 171 930 7888; fax ++44 171 839 4853).
5. Poinson Numismatique (4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, 67000 Strasbourg, France; tel ++33 3 8832 1050; fax ++33 3 8875 0114) fixed price list 43 (May 1998) includes various oriental coin.
6. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ; tel ++44 1878-710300; fax ++44 1878-710216)

Review

Numismatica Academicus

A review by John Page

Numismatica Academicus is a numismatic journal published by the Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography in Indore, India. Thus far twelve volumes have been published in three paper-bound volumes. These three paper-bound volumes and their contents are listed below.

1. NUMISMATICA ACADEMICUS - Volume One, published 1985(?)
Volume I: seven articles & plates, two book reviews; 56 pages, completed 1978.
Volume II: eighteen articles & plates; 72 pages, completed 1979.
Volume III: twenty-two articles & plates, one book review; 83 pages, completed 1980.
Volume IV: twenty-one articles & plates, one book review; 67 pages, completed 1982.
Volume V: seventeen articles & plates, one report; 74 pages, completed 1983-84.
2. NUMISMATICA ACADEMICUS - Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume, published 1988.
Volume VI: twenty-eight articles, maps & plates, news & reviews; 179 pages, completed 1988.
3. NUMISMATICA ACADEMICUS -Volume Two (misprinted Volume One) published 1995(?)
Volumes VII-VII: fifteen articles & plates, three book reviews & one report; 128 pages, completed 1990.
Volumes IX-X: nine articles, six book reviews & one report; 87 pages, completed 1993-94.
Volumes XI-XII (misprinted Volumes IX-X): five articles & one report; 90 pages, completed 1994-95.

The organization of twelve volumes in the three paper-back publications are confusing, especially with the first publication and the third publication both being labeled as *Volume One*. The second publication, honouring Dr. Shastri, has no volume identification. One would reason that this second publication

should be *Volume Two* and the third paper-back publication should be *Volume Three*. To add to the confusion, there exists another NUMISMATICA ACADEMICUS paper-back publication containing Volumes III-V. It is, also, called *Volume One!*

Once one puts the confusing volume identification aside, the articles within the Volumes have significant numismatic merit. These twelve volumes cover a wide range of Indian numismatics, including at least the areas and their number of articles as listed below.

Local & Tribal Coinage	12	Mughals	4
Princely States	8	Satavahanas	3
Guptas	5	Hephthalites	3
Indo-Greeks	3	Gond	3
Early Islam	3	European	2
Yaudheya	3	Kushana	1
Western Satraps	1		

There are several articles each relating to copper plates, seals and grants. Moreover, there is at least one article on coin dies, symbols, casting and inscriptions. Most of these articles are well written by notable scholars well versed in Indian numismatics. I hesitate to list a few because too many qualify as distinguished contributors. The Academy's esteemed Advisory Editors probably play no small role in attracting contributors of quality.

In Volumes One and Two of Volume One (1985) are two articles relating to Panchala coins written by Dr. K. M. Shrimali. The Volume One article, based on his Ph.D thesis, "History of Panchala to c. A. D. 550," attempts to date the Panchala coins and their rulers by comparing the evolutionary development of the script utilized on the coins. He compares these results with stratification evidence to further solidify his conclusions.

The latter article offers evidence for optional interpretations of the reverse devices found on the Panchala coins. Although he does not exclude the more commonly held view of the devices as religious symbols, he presents ample evidence of other possibilities such as symbols that normally enhance kingship and/or power of the State.

Since beginning the review of these twelve volumes, I have learned via ONS Newsletter No. 154 that Volume 13 is now being prepared for publication. Information regarding the Journal should be directed to the editor, Dr. S. K. Bhatt, at the Academy in Indore as shown below.

Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography
115 Kailash Park Manorama Ganj, Indore 452001
India

Review

Robert C. Senior : *From Gondophares to Kanishka*, 33 p. 3pl. Glastonbury, Somerset 1997.

Robert Senior once more gives proof of his talent for catching significant details from an enormous quantity of coins. The author points out that his historical approach is based on observations from his own very important and still unpublished collection, from examination of hoard material and researching inscriptions. His role in the recent rescue of important written archives is well-known. A number of hoards have passed through his hands before being dispersed into the market and this has enabled him to examine what is in effect a very important documentation that would have been otherwise completely lost. It is a pity that there is no efficient legal protection for hoards as a whole, because of the indispensable historical information they can provide - much more than the simple summation of the information contained in each individual coin. I published some years ago in the *Mélanges Colbert de Beaulieu* an article on this subject, triggered by a particularly cynical article published by a French dealer. But this is the world we live in, and at least a minimum of information has been saved in this way. New numismatic material is a basic precondition for further progress in this sector of history where coins play at the moment an exaggerated role - source of Byzantine polemics - also unfortunately for an unforeseeable future, due to the lack of literary sources and modern excavation evidence. So once more, Robert Senior's discoveries of unknown types and varieties is an important contribution. The presentation of hypothetical interpretations such as the distribution of coinages bearing the same name among various homonymous kings, or

tentative datings, can be discussed, even contested, but in any way, the fact of having brought to the knowledge of the scientific community a quantity of new material, sometimes of a great historical importance, will doubtless remain to the credit of the author.

Reviewing any contribution for me begins with a glance at the bibliography. That is not presented systematically here, but scattered in text and end notes. There are some obvious lacunae, particularly the important contributions of Alberto Simonetta on the subject, of which only one is mentioned, and also evidence of overstrikes, countermarks and unknown coins I published myself. Because some of my own articles are involved, I felt somehow embarrassed, to the point of thinking of asking somebody else to review this booklet. This is not because I feel, as an author, in any way offended: historical interpretations given in those papers may be wrong from Senior's point of view; that is his right - science progresses by refuting and disproving misleading hypotheses - but because there was also evidence brought for new and significant material, they cannot be ignored. Therefore, a discussion about the arguments and reconstructions presented in Senior's essay cannot be made only using the coins and documents discussed, but on a larger basis, taking into account all the material and studies available for this period.

The author begins by observing that Gondophares is not to be considered as a personal name, but rather as a title assumed by several kings, as he had already mentioned in an earlier note, and new coin evidence supports this interpretation. In writing (p.2) that the king mentioned in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription should be a second Gondophares, he is agreeing with the reconstruction based on the Seistan silver drachmae published a long time ago by Simonetta (*East and West*, Dec. 1978, p.155sq.). According to this sequence, the Takht-i-Bahi king should be the second one bearing this title. However, it cannot be the new king Gondophares-Sases, according to the two overstrikes I published a long time ago in the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* (XXVII, 1972, p. 147sq.) of which Mitchiner afterwards found several new examples. One is a bronze Indo-Greek tetradrachm type, overstrike of a certain Gondophares on Hermaios, the second one, of Kujula Kadphises on seemingly the same Gondophares. So this Gondophares (not Sases) is rather solidly bound chronologically within the interval in which the Indo-Parthians conquered Kapsi from the last Indo-Greek king and the subsequent reconquest of Kapsi by Kujula Kadphises. This interval may be dated roughly c.20-35 A.D. and corresponds in time to the Takht-i-Bahi king, according to Senior's own interpretation. I explained, in a communication to the July '97 *South Asian Archaeology* conference in Rome, my reasons for refusing the theory of endless Hermaios and other kings' posthumous coinages supported by Dobbins and Bopearachchi. I proposed to consider that there was a second Hermaios, conquered by Gondophares (II ?), and distinct from the homonymous king issuing pure silver coinage. I will not develop this here as that would be beyond the present subject.

Similarity of types, especially those as common as the Nike reverse seems to me a very weak basis for chronological arguments. In spite of the interpretation and chronology of Robert Senior, which I do not agree with, due in particular to the disregard of the cited overstrike evidence, his discovery of the coinage of Gondophares-Sases raises a number of interesting questions. A king Sases (formerly called Sasan) bearing the title *Goridramiasa Gadapharasa*, that Simonetta, in the quoted article, interpreted as « of the legitimate lineage of Gondophares », was already known from a coinage with the rider type of obverse, and the question arises of whether two separate kings are to be and can be identified. If this other one is, as indicated by Simonetta, the son of Aspavarma, who was a *strategos* of Azes II, he cannot be later than Abdagases, so they are two distinct characters. But for Mitchiner, Sases is the nephew of Aspa (Mitchiner 1104). Senior discusses the possible identification of Aspa with Aspavarma.

The mention of a king *Gundaphor* in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas is known since mention in the last century by Cunningham, and Senior is right in paying tribute to this outstanding scholar. However, it may have been useful to cite a recent article by Javier Teixidor (in *Apocrypha : le champ des apocryphes*, I, 1990, p. 269 sq.) giving the current state of the art about this unique mention of an Apostle's travel cutting across

historical evidence.

There then follows a rather complicated discussion about the Seistan coinage, but at the end, the author concludes with a very early chronology : the Gondophares, founder of the dynasty, would have been reigning contemporaneously with the Arsacid Phraates III (70-57 B.C.) and Mithridates III (57-54 B.C.). May be, but with only two kings named Gondophares available, I do not see clearly how to fill up the interval between those dates and the dates, a century later, established through the overstrikes mentioned above. The discussion about the mounted king and copper issues is not very conclusive. Countermarked coins may have been more fruitful for chronology. Senior publishes a new countermark on a drachma of Phraates IV (also found on Oroses II) presenting the *Gondopharid symbol* surrounded with a legend ORQAGNOU, and also provides evidence for a new king, who seems much earlier than the king of Arachosian bronzes, Mitchiner types 1096-1099. Instead of reasoning from all the countermarks of this time, the author remains strictly limited to the case of the Gondopharid symbol countermarks, and this does not go very far. Once again, moreover, the bibliography is incomplete. In particular, Roman Ghirshman described in *Bégram* (Mémoires de la DAFA XII, 1946) important imitations of the overstruck Parthian drachmae, and a coin with two reverses of Gondophares, which may be a striking proof from a local mint. Simonetta gave the first notable essays on those coins in two articles in *East and West* 1957 and 1958 ; I published a commented corpus of countermarked coins, among them some unpublished types (*Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, 1977, p. 99sq.); Zeimal (*Drevnie monetyi Tadzhikistana*, Dushanbe 1983) published the most important hoard of countermarked Parthian coins.

Then comes what I regard as the most original part of this study - and very interesting it is too - concerning the local coinage of the region of Charsadda after the fall of the empire of Azes (II). Inscriptions published only a few years ago and new coins allow a detailed reconstruction of the sequence of local rulers, the *Apracarajas*. Seemingly, neither Gondophares (II), nor his successor Abdagases took control of this part of Gandhara. On the contrary, Gondophares occupied Eastern Punjab at the time of Sodasa, Great Satrap, son of Rajuvula, shortly after his accession to the throne in 19 A.D. This too simple chronology, compatible with the evidence of overstrikes, is not accepted by the author. Due to his very early dating of Gondophares I, his whole chronology is pulled towards the past, with an end of reign before 5 BC, already giving him a longevity admirable for the time. I can but refer again to the evidence of overstrikes about this hypothesis.

Robert Senior also develops a quantity of arguments to prove there was only one Azes. But because he feels that bronze coinage with his name comes necessarily later, he has to suppose an important posthumous coinage. The Sakas were barbarians, but they found super-barbarians to imitate their coinage. Not to mention the fact that, if Gondophares immediately followed Azes, there is no room for a period of disorder long enough to account for this huge quantity of coins. Also the career of Azes I did not begin in 58 BC. Senior himself, in a list in 1994, published a coin associating Apollodotos II with a (sub)king whose name in three aksaras could be read *A(ya)sa* (See my communication to 97' *South Asian Archaeology*). He probably was for a number of years the chief of a Saka army under a Greek king, before he was able to overthrow his successor, Hippostratos. But Senior does not accept the interruption of Saka domination in Taxila between Maues and Azes (I) in spite of the monogram evidence developed by Bivar and Boppearachchi for the reigns of Apollodotos II and Hippostratos. In note 118 : « Azes rarest and earliest dies show Zeus with parallel diadem ties exactly as on the Maues coins. Possibly by the same artist and indicating that there is no gap (or Indo-Greek rule) between the issues? ». This is another example of discarding solid evidence and giving preference to a vague iconographical similarity, particularly weak for such a schematic representation, with disproportionate and very hazardous conclusions. And what about Azilises in this case? His partly debased coinage cannot be contemporaneous with Azes I's made of good silver, as Senior proposes, but fits well into a middle position between Azes I and Azes II. Some common monograms with Maues, and not Azes, can also be consistent with it, supposing Azilises reactivated mints abandoned for a while. There are many

other examples of this kind in Boppearachchi. Jenkins' classification with spear and whip was a hypothesis, but for me a much simpler one, confirmed by the sequence of debasements, and free of the arbitrary use of "posthumous" coinages, which, for me, is too often a convenient means of eliminating evidence, when it does not fit a presupposed theory. The discontinuity is confirmed by Senior himself (p.14) : « There is no direct monogram links between the coins of Maues and Azes » (it is almost true, they have in common at least the monogram Bop. 21), when such links do exist with Apollodotos II.

An impressive sequence of hoards is finally presented; this is certainly very interesting, but I will not enter into detailed comments about it as that would extend this review too much. Concerning the conclusion, I will not repeat my disagreement with the proposed chronology. I would only mention my difficulty in accepting Aspavarma of being both a *strategos* of Azes II, then of Gondophares-Sases, some 50 years later, unless he was *strategos* of posthumous issues.

This booklet makes for very exciting reading, particularly the study of the local situation in Western Gandhara during the almost unknown period of transition between Sakas and Indo-Parthians, and the catalogue of some important hoards. In spite of its various documentary weaknesses and the unlikely interpretations I mentioned, the rich material it reveals certainly augurs well for future animated discussions and progress.

François Widemann

[Editor's note: any member wishing to obtain a copy of *From Gondophares to Kanishka* should contact Bob Senior, Butleigh Court Tower, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8SA, UK; tel & fax ++44 1458 850824. The price of the booklet is £4 for UK buyers and £5 for purchasers in other countries.]

An Umayyad dirhem from Jiroft of AH 82 By Dr. M. S. Jazzar



Obverse field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بجيرفت في سنة ثنتين و ثمانين

three circles and five annulets

Reverse field:

الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد له كفو احد

Margin: بحمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله و لو كره المشركون

five annulets

Weight: 2.85 gm Diameter: 27.2 mm

Jiroft is situated in the southern Kirman district of Iran. It was a large, rich city in former times, well supplied with fruit and palm

trees. A river passed through it, yet it had a very hot climate. Al-Istakhri in *Ar-rawd al-Mi'tar* says that the inhabitants of the city had an excellent tradition: they did not pick up the fallen dates from their palm trees, but these were left for the poor. When there was a storm or strong wind, the poor had more dates than the landlords.

Jiroft is known as a mint for the Arab-Sasanian series, both in the form of the suffix GY to KRMAN, and in very rare cases as a stand-alone mint-name. One such issuer is 'Atiya b. as-Aswad. It also occurs on some later Buwaihid and Seljuq coins.

Jiroft was conquered by the Muslims in the time of the Caliph Umar b. al-Khattab. The leader was Suhail b. Udayy.

I am grateful to the owner of this coin for allowing it to be published here; it has been in his possession for the last 15 years.

Ghazi: The Illustrious Title awarded to Sultans

By Kenneth M. MacKenzie

The title was given to a leader who distinguished himself in a *gaza*, (a Muslim raid on the frontiers of Anatolia) and who made his living chiefly from booty.

The famous ruler of the Ottoman Emirate in the fourteenth century Orhan, the son of 'Uthman, is described in an inscription in Bursa dated 1327 as "Sultan son of the Sultan of Ghazis, Ghazi son of a Ghazi, Lord of the Horizon, Hero of the World". The Ghazi title is associated with his successors Murad I (1328-89), Bayezid I (1389-1402) and Mehmed II at which period the tradition of the ghazi way of life was noticeable mostly at the borders of the Empire, in Rumelia (the Balkans).

In the seventeenth century the title was awarded to Murad IV as he led the Ottoman army against the Persians who had been in the possession of Baghdad since 1623. After a siege of forty days, at the end of 1638, he captured the city and was named *Fatih-i Baghdad*. In the early part of the new year, a peace was concluded between the two Empires, and the city became once more an Ottoman possession.

Murad was the last sultan to visit Iraq and it is the first time that the title of ghazi was used on an Ottoman coin. It was not used in this way again until the reign of Abdul Hamid II during a war with Russia. He obtained a legal opinion from the mufti (Fetva) and then incorporated it with his tughra used on coins and banknotes in 1877, replacing the rose-sprig used in his first regnal year.

The silver coin described below was struck in Baghdad as soon as the mint was re-opened and bears the hijra date of 1048, similar coins were struck after the peace was signed at Kasr-i Shirin early in the following year, and these are dated hijra 1049. This happened to be the last regnal year of Murad IV since he died of cirrhosis of the liver later in Istanbul. Murad's regular coinage struck at the Imperial mints were dated with his accession year of hijra 1032 except on some coins struck in the North African pashaliks.

It is noteworthy that the sultan's tughra on these Baghdad coins included the phrase *el muzaffar da'ima* (the ever victorious) with his formal title of Shah at the base. This type of tughra used on his documents, was also favoured by an earlier Sultan, Murad III on dirhems (shahis) struck at the mints in Van and Tabriz with his accession year 982. It was not until the reign of Mustafa III (1695) to the end of the Empire, that the elaborate form of the reigning sultan's tughra was made standard for the coinage of the Ottomans.

An Ottoman dirham (shahi) of Murad IV



Fig. 1

1.47g. 16mm (holed)

Obverse: Tughra: *Shah Murad bin Ahmed Khan al-muzaffar da'ima*. (An important change from the simplified tughra used on silver coins struck at the Sultan's other mints in the empire (fig. 2) usually with his accession date of 1032H).

Reverse: *Sultan Murad [khan] Gazi bin Ahm[ed Khan] azze nasruhu [duribe fi Baghdad sanat 1048]*

(This partial inscription can be studied carefully by referring to fig. 3 which is an enlargement of a similar coin published by Cüneyt Ölçer in his 'Rare Ottoman Coins at European Museums' (1984). This coin held in the Museum in Munich is a heavier specimen, 2.94g.



Fig. 2. The simplified form of the tughra

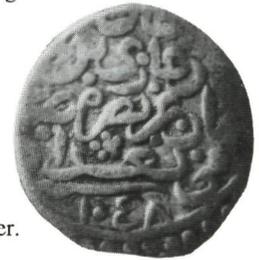


Fig. 3. Dirham published by C. Ölçer.



Fig. 4. The reverse of an Hayriye altin, Edirne mint. With 3 panels: *Gazi/ Mahmud/ Khan*, issued in 24th regnal year (1831AD).



Fig. 5. Abdul Hamid II's use of 'el-Ghazi' at the side of his tughra.

Weight distribution and rarity of silver coins of Sultan Selim III

H. Wilski

In recent times the silver coins of the Ottoman Sultan Selim III (1203-1222 AH; 1789-1807 AD) have been especially studied by Lachman¹⁻⁶. He was the first to realise that in the first year of Selim's reign silver coins were minted according to a heavy standard with a first tughra, which were soon followed by coins of the same weight standard, but with a second type of tughra. Finally in the same year the minting of lighter coins started although without any change in the tughra. Later the subject was picked up again by Arda, and he was the first to publish a list of all coins of the second standard with the second tughra⁷⁻⁹. Now, a little supplement will be added to these papers.

Out of the many coins minted in "Islambul" during the reign of Selim III those of the second weight standard with the second tughra are very common. From these again the denominations of 80 para (ikilik) and 100 para (yüslük) are found most frequently, and therefore they are suitable for a statistical analysis. The aim of this study was to give answers to three questions:

1. Does the weight of the coins depend on the year of reign?
2. What is the coin weight distribution?
3. In which way does the frequency (resp. rarity) of the coins depend on the year of reign?

In the first instance, for this study a coin hoard from 1979 was available, which Mr. V. Popp, Mainz⁹ had kindly given to the author, and which only consisted of the coins mentioned above with the exception of two ikilik 1203-1 AH of the heavy standard

and one 2-zolota-piece from 1203-2 AH. The author had already weighed these coins at that time in search of coins of the heavy standard. But shortly after, he had to realise that this problem had already been solved a few years earlier by Lachman. Fortunately, the weighing did not become completely useless since it can now be the basis for a statistical analysis. The hoard itself, however, was not big enough for such an analysis, and since all coins of the later years of the reign were missing, other sources had to be taken into consideration. Thus Münzhandlung Mikeska, Bad Homburg¹⁰ kindly placed its stock of these coins at the author's disposal. Moreover full use was made of the Jem Sultan collection¹¹ and of the author's collection. This was necessary since coins of the last years were only found in these collections. The material studied is compiled in table 1. In this table the ikiliks of the first standard (second tughra) are also mentioned as far as they were found in the studied material. It can be seen, that these coins are by no means rare. In the following evaluation these coins were *not* taken into consideration.

Coin weight and year of reign

All coins were weighed with a Mettler analytical balance with a precision of ± 0.001 gram. It soon became apparent that the weights of the ikiliks as well as the weights of the yüslüks were independent of the year of reign, although being widely scattered. Even the coins of the very last years had the same weights as all the others. The corresponding diagram will not be reproduced here.

Weight distribution

Since the weights of the coins of both face values had been proved to be independent of the year of reign, the precondition existed for making a clear weight distribution curve. This also means that it is of no importance whether the material under investigation has a random distribution regarding the minting years or not.

During the reign of Sultan Selim III the silver coins of the Ottoman Empire were still minted "al marco", that is to say that from a certain amount of metal a certain number of coins had to be minted without weighing each coin. When coins are produced in this way considerable differences in the weight of the different coins are the natural consequence. Fig. 1 shows the weight distribution of 88 ikilik coins that had been put on the balance. The heights of the columns indicate the number of coins found in 0.2 gram intervals. From the figure it can be seen that coins weighing between 25.2 and 25.4 grams (18 pieces) were those that were found most frequently. The other coin weights are distributed more or less at random around this maximum as must be expected by minting al marco. They demonstrate a good approximation of a Gaussian distribution. The range of the distribution is considerable; the weights lie between the extremes of 23.26 and 26.68 grams. The average weight (average over all coins) is 25.06 grams. This value agrees well with the average weight found by Arda, viz. 25.00 grams⁷.

Information on the exact desired weight of the ikilik is provided by Galib¹². The ikilik should weigh 8 dirhem = 25.659 grams. This "ideal weight" is marked on the abscissa of fig. 1. As can be seen, there is a big gap between claim and reality of coining.

From all ikilik coins in Mr. Popp's hoard⁹ the diameters have been measured. The extremes were 40.7 and 44.2 mm. These values again agree well with the Arda results⁷ where diameters between 41 and 44 mm were found.

Fig. 2 shows the corresponding result found by weighing 108

yüslük coins. The interval from 31.6 to 31.8 grams comprised the largest number of coins, namely 21 coins. The range of distribution is again considerable, namely 30.13 up to 33.45 grams. The average (*all* coins included) is 31.63 grams, again agreeing well with Arda's result of 31.89 grams. All results are compiled in table 2 and there compared with Galib's data.

The frequency (and rarity) of the coins

In order to clarify the question as to the frequency of the coins of different years of coinage a sufficiently large amount of coins with random distribution is needed. Nowadays, however, it is impossible to obtain such an amount. But the material in our hands can at least provide a good approximation of the frequency of the coins with different dates. The composition of Mr. Popp's hoard is presumably random though it contains only coins from the first 14 years of the reign. The same should be true for the Mikeska stock, table 3. Since the Jem Sultan collection is quite incomplete it should also reflect the frequency of the different dates to a certain degree. Only the author's collection contains coins from all years (with the exception of the ikilik 1203-19 AH); thus it is evident that it is *not* random. In spite of this it has to be taken into consideration because otherwise there would not be any coins of the last years. Although a large number of coins could be accumulated in this way, the number of coins was still too small to establish a reliable figure for the frequency of each year. Therefore mean values have been set up for periods of 5 years. The result is shown in table 4. The figures signify the following: if one finds a large number of ikilik coins it is to be expected that 61.3 % of them were minted within the first 5 regnal years (1203-1 to 1203-5 AH), only 21.6 % of them will have been minted in the years 6 to 10, and so on. According to table 4 the chance of finding a coin minted between 1203-16 and 1203-19 is only 5.7 %. But even this figure is much too high. The frequency of the coins of the last years has been overestimated by including coin collections in the statistics. On the other hand, if these collections had not been taken into consideration the frequency for the last 4 years would have been zero - a figure certainly completely wrong, since coins of these years really do exist.

Similar considerations apply for the yüslüks, too. In this case the frequency given in the table for the coins of the last years is also too high. The chance of finding a yüslük of the last years is certainly smaller than 3.7 %. This figure may be an upper limit for the chance of finding a coin of the regnal years 1203-16 up to 1203-19 AH. The result of this study is the quantitative proof of the well known fact that the coins become less frequent in later regnal years. See also⁷.

The silver content

No silver analyses were made by the present author, but it would seem to be worth-while comparing the "official" silver content of the coins as published by Galib¹² with the result of English analyses, published in 1877 by Neubauer¹³. Table 5 shows the result. The true silver content of both coins studied agree well with the "official" silver contents bearing in mind the expected error limits. In the case of Ottoman coins this is by no means obvious.

Acknowledgements

The author gratefully acknowledges the great help he has received from Mr. Volker Popp, Mainz, and Mr. Jürgen Mikeska, Bad Homburg v.d.H. by lending him their stocks of coins, and the permission to publish these results.

Ikilik	Ikilik	Yüslük	
1st standard only year 1	2nd standard	2nd standard	
2	41	61	Coin hoard Popp 1979 ⁹ Stock Mikeska 1997 ¹⁰ Collection Jem Sultan 1977 ¹¹ Collection author 1995
1	11	10	
1	14	16	
2	22	21	
6	88	108	

Table 1. Origin and number of coins studied. All coins have the "second tughra"

Ikilik	Ikilik	Yüslük	
1st standard: only year 1 grams	2nd standards grams	2nd standard grams	
29.668 (=9 d; 4 kirat)	25.659 (= 10 dirhem)	32.070 (= 10 dirhem)	Galib ¹² Arda ⁷ This paper
--	25.00	31.89	
30.50	25.06	31.63	
30.01-32.14	23.26-26.68	30.13-33.45	

Table 2. Standard weights of silver coins as given by Galib, and actually found weight averages. Lowest and highest weights found are printed in smaller type.

Year of reign	coin hoard ⁹		Stock ¹⁰	
	Ikilik	Yüslük	Ikilik	Yüslük
1	7	7	3	1
2	6	6	0	0
3	10	11	3	3
4	3	12	1	5
5	7	11	1	0
<hr/>				
6	0	4	0	0
7	2	2	2	0
8	0	3	0	0
9	5	1	0	0
10	0	2	0	0
<hr/>				
11	0	0	0	0
12	1	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0
14	0	1	0	0
15	0	0	1	1
<hr/>				
	41	61	11	10

Table 3. Composition of the two accumulations studied here. (Only coins of the 2nd standard included).

Years of reign	Ikilik %	Yüslük %
1-5	61.3	67.6
6-10	21.6	17.6
11-15	11.4	11.1
16-19	5.7	3.7
<hr/>		
1-19	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Relative frequency of silver coins of Selim III.

Coins studied	Fineness (% silver)	
	Actually found	Standard according to ¹²
Ikilik from 1789: 26.356 grams	45.8	46.5
Yüslük from 1789: 31.602 grams	47.0	46.5

Table 5. Fineness of silver coins according to English analyses from 1877¹³

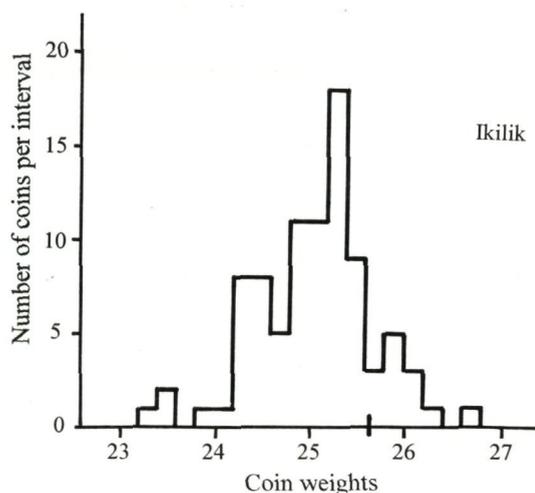


Fig. 1. 80 para coins (ikilik). Distribution of coin weights at 0.2 gram intervals. 88 coins studied. The sign on the abscissa marks the standard weight of the ikilik. Surprisingly, there were only 3 coins found that had (within the interval of 0.2 gram) the correct weight.

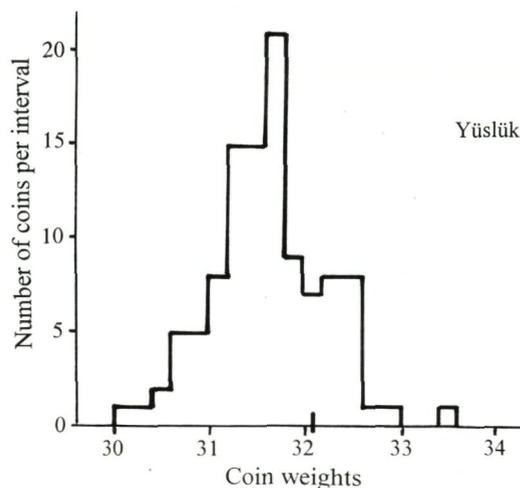


Fig. 2. 100 para coins (yüslük). Distribution of coin weights at 0.2 gram intervals. 108 coins studied. The sign on the abscissa marks the standard weight of the yüslük. Only 7 coins studied show the correct weight.

Literature

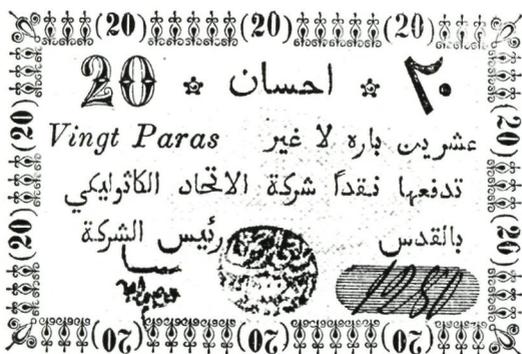
- 1) S. Lachman, The Standard of the Silver Coinage of the Ottoman Sultan Selim III. NCirc 77, 167 (1969).
- 2) S. Lachman, The Silver Coinage of Sultan Selim III. NCirc 77, 332 (1969).
- 3) S. Lachman, The Silver Coinage of Sultan Selim III. NCirc 78, 449 (1970).
- 4) S. Lachman, The Silver Coinage of Sultan Selim III. NCirc 80, 60 (1972.)
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- 8) T. S. Arda, Sultan III Selim'in Islambol Baskili ilk Saltanat Yili 10 Paralari. Bülten TurkNumSoc 18, 18 (1986).
- 9) Coin hoard, property of Mr. Volker Popp, Mainz, 1979.
- 10) Stock of Münzhandlung Jurgen Mikeska, Bad Homburg v.d.H., 1997.
- 11) Jem Sultan, Coins of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Thousand Oaks, California, USA, 1977.
- 12) I. Cālib, Taqvim-i meskukat-i'otmānīyye, Constantinople 1307 AH (1890 AD); silver coins in table 2 on page 506.
- 13) C. Neubauer, Münz-Tabelle oder tabellarische Übersicht der Rechnungsmünzen sowie der wirklich geprägten Münzen. Verlag G. Reimer, Berlin 1877, p. 232.

Small Change from Jerusalem

G.-R Puin and H. Wilski

The lack of small change in the Ottoman Empire during the years from about 1870 until 1920 AD generated an abundance of paper tokens. Tokens from Constantinople and its surroundings, from Macedonia, from the islands of the Aegean¹, and from Palestine are well known. Paper tokens from Palestine were described by Guthe already in 1882², and later in more detail by Kindler³. In Palestine the Ottoman administration disapproved of the use of such tokens, hence most of them were only short-lived. Nowadays they are extremely rare. A number of community tokens were issued by different Jewish settlements. From Jerusalem only paper tokens in the form of small banknotes are known which read "Meat", "Bread", or "Milk" to the values of 10, 20, and 40 para. As a result of the pressing shortage of small change, all these tokens were accepted by the public without hesitation though they were not paper money in the strict sense of the term. All of these tokens were written in Hebrew.

Now for the first time a new paper token from this area has surfaced. It is written in Arabic instead of Hebrew, and it was issued in Jerusalem. White paper was used for it. The obverse is printed in black letters on a light red screen. On the reverse only the red seal of the issuing Society is found. The specimen is shown here in original size (50 mm x 80 mm).



The translation of the obverse is:

20	Charity	20
Twenty para	Twenty para	
[French]	[Arabic]	
	will be paid in cash by the	
	Society of the Catholic Union	
President of the Society		in Jerusalem
[illegible]	[stamp]	1280

The stamp cannot be read with certainty. Perhaps it is:

Abū Safwān Mbb(?) rājī r-rahmān

Abū Safwān Mbb(?) begging the Merciful (for forgiveness).

The Society's stamp on the reverse has its name in French in the margin, the centre showing the Arabic name Shirkat al-Ittihād al-Kāthūlīkī bi-l-Quds: "Society of the Catholic Union in Jerusalem".

The serial number of this "bank note" is 1280, written by hand with violet ink. Nothing else is known about this token and the issuing Society.

Literature

- 1) H. Wilski, Cardboard 'money' from the island of Chios. NomKhron 15, 133 (1996).
- 2) H. Guthe, Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem. Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins (ZDPV) 5, 7 (1882). See pages 26 ff.
- 3) A. Kindler, Community tokens of Jewish settlements in Palestine. Museum Haaretz Bulletin 7, 66 (June 1965).

Identification of a Jewish Token

In Newsletter 153 we published an unidentified Jewish token and asked if anyone could provide information about it. Two members, David J. Wasserstein, and Hans Wilski with the help of Dr. J. Voigt, have kindly sent the following explanations.

By David J. Wasserstein

In ONS Newsletter 153 (Summer 1997), p.13, under the title 'An unidentified Israeli token', a correspondent asked whether anyone could supply information about a token, possibly of copper, of which an illustration was given, together with an attempted transcription of the inscriptions on it. There are some errors in the transcription (partly resulting from a difficulty in the actual striking of the token), and the illustration is a little dark, but it is possible to make out the correct reading and to identify the token.

The reading on one side is, as indicated by the correspondent,

Beirut in Hebrew. Above and below the name of this city are a dash, a dot and a dash, as illustrated. On the other side we have:

צדקה לעניים (Tsedaka la-'aniyyim), or "charity for the poor" in Hebrew; and across the centre בקור חולים

(Biqqur Holim) or "visiting the sick" in Hebrew. The second letter of the first word could be read not as the Hebrew letter qof but as the Hebrew letter kaf, since the vertical stroke of the qof is either very faint or missing. It may be that the token was struck weakly; but another possibility is that the die was cut thus, with the error, for the same difficulty appears both on the token illustrated in the ONS Newsletter enquiry and in the published illustration of it to which reference is made below. Either way, the correct reading is obvious. And below this we have the date 5664: this is the Jewish date equivalent to the year 1903-04 C.E.

According to Sylvia Haffner, *Judaic Tokens and Medals* (ed. and annotated by N. Sobel), New York (American Israel Numismatic Association), 1978, p.209 (with an illustration on p. 220), this is a token of copper, diameter 23 mm. She reports that the edge is "ribbed-crimped", but this is not visible either on her illustration or on that in the Newsletter's enquiry.

These tokens were given in return for an entrance fee at a Jewish hospital in Beirut at the beginning of the twentieth century; the proceeds of the sale of such tokens were used to support poor patients in the hospital.

Although Ms Haffner illustrates one such token, she does not identify the collections where the items illustrated in her work are held. It is striking in this connection that, as noted, the vertical stroke of the letter qof seems either to be weakly struck or to be missing on both her specimen and this one. These tokens do not seem to be very common. The Qadman Collection in the Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv, which possesses a collection of tokens of its own, and also houses the extensive collection of the late Bruno Kisch, does not have a specimen of this issue. For further information on related issues see Y. Meshorer, 'Another Charity Token', in *Shekel*, vol. VIII, no. 4, 1975, p. 17; Y. Meshorer, 'Another Jewish Charity Token', *Shekel*, vol. IX, no. 1, 1976, p. 32; R. Schonwaller, 'Some Jewish Community Tokens', *Shekel*, vol. IX, no. 6, 1976, p. 23; and, most usefully and comprehensively, B. Kisch, 'Jewish Community Tokens. A Neglected Field in Jewish Numismatics', *Historia Judaica*, XV, 1953, pp. 1 67-82, with Plates I-IV.

"Israeli Token" identified

An answer to a question

by J. Voigt and H. Wilski

In the ONS Newsletter No. 153 (1997), page 13 someone asked for information about a token in Hebrew script. Here is the answer:

The correct reproduction of the inscription of the token is

בירות	צדקה לעניים בקר חולים 5664
Beirut	Charity to the poor Care for the sick 5664

This token was used in Beirut and bears its minting date according to the Jewish calendar 5664. This year corresponds to the year 1904 AD. In 1904 Beirut was the capital of the vilayet of Saida and part of the Ottoman Empire. Since the token was minted long before the State of Israel came into existence it must be called a "Jewish token" rather than an "Israeli token".

The token was first published by H. Feuchtwanger in 1963. A detailed description was given by A Kindler 1974 in Hebrew¹. The following is a translation of the relevant lines of this paper: "In a talk with an immigrant from Beirut, it turned out that an institution with the name of "Care for the sick" has existed under the auspices of the Jewish Communities at Beirut. This institution was

a sort of health insurance for the poor of the community in which two Jewish doctors were employed who took care of the business by treatment that was free or at a merely symbolic fee. It seems therefore that the acquisition of the aforementioned token represented a contribution to this institution "Care for the sick". Galanté² noted in his booklet on Jewish history of Kushta (= Constantinople) that there also existed a society with the name "Care for the sick" whose task was the treatment of sick people and especially of those in a bad state. The funds of this society were raised from monthly support and from donations.

The diameter of the token is 23 mm. This is certainly not by chance since it agrees well with the diameter of the Ottoman 5 para copper coins which, though already officially withdrawn in 1880 AD, were still in circulation especially in that area. Similar tokens were made by countermarking void copper coins³.

According to Kindler the metal of the token is brass, which is a copper-zinc alloy. When a piece of brass comes into contact with acid substances (e.g. lemons) in the course of time zinc may be dissolved from the surface and there remains a thin layer of pure copper on the surface. Thus an old brass token may look like a copper token.

References

- 1) A. Kindler, Tokens of Jewish Communities with Hebrew Inscriptions, Alon 5, No. 3 (April 1974), 47. (Paper written in Hebrew). The token in question is described on page 52 and shown on plate I, fig. 10.
- 2) A. Galanté, Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul. Istanbul 1941, vol. I, p. 204.
- 3) H. Wilski, Countermarks on Ottoman Coins, Gütersloh 1995, p. 99 and 220.

The Apracharajas And Their Coinage¹

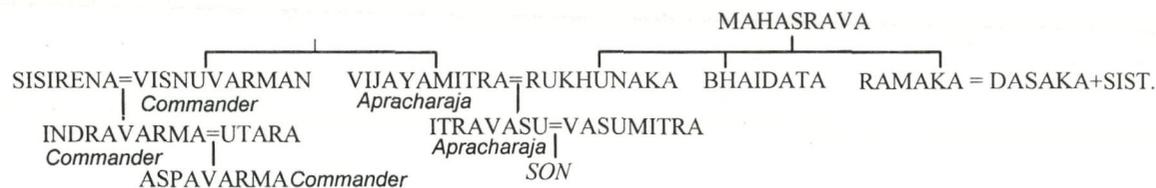
By Bob Senior

Throughout the period 100 BC - AD 100 in the numismatic history of NW India we come across coins that imitate the legends and designs of a previous type. Most notable are the imitation or posthumous issues in the name of Hermaios and the related posthumous-Eukratides and posthumous-Apollodotos coins. These were struck by the early Scythians who entered the area and who continued the types common to the region.² The early Kushan invaders under Kujula Kadphises and his son Vema Takha.. (Vima Taktu or 'Soter Megas') also imitated previous types. Some series were also struck imitating the coinage of Azes. Two of these latter were the 'Zeus-Nikephoros' type of Taxila struck on a **heavier** weight standard and also the base-to-copper drachms with **helmeted** Zeus-Nikephoros (often found in hoards together with coins of Abdagases). Some of these coins were struck up to 40 years after the death of Azes.

This note intends here to outline another series of Azes imitations that can be fairly safely allocated to a particular dynasty.

This series imitates the regular coinage of Azes with **Pallas** reverse and is distinguished by using an increased weight standard coupled with the use of a particular monogram and a **nandipada** in the field. (see ill.1) Coins were struck over a long period, becoming more complex in field letter and symbol use yet increasingly debased in design and metal. At the *end* of the sequence we have coins in the names of Itravasu, Apracharaja, son of Vijayamitra (6,7 and 12,13) and Aspavarma, Stratega, son of Indravarma (9,10 and 15).

Over the last few years an increasing number of inscriptions have surfaced that refer to this dynasty and slowly a pedigree has evolved. Various authors have read the inscriptions somewhat differently, partly because there are slight ambiguities and a lack punctuation in them and partly because no other certain information was available to these scholars. The coins, however, provide a scale along which one can lay the inscriptional evidence and a simple interpretation becomes obvious. Below is my reading of the pedigree of this family:



I made the first correct reading of Itravasu's name in the ONS Newsletter No.141 in 1994³. The inscriptions and a much fuller explanation of the facts here will be published in my forthcoming Catalogue of Indo-Scythic coins.⁴ To keep this note to a reasonable length, the reader will need to take the above genealogical tree on trust but the bibliography at the end provides details for further reading and research

Firstly I shall state what I believe is the chronology of the Apracharajas and how it is arrived at. According to Itravasu's coins his father was Vijayamitra and sure enough we have several inscriptions of this latter king, who is therein also entitled 'Apracharaja'. We have two inscriptions that give his regnal years 5 and 32 and another that mentions him in 'Azes year 77'. Throughout this note I am accepting that Azes was the founder of the Vikrama Era (c.58 BC). A fourth inscription mentions the

Apracharaja in year 25, Azes 63. This last is crucial since it gives us a fixed point for Vijayamitra's 25th year - AD 5/6 (63 minus 58). If this is his 25th year then his first year was c.20 BC and his last recorded mention is c.AD 19/20 (77 minus 58). This last would have been his 39th year of rule, by which time he would be a rather old man. I suspect it was probably his last year.⁵

If Vijayamitra ruled such a long time (c.40 years) we could expect that;

- i) if he issued a coinage it would be extensive, and
- ii) perhaps towards its end he would involve other members of his family in its production.

My contention is that we have proof of both these suppositions. The coins of Itravasu (6, 7) are of copper or, at best, very base silver and come at the end of a series of coins that

becomes more stylised and base as it progresses. This series (see 1-5,8) imitates the regular coinage of Azes⁶, bears his name (misspelled in Greek but correct in Kharosthi) and I believe that it represents the coinage of the Apracharaja before Itravasu, i.e. of **his father Vijayamitra**. All share a distinctive style, the same monogram in the right reverse field and a Nandipada in the left field. It was issued over a long period of time as is evidenced by its variety. We can postulate that on the occasion of Azes' demise, Vijayamitra, the first Apracharaja, assumed control of this north-western province (Bajaur to Charsadda). The first imitation Azes coins would have been struck by him from that time.⁷

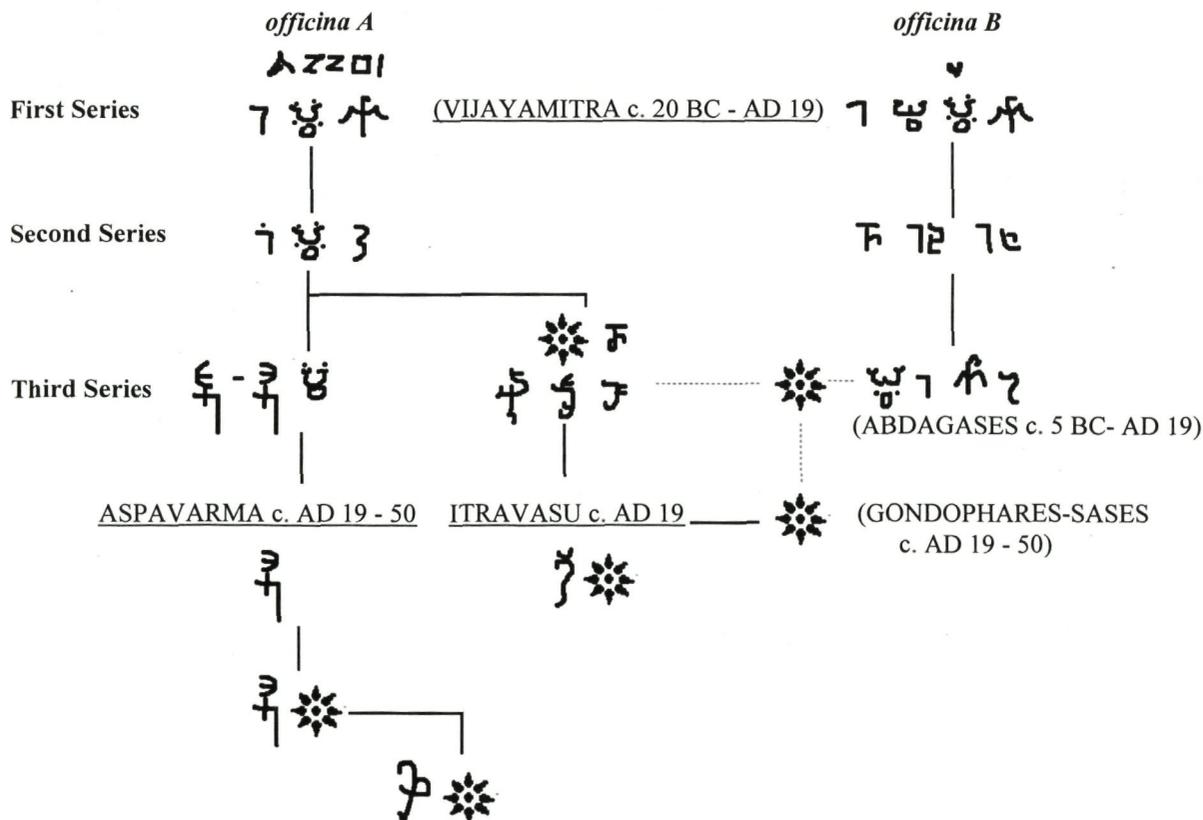
It should be pointed out here that the reverse-types of Azes' coins belong to certain provinces. The Pallas-Athena type is found in the Charsadda district (ancient Pushkalavati) and generally areas in the north-west of the Indo-Scythic realm. The Zeus and Nikephoros types come from the other parts of Gandhara, principally Taxila. This has some bearing on the coinage of Aspavarma later.

Vijayamitra had a long reign and, according to inscriptions, towards the latter part he **shared** his title with his son. The coinage of Itravasu with his name is extremely scarce (presumably struck after his father's demise) and he may have been fairly elderly himself, surviving his father by a short time indeed. We may ask if there is evidence that he struck coinage **during** his father's lifetime that may be identified amongst the 'posthumous-Azes' issues? Coin 6 bears a rosette or star before the horseman and this symbol is common to all Itravasu's tetradrachms, though usually appearing on the reverse (7). The Kharosthi letter *Bhu* appears also below the horse. We see on posthumous-Azes coins 4 and 11 a rosette in a similar position and on coin 5 the rosette on the reverse with *Bhu* below the horse as on Itravasu's named tetradrachms. I think that there can be little doubt that these coins are very closely related and that Itravasu probably was responsible for them all. Those in

the name of Azes would be pre AD 20 when his father was still alive and those in his own name would be issued for a very short time after his father's death around that date.

There is evidence that another member of Vijayamitra's family also struck coins during his lifetime - Aspavarma. We know that the Indo-Greeks used a system of joint kings to rule and also that Vonones as ruler of the Indo-Scythians used relatives as joint kings to control his kingdom. It may not be a coincidence that Vonones' brothers' names (Spalahores, Spalagadames and Spalirises) all mean 'commander'. Vijayamitra had a brother Visnuvarma who is referred to as 'Stratega' or Commander and he in turn had a son Indravarma, also titled Commander. From the coins of Aspavarma (called the Commander) we know that Indravarma was his father.⁸ It would seem that we have a dynasty which used inherited titles. It is possible that Visnuvarma and Indravarma both struck coins in the name of the posthumous-Azes since this coinage falls into two distinct officina - those with a 'heart' symbol (1,3 and 4) and those without (2,5 and 8). The earliest coinage of Aspavarma with his name (9), (see Malakand hoard⁹) bear a monogram Greek E over Kharosthi *Vi*. There is also a posthumous issue of Azes with the same monogram (8, and also a variant with 'E' reversed). None of these coins have rosettes and the post-Azes varieties are almost indistinguishable from those bearing Aspavarma's name (9). I suspect that he struck the former in this same period that Itravasu struck his posthumous-Azes coins - while Vijayamitra was still alive. After an initial issue (9) without rosette, Aspavarma struck coins with it on the reverse (not illustrated - extremely rare - so far only three known) and thereafter all his coins bear it (10). Adopting Itravasu's rosette suggests that the elderly Itravasu's sole reign as Apracharaja was short-lived and that Aspavarma became sole ruler in this whole region. Presumably Itravasu's son (un-named on the inscription where he is mentioned) predeceased him. Below is a diagram showing these sequences:

POSTHUMOUS-AZES COINAGE



The initial coinage is very close to the Azes original. A unique coin in my collection even has a virtually correct Greek legend. It shares a reverse die with another coin which has a corrupt Greek obverse legend (1) which becomes the usual legend type. This corruption of the king's name seems to be deliberate and constant. This itself suggests that Azes was no longer in control. These early coins can be divided into two groups;

(A) with the legend always written the **same way** reading AZZOI from about 9 o'clock and **without** the heart symbol.

(B) with a heart symbol in the legend and the corrupt Greek for AZOY written many different ways and reading inwards or outwards.

These two varieties extend from the initial issues in good silver through to the very debased and stylistically formalised issues that precede the coins bearing the names of Itravasu and Aspavarma. They indicate that two workshops were operating throughout the period and these *may* represent the two branches of Vijayamitra's family (Vijayamitra and Visnuvarma?).

The 'first series' have just Kharosthi *Va* on the obverse (1, of Off. B) and seems to have been issued for many years. The second series is different for the two officina. The obverse letter now changes (2, of Off. A) and at Officina 'B' there is sometimes an additional letter below the horse on the obverse.

The third series is more varied and quite base in silver content. *All coins in this series have an extra changing field letter on the reverse.* One group has the E- Vi obverse monogram (8) that is next adopted by Aspavarma (9). A second group has the rosette of Itravasu and *Bhu* below the horse (5). There are three different obverse monogram varieties. This is followed by the coins in the **name** of Itravasu, most having the rosette on the reverse (7) but some having it on the obverse (6).

At officina 'B' some of the coins also have a private mark in the form of a small square on the obverse (3) and this only occurs elsewhere on the coinage of Abdagases. In fact a late series of 'Zeus-right reverse' coins of Abdagases bear the same field letters and nandipada as this group and his successor, Gondophares-Sases continues that type. This 'B' officina may have therefore taken over striking coins in the name of these monarchs with a new type and thus show a strong link between these Apracharaja coins and those of Gondophares-Sases. One rare tetradrachm (4) has a rosette before the horse as on Itravasu's coins.

The final issues are those of Aspavarma where, on a very rare issue, he merely adds the rosette to his E-Vi coins and then begins his very common and vast coinage with a new obverse monogram (10, not dissimilar to one used on the 'Itravasu' third series posthumous Azes issues).

At this point it might well be worth considering what had happened elsewhere in the Indo-Scythian realm. We know that after Azes' demise, Gondophares I succeeded to the largest part of his empire. The coins of Gondophares I in the Punjab/Gandhara region are generally of the 'Zeus-right' type but he has two scarce Pallas issues. One has a monogram associated with Taxila but the other, very rare, variety (14) is very close to the Azes issue imitated by the Apracharajas. It is of far better silver than most of Gondophares' other issues and the style (in particular the drapery of Pallas) is very close to the earliest Apracharaja issues. Gondophares would have begun his career in Seistan around the middle of the first century BC¹¹, reaching Gandhara in the last quarter possibly. If my supposition mentioned above for the rule of Vijayamitra beginning around 20 BC is correct then this may also be when Gondophares arrived in Gandhara. Vijayamitra would have issued coins in the name of the posthumous Azes throughout the reigns of Gondophares and Abdagases. The sequence of coinage is implied by an important development that took place at this time, shortly after Gondophares' invasion - the weight standard was increased from c.9.6 gm for the tetradrachm to c.10 gm. The Gondophares Pallas coins are on the **lighter** standard (as are the Siva issues - his first coinage in Gandhara) whereas all his later coins and the posthumous-Azes 'Apracharaja' coins are on the **heavier** standard. This standard applies to all the later coinages, of Abdagases, Aspavarma and Gondophares-Sases. Gondophares' Pallas issue mentioned above (14) therefore probably pre-dates the earliest 'Vijayamitra' issue, i.e. c.21/20 BC. I would suggest that on reaching the Apracharajas' realm Gondophares came to some agreement with them to allow them a measure of independence. It

is notable that he issued **no further Pallas issues** and neither did his **successors** Abdagases and Gondophares-Sases. In the Malakand hoard and other hoards one sees these Apracharaja coins issued in Azes name (posthumously and with the name corrupted) **alongside** issues of Gondophares and Abdagases. Only the **first** issues of Aspavarma (9, with E-Vi) were found together with the coins of Abdagases (of whom most varieties were present) in the Malakand hoard, indicating that Aspavarma's reign began as Abdagases' was finishing or had just finished.

This is a very important point. We see that both Aspavarma and Itravasu probably struck their named coins beginning in c.AD 19/20 or thereabouts after the last date of Vijayamitra; we see that Aspavarma's earliest coins coincide with the last of those of Abdagases and this must be around the same time. We couple this with the dates of Gondophares given in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription¹² (c. AD19 - 45+) and then we see that the only contender as 'Gondophares' for this inscription is Abdagases' immediate successor - Gondophares-Sases.

The posthumous-Azes issues are practically all tetradrachms. Only two drachms have been found to-date of the second series (both in my collection). They are both billon and from officina 'A'. They were followed by much baser drachms in the name of Azes which bear the rosette of Itravasu (11) and then coins in the **name** of Itravasu which also bear the title Ispava (lord) as used by Vijayamitra in the Prahodia inscription (issues 12,13). The coins read *Itravasasa Ispavasa Apacaraj'asa* (12) and *Ispavasa Idravasasa Avatirajasa* (13). In addition to his huge and varied tetradrachm issues, Aspavarma also has a copper drachm Pallas issue (15). These latter base drachm issues seem to have been issued for a very short while only (c.AD 15-20?) and are very rare. They link the post-Azes coins with the named coins and as such have been found together in a hoard (see ONS Newsletter 141).

In Gandhara, Abdagases, Gondophares' nephew, was ousted by Gondophares-Sases who became all powerful and issued coins in virtually every province of the Indo-Parthian/Indo-Scythic realm. Every province **except** where the Apracharajas ruled, that is. He issued **no** Pallas coinage.

On practically all Gondophares-Sases' Gandharan coins he calls himself 'Gondophares-Sases' in Kharosthi (*Guduvharasa Sasasa*) whereas the Greek is nearly always so corrupt as to be illegible. On his Arachosian coins (17), however, the Greek is clear and there, too, he calls himself 'Gondophares-Sases'. His relationship to the Apracharajas is not certain yet but on some silver drachms from Sind bearing the name Sases (16) he calls himself *Aspabhrataputrasa* which may or may not be a claim to kinship with Aspavarma. To finish the story of the 'Apracharaja' family we can suggest that Aspavarma actually outlived Gondophares-Sases for a short while. Coin 19 is a copper drachm of Aspavarma that bears the Taxila monogram and this type as a tetradrachm was issued by Gondophares-Sases (18) in billon. The early issues of this type by Gondophares-Sases have the monogram as on 18 whereas his later and much baser issues have the monogram exactly as it appears on the Aspavarma coins.¹³ Maybe as Gondophares-Sases succumbed to the Kushan, Aspavarma expanded his territory to Taxila, however briefly.

The fact that Gondophares-Sases was so powerful yet did not appropriate the Apracharaja territory suggests to me that, being from the same dynasty, he left his elder branch/relative in control there. Muhammad bin Sam did much the same with his elder brother in Ghor centuries later. His use of the title 'Apratihata Chakra' may not be unrelated to the title 'Apratiraja' (a variation of Apracharaja that appears on some coins - therefore meaning 'Invincible Raja'?). Aspavarma does not use the title Apracharaja but *Sratega* - 'Commander', inherited from his father and grandfather. This may have been a title in its own right and not indicate that the bearer was actually subordinate to anyone. However, if it *does* indicate that he had an overlord we need to know who this was, after the demise of Itravasu. It could only be Gondophares-Sases, his contemporary.

Conclusion

The aim of this note has been to identify the coinage of the Apracharajas. This began by imitating the coinage of Azes, probably after his death (c.20 BC) and the early coins were struck in fairly good silver on a new heavy weight standard, probably



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



initiated by Gondophares. At least two workshops can be identified and the coinage became progressively debased and stylised. These first coins would have been issued under the authority of Vijayamitra (c.20 BC to 19/20 AD), the dynastic founder but possibly also by his brother and nephew at a second officina. His son, the Apracharaja Itravasu may have issued some of the debased coins bearing a rosette during his father's lifetime and thereafter issued an identical coinage bearing his own name (c.19/20 AD). A related member of the family, the Commander (Stratega) Aspavarma, son of the Commander Indravarma and grandson of the Commander Visnuvarma (brother of Vijayamitra) may also have struck coins during Vijayamitra's lifetime and he became sole ruler in this territory after Itravasu's very short reign.

Aspavarma (c.19/20 AD to 46/7 AD?) issued an extensive coinage in the Charsadda - Bajaur (and including lower Swat?) area though he never claimed the title Apracharaja. Another scion of this noble family, Gondophares-Sases, succeeded in inheriting virtually the whole Indo-Parthian realm and struck coins contemporary with those of Aspavarma. His rule may have been from c.19-45/6 AD, if the Takht-i-Bahi inscription does indeed refer to him. This sequence of events is borne out by the coins and, to me, suggested by the recently published inscriptions. Together they give one of the firmest footings for deducing the chronology of this whole period.

Notes

- 1 In different documents and on coins the title used can be read Avacha, Apacha, Apracha, Avati, Apati or Aprati. The possible link with Apratihata - 'the unconquerable' suggests that this is a title rather than a place (i.e. Raja of Avacha). Apratihata appears on copper of Gondophares which were perhaps the earliest coins struck by him in Gandhara. On Itravasu's coins we have 'Avatiraja, Avitiraja, Apracharaja and Apacharaja'. Gondophares-Sases adopts the title *Apratihatachakrasa* which refers to his invincibility.
- 2 Senior R. C., 'Vonones Maues and the Early Indo-Scythic Succession', *Oriental Numismatic Studies, 1* ed. D. Handa, New Delhi, 1996, and especially Senior R. C., 'The Posthumous Hermaeus Coinage and the transition from the Indo-Greeks to the Indo-Scythians', *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 19 eds. P. L. Gupta and A. M. Shastri, Nasik 1995. For the more orthodox view see Bopearachchi, O., 'The Posthumous coinage of Hermaios', *Gandharan Art in context*, The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge (pub. New Delhi), 1997.
- 3 I also identified some drachms bearing his name. These coins had an additional word 'Ispava' which I took to be a name and I suggested a new king had issued them but now that we know that it is a title the coins can all be allocated to Itravasu.
- 4 I wrote a paper on the subject some years ago and submitted it to the IIRNS at Nasik but it hasn't seen the light since. A more up-to-date version will appear in my forthcoming 'Catalogue of Indo-Scythic coins' and some more detail is contained in my paper 'From Gondophares to Kanishka' privately printed in 1997. Copies of the latter are available from me at £5 inc. p. & p. A list of coins and books for sale is also available.
- 5 Year 77 being AD 19/20 is rather significant since this is also the year when 'Gondophares' began his reign according to the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (if dated in the Vikrama era). I see no reason to create more Vijayamitras to account for this year when we already have a regnal year for him of 32.
- 6 I believe there was only one Azes as proposed in ONS Occasional Paper 25.
- 7 These imitation Azes coins are on a heavier weight standard than Azes' lifetime issues and this weight standard is found on the Gandharan issues of Gondophares and his successors, except for his initial 'Siva' or 'Pallas'-reverse' coins. This suggests that the demise of Azes c.20 BC coincided with the incursion of Gondophares and shortly thereafter the rise of the Apracharaja.
- 8 In inscriptions both Visnuvarma and Indravarma were referred to as 'Prince' at various times 'Commander' at others, whereas both Vijayamitra and his son Itravasu were not only Apracharajas but also bore the title 'Ispava' or Lord.
- 9 Bopearachchi O., 'Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins in the Smithsonian Institution', Washington 1993.
- 10 A few of his coins also bear a small rosette symbol.
- 11 See ONS Occasional paper 25.
- 12 Konow, S., 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum', Vol. II, part 1, 'Kharosthi Inscriptions', Indological Book House re-print, Varanasi, 1969.
- 13 Soter Megas overstruck Zeus type tetradrachms of Gondophares-Sases possibly indicating his victory over the latter. Aspavarma may have taken advantage of the situation to issue these very rare copper drachms as ruler of Taxila before he too fell to the Kushan.

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In addition, private correspondence with Prof. H. Falk of Berlin has revealed some further re-interpretation of several inscriptions.

Hadrian: a Roman die found at Karur

By Michael Mitchiner

The die for striking (imitation) coins of Hadrian (denarii/aurei) was recovered from the river bed at Karur in central Tamilnadu. It was first noted by Krishnamurthy (1995) and by Mitchiner (1995), and it has since been published by Krishnamurthy (1996). The die is illustrated here, courtesy of the owner, Mr. M. Balusamy, who has a small shop in the Jawahar Bazaar at Karur.



obv. Bearded laureate bust of Hadrian

HADRIANVS - AVG COS III PP

Bronze die, 18.3 mm high, 24 mm diam., 74.88 g, ex River Amaravati at Karur (Tamilnadu); Balusamy collection (Karur)

This inscription was used on his coins of AD 134 to 138

The majority of imitation Roman gold coins observed by the author in Southern India were die-struck, rather than cast. The quality of engraving was very variable. In the case of the present die, the engraving is of high quality and the lettering is correct. It has been debated whether it is a genuine Roman die smuggled by traders, or whether it was made in India (perhaps by a Roman merchant engraver).

Mr Balusamy wishes to sell the die, and also some pieces of ancient gold jewellery found at Karur. He invites anyone interested to visit him at Karur and inspect the pieces - M. Balusamy,

Thiruvurul Jewellery, 680 Jawahar Bazar, Karur 639 001 (near Arasee Lodge).

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A gold stater of Kanishka II with three-headed Shiva image on reverse

By Nupam Mahajan

It is well documented that Kushan emperors, Huvishka and Vasudeva I, minted coins depicting multi-headed Shiva (OHPO)^{1,2}. According to the classification of Shiva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian coins, proposed by Joe Cribb, out of six, three classes show multi-headed Shiva images¹. These three classes are as follows:

Class VI: Three-headed Shiva, alone; 3 types, minted by Huvishka.

Class II: Three-headed Shiva, alone; 2 types, minted by Vasudeva I.

Class IV: Three-headed Shiva with Nandi; 7 types, minted by Vasudeva I.

Recently, I acquired a gold stater minted during the reign of the Kushan ruler, Kanishka II. The reverse of this coin depicts three-headed, two armed Shiva (OHPO) with his bull, Nandi. Shiva, in his left hand, is holding a trident while the right hand looks as though it is holding a diadem. The two side heads appear to be human. Shiva is wearing a *Dhoti* while his upper body is naked. The description of this coin is as follows:

Kanishka II (200-222 AD) Gold Stater, weight: 7.8 gm

Reference: Göbl. 635.7, 2nd Officina



Control Marks on Obverse (Brahmi Characters):

In left field: Ω (Ga)

In right field: 𑀧𑀺𑀢 (Pri)

Between king's legs: 𑀧𑀺

It is likely that this coin was minted in Gho mint located in the Mardan region of modern Pakistan. Brahmi character *Ga*, perhaps represents the initial of Kanishka's general or a local ruler of *Pri* or *Phari*. Most of the coins minted by Kanishka II show an image of seated goddess Ardochsho (Laxmi) on reverse. This coin is catalogued by R. Göbl as # 635 which contains 9 sub-types². Interestingly, the 7th sub-type (# 635.7, a specimen of current discussion) shows three-headed Shiva while the rest display images of single-headed Shiva². It appears that 635.7 is the only coin of Kanishka II which depicts a three-headed Shiva image. Why a three-headed Shiva coin was included in a class representing single-headed Shiva coins, is not very clear. Although, this coin does suggest that, apart from Huvishka and Vasudeva I, Kanishka II also minted coins depicting multi-headed Shiva.

The most profound aspect of the three-headed Shiva, the *Maheshamurti*, is in evidence at the Elephanta (Gharapuri) caves, built by the Rashtrakuta kings in the 6th century A.D. The three heads represent Shiva as *Aghori*, *Ardhanarishvara* and *Maha yogi*. The *Aghori* (destroyer) form suggests his power of cosmic

destruction, *Ardhanarishvara* (preserver) depicts him as half-man/half-woman signifying the essential unity of the sexes while the *Maha yogi* (creator) posture symbolises the ascetic & meditative aspect. It is also believed that these three forms represents Mahesh/Mahadev (Shiva), Vishnu and Brahma, respectively.

It appears that the image of Shiva holding various objects such as a wheel, club and lotus, which are usually associated with Vishnu, were introduced during the reigns of the Kushan rulers, Huvishka and Vasudeva I. Possibly, keeping on the same tradition, their successor, Kanishka II also minted three-headed Shiva coin which symbolically represents both the major deities of Hinduism, Shiva and Vishnu, in a single form.

Notes

1. Cribb, J., *Siva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian coins*, in *Studies in silk road coins and culture*, Tanabe, Cribb and Wang (ed), Kamakura, 1997, pp. 11-66.

2. Göbl, R., *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung der Kusanreiche*, Wien, 1984.

3. I would like to thank Mr. Hakim Hamidi and William Warden, Jr. for their critical comments and advice.

Coins from the Khusru Collection

In Newsletter 155 we mentioned the Khusru Collection of Mughal coins currently being offered for sale by Spink and Son Ltd., London. This collection of mainly gold coins contains some noteworthy items some of which are published or illustrated below with the kind permission of Julie Franklin, who also provided the photographs. Nick Rhodes provides the first item.

A Tibetan Coin Struck in the name of Aurangzeb

by N. G. Rhodes



Fig.1



Fig.2

In the Khusru collection, currently being offered for sale by Spinks (Fig.1, Wt. 10.94g), is a remarkable gold mohur of Aurangzeb, dated 1076 AH, Yr.8 (corresponding to July 1665 to March 1666) with the mint name *Tibet-i-Kalan*, or 'Great Tibet', the name by which Ladakh was known at that time¹. This is the first coin with this mint name to have been discovered, and the purpose of this article is to set out the background to its issue, which has been well recorded in Mughal and other sources.

It was in the summer of 1663 that Aurangzeb visited Kashmir for the first time. This visit was intended to reinforce his authority over Kashmir and the Himalayas, as well as to enjoy one of the most attractive parts of his Empire. One specific reason for the visit was to force Ladakh to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty. During the reign of Shah Jehan, in about 1639, Ladakh had suffered a defeat at the hands of a Mughal army, and had averted complete conquest only because the onset of winter compelled the Mughal army to withdraw, and also by promising to pay tribute to the Mughals. Not only was this promise of tribute not kept, but the king actually barred the transit trade between Kashmir and central Tibet, which had previously passed through Ladakh. Aurangzeb resolved to force the King of Ladakh to submit to Mughal suzerainty, and threatened to invade if a Ladakhi ambassador was not immediately sent to Kashmir. The threat worked, and an ambassador arrived in Kashmir to meet the emperor. The visit was described by the Frenchman, François Bernier, who accompanied Aurangzeb on this visit to Kashmir, and who noted at the time that the ambassador "entered into a negotiation with Aureng-Zebe, and promised on the part of his master that a mosque should be built in the capital, wherein prayers in the Mahometan form should be

offered; that the coins should bear on one side the impress of Aureng-Zebe; and that the Mogol should receive an annual tribute. But no person doubts that this treaty will be totally disregarded as soon as Aureng-Zebe has quitted Kachemire, and that the King of Great Tibet will no more fulfil its stipulations than he did those of the treaty concluded between him and Chah-Jehan²."

Bernier's scepticism was well founded, and when no tribute was forthcoming after two years, Aurangzeb ordered that a Mughal envoy be sent to Ladakh to demand adherence to the agreement under threat of invasion. The King of Ladakh decided that prudence was the better part of valour, and the ambassador was received with due honour, and returned with tribute of 1000 gold coins and 2000 rupees, having witnessed the laying of the foundations of the mosque³ and the reciting of the *khutba* in the name of Aurangzeb. The news of these events reached the imperial court on 19 December 1665⁴, exactly the date on the present gold mohur. Normally, one might assume that this piece was one of the 1000 mohurs paid as tribute to Aurangzeb, but the quality of workmanship seems to indicate that it was struck in one of the imperial Mughal mints, most probably in Kashmir. A mohur of Aurangzeb of Kashmir mint, Yr.50, also in the Khusru collection, is illustrated for comparison, showing that the style is very similar. I have not been able to find either a Kashmir mint rupee or mohur of the exact year of the *Tibet-i-Kalan* coin, although a rupee of year 8 was recently sold in Australia⁵. It is probable, either that the King of Ladakh was allowed to arrange for the coins to be struck at the Kashmir mint, so that the tribute sent to the Emperor would more clearly demonstrate that his country, "Great Tibet", was now part of Aurangzeb's growing empire, or else the coin was separately struck by Mughals, perhaps even in the capital, to celebrate this new extension of the empire. In any event, there is no evidence that these coins were ever circulated as currency in Ladakh itself.

Although the Ladakhis initially submitted to Mughal suzerainty rather reluctantly, the value of having a powerful protector was demonstrated when the kingdom was invaded by a combined force of Mongols and Tibetans in the late 1670's. After some years of fighting, Ladakh was in grave danger of complete defeat, and in 1683 the King finally asked the Mughal governor of Kashmir for assistance. This was duly provided, and the invaders were driven back permanently. On this occasion the king agreed to be converted to Islam⁶, and adopted the name of Aqibat Mahmud Khan. Again, he promised to strike coins in the name of the emperor, to keep the Mosque at Leh in good repair, to pay a triennial tribute of 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk and 18 white yak-tails, and finally, and most importantly, he agreed to grant Kashmir a monopoly over the wool trade⁷. No Ladakhi coins of this date have been discovered⁸, but the value of the wool trade to Kashmir seems to be reflected in the increase in the number of rupees issued from the Kashmir mint after Yr.26 of Aurangzeb's reign.

As a postscript, it is interesting to note that in 1680, when Gyalsay Tenzin Rabgye was enthroned as the 4th Druk Desi in Bhutan, Raja Tenzin Namgyal of Ladakh sent presents including one thousand gold coins and two thousand silver coins⁹. It is tempting to speculate that the pieces may also have been specimens of the Mughal style coins, such as the one published here. Certainly the King of Ladakh did not strike coins of any other type, but the question can only be resolved if any part of this gift has been preserved in Bhutan.

This new discovery in the Mughal series is an important historical document, recording the incorporation of Ladakh into India. We should now look out for the corresponding silver rupee, which almost certainly exists.

Notes

1 H. G. Raverty, in *JASB* 1895 pt.1, p.119, quotes Mir 'Abdu-l-karim, son of the Mir of Bukhara, who visited Tibet in 1809, and noted that there were seven Tibets, three of which were subject to Kashmir, and four which were independent. One was called *Tibbat-i-Kalan* and "is parallel with Kashmir for fifteen stages". Exactly what was meant by this is uncertain, but I presume that a traveller went directly from Kashmir, and it took fifteen days march to pass fully through the country, or alternatively, the border between Kashmir and the country would take fifteen days to walk along. Either of these interpretations would be consistent with the identification of *Tibet-i-Kalan* with Ladakh. Only more recently has Ladakh been called "Little Tibet".

2 *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by François Bernier, ed. by Archibald Constable, London 1891, p.424. This passage was part of a letter written by

Bernier from Kashmir to M. de Merveilles, but the date of 1665 given by Bernier seems to be incorrect according to the Mughal sources. c.f. J.N. Sarker, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 14 & V, 420.

3 The present mosque at Leh has an inscription confirming that it was built in 1666/7.

4 The events are documented by Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh, c.950-1842 A.D.*, ISMEO, Rome, 1977, pp.63-65, although he describes Bernier's visit as having taken place in 1663. The Mughal sources quoted both by Petech, and Hodivala (*Historical Studies in Moghul Numismatics*, 1923, pp.362-68) include the '*Alamgirnama*, 922, *Ma'asir ul-Umara*, 52 and *Khafi Khan II*, 185.

5 A rupee of 1075 Yr.8, Noble Numismatics Sale No.54, Sydney, July 1997, lot 2035. Unfortunately this coin was not illustrated, so I have not been able to cheque the die or the style.

6 The conversion seems to have been purely nominal, and for external political purposes. Buddhism remained his religion for all internal purposes within Ladakh.

7 Petech, *op.cit.* pp.73-75.

8 The earliest know coins struck in Ladakh are dated to 1771 AD, but the Muslim name adopted by the King appears on some silver pieces struck about 1815 (c.f. 'The Silver Coinages of Garhwal and Ladakh, 1686-1871', *Num. Chron.* 1981, p.133 & pl.25, 19-20).

9 Dr. C. T. Dorji, *History of Bhutan Based on Buddhism*, Thimphu 1994, p.133. The source of this information is in the biography of the 4th Desi, written by the 6th Jay Khenpo, in 1720. The title of the biography is *Mtshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje rin po che'i rnam par thar pa bskal bzang legs bris 'dodpa'i re skong dpag bsam gyi snye ma*. In this account the gold coins are described as *gser zho*, i.e. gold coins of the value of 1 zho, which is normally a weight of about 3.6 grammes. However, as there are no suitable coins of this weight that could possibly be referred to, it is possible that the author may have been confused. According to this biography, the coins were still being used as ritual offerings when the book was written in 1720. My thanks to John Arducci for this information.

Jehangir: a quarter mohur of Mandu

Mandu was the capital of the Sultans of Malwa, who called it Shadiabad. It was captured by the Mughal emperor Humayun in AH 941 and copper coins were issued there in his name. Thereafter it came under the control of the Sultans of Gujerat for a while, and various governors until the reign of Sultan Baz Bahadur (AH963-8). This latter struck coins in both copper and silver until Mandu was once again captured for the Mughals by Akbar in AH 968. Coins of local Malwa fabric and standard were struck in the name of Akbar both in silver and copper. Most of these were struck in Ujjain but some may also have been struck in Mandu (see KM 75.1 and 75.2).

During the early part of Jehangir's reign the fort of Ahmednagar and other fortified places of the Deccan, previously conquered by Akbar, had been wrested from the Mughals by Malik Ambar. Jehangir resolved to recapture them. In AH 1025 he sent Prince Khurram with the vanguard of his army to the Deccan. Later in the year, he himself set forth. From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (translated by Rogers and Beveridge) we learn that on the 23rd of Isfandarmuz 1026 Jahangir reports *I mounted an elephant and approached the fort of Mandu. When a watch and three gharis had passed, I entered the houses which they had prepared for the royal accommodation. I scattered 1500 rupees on the way...On the 29th day of Farwardin, Saiyad Abdullah Barka the envoy of my son of good fortune, Baba Khurram, waited on me and presented a letter from that son containing news of a victory over the provinces of the Deccan. All the chiefs laying the head of duty in the noose of obedience had consented to service and humility, and laid before him the keys of the forts and strongholds, especially the fort of Ahmednagar. Late on the same day Jehangir went with the ladies to look round the Haft Manzar and at the beginning of the evening returned to the place....In going and returning I scattered 1400 rupees.*

R. B. Whitehead has previously published two coins of Mandu both dated AH 1026 year 12, one a gold mohur weighing 10.82g¹ and the other a rupee, weighing 11.4g². Both coins bear couplets. Some 15 years ago, I published a rupee of the same date but with a different couplet³.

Published here is a quarter mohur weighing 2.72g and without a couplet.



Obverse:

12
Jehangiri

۱۲
۱۰۲۶

Reverse:

Zarb Mandu

ماندو
ضرب
۱۰۲۶

The legends on both sides are contained within a dotted border. The obverse of the coin has, for some reason, been defaced with a diagonal incision.

Like the coins previously published, this quarter mohur must have been struck to commemorate the re-conquest of Mandu and may have been one of the coins Jehangir scattered during his stay in the city, even though he talks of scattering rupees rather than mohurs or fractions thereof.

Notes

1 R. B. Whitehead: Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, vol. II, Lahore 1934; coin number 918.

2 R. B. Whitehead: in Numismatic Chronicle, Series V, vol. III

3 S. L. Goron: *Jahangir's coinage of Mandu*, in The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography, vol. V, 1983-4, Indore

Jehangir: Agra Ilahi mohurs without couplets

The design of Jehangir's normal weight Ilahi mohurs of Agra seems to have changed for each month during the early AH 1020s. A number of these have been published or noted in the past; the Khusru collection contains several varieties not all of which may have been published. They are illustrated here for the sake of convenience. They all bear the same standard legend apart from the name of the month.



Agra mohur AH 1020, year 6, Azar. 10.90g



Agra mohur AH 1020, year 6, Amardad 10.45g



Agra mohur AH 1021, year 7, Khurdad. 10.88g.



Agra mohur AH 1021, year 7, Shahrewar. 10.89g



Agra mohur AH 1022, year 8, Shahrewar. 10.92g

The silver rupees of this period also vary from month to month as can be seen from Jan Lingen's article *Some observations on Jahangir's Ilahi-rupees of Agra*, published in Numismatic Panorama (Essays in honour of late Sh. S. M. Shukla, ed: K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Singh) New Delhi, 1996.

Shah Jehan I gold mohur of Akbarabad



This splendid mohur, dated AH 1038, year 2 and weighing 10.82g, has on the obverse the Kalima in a quatrefoil with the four Caliphs and their attributes around, and the king's titles on the reverse arranged in the same way as on coin no. 381 in the Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the state Museum Lucknow (C. R. Singhal), Lucknow, 1965. That coin is dated AH 1042 year 5. The expression *Sahib qiran thani* is in the top segment of the reverse, while the rest of the king's titles are in the larger middle segment, with the mint and regnal year in the bottom segment.

Shah Jehan I gold mohur of Aurangnagar



Aurangnagar is identified with the fort and town of Mulher, some 80 km north-west of Nasik. It was the chief town of the state of Baglana, the ruler of which had submitted to Akbar at the beginning of the 17th century. Some time later it appear that the Raja incurred the displeasure of the Mughals and in 1637 Aurangzeb, then Viceroy in the Deccan, was told to conquer and annex the territory. After a long siege, Mulher fell to the Mughals in 1638 (AH 1048/1049).



The mohur illustrated above is dated AH 1048. It is the common square area type used in a number of mints, with the mint-name in the left margin of the reverse (king side). The mohur will no doubt have been struck to commemorate the capture of the city. The mint-name is inscribed a little crudely which suggests that at least that part of the die was engraved at a travelling mint. It may, on the other hand, have been engraved and struck at the local mint where the Raja coined a long series of silver Mahmudis. It is interesting to note that a silver one-sixteenth rupee of Aurangnagar appeared in the White King Sale of 1905 (lot 3830). The date on that small coin is described as being AH 1038, but that is probably a misreading for 1048.

Shah Jehan I: gold mohur of Akbarabad from the last year of the reign



This mohur is dated AH 1068, year 32 of a type published in gold for Daulatabad and Kabul, with the central legends on each side contained within a multifoil (see KM 259). The mint has the epithet *Dar-ul-Khilafat*, used earlier in the reign on rupees and at various times on nisars. The weight is 10.93g.

Shah Jehan I: gold nisar of Akbarabad



Very few gold nisars are known for the whole Mughal series. In his article in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1926-7 (*Some notable coins of the Mughal emperors of India: part II*), R. B. Whitehead reports five such coins, four from Akbarabad and one from Shahjehanabad. One of these coins, Dar-ul-Khilafat AH 1048 year 11, was said to be in the cabinet of H. Nelson Wright. A coin of this mint and date is illustrated above. It is not known if the arrangement of the legend is the same as on the HNW coin, but it is a little different from that of a coin of year 1042 described by RBW in the same article. The obverse legend is *Nisar Shah Jehan badshah ghazi*. The weight is 2.73g.

Shah Jehan I: gold mohur of Katak



Mughal gold coins of Katak are extremely rare. In JNSI vol. II, 1940, Capt. P. S. Tarapore published a mohur dated 1046, month of Aban. The present coin is of the same type, of year 1049, but with the Arabic month of Shawwal rather than one of the usual Ilahi months. The month is inscribed below the word *Rasul* of the Kalima on the obverse. Weight: 10.93g.

Jehangir: gold mohur of Kabul



No gold mohur of Kabul in the name of Jehangir appears to have been published. The coin illustrated above is the same type as the rupee KM 149.12. The rupee is dated AH 1023, year 9 but no date is visible on this mohur, which weighs 10.93g. The couplet, as read by C. J. Brown in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue is:

يا زند از نام جهانگیر شاه
سکه بود نوره مهر و ماه

“So long as coin shall be struck in the name of Jahangir Shah
May it give light to silver and gold”

More coins from the Khusru collection will be published in the next newsletter.

A Copper Coin Minted in Tihua By Kenneth M. MacKenzie

The coin illustrated below has puzzled me for some time. It bears the name of Ti Hua (top and bottom), *Copper Coin* (right and left) and 2 *Fen*, inscribed in Chinese on the obverse and, on the reverse is an Arabic inscription of similar words in Turki. These denote that it was struck in that city, but no date has been included.

The name Urumqi is now used for this city, which is the capital of the autonomous region of China in the province of Xinjian.

The copper (holed) cash coins of Xinjiang are well known to collectors from the mints established by the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty rulers in Yarkand, Aksu, Ushi, Ili, Yerkin, Wusih, Kuche, Khotan

and Kashgar after the territory was added to the Empire about 1758. Only three of these imperial mints were in operation in this province at the end of the reign of Quang xu (Kuang Hsu). Many fantasy issues exist. The coins had the Turki mint place name in Arabic on the reverse; they are shown on page 225 of the SCWC¹ but the Arabic version of the *Ti Hua* name is not given. It is known that Xian Feng (Hsien Feng) struck coins during his reign 1851-1861 which circulated in Ti Hua but at that time it was included in the province of Kansu.

In 1883 Xinjiang (i.e. New Dominion) was made a province which needed a *chou* city. Hence in 1886 it became *Ti Hua Chu*. Coins (holed cash) minted there were referred to by Coole and Craig in their catalogues and in many other catalogues published in China².

It may be recalled that during the period when the rebel Yaq'ub Beg (known as Badaulat = favourite of fortune) ruled from his capital in Aksu from 1864 to 1877, he moved his army from Kashgar to the north and defeated another rebel T'o-ming, who had established himself as a *malik* (Muslim king) in Urumqi. By 1870, Yaq'ub Beg was in control of Kashgaria (South Xinjiang) and part of the north (Dzungaria), but was murdered in 1877, at which time Kashgar fell and by the next year the whole region was restored to Chinese rule.

The Chinese reconquest was gradual and after General Tso Tsung-t'ang suppressed the rebels in Kansu and Shensi, he finally captured Ti Hua, and Xinjiang was reorganised with the capital at Ti Hua under the governorship of Liu Chin-tang.

With the above events in mind I believe the coin discussed here was probably authorised by the Governor (or his successor) during the years of his appointment in that city, but no later than 1897, when the Chinese currency was changed.

This is only 2 Fen coin that I have seen of this type and I looked in vain in *Xinjian Qianbi*, the fine book by Dong Qingxuan and Jiang Qixiang³ for a reference to similar issues. Perhaps I have overlooked some earlier or later volume concerning this mint.

Denomination: 2 Fen

(prior to 1897 this was equivalent to 1/50th of a Tael).

Weight: 1.362g; diameter: 22 mm.



Obverse: four crudely engraved Chinese characters *Ti* (top) *Hua* (bottom) *Tong* (right) *Bao* (left) with small ornament in the centre, all within a 10 mm linear circle. An outer dotted circle contains four twigs with *Fen* (on the left) and *Er* (on the right).

Reverse: a 1½ mm linear circle contains a four-line inscription in crudely written Arabic which presumably denotes in Turki (or Uighur) that the coin was struck in Tihua. Surrounded by an outer linear circle filled with an irregular scroll, which may be a barbarous attempt at an Arabic legend.

Notes

1 Krause, C.L. and Mishler, C: *Standard Catalogue of World Coins, 19th century edition*, Iola, WI, 1996.

2 Coole, A.B.: *Coins in China's History*, 4th edition, Kansas, MI, 1965, and Craig, W.D. *Coins of the World*, 3rd edition, Racine, WI, 1966. In which 89 and 10 cash coins were referred to, with *Boo Di* on the reverses.

3 Published by the Educational and Cultural Press, Hong Kong, China, 1991.