



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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ONS News

Annual General Meeting 5 June 1999

The annual general meeting next year will be on 5 June at the Cumberland Coin Fair at the Cumberland Hotel in London. Frances and Howard Simmons are once again making a room available to the ONS. Further information including speakers will be in the next newsletter.

The Society's constitution provides that, at the annual general meeting in 1999 and at every third annual general meeting thereafter, all officers and other members of the Society's council (with the exception of the regional secretaries) are to stand for election or re-election. The officers are Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, Treasurer, Newsletter Editor, Secretary, Membership Secretary, Publications Secretary and not more than three other members of the Society. The members of the provisional council are Nick Rhodes, Secretary General; Stan Goron, Deputy Secretary General and Newsletter Editor; David Priestley, Treasurer; Peter Smith, Secretary; Joe Cribb, Publications Secretary; Paul Withers (with the assistance of Bente Withers) Membership Secretary; other members Tony Holmes, Venetia Porter, and Howard Simmons.

The members of the provisional council will stand for re-election at the annual general meeting. Any other candidates for election must be nominated in writing, supported by two other members and sent to Peter Smith at 9 Grandison Road London SW11 6LS in time for inclusion in the agenda and notice of meeting which is expected to be sent out with the Spring 1999 newsletter.

From the Editor

Unfortunately, Steve Album's supplement on *The anonymous coinage of the Barakzays and their rivals in Afghanistan: a reappraisal* was not in the event finished in time for publication of Newsletter 157. Our apologies for any confusion caused on that account; it is hoped that it will be finished in time for the spring newsletter.

With this issue we are publishing a supplement by Dick Nauta entitled *Early 17th century Ottoman North Africa: some notes on its monetary situation*.

Cologne

Seventeen members of the India collector group met in Cologne at the Römisch-Germanisch Museum on Saturday 1 November 1998. As a follow-up to the talks he had given on Dungarpur in previous years, Mr Bartonitschek reported on the "success" he had had in getting at least one coin for the display. He had been offered loads of forgeries of the one paisa coin, examples of which he presented to the those present together with a genuine piece. This led to a discussion on contemporary forgeries, forgeries made to deceive collectors and emergency money. Mr Lingen pointed out that in the Second World War there was a shortage of small change and that, for example, in Dungarpur between 1942 and 1944 small denomination coins were struck to emergency money. Pfarrer

Linse told about similar measures taken in India during the First World War, until in the end the paper was more expensive than the value it bore. It was pointed out that an increasing number of forgeries are being made in India to deceive collectors and that international forgers are active in Lebanon.

Messrs Bartonitschek and Lingen then gave a talk on the coinage of Bijapur, with the former speaking about the geography and history and the latter showing slides of the coins of the sultans and the Mughals, including larinis.

Dr Pieper presented the book that he and Osmund Boparachchi had written and which had just been published on ancient Indian coins and which covered some 1000 coins from his collection.

After lunch, Herr Rhode gave a talk on Mughal coins, including coins that had been wrongly attributed and some that still gave problems for identification.

The meeting ended with a talk on the iconography on the coins of Nepal. This was based on an earlier talk by Herr Ganske given in 1983, which was augmented by the description of a mohar of Jaya Mahindra, the whole thing being put together by Mr Bartonitschek and with the reproduction of the eight Buddhist symbols of good luck from a scroll.

The participants are very grateful to the Museum for making the facilities available and look forward to the next meeting at the same venue on 6 November 1999 from 09.30. NG

Jena

The regional meeting of the ONS, which, in previous years, has taken place in Tübingen, will be held next time in Jena on 17 to 18 April 1999. Members of the ONS and others interested in oriental numismatics are invited to attend and contribute papers. For further information please contact: S. Heidemann, Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients, Orientalisches Münzkabinett, Loebdergraben 24a, D-07743 Jena, Germany. Tel: ++49 3641 944850; e-mail: x7hest@dagobert.rz.uni-jena.de.

Leiden

The annual ONS-meeting in the Netherlands took place in Leiden on 17 October 1998. The meeting was very well attended with over 30 members present and a member from as far away as Moscow made it to the meeting. After a welcome with coffee in the library of the Royal Coin Cabinet Dr. J. J. Witkam of the Leiden University Library gave a brief explanation of a display of Chinese Hell-money. This display was specially arranged, in co-operation with the Royal Coin Cabinet, by Dr. J. J. Witkam for this ONS-meeting, a gesture which was very much appreciated by the audience. The lectures were held next door in the auditorium of the Museum of Antiquities. Mr. R. Dauwe addressed a question about the coins of Roman Egypt, namely whether they were Greek, Roman or Oriental. With a number of slides of the various Roman provincial coins of Egypt he suggested that with the depiction on these coins of local gods and goddesses they are similar to the series of Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Greek coins and would be better regarded

as an indigenous oriental series rather than a Roman provincial series. This talk met with much interest.

Paul Murphy, just prior to his departure for India and his visit to the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), gave a review of his progress on the ONS-IIRNS CD-ROM project. For the aims of this project see NL 154, p.6.

After the lunch-break, Frank Hendriks presented an Urtukid coin which, to his knowledge, was unpublished so far. Furthermore Drs. P. A. van't Haaff (1468) informed the audience that on many drachms of the Western Satraps he had observed many small bankers-marks on the face of the ruler's portrait. He requested anybody with such coins in his or her collection and showing these tiny bankers-marks to inform him about it. The scientific part of the day was concluded by Tjong Ding Yih who reported on a number of suspicious Chinese and Central Asian coins. The present techniques for counterfeiting are quite advanced and collectors need to be extremely careful, particularly while obtaining coins directly from the Far-East. Many forgeries in this series have come in the past decennia from this area.

The customary auction of oriental coins was a great success with about Dfl. 1375 accruing to ONS funds, thanks to the generosity of Spink & Son of London who had donated a substantial number of coins for the auction.

The meeting was concluded with a dinner in a pleasant oriental atmosphere at an Indonesian restaurant. Our thanks were particularly due to the Royal Coin Cabinet and the Museum for Antiquities who gave all their support and allowed the meeting to take place on their premises free of charge.

Please note in your diary that the annual meeting in Leiden for 1999 is again scheduled for the 3rd Saturday in October (= 16 October 1999)
Jan Lingen.

London

There will be an ONS meeting at the British Museum Coin and Medal Department on Saturday 13 March 1999, commencing 11 am. Additional details are not yet available but may be obtained in due course from Joe Cribb at the Museum (tel: 0171 323 8585).

Joe will be giving a number of gallery talks in the near future: on 16 January and 5 February at 11.30 1999 in the Oriental Gallery in connection with the special exhibition on the Raffles collection entitled *The Golden Sword*; and in the Money Gallery on 1 February 1999 at 11.30 on *Raffles and Marsden, and coinage in South East Asia*. Please note that there will be an entrance charge to the Raffles exhibition.

Members News

is working on a book and catalogue on the history and numimatics of the Dābūyid Ispahbads of Tabaristān and the early 'Abbāsīd governors of that province. He is now concentrating on the conventional Islamic coins with mint name Tabaristān and Amul. He would like to hear from any member who has any fals issued from either of those mints in the period prior to 204 AH. He can be contacted at the following address: He has already identified the following issues:

1. 102 AH - Tabaristān dirham without governor's name
2. 146 AH - Tabaristān dirham without governor's name
3. 147 AH - Tabaristān dirham; Rawh (ibn Hātim)
4. 148 AH - Tabaristān dirham; Rawh (ibn Hātim)
5. 148 AH - Sariya fals; Rawh (ibn Hātim)
6. 150 AH - Tabaristān fals; Khālid ibn Muḥammad
7. 155 AH - Tabaristān fals; 'Umar ibn al-'Alā
8. 157 AH - Tabaristān fals; 'Umar ibn al-'Alā
9. 160 AH - Tabaristān fals; Sa'id ibn Da'laj
10. 162 AH - Tabaristān fals; 'Umar ibn al-'Alā
11. 164 AH - Tabaristān fals; Mūsā (al-Hadi)
12. 168 AH - Amul fals; no governor's name
13. 174 AH - Tabaristān fals; Muḥammad (al-Amin)
14. 175 AH - Tabaristān dirham; 'Abdullāh
15. 186 AH - Amul fals; al-Faḍl
16. 190 AH - Tabaristān dirham; no governor's name
17. 190 AH - Tabaristān fals; no governor's name
18. 191 AH - Tabaristān dirham; no governor's name

19. 192 AH - Tabaristān dirham; no governor's name
20. 193 AH - Tabaristān dirham; no governor's name
21. 194 AH - Tabaristān dirham; no governor's name
22. 194 AH - Tabaristān dirham; al-Faḍl

Other News

Johann Gustav Stickel, one of the founders of Islamic Numismatics honoured

by Stefan Heidemann

Johann Gustav Stickel (1805 - 1896) was one of the founders of Islamic Numismatics. He received his philological education in Jena and Paris. He studied with the venerable orientalist A. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who worked in his philological studies with papyri and coins as well. Stickel traced his initial interest in sphragistic and numismatic studies back to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, an admirer of the Orient and a devoted coin collector. In 1840 Stickel succeeded in buying an oriental coin collection, which formed the nucleus of the Grandducal Oriental Coin Cabinet and the basis for his later studies. His main works in the field of numismatics are the *Handbuch zur Orientalischen Münzkunde*, Leipzig 1845, 1870, which was reprinted in 1975, and his studies on Oriental lead seals in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. At the end of his life he was awarded honours of various kinds and membership of many academic and numismatic societies. In 1889 The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar and Eisenach sponsored a medal in honour of Johann Gustav Stickel on the 50th Anniversary of his membership of the faculty of philosophy at the University in Jena. This medal was made by the sculptor Waldemar Uhlmann. It served as a model for the portrait medallion on the monument erected on his grave in 1897. Some time during the 1970s the medallion disappeared.



(Photo, P. Cott, Jena)

In 1994, after being vacant for 75 years, the chair of Semitic Philology and Islamic Studies was re-established and Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes was appointed to it. The Oriental Coin Cabinet in Jena, which was almost forgotten, received a new lease of life as a research facility. Recently (as mentioned in the previous newsletter) the Peter Jaekel Collection was acquired. In order to honour Johann Gustav Stickel, whose numismatic achievements are now being appreciated anew, the great-grand son of the founder, Mr. Arnd Kniese, has sponsored the restoration of the monument and the casting of the Medaillon to fill the gap left by the robbery. The monument lies in a romantic garden in the heart of the city of Jena, and which served as a graveyard until 1900.

Contact: Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes, Dr. S. Heidemann, Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients - Orientalisches Münzkabinett, Loebdergraben 24, 07743 Jena.

E-mail: x7hest@dagobert.rz.uni-jena.de

Tübingen

Dr Larissa Baratova of Tashkent has been granted a one-year research stay, sponsored by the Humboldt-Foundation to work on the monetary production and circulation in Central Asia from the 4th to the 8th centuries, at the Oriental Institute, Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen University, from December 1998 onwards.

Auction News

Sotheby's of London held an Islamic Week 12-16 October this year. A range of auctions took place involving oriental and Islamic material, including book, rugs and carpets, arts, maps, Turkish art,

coins and banknotes. The coin auction included a set of gold dinars of the Umayyads comprising 55 coins from AH 78 to AH 132. Among the Umayyad silver coins were two extremely rare dirhams from the mints of Dasht-i-Maysan and Bahurasir.

For further information please contact Sotheby's Press Office by telephone: ++44 171 293 5169; fax: ++44 171 293 5947 or Internet: <http://www.sothebys.com>

The auction held by Sotheby's of New York on 19 December included 30 lots of Islamic coins. The inclusion of such material in the New York sales may become a regular feature. For further information please contact Stephen Lloyd, Sotheby's, 1334 York Avenue, New York, NY 10021, USA; tel ++1 212 606 7856; fax ++1 212 774 5310.

Dmitry Markov Coins and Medals, PO Box 950, New York, NY 10272, USA; fax: ++1 718 332 8676; mail bid auction #6 (9-10 December 1998) included some interesting Islamic items.

Jean Elsen s.a., Avenue de Tervueren 65, 1040 Brussels, Belgium: auction 56 (18-19 December 1998) included some 400 lots of Islamic and oriental coins.

Tel: ++32 2 734 6356; Fax: ++32 2 735 7778;
e-mail: numismatique@elsen.be. Website: <http://www.elsen.be>

New and Recent Publications

O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper: *Ancient Indian Coins*, Indicopeustoi, Archeology of the Indian Ocean 2, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers (1998). Price: BFr 3500 plus VAT, if relevant, from the publishers (Steenweg op Tielen 68, 2300 Turnhout, Belgium; fax ++32 14 42 89 19; e-mail: publishers@brepos.com

This contribution on ancient coins in India has been written jointly by Osmund Bopearachchi and Wilfried Pieper. It has 289 pages and 59 plates, and presents a private collection of ancient coins patiently gathered over the years.

In part 1, Pieper develops a historical commentary about the earliest coinages of India, the imperial period of late Magadha and Maurya rule (c. late 4th - early 2nd century BC), Ujjain and Eran, the Satavahanas (c. 1st century BC - early 2nd century AD) and tribal republics and kingdoms in post-Mauryan northern India (c. 200 BC - c. 300 AD). This commentary is followed by a detailed catalogue with very precise drawings of more than 600 coins and punchmarked coins.

Part 2, by Bopearachchi, is organised on the same pattern: a historical commentary on foreign powers in ancient northern India, from the Batrian Greeks until the time of the early Kushans, followed by a precise catalogue presenting Greek, Græco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and early Kushan coins (more than 300 specimens).

The commentary intends to give a general overview of the coins concerned and of their historical context with a more extensive discussion of the series best represented in the collection. For the indigenous Indian coins, this is specially true for the coinages of Ujjain, Eran, Taxila and Kausambi, many of which are new and published here for the first time. For example, of 54 different coin types of Kausambi included in the book, 26 types are hitherto unpublished.

The black and white plates illustrate the coins at around 90% of their actual size.

The price of the book is 3400 Belgian francs and is included in the series *Indicopeustoi: Archaeology of the Indian Ocean*. For further information, please contact Dr Pieper (address in membership list).

Numismatics International Bulletin, Volume 33, number 8 (August 1998) contains a couple of articles of oriental interest: *A British crown on an Afghan coin* by David Spencer Smith, dealing with the copper falus of Qandahar dated 1296 AH; and *Fakes v. amulets: a Chinese puzzle* by Bob Forrest.

Issue 18 (April 1998) of *IIRNS Newslines*, published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, has been received. This contains several short articles on coins and details of forthcoming publications. These include a 32 page booklet by Biswajeet Rath entitled *Deities on Indian Coins*, a 48 page booklet by Danish Moin with the title *Coins of the Delhi Sultanate*, and a 48 page booklet by P.V.Radhakrishnan called *Collecting Roman Coins in South India*. All three have plenty of illustrations and are

meant as useful introductory guides.

A. Mousheghian and G. Depeyrot, *Hellenistic and Roman Armenian Coinage (1st century BC - 1st century AD)* Editions Moneta, Belgium; 256 pp, 8 plates. Text in English and Armenian. Price: 2350 BEF.

"During the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD, the Armenian kingdom struck silver and bronze coinage. The main part of the coinage was issues of Tigranes II. he began to strike after his invasion of the Seleucid kingdom and continued his production of coins during and after the war against Lucullus and Pompeius. His successors continued to strike, but the quantities of coins decreased. The last Armenian issues were Roman denarii of the C L CAESARES type. This book presents a new corpus of the Armenian issues of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. More than 2500 coins are catalogued. A new chronology and a new organisation of coinage are presented. The coinage is attributed to several mints of Syria and Armenia."

For further information please contact the publishers at Hoenderstraat 22, B-9230 Wetteren, Belgium. Fax: ++32 93 69 59 25.

The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), based in Leiden, Netherlands, promotes and conducts interdisciplinary research on contemporary social and intellectual trends and movements in Muslim societies and communities. It has recently published its first 48 page newsletter, covering a wide range of subjects. Any member who would like to find out more about the Institute or its newsletter should write to ISIM, PO Box 11089, 2301 EB Leiden, The Netherlands; tel: ++31 71 527 7905; fax: ++31 71 527 7906; e-mail: isim@rullet.leidenuniv.nl. Website: <http://isim.leidenuniv.nl>

The *Numismatic Chronicle*, volume 158, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1998 contains the following articles of oriental interest:

M.I. Mochiri: *Réemploi de coins des monnaies sassanides*
Hodge Mehdi Malek and Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis: *History and coinage of the Sasanian queen Bōrān*

Vlastimir Novák: *Political oscillation under pressure: a Kākūyid billon dirham of Farākurz acknowledging the Būyid ruler Abū Kālijār*

Michael Cowell and Helen Wang: *Metal supply for the metropolitan coinage of the Kangxi period (1662-1721)*

Devenda Handa: *Coins of the Śāvitriputrās*

It also contains a review by Judith Kolbas of *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography*, vols. 1 and 2 by W.F. Spengler and W.G. Sayles.

Spink Numismatic Circular for December 1998 (Vol. CVI no.10) contains an article by Kenneth M. MacKenzie entitled *A countermarked Tunisian quarter riyal 1150H*.

Ord med Mening is a *Festschrift* in honour of Jørgen Steen Jensen of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Edited by Jens Christian Moesgaard and Preben Nielsen it contains a variety of short articles in its 141 pages. The articles are in Danish and Swedish with a short English summary. Of interest to members of ONS are:

C.H. Biddulph - *unpublished catalogue of coins from Tranquebar* by Uno Barner Jensen

Two types of traces from circulation on coins from the Viking age by Gert Rispling. This article talks about the deliberate edg nicking and cutting of Islamic coins.

ISBN 87-987009-0-1. Published by Nordisk Numismatisk Union, Preben Nielsen, Hallandsparken 134, DK-2630 Taastrup, Denmark. 1998.

Two more volumes have appeared in the series *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*. These are

Hamah by Lorenz Korn; 58 pages with 21 plates; price DM 80
Nord- und Ostzentrasien (North and East Central Asia) by Tobias Meyer; 78 pages with 30 plates; price DM 98.

The former deals with the coins minted at Hamah in Syria; the latter covers a number of mints in the area designated. As usual with the series, all the coins are clearly illustrated on high quality plates with the relevant information about the coins on the pages opposite. Both volumes measure 29 x 38 cm and are published by Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, Postfach 2728, D-72017 Tübingen, Germany; tel ++49 7071 33658; fax ++49 7071 35776; e-mail

wasmuth.publish@supra-net.net

ISBN 3 8030 1102 7 and ISBN 3 8030 1103 5 respectively.

It is hoped to review these works in a future newsletter.

The latest volume of *Iran 36* (1998) includes the following three items:

M.I. Mochiri: *Une suite aux ateliers de Perside*, pp. 77-84

T. Khodzhanizayov, L. Treadwell: *The Marv hoard of early Islamic dirhams*, pp. 85-94

S. Heidemann: *The merger of two currency zones in early Islam: the Byzantine and Sasanian impact on the circulation in former Byzantine Syria and Northern Mesopotamia*, pp. 95-112

Joe Cribb: *Magic Coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula: thirteenth to twentieth centuries*. 288 pages, 80 plates. 1999. Price: £75.

A major new study of Oriental coin-shaped charms has just been published by the British Museum. Joe Cribb, Curator of South Asian Coins in the Museum's Department of Coins and Medals has been doing research on the coin-shaped charms of the Far East for more than twenty years. In the new volume he presents the British Museum's collection of coin-shaped charms from Indonesia and Malaysia, in the context of related material in public and private collections in Europe, North America and South East Asia.

This volume presents an overview of the 'magic coins' of South East Asia. Magic coins are coin-shaped metal objects which have been made in Java since the late thirteenth century, and subsequently on the neighbouring island of Bali and in the Malay Peninsula, and which are used to bestow spiritual powers on their owners, protecting them from evil forces or bringing them good fortune. Although they have many of the characteristics of the coins formerly in use as money in this region, their designs are not official coin designs, but images and inscriptions which are thought to give them the potential to achieve their 'magical' purpose.

A total of 333 different types of magic coin have been identified from examination or reports of 1050 individual specimens. This volume describes all these types and documents the specimens from which the information has been derived. The types are divided into nineteen separate series on the basis of their date, their place of manufacture and use, their design, their style, their shape, the metals from which they are made and the religious beliefs and cultures to which they relate.

The British Museum contains 165 of the specimens covered by the volume. These have been collected over a period of 165 years from 1835 when the first pieces collected by Thomas Stamford Raffles on the island of Java during the period of his governorship of the former Dutch colony 1811-16. The examples collected by Raffles at this early date provide vital evidence for the dating of the various series. Although the main focus of the volume is on the early material from Java, Cribb also includes in his study brass charms collected in Bali in the 1960s-70s, the iron charms made in Java in the 1950s-80s and the silver and brass pieces with Islamic designs and inscriptions made in the Malay Peninsula since the 1960s.

The introduction to this catalogue is a detailed discussion of the history of these coin-shaped charms, their dating, their function, their designs and their relationship with other coin-shaped charms of Asia (Rama Tankas and Chinese and Japanese good luck coins). Cribb has also made important discoveries about the history and significance of the Javanese shadow puppets who are featured on many of the coin-shaped charms. *Magic Coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula, Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries - A Catalogue Based on the Raffles Collection of Coin-Shaped Charms from Java in the British Museum*, 288 pages, including 80 plates of illustrations, published by British Museum Press, 46 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QQ (ISBN 0 7141 0881 2), £75.00 (available from the publisher or Spink and Son Ltd, 5-7, King Street St James, London SW1Y 6QS or Scott Editions, PO Box 22849, Seattle WA98122, USA).

Javanese magic coins from the Raffles Collection are on show at the British Museum in the Exhibition *The Golden Sword - Stamford Raffles and the East*, 19 December 1998 until 18 April 1999 (admission £4).

Joe Cribb will be giving lectures on the Magic Coins and Raffles' puppet collection at 11.30 am, 15 January, 5 February and 22 February, 5 March and 17 March



1 Bronze magic coin from Java, Raffles Collection, British Museum, 13-15th centuries, depicting on the front the wedding of the Javanese hero Panji and his wife Candra Kirana, whose protection is sought from evil spirits. The back shows Candra Kirana with a spinning wheel, rice kettle and other domestic objects.



105 Brass magic coin from Java, Raffles Collection, British Museum, 16th century, depicting on the front the wedding of the Javanese hero Panji and his wife Candra Kirana, whose protection is sought from evil spirits. The back shows Panji's servants Bancak and Doyok sacrificing a bull beneath two serpents.



260 Brass magic coin from Malaya, 1960s, depicting on the front the Islamic saint Khidr, an invocation of the name of God and the denomination 5 hindis, dated 211. The back shows two kris (Javanese and Malay daggers) with crossed blades, with the name of the Quranic verse Yasin and the names of the four caliphs. The inscriptions and designs represent a request for protection from evil spirits.

Forthcoming Publication

Stuart Munro-Hay: *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*. 120 pages, 69 plates. Due for publication March 1999. Price: £65.

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 numbers 148 (August 1998), 149 (September 1998) and 150 (January 1999).

2. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, Calif. 92169, USA; tel ++1 619-272-9440; fax ++1 619-272-9441) list 112 (Autumn 1998) of modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes.
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) lists 45 (Winter 1998) and 46 (February 1999).
4. Spink Numismatic Circulars for October 1998 (Vol. CVI, number 8), November 1998 (Vol. CVI, number 9) and December 1998 (Vol. CVI number 10) included a section 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. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; e-mail robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk) list 34. This list contains an article entitled *The Horseman Type on Mediaeval European Coinage*.
6. Hippocampus, Inc (PO Box 356, New Hope, PA 18938, USA; tel/fax ++1 215 297 5052) buy/bid list 2 of ancient and oriental coins.
7. Senior Consultants (Butleigh Court Tower, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8SA, UK; tel ++44 1458 850824; fax ++44 1458 850119) Autumn 1998 list of Indian coins.
8. Stefan Nebehay (Postfach 263, A-1011 Vienna, Austria; tel/fax ++43 1 513 6199; e-mail: nebehay@aol.com) list 7 of books on oriental numismatics.
9. Versandantiquariat Gertrud Weiermüller (Postfach 260164, 50514 Köln, Germany; tel ++49 221 92333100; fax ++39 221 9233102) a 200 page listing of numismatic literature and related material for sale.
10. Galerie Antiker Kunst: N & Dr S Simonian (Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060 or 476372; fax ++49 40 448244) a pricelist of Islamic and oriental coins.

Review

The Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas.

by Ajay Mitra Shastri

publ. Vinor Kumar, Dattsons, J. Nehru Marg, Sadar, Nagpur 440 001, India. ISBN 81-7192-0314: pp. xiv + 203, with 21 plates. Case bound, price Rs 495.

Ajay Mitra Shastri retired some years ago from his post as Professor of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology at Nagpur University. He is well known in Indian numismatic circles for his profound mastery of literary evidence and his longstanding researches on the Satavahanas and their coinage. He is also known for the forthright expression of views based on careful analysis of evidence, even when those views have not yet gained acceptance.

The subheading to his book is "A historical framework" and this is an apt description of Professor Shastri's field of study. The first eight chapters and three appendices are concerned with the Satavahanas; their original home, their chronology and a historical outline. Whereas earlier descriptions of the Satavahanas have often tended to place undue reliance on the corrupt puranic accounts of the dynasty, or to produce chronologies that are unacceptable for other reasons, Professor Shastri has produced an easily read account in which puranic and other textual evidence is analysed alongside archaeological evidence, contemporary inscriptions and the coinage. The Satavahana kingdom was founded in northern Andhra Pradesh around the middle of the first century BC and within a couple of decades the founder, Simuka Satavahana, had extended his domains westwards as far as the hills of western Maharashtra. This chronology is argued at some length and is amply supported by recent numismatic discoveries, not least by the (pre-Satakarni) coinage struck by the local Mitra and Bhadra dynasties of Vidarbha. Simuka Satavahana ("Satavahana" on many coins) was succeeded by Krishna and then by Satakarni (only one king of this name is admitted). Between the death of Satakarni around AD 45 and the accession of Gautamiputra around AD 60 the realm suffered a temporary decline. For part of this time Satakarni's son Vedisri was the ruling king, as attested by the longer Naneghat inscription. Numerous kings are cited in the puranas, but only a few of these are attested by any historical evidence, and those attested only exercised authority in peripheral regions. Prosperity returned to the Satavahana kingdom under the rule of Gautamiputra Satakarni (c. AD 60-90). The kingdom was consolidated and expanded, and the Sakas (Nahapana) were expelled from the northwest. His four sons succeeded him in turn,

Vasisthiputra Pulumavi (c.91-118), Vasisthiputra Satakarni (c.119-147), Vasisthiputra Sivasri Pulumavi (c.148-154) and Vasisthiputra Skanda Satakarni (c.155-169). The last great monarch was Gautamiputra Yajna Satakarni (c.170-198), who was followed by his brother Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni (c.199-204). Decline continued towards extinction under the last three brothers, Vasisthiputra Chanda Satakarni (c.205-214), Vasisthiputra Vijaya Satakarni (c.215-224) and Vasisthiputra Pulumavi (c.225-230). The evidence for this sequence and approximate chronology is discussed in detail. Few will have grounds for disagreeing with the general framework. The old view that Nahapana dated his inscriptions in the Saka era, with the corollary that Gautamiputra defeated Nahapana during the second century AD, is firmly denied. The last five chapters and two appendices of the book are concerned with the Western Kshatrapas. This is a shorter section and much of the analysis is centred around the persons of Nahapana and Chashtana. As already noted, Nahapana is considered to have ruled during the first century AD (c.32-77) - a chronology that is now widely accepted. The underlying logic is that the accession of Chashtana gave rise to a system of dating used by all his successors, namely the Saka era of AD 78. Hence Nahapana's death is dated to the previous year. The general point that the Saka era is an era of Western Central India which originated as the dating system of the independent Kardamaka family of Western Kshatrapas (Chashtana's family) is beyond reasonable doubt and older views that linked this era with the Kushans are without any basis of evidence.

The historical framework expounded in this book is clear, well argued and in the reviewer's opinion quite valid. As with any radical study there remain details which can be debated. Recent studies by Bob Senior, Joe Cribb and the reviewer ("The coinage and history of Southern India: vol. 1. Karnataka-Andhra. 1998) all concur with the general chronology of Nahapana and of Gautamiputra Satakarni put forward by Professor Shastri, but tend to modify the dates slightly. Joe Cribb has suggested that when the Indo-Parthians (Pahlavas) were powerful, the Kshaharatas (including Nahapana) were their feudatories - and hence that Nahapana's inscriptions were dated in the Gondopharan era of AD 20. Kshatrapa Nahapana conquered the Nasik region from the Satavahanas and Nasik inscriptions cite his years 41 to 45. Dated in the era of AD 20, these years correspond to AD 60 to 64. In the following year (46) Nahapana conquered Junnar. The Junnar inscription of year 46 (AD 65) cites Nahapana as Mahakshatrapa. Although Cribb does not argue this chronology, it can be added that support for the close link between Nahapana's Sakas and the Indo-Parthians is attested in the eulogy of Gautamiputra Satakarni's reconquest engraved by his mother, Queen Balasri, some two decades after his death. This Nasik inscription is dated to the 19th year of Balasri's grandson Vasisthiputra Pulumavi and in it she claims that Gautamiputra Satakarni *destroyed the Saka-Yavana-Pahlavas (Saka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisudanasa).... rooted out the Kshaharata race (Khakharatavasa-niravasesakarasa)*. Another point for debate is that Professor Shastri interprets these statements of Balasri literally, whereas the reviewer would consider that the eulogy overemphasised the reality. Nahapana, having achieved major conquests, established his capital in the south at Minnagar (as cited in the *Periplus*), which was Junnar. Gautamiputra achieved major reconquests at the expense of Nahapana, but the numismatic evidence shows that Nahapana retained a local Saka kingdom in the Junnar-Kolhapur region (quite separate from Chashtana's more northerly kingdom) where he and his successors ruled for a couple of decades until overcome by Gautamiputra's son, Vasisthiputra Pulumavi: probably before the date of Balasri's eulogy. The numismatic sequence of Junnar (and for some issues Kolhapur) runs: Satavahanas (Satavahana, Satakarni), Sakas (Mahakshatrapa Nahapana, Mahakshatrapa Isamahisa), Chutu incursion from the south (Isa Mulananda), Sakas (Kumara Isamahisa, Kumara Isamula), Satavahanas (Pulumavi, Siva Satakarni, Sivasri Pulumavi). The *Periplus* contains several passages describing the kingdom of Nahapana, which included the two towns of Broach (Barygaza) and Junnar (Minnagar). Nahapana had established his seat at Junnar, and Broach was administered by a certain Sandanes. Professor Shastri identifies this Sandanes as a Satavahana, whereas the reviewer identifies him as Chashtana - when Nahapana established his seat in the south (Junnar) and took

the title Mahakshatrapa, a subordinate Kshatrapa (Chashtana) was appointed to his former seat at Broach. Young Chashtana augmented his authority by harassing Greek shipping bound for Kalyan (*Periplus*), a port of Nahapana's territory, and the elderly Nahapana (he had an adult grandson: Karle inscription) was finally isolated in the south by the reconquests of Gautamiputra Satakarni. This view has implications for the establishment of the Saka era of AD 78. Professor Shastri's concept that AD 78 was the accession year of Chashtana is not compatible with identifying Sandanes of the *Periplus* with Chashtana, because that synchronism occurred before AD 78 - probably between AD 65 and 69. A more likely synchronism for the era of AD 78 is the major event in Chashtana's early career, the conquest of Ujjain. Following Gautamiputra Satakarni's reconquests of the early 70's AD, Chashtana reconquered lands north of the river Nabada, including the former northern Satavahana seat at Ujjain, and Chashtana made Ujjain his own capital (as stated by Ptolemy). The chronology of Chashtana's dynasty probably dated events from the establishment of the dynastic seat at Ujjain in AD 78. These comments are not critical, but rather serve to show that there is still scope for debate - and life would be dull if everything was clear cut.

I have read Professor Shastri's book with great interest and find in it the most realistic exposition of the framework of Satavahana history: a major advance on earlier publications. I would recommend it to all those who are interested in the early history of the Deccan and adjacent regions.

Reviewed by Michael Mitchiner

Corrigenda, Addenda and other notes

In the previous newsletter we inadvertently omitted the name of the author of the item entitled *The First Trilingual Arakanese Coin of Chittagong*. It should have been Mike Robinson. Our apologies to Mike for this omission.

In Newsletter 156 we published an article on the veteran numismatist Samuel Lachman, which included a select list of his articles. The authors inadvertently omitted a number of items from the list. These follow, together with one correction.

The Numismatics of the Yemen of the 10th/16th Century.

Part 1: NCirc vol 100 no.4 (May 1992), pp. 113-114

Part 2: NCirc vol 100 no.5 (June 1992), pp. 147-148

Part 3: NCirc vol 100 no.6 (July 1992), p. 185

Part 4: NCirc vol 100 no.7 (September 1992), pp. 223-224

Part 5: NCirc vol 100 no.8 (October 1992), pp. 263-264

Part 6: NCirc vol 100 no.9 (November 1992), pp. 300-302

The Ottoman Copper Coins Struck at Mocha

NCirc vol 101 no.2 (March 1993), p. 44

The Supposed Mint of al-Hudayda

NCirc vol 102 no.2 (March 1994), pp. 53-55

A Gold Coin of the Zaidi Imam al-Mutawakkil al-Qasim bin al-Husayn

NCirc vol 98 no.3 (April 1990), p. 84 (correction)

In the previous newsletter we mentioned some new publications by Michael Mitchiner. Some of the ISBN numbers quoted have been subsequently amended. The correct numbers are as follows:

The Coinage and history of Southern India. Volume 1. Karnataka - Andhra

ISBN 0-904173-22-4

The History and Coinage of South East Asia

ISBN 0-904173-25-9

Indian Tokens: Popular Religious & Secular Art

ISBN 0-904173-24-0

On the last page of Newsletter 157 we published a photo of a gold amulet asking for any information about it. By a strange coincidence, David Priestley, when visiting Yerevan in Armenia recently, made contact with the director of the National Museum, Henry Sarkissian. The latter is an expert on Armenian medals and published an article on the subject some years ago in the *Armenian Numismatic Journal* (Series 1, Volume XV, 1989). The medal depicted in the newsletter probably dates from the mid-19th century. It depicts St. Gregory the Illuminator on the obverse, while the reverse depicts the cathedral of Etchmiadzin. These and similar medals were prepared on the orders of customers, generally to be offered to newly-weds as a souvenir type present. They were kept as a relic in the family to bring its owner happiness and

success, and defend him from unforeseen danger. Such medals were often produced with each side being prepared individually from thin metal which was then soldered together and a ringlet added. They exist in gold, silver and base metal.

At the London ONS meeting held on 19 September 1998, there was an additional talk by Aleksandr Naymark of Indiana University, Bloomington, USA). A summary of the talk with illustrations is given here.

Copper Coins of the Last Bukharkhudas

by Aleksandr Naymark

To judge from Samarqand and Southern Soghd materials, the first decades of Arab rule did not change the local system of coinage and monetary circulation. One would surmise that the situation in Western (Bukharan) Soghd would develop along the same lines. Surprisingly, the existing numismatic literature assigns no coins to the mint of Bukhara for nearly 50 years, from 87/709, when the oasis was siezed by Qutaiba b. Muslim, to 138/755-756, when the first fulus were minted in the city by Abu Da'ud Khalid.

There is a group of coin types among the finds on the sites of the Bukharan oasis which fits the necessary parameters of the "missing" coinage of the first decades of Arab rule.



Obv. - crowned human head en face Rev. - tamgha



Obv. - tamgha Rev. - tamgha



Obv. - one hundred twenty in dirham in 3 lines, Rev. - tamgha

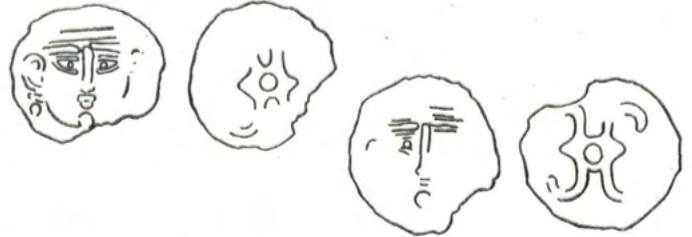


Obv. - negative section of profession of faith in 3 lines, Rev. - tamgha

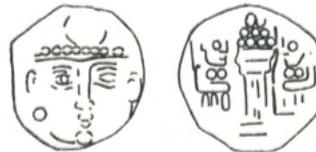


Obv. - positive section of profession of faith in 3 lines, Rev. - tamgha

The tamgha in the shape of a "dancing man" is different from the well-known tamgha of the Bukharkhudas. This fact, and a few registered finds of such specimens in Paykend, served as a basis for the hypothesis assigning this group of coin types to the mint of Paykend. New data on the distribution of these coins on the sites of the Bukharan oasis, and a few historical considerations make this a doubtful assumption. The problem is solved by two coin types of the same group, which have different reverses, but record the earlier stages of the development of the same portrait on the obverse:



Obv. - crowned human head en face, Rev. - version of Bukharkhuda tamgha



Obv. - crowned human head en face, Rev. - two guards flanking an altar

The presence of the standard Bukharkhuda tamgha on the earliest coins of this group means that these seven types are very probably the last copper coinage of the Bukharkhudas.

Several details show that the die carver of the initial type was accustomed to producing dies for Bukharkhuda drachms. The common elements of portraits and direct parallels between the reverse of the next copper type and the reverse of the silver Bukharkhuda drachms allow us to suggest that the initial type of the group was roughly contemporary to the so-called "Mug" type drachms. On the basis of archaeological stratigraphy and hoard evidence, these drachms can be dated to the first decades of the 8th century.

The major iconographic elements (not the style and skills of the die carver) of this initial type repeat those of a Bukharan type of the 6th century. An explanation can be seen in the political situation in Bukhara in the early 8th century: just before the Arab invasion there was a sedition; the Arabs expelled the usurper Wardan Khuda and restored young Tugshada to the throne; in an attempt to legitimise his power, Tugshada "returned" to the long abandoned type, which carried a royal portrait and the royal tamgha. The successive six series can be dated from the 720s to the 750s. There is, however, a possibility that the last issues with the "dancing man" tamgha were minted even later. Unfortunately, the coins do not answer the question: why did the Bukharkhudas abandon their traditional tamgha and start using the new "dancing man" tamgha on the coins minted during the Arab supremacy?

An Unrecorded Sasanian Symbol

by Hamid Zohorian

Some years ago I obtained a drachm of Varhran I (AD 273-276), which, while not in good condition, bears an interesting symbol on its obverse. The Sasanians used many symbols on their small silver and copper coins.¹ A large number of such enigmatic symbols have also been observed on Sasanian seals and bullae.² They are, however, very rare on the obverse of Sasanian drachms and little has been published.³



This coin has a \ddagger in front of the king's forehead and - to the best of my knowledge - this combination of a cross and one dot in each quarter seems to be unrecorded in Sasanian art. It may represent an astronomic sign⁴ but there is no clear evidence to support this. It is also very unlikely to be a Christian cross as Christianity was not widespread at this precise period. There is a possibility that it indicates a historical event, but that, too, is speculative and its exact meaning must remain undetermined for the moment.

Notes

1. R Göbl: *Sasanian Numismatics*, Braunschweig 1971
2. For example, see the works of R. N. Frye *Sasanian clay sealings in the collection of Mohsen Foroughi*; J. A. Lerner *Christian seals*; Ph. Gignoux *Res orientales*;
3. For a drachm of Varhran I with a star before the king's bust, see Seaby *Coin and Medal Bulletin*, March 1988.
4. M.I.Mochiri, personal communication, 1996.

A Hoard of 630 AR Samarqand Dirhems with Threatening Legend.

by Michael Fedorov

In 1996 a hoard of 30 copper silvered dirhems was bought by the Bishkek antique dealers A. Kamyshev and V. Koshevarov. It was brought to Kirghizstan together with some other coins by a dealer from Uzbekistan. The exact provenance of the hoard is not known. But since those fiduciary coins with high forced value were minted for Samarqand and its vicinities (and would not be accepted anywhere else) they must have been found there.

The so called "silver crisis" in Central Asia which started around the second decade of the 11th century AD deteriorated so that about 100 years later copper silvered dirhems which contained only about 4-5% of silver supplanted in the Qarakhanid khaqanate the last suberati dirhems which contained by that time about 20% of silver. The new coins had high forced value based on a state decree and not on the metal value. When such coins were minted in amounts surpassing the needs of trade, inflation would start and population refuse to accept the coins at the high legal value set by the state. The Qarakhanid rulers tried to remedy the situation by increasing the weight and size of such coins. So having started with about 3g in the middle of the 12th century AD the weight of Qarakhanid copper silvered dirhems soared to about 12g in the second decade of the 13th century.

The Mongols, those strict disciplinarians, came up with another remedy. So the coins with threatening legend appeared. Such legend threatened with punishment anyone who would refuse to accept the coin.

The first coins of this type were published by V. G. Tiesenhausen in 1892. Several years later V. V. Barthold corrected V. G. Tiesenhausen. Those amendments were accepted by his contemporary A. K. Markov. In 1926, the archaeologist, V. L. Viatkin, who had found a copper die for minting such coins in Samarqand, repeated the reading offered by V. V. Bartold and finally E. A. Davidovich repeated the traditional reading in 1972, though she, too, could not read some part of the circular legend.¹ Fortunately the coins of the hoard (which happened to be the first one known) allow us to read the words that were previously illegible.

The threatening legend was placed in the field of the obverse and reverse. It reads as follows:

(rev) نکیرد / کناه / کا بود (obv) بسمرقند / و نواحی این / شهر هر که

Which means: "In Samarqand and vicinities of this town each one who will not take (this coin - M. F.) is a culprit". The circular legends of both obverse and reverse are identical and contain the date formula including the name of the month, Rajab:

ستم (sic) sometimes ضربهذا الدرهم بتاريخ رجب سنة ثلثین ستمائة

Which means: "Minted is this dirhem at the date of Rajab in the year thirty (and) six (hundred)". Rajab of 630 AH corresponded to 13 April - 12 May 1233 AD.

These coins are bilingual for the threatening legend of the field is in Persian and the circular legend of both obverse and reverse is traditionally in Arabic. The mysterious word, or rather words, which E. A. Davidovich could not read, proved to be بتاريخ رجب.

She wrote that V. G. Tiesenhausen read بتاريخ رجب. She doubted his reading because

there were "probably seven letters" in the word.² No wonder she could not make anything of it. The diesinker made a mistake and engraved بتاريخ رجب instead of بتاريخ رجب.

It is seen quite clearly on the coin published by E. A. Davidovich herself.³ There are several coins with the same mistake in the hoard (Table 1, Nr. 1).

And it was not the only mistake. The legends of the coins abound with other mistakes. It looks as if diesinkers were either illiterates or careless (or both). And one of the mistakes was so gross and absurd that it changed the meaning of the threatening legend completely. Some diesinker had omitted the letter "nun" in the word *nagirad* (will not take) and engraved it *girad* (will take). As a result the legend acquired quite the opposite meaning: "In Samarqand and vicinities of this town each one who will take(!) is a culprit". Was it a sly protest, "tongue in cheek", or an inadvertent mistake? It is difficult to say. But judging by the fact that there was quite a lot of other mistakes, it could be the lattermost.

For instance if one takes the first couple of dies (fig.1) there are five mistakes:

1. نکیرد instead of نکیرد;
2. بتاريخ رجب instead of بتاريخ رجب;
3. بسمرقند instead of بسمرقند;
4. الدرهم instead of الدرهم;
- 5 - after the word سنة there is a small rectangle and letter "alif", probably placed there to fill the empty space created by the omission of two letters in the word بتاريخ رجب. That could be the reason that A. K. Markov read the date as 631 AH on one of the coins.⁴

If one takes the second couple of dies (fig.2) the mistakes are less numerous:

1. کار instead of کار.
2. letter "alif" between the word ستمائة and ثلثین.

The important word *nagirad* was written correctly. The reverse die Nr. 4 (fig.4) had but one bad mistake: نکیرد instead of نکیرد

which changed the meaning of the threatening legend completely. From 30 coins of the hoard only 1 has the correct *nagirad* (will not take), 29 coins have *girad* (will take). It looks as though the mintage of the coins was numerous enough, for 30 coins of the hoard were minted with at least 6 different dies. The diameter of the coins is 37-38 mm. Unfortunately it was not possible to weigh them.

Notes

1. E. A. Davidovich. Denezhnoe khoziaistvo Srednei Azii posle mongolskogo zavoevaniia i reforma Mas'ud - beka (XIIIv.), Moscow: Nauka, 1972, p.17.
- 2 Op. cit., p.17.
- 3 Op. cit., Table 2, Nr.3.
- 4 Op. cit., p.17.



Samarqand 630/1233 dirhems with threatening legend (two-thirds actual size)

Mamluk Coins minted in Armanak (ارمنك, ارمنك)

by Johann-Christoph Hinrichs, Bremen

Armanak (today: Ermenek) is a little Anatolian town in the southwest of Turkey. At the beginning of the 14th century it was a border town to Cilician Armenia, but in the hands of the Karamanids.

The Karamanids were one of several Turcoman tribes who crossed Anatolia between the 11th and the 13th century, settled in the southwest of Asia Minor and established the so called Beyliks or Emirates. The Karamanids were important enemies of the Ilkhans, the Mongols of Persia, and they indulged in anti-Mongol politics whenever they could. Being the enemies of the Mongols, they were naturally allies of the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria.

The coinage of the Beyliks in the first half of the 14th century is almost always minted in the name of an overlord, the Seljuks, the Mamluks and (most of them) of the Ilkhans. The Beys themselves didn't put their names on the coins, except in a hidden way (the name of their capitals were changed according to the name of the ruler, countermarks with the name of the ruler were used, anonymous or blundered coins minted etc.). Coins with the name of a Bey in the first half of the 14th century are very rare and of the first quarter of the 14th century unknown until now.

Coins from the mint Armanak are a good example of the expansion of material in Islamic numismatics in the last thirty years: Zambaur (published 1968) knew of a single (Karamanid) coin from this mint, Cuneyt Ölçer (published 1982) knew 4 coins and two dynasties (Karamanid and Mamluk, some coins from Pazarçık he misread as Ermenek), the Yapı Kredi Bankası (Istanbul 1994) published 3 coins, all of them Ilkhanid; but there are several more coins known to collectors, some of them minted in the name of the Seljuks (three coins of Kaiqubad III.), others in the name of the Ilkhans (seven coins of Ghazan Mahmud and two coins of Uljaytu), the Mamluks (seven coins) and the Karamanids. There are anonymous coins, too, and at least seven coins with the countermark 'Armanak' - altogether more than thirty coins with a connection to Armanak.

In a hoard of unknown size, unearthed obviously in the southwest of Turkey in the area of the Karamanids, some coins were found which were minted in the name of the Mamluks in Mamluk and/or Anatolian style, all of them minted in the name of al-Nāsir Muḥammad (third reign 1310-1341 AD). The mints are Aksaray, 'Aḥ'ya (today Alanya), Lārende (today Karaman) and Armanak. The dates are between 716 and (a suspicious) 729 AH (if dated).

The historical background of these coins is:

The successor of the Karamanid Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd (1300-1312 AD) was his son Burhān al-Dīn Mūsā (first reign 1312-1318 AD), but his brother Badr al-Dīn Ibāhīm rebelled against him and occupied his capital Armanak. At the same time the other capital, Lārende, was invaded by the Armenians.

It was then that Badr al-Dīn Ibāhīm minted coins in Armanak with the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad as his overlord (nr. 5-6).

It was the Sultan of Egypt who afterwards conquered Lārende from the Armenians and mediated between the two brothers with the result, that Badr al-Dīn Ibāhīm became ruler of Lārende and Burhān al-Dīn Mūsā became ruler of Armanak.

Both of the two brothers afterwards minted coins in the name of the Mamluks, in Lārende, in Armanak and in other towns of their realm, but without putting their own names on the coins.

The coins (all of them are in private collections if not otherwise stated):

Minted in the name of al-Nāsir Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad (3rd reign 1310-1341 AD)

1) Armanak 71x; dirham 1,78 g; Mamluk type; mint on reverse, left side:

الله
لا عند
وما النصر من
السلطان الملك الناصر
ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد
الملك المنصور
قلاون



(الله)
الا عند
وما النصر من
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بلقي
.....

on the left: ضرب بارمنك

on the right: عشر وسبعمئة

In the hoard there were coins from 'Alā'ye and Lārende as well, minted in exactly the same manner, dated 716 AH. The style of the coins is typically Mamluk, but the size of the coins and their weight are Anatolian.

The prayer "وما النصر الا من عند الله" there is no victory except with the help of God (Koran 3, 126 and 8,10) is a typical Mamluk prayer and very unusual for Anatolia. The same prayer was overstruck by the Mamluks on Armenian takvorins in the year 1322 AD (s. Balog p. 213).

2) Armanak xxx; dirham, almost the same as before, but ضرب not in the die; the name of the mint is written in smaller letters on the left, the date is missing and the reverse has traces of double striking.

(very weak) قلاون
السلطان الملك
الناصر ناصر الدين محمد
الملك المنصور
بن سيف الدين



ضرب
ارمنك
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بلقي
؟؟ ودين الحق

3) Armanak xxx; dirham 1,95 g; mint on the reverse, first line; traces of double striking:

4) Armanak xxx; dirham 1,84 g; as before but two countermarks 1) a goat 2) a lion.

Perhaps the most important of these coins is the following one:

5) Armanak; dirham 1,93 g; mint in the last line of the reverse; a little blundered and weak in parts, but the important parts are clearly readable; the mint is written in the last line of the reverse, no date, but minted before 716 AH = 1316 AD, when Badr al-Dīn was ruler of Armanak (in 716 he became ruler of Lārende):

قلاون
السلطان الملك
الناصر ... لدين محمد
ال... منصور
(بن) سيف الدين



امير الامرا
في الارض بدر
الدنيا والدين
عز نصره
ضرب ارمنك

The important aspects of the coin are:

- It is the first known coin in the name of a Mamluk ruler with the name of a vassal (that is Badr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn (Ibrāhīm).
- For the first time, the name of an Anatolian bey is clearly written on a coin.
- The title 'Amīr al-Umarā fī al-ard' (Emir of the Emirs on earth) is unusual in Anatolia, but sometimes found on Turcoman coins of the Urtukids. Later on, the Beys of Alanya used the title 'Amīr al-Sawāhil' (Emir of the coasts).

There exist Mamluk and Ilkhanid coins with a countermark بدر بن قرمان (= Badr b. Qaramān) as well.

6) The same as before, the obverse more blundered, but readable, the reverse from the same die as nr. 5

Mamluk coins not from the hoard:

Minted in the name of al-Nāsir Nāsir al-Dīn Hasan (second reign 1354-1361 AD)

7) Armanak 761; half a dirham 0,75 g:

السلطان ا
ملك الناصر نا
صر امير المؤمنين
ستين ١٥ سبعمئة
ضرب ارمنك
last line:

الله لا
الله محمد رسو
ل الله
ابو بكر عمر عثمان علي

Ölçer reads a date 715 AH, but according to the unpublished research of Yılmaz Izmirliler the reading of the date should be (=761). ستمين ١٥ سيمعانة

Minted in the name of al-Asraf Abū al-Nasr Saif al-Dīn Barsbay (1422-1438 AD)

8) Armanak no date; half dirhem (?) 0,85 g:

السلطان
الملك الاشرف
ضرب ارصناك

In a circle: علي,
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول
الله

Krmn 81

According to C. Ölçer this is a coin of the Karamanid 'Alī b. 'Alā al-Dīn as a vassal of the Mamluk Abū Nasr. But the use of the name of Alī (i.e. the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad) without any connection to a living ruler is quite common in Anatolia.

Countermark Armanak ارصناك

9) The host coin is Mamluk, but mint and date are not readable; dirhem 1,6 g; two countermarks 1) ارصناك; 2) بهة
Krmn 18-19

The countermark is found on Ilkhanid coins from the area as well. Incidentally, there is a strange connection between Armanak and Germany: the ancient name of the town is Germanicopolis = town of the Germans, because in Roman times prisoners of war from Germany were settled here. Without the first letter and without the name for town in Greek, *polis*, even the name of the town has survived to the present day: [G]ERMANIC-[opolis]

Literature:

AA = Aykut, Tuncay (editor): *Ak Akçe, Mogol ve İlhanlı Sikkeleri*, Istanbul 1992 (bilingual Turkish-English; this is a part of the collection of Mongol coins in the Yapı Kredi Bankası, Istanbul).
Balog, Paul: *The coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York 1964 (Balog did not know a single Mamluk coin from Anatolia)
Krmn = Ölçer, Cüneyt: *Karaman Ogulları Beyliği Madeni Paraları*, Istanbul 1982 (with an English summary)
Sentürk, Sennur (editor): *Catalogue of the exhibition of the Yapı Kredi Bankası, vol. 3*, Istanbul 1994 (bilingual Turkish-English).
Zambaur = Zambaur, Eduard: *Die Münzprägungen des Islam, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet, vol. 1* (no more published), Vienna 1968.

Some Remarks about the Coinage of Orkhan (Ghazi) AD 1324-1360

by Kenneth MacKenzie and Slobodan Srećković

During recent years, a few new types and varieties of the akches minted by Orkhan (Ghazi) bin Osman, the second Ottoman ruler, have been discovered and this provides a good opportunity to reconsider what has previously been written on his coinage.

In an essay by Philip Remler in 1980,¹ some of the questions were clarified but not all. Even now there is some disagreement among students of Ottoman coinage on what coins can be attributed to Orkhan (Ghazi) bin Osman. Having had the opportunity to examine hitherto unpublished coins in private collections and compare them with those already published, the authors hope that some new light can be thrown on the early coinage of the Ottomans.

According to historical sources and numismatic evidence, Orkhan's reign can be divided into three periods. The first lasted from when he succeeded his father, Osman, in 1324, till the "conquest of most of Karasi (1336-1346)".² The second period is the consolidation of his principality (about 1346-1352) and the third period was when he attempted to build closer political ties with his Muslim neighbours to secure the eastern and southern borders of his country. Security in those areas could give him the opportunity to attack Byzantine territories.

The first type of akche may belong to the earliest period of Orkhan's reign. The first minted akche is in the Yapı Kredi collection NP#53 (A/1) - referred to in Halil Edhem's catalogue, coin #3. The obverse legend *la ilaha illa allah muhammad rasul allah* is in a square. In the four segments, the names of the caliphs are in the following order: right *abu bakr*; below *'umar*; left *'uthman*; and above *'ali*. On the reverse, in a looped diamond, the legend is *khullida / duriba / urkhan bin 'uthman / bursa / mulkuhu*, and, in a four segment legend, *sanat / sab'a / 'ishrin / sab'amiah* (year seven (and) twenty (and) seven hundred) which is related to the year of minting. The Hijra year corresponds with the year between November 1326 till November 1327 AD. According to the inscription on the reverse, it was minted in Bursa, which was occupied by his father.⁴

Another akche of the same design is in the LTee collection. It has the name of the fourth caliph, 'Ali, in each of the four marginal segments on the reverse with the inscription *allah / duri ba / urkhan bin 'uthman / bursa* with a small palm tree symbol below (A/1a).

It should be mentioned here that we have omitted from table 1 two akches listed by Remler, presumably similar in design to A/1. One of them is a pierced akche in the British Museum which he states has no date and no mint inscribed; the weight is 0.91g. We are aware that on this specimen, the name Orkhan on the first line is doubtful and the second is partially obliterated. The second akche, in the Ashmolean Museum, which Remler also states, lacks a mint name and the wording of the date (which may be due to having been struck off the flan or illegibility); its weight is 1.056g.

The obverse design and legend are the same on all these specimens following the Ilkhanid style of Abu Sa'id's coin AA#2260⁵ (AH 724) and AA#2262 (AH 727). The reverse design of these first Orkhan akches was taken from the obverse of Abu Sa'id's AA#2249 coin.

The slight differences we noted on these few akches may raise the possibility for the existence of at least two separate mints. Also the use of the name *'ali* (A/1a) may point to a shiite influence in the Ottoman principality such as can be seen on the contemporary coinage in Anatolia on the coins, for example, of the ruler Muhammad I b. Eretna, Ghiyath al-Din (AH753) - AA#2381-3.

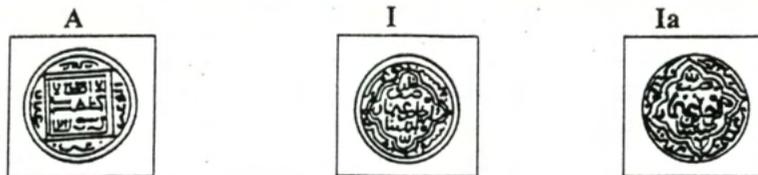


Table # 1

	Museum-collection	obverse	reverse	reverse legend		4 segment	mint	weight
#	catalogue no.	type	type	top	bottom	legend	place	grams
1.	YK ex-IV #2	A	I	Hullide	mulkuhu	727	Bursa	1.00
2.	LTee coll.	A	Ia	Allah	ornament	4 x Ali	Bursa	0.772

After the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335, Orkhan's struggle for independence and efforts to enlarge his principality led him to produce more coins and at different mints. According to a usually reliable source, the traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited Anatolia in 1333 wrote that Nicea (Yaznik) was captured by the Ottomans in that year after a siege of more than thirty years. He wrote: ...the Sultan of Bursa Orkhan Bek, son of Othman Chuk. He is the greatest of the Turkmen kings and the richest in wealth, land and military forces, and possesses nearly a hundred fortresses which he is continually visiting for inspection and putting to right. [in *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, translated by H.A.R. Gibb, 1956].

These words may support our view that his akches were minted in several places. Efforts for the consolidation of power in the world of Islam are usually accompanied by producing coins - a most significant privilege for an independent ruler.

The second type of akche, SE#61 and 62⁶ (B/II) was minted somewhat later. However, judging from the legend on the obverse: *al-imam / al-mustansir billah amir (al-mum'inin)* and the religious title of the ruler on the reverse (*bismjillāh al-rahmān (al-rahim) / ūrkhān bin 'uthmān / 'azza allāhu nasra(hu)*, Orkhan (Ghazi) was still a vassal. Because of the many variations, those akches were probably minted during the time of expansion of the Ottomans.⁷ Some of them have inscriptions (which have not yet been deciphered) at the top or at the bottom of the legend, while others lack these inscriptions. Others still have only an ornament. The engraving of the legends on most of these akches is poorly done.

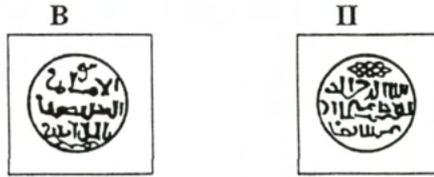


Table # 2

#	Museum- collection catalogue no.	obverse			reverse		weight grams
		type	top	bottom	type	bottom	
3.	S.E. # 61	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	Bursa	1.20
4.	S.E. # 62	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	-	1.15
5.	M.M.# 1236	B	text (?)	-	II	-	?
6.	J.S. # 2	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	-	1.18
7.	YK- ny # 5/2	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	text (?)	1.20
8.	YK- ex-IV # 4	B	text (?)	-	II	-	1.18
9.	S.S. coll.	B	text (?)	ornam.	II	-	1.14
10.	Ph. R. # 24	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	-	1.14
11.	Coll. from Germany	B	text (?)	(?)	II	ornam.	?
12.	Coll. from Germany	B	text (?)	-	II	-	?
13.	Coll. from Germany	B	text (?)	text (?)	II	-	?
14.	Coll. from Germany	B	text (?)	-	II	ornam.	?

The legends on the third type of akches (C/III) differ from those on the previous ones. The legend on the reverse is *al-sultān al-ā'zam / ūrkhān bin 'uthmān / khalada allahu mulkahu*. This title is religious in character, recorded in AH 738 (AD 1338/9), and shows that the *khuṭba* was read in the name of Orkhan Ghazi.⁸

The obverse legend (Kalima) varies in the positioning of the caliph's name. These variations suggest that the coins were produced in several different mints. The number of variations and the higher total number of recorded akches indicate to us that more coins were produced in this period than before and after it. An increased demand for soldiers' pay may be the explanation.



Table # 3

#	Museum- collection catalogue no.	type	obverse		reverse			weight grams
			Ebubekir	Ali	type	top	bottom	
15.	BMC - (8) # 69	C	top	left	III	Osman	bin (?)	1.24
16.	BMC - (8) # 70	C	top	left	III	?	Osman	?
17.	BMC - (8) # 71	C	top	left	III	?	?	?
18.	BMC - (8) # 72	C	top	left	III	ornam.	?	?
19.	BMC - (8) # 73	C	top	left	III	ornam.	Osman	?
20.	BMC - (8) # 74	C	top	left	III	ornam.	Bursa	?
21.	BMC - (8) # 75	C	bottom	left	III	?	?	?
22.	A.A. # 1378	C	top	left	III	madinat	Bursa	1.15
23.	ANS (Ph R. = 26)	C	top	right	III	duri ba	Bursa	1.106
24.	Moneta no. 9	C	top	left	III	Ebubekir	Bursa	1.00
25.	Coll. from Germany	C	top	left	III	madinat	Bursa	?
26.	Coll. from Germany	C	top	left	III	Osman	ornam.	?
27.	Coll. from Germany	C	right	left	III	text (?)	ornam.	?

In addition to the differences in the reverse legends between the second (B/II) and third (C/III) types of akches, the lack of the ornamental frame around the legend separates the second type of akches from the previous and later ones. We observed the similarity of the small ornament like a double knot in the field of Orkhan's Ghazi's akches to that of Murad I's akches and also that the formula *'azza allāhu*

nasrahu can also be seen on the manghirs of Murad I.

The second group of akches comprise those that we believe were minted during the second period of Orkhan's reign, about 1346-1352. Attempts to produce a uniform coinage can already be seen in the first period but it is quite obvious in the second. They have the same obverse legends (Kalima) and similar ornaments. The reverse legend is also the same on all akches except one type that was probably minted at the beginning of the period:



In the six segments on the reverse of akche YK-ny#5/1⁹ (D/IV) there is a legend that has not yet been satisfactorily read. On its publication in 1973 it was deciphered as *sanat / sab'a / 'ishrîn / sab'ami'ah* (year seven (and) twenty (and) seven hundred) but later this reading was abandoned. We think that the rarity of this akche is a clue to the reason and time of minting. Our opinion is that this piece was minted before 1340, and probably after the occupation of the major part of Karasi. The ornament on its reverse copies the reverse of Abu Sa'id's coin AA#2248 with elements of the obverse of AA#2260. Other akches of the second period (E/V and E1/Va) have a similar design of obverse ornament around the legend as on the first one minted in this period. The reverse ornament is also similar to that on AA#2248 but without text in the segments and without *duri ba* above and *bursâ* below the legend, which can be found on the first akche of this period. Altogether four coins of this type have been noted, all of them from different pairs of dies. A fifth akche (unique), has a double-knot ornament (the expression of blessing) above the legend on the reverse, and could be the first to have been minted. This coin is not listed in table 4. Three of the akches have a more regular shape than the first one minted in Bursa and therefore we believe that these were minted in another mint or mints.

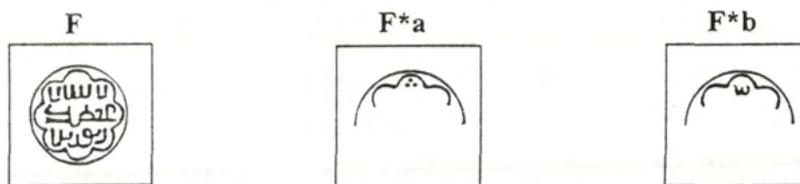


Table # 4

#	Museum- collection catalogue no.	obverse			reverse			weight grams
		type	Ebubekir	Ali	type	top	bottom	
28.	YK- ny # 5/1	D	top right	bott. right	IV	<i>duri ba</i>	Bursa	1.20
29.	Ph.R. # 27	E	bottom	right	V	-	-	0.86
30.	M.M. #1237	E	top	?	V	?	?	?
31.	Coll. from Germany	E	top	left	V	text (?)	-	?
32.	V. Damjanov coll.	E1	bott. left	top left	Va	-	-	?

In our opinion the last group consists of two types of akches which have a different design compared to the previous types. One can also see further attempts towards a unified coinage.

The first type (F/VI) has a legend on the obverse (Kalima) but not the caliphs' names. The omission of the caliphs' names shows the basic differences between the obverse types. The obverse legend is contained within an octafoil. On some akches, there are three dots in a triangle above the legend (F*a) or a *shadda* (F*b). Such marks can also be found on the reverse and may constitute mint-marks.



So far two types of reverse have been noted. The first is with a six-pointed star (VI), which is very rare; the second has a hexafoil (VII). The legend is the same on both. As mentioned above, some akches have three dots in a triangle above the legend (VII*1) or a *shadda* (VII*2).



Attention can be drawn to the fact that the legend *al-sultân al-â'zam / ûrkhan bin 'uthmân / khalada allâhu mulkahu*, is the same as that on the akches of types C, D and E and that the style of writing is the same as that used for Orkhan's father's name Osman. One can also follow the transition of the obverse design from square (type A) to hexafoil (types D and E) to octafoil (type F and its varieties). It should be noted that there are coins similar to akche F/VII minted by Beylerbey Çelebi (according to Dr K. Zhukov, a *laqab* of Suleiman) BMC-(8)#64 (plate II #41) - a similar coin is in the K. MacKenzie collection - and Ishaq (bin Iliyas?) BMC-(8)#65 (plate II #42). They have just the same obverse as Orkhan's akche and a similar reverse. The reverse legend is *al-sultân al-â'zam / ishâq (or beylerbey) / khullida mulkuhu*. Furthermore, on those coins there are some marks (three dots or *shadda*). Karasi and Saruhan were the neighbours of the Ottomans. With a little imagination, one could say that these coins with those of Orkhan's indicate some kind of monetary union in the face of the common enemy in that part of Anatolia, Byzantium.

The lack of the name of the capital, Bursa, has led us to the conclusion that Orkhan wanted to show the people that every town was equally important with no difference between the capital and the others. This can also be seen during the reigns of Murad I and Bayezid I.

Even when Murad I celebrated the marriage of his sons and the circumcision of his grandsons in Edirne in AH 790 there was no mint-name put on the manghirs.

Table # 5

#	Museum- collection catalogue no.	obverse		reverse		weight grams
		type	on the top	type	on the top	
33.	S.S. coll.	F	-	VI	-	1.18
34.	N.P. # 3	F	-	VII	-	1.20
35.	S.S. coll.	F*a	3 dots	VII	-	1.15
36.	S.S. (as M.M. # 1213)	F*a	3 dots	VII*1	3 dots	1.14
37.	S.J. # 1	F*b	shadda	VII*2	shadda	0.87
38.	V.Damjanov. coll.	F*b	shadda	VII*2*2	shadda	?
39.	N.P. # 2	G	-	VIII	-	1.20
40.	A. A. # 1376 (5 akches)	VII	-	VIII	-	5.95
41	BMC-(8)#64	F	-	VII	3 dots	1.02
42	BMC-(8)#65	F	-	(VII)	-	1.04



The last type of akche (G) was minted at the end of Orkhan's rule. The obverse legend comprises the Kalima without an ornamental border. The position of the caliph's names should be noted. On all akches of this type that we have seen so far, the names are in the following order: right *abu bakr*; below *'umar*; left *'uhmân*; and above *'ali*. This is in contrast to the akches of the previous periods (C and E) when the position of the names varied. With type G the positioning was uniform, a sign of a more organised state.

The same type (G) was also continued on the first akches of Orkhan's successor, Murad I. This coin of Orkhan has the reverse legend *ûrkhan / khallada allâhu / mulkahu*. From this period may originate Orkhan's larger coin denomination, which is probably a *beşlik* (a five akche piece), AA#1376, and which may have been a donative for Orkhan's victorious army.

The lack of Orkhan's father's name on the coins is the reason that students of the Ottoman coinage in Turkey and elsewhere do not regard this akche as an Ottoman coin. Some think that type F akches were not Ottoman coins either, but were probably struck in Saruhan. Their main argument is the weight of the coins and the fact that there were other rulers named Orkhan around the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries; two of these lived in Saruhan.¹⁰ The eminent scholar Stephen Album supports this viewpoint in his second edition of *A Checklist of Islamic Coins* (January 1998), page 65. His primary source, however, was Mr Moller who examined a hoard of 90 coins, mostly Sarukhanid, but a third were type F/VII. So on this hoard evidence, NP#3 was attributed to this beylik. It is true that the father's name was not placed on the coins of Saruhan, but in that principality there were no such mighty rulers who produced coins in such large quantities as Orkhan bin Osman. Moreover, the production of a larger denomination than the akche was more likely to be needed in countries greater than the principalities that were the Saruhan or Mentesh beyliks. This points to the Ottoman emirate.

In addition to our views on types F and G, it is worth noting that akches of type F are quite common and can probably be found in most collections of Ottoman coins. They have been found over a wide area in both Turkey and Bulgaria, though it has to be said that site finds and hoards of early Ottoman coins have not been regularly recorded.

It should also be noted that the design on the reverse (hexafoil), type VII, is the same as the obverse design on Musa Çelebi's (bin Bayezid) akches NP#35 and 37. Probably during the year of Musa Çelebi's reign as counter-sultan in Rumeli, the Ottomans were familiar with Orkhan Ghazi's akches and they accepted the design as part of the Ottoman coinage tradition.

Abbreviations

- A.A. Artuk, Ibrahim & Cevriye, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teshirdeki Islami Sikkeler Katalogu*, vol. II. Istanbul, 1974.
- YK ex-IV Yapı Kredi Sikke Koleksiyonu Sergileri 4, Istanbul, April 1995.
- BM 1967-1-12-553 Coin in the British Museum (see Ph.R.)
- LTee coll. Collection from USA
- S.E. Erel, Serafettin, *Nadir birkaç sikke*, No. 3. Istanbul, 1970.
- M.M. Mitchiner, Michael, *World of Islam*. London, 1977.
- J.S. Jem Sultan, *Coins of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*. Thousand Oaks, USA, 1977.
- YK - ny Yapı ve Kredi Bankası A.S., Nümismatik Yayınları No. 5, *Nadir Osmanlı Madeni Paraları (Rare Ottoman Coins)*. Istanbul, 1973.
- S.S.coll. Slobodan Sreckovic collection, Yugoslavia.
- Ph.R. Remler, Philip N., *Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid coinage: A currency community in fourteenth century Anatolia*. Museum Notes No. 25, ANS New York 1980, pp.181-8 + plates.
- Coll. from Germany A German collector.
- BMC - (8) Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Coins of the Turks in the British Museum*. London, 1883.
- ANS (Ph.R. no. 26) Coin in ANS collection.
- Moneta no. 9 *Moneta*, Istanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı Nümismatik Bülteni, November, 1997. [pet. A. Güngör]
- V.D. coll. Vasil Damjanov collection, Bulgaria.
- N.P. Pere, Nuri, *Osmanlılarda Madeni Paraları* Istanbul, 1968.
- H.E. Edham, Halil, *Meskukat-i 'osmaniye (Part IV of Müze-yi Humayun)*. Constantinople, 1334 H.

obverse/reverse designations

- Obverses: A, B, C ... = types
- A1, B1, C1 ... = varieties
- A*a, A*b ... = subvarieties
- Reverses I, II, III ... = types
- Ia, IIa, IIIa ... = varieties
- I*1, I*2 ... = subvarieties

Notes

1. Remler, Philip N., *Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid coinage: a currency community in fourteenth century Anatolia*. Museum Notes no. 25, ANS New York 1980, pp 181-188 & plates
2. Pitcher, Donald E., *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1972, p. 39.
3. Pere, Nuri, *Osmanlılarda Madeni Paralar*, Istanbul, 1968.
4. *ibid.*, p. 37
5. Artuk, Ibrahim & Cevriye, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teshirdeki Islâmî Sikkeler Katalogu*, Vol. II, Istanbul, 1974.
6. Erel, Serafettin, *Nadir birkaç sikke*, No. 3, Istanbul, 1970.
7. Pitcher, Donald E., *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1972, p. 39.
8. Matanov, Hl, Mihneva, R. *Ot Galipoli do Lepanto*, Sofia 1988, p. 21.
9. Yapı ve Kredi Bankası A.S., Nümismatik Yayınları No.5, *Nadir Osmanlı madeni paraları (Rare Ottoman coins)*, Istanbul, 1973, pp.3 and 9.
10. Türk Nümismatik Derneği, Bülten No.19, Istanbul, 1983, p.28.
11. S.S. is aware of a hoard consisting of type F akches (around 120 pieces) found in Bulgaria several years ago.

Saudi Arabia: local use of the Al Hejaz and the Nejd countermarks

by Michael Mitchiner

Much controversy surrounds discussion of these countermarks, principally due to the difficulty of differentiating between coins authentically countermarked and coins later countermarked for sale to collectors.

The evidence discussed in this paper comprises observations made by the author while working at several different locations in Saudi Arabia during recent years. Countermarked coins were observed in the southwest (Khamis Mushayt, Abha), in the centre (Riyadh) and in the east (Dammam, Al Khobar) of the country. In nearly every instance the specimens observed bearing countermarks were low denomination Turkish coins bearing the Al Hejaz countermark. Over one hundred and fifty were seen. The Nejd countermark is rare. It was only seen on two coins in Abha museum. Neither of these two countermarks was seen on coins of large size (thalers or large Turkish coins), nor was any countermark seen on any foreign coin (thalers, British India rupees, or Egyptian coins).

Before discussing the numismatic evidence in more detail, it is relevant to note some aspects in the local history of the period.

The Emirates

The sovereignty of the Ottoman Turks over the land that is now Saudi Arabia had commonly been contested by the various tribes inhabiting the region. Turkish garrisons were scattered across the land; some of which was under direct Turkish administration and some of which was administered by tribal leaders loyal to the Turks.

A number of separate independence movements during the early twentieth century combined with the First World War to culminate in the withdrawal of Turkish forces in 1916. The independence of the five existing Emirates was recognised in the 1918 peace settlement that ended the war. These were the Emirates of Nejd (Riyadh, Al Hasa), Hejaz (Mekkah, Medina, Jeddah), Asir (Abha), Tihama (Sabya) and Najran. Abd al Aziz of Nejd progressively took over the other Emirates and proclaimed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932.

1. The Tihama Emirate (1326-1345: 1908-1926)

In 1908 (AH 1326) Sayyid Mohammed ibn Ali Al Idrisi led a local revolt against the Turks. His seat was at Sabya (near Jizan), on the southwest coastal lowland. The Tihama Emirate (Sabya Emirate) maintained its independence from 1908 until 1926, when it was suppressed by the Ibn Saud of Nejd. The Emirs of Tihama were: -

Mohammed ibn Ali Al Idrisi:	1326-1341	1908-1922
Ali ibn Mohammed Al Idrisi:	1341-1345	1922-1926

There was no local coinage.

2. The Asir Emirate (1334-1339: 1916-1920)

The southwestern highlands of Asir were administered by a Turkish garrison stationed at Manazir (later renamed Abha). Local revolts were fairly common.

In Asir the local chiefs of Bishah and Tabab (north of Al Soudah) accepted Wahhabi doctrine in AH 1213 (AD 1798) and later joined forces under the leadership of Mohammed ibn Amir of Tabab. In AH 1218 (AD 1803) Mohammed ibn Amir took the title Emir of Asir. He retained the seat of his Wahhabite emirate at Tabab. There was also a Wahhabite revolt against the Turks in the Tihama. The Wahhabite revolt against Turkish suzerainty was eventually put down by Ibrahim Pasha, the governor of Egypt, in AH 1233 (AD 1818). In 1823 (AH 1239) Said ibn Muslat al Mughaidi defeated the Turks who were garrisoned at Tabab (Asir) and established himself as Emir of Asir. He had his seat in his home town of Manazir (Abha). The Asir Emirate maintained its independence until 1872 (AH 1288) under: -

Said ibn Muslat:	1239-1249	1823-1833
Ayedh ibn Man:	1249-1273	1833-1856
Mohammed ibn Ayedh:	1273-1288	1856-1872

Mohammed ibn Ayedh invaded the Tihama in 1861 (AH 1278) and consolidated his position there in 1863. He was defeated by the Turks in 1872. Asir then reverted to Ottoman control. The principal Turkish garrison in Asir was stationed at Abha (the new name given to Manazir in 1872) and remained there until 1916 (AH 1335).

The withdrawal of Turkish forces in 1916 left Asir under the control of its local Emirs. These were jointly Hasan ibn Ali ibn Mohammed ibn Ayedh (1334-1339: 1916-1920) and his brother Mohammed. They were grandsons of the former Emir of Asir who had been defeated by the Turks in 1872.

In 1920 (AH 1339) the army of Nejd, led by Faisal ibn Abd al Aziz of the Ibn Saud, invaded and occupied Asir. The Ibn Saud consolidated their control over Asir during 1921 (AH 1340), though there was subsequently a transient revolt led by the Ibn Ayedh brothers in 1923.

No local coinage was struck in the Asir Emirate.

3. The Hejaz Emirate (133 -1344: 1916-1926)

The religious reformist movement created by Mohammed ibn Abd al Wahhab was given political expression by his protector, chief Mohammed ibn Saud of Nejd. Mohammed ibn Saud (AH 1159-1179: AD 1746-1765) assumed independence from the Turks in Nejd. Campaigns were pursued by his successors in Hejaz and in Iraq. Part of Hejaz was occupied by the Ibn Saud and coins were struck at Mekka by Saud ibn Abd al Aziz (AH 1218-1229: AD 1803-1814) during AH 1219 to 1223. The Wahhabite revolt against Turkish suzerainty was eventually put down by Ibrahim Pasha, the governor of Egypt, in AH 1233 (AD 1818). The Hejaz reverted to Turkish control and remained thus until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The withdrawal of Turkish forces in 1916 left Hejaz under the control of the local Emir. He was Al Hussein ibn Ali (1334-1342: 1916-1924).

The Hejaz Emirate was progressively conquered by Nejd during 1924 to January 1926: Taif (1924: Safar 1343), Mekkah (October 1924: Rabi al Awal 1343), Jeddah (January 1926: Jumadi al Thani 1344).

The local coinage of the Hejaz Emirate is considered below.

4. The Najran Emirate (1334-1353: 1916-1934)

The Najran Emirate became independent when Turkish forces withdrew in 1916. It was incorporated within the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1934.

There was no local coinage.

5. The Nejd Emirate (from 1319: 1902)

The Ottoman Turks only ever enjoyed contested dominion over the Gulf coastlands in the east, which they administered from a seat at Hofuf in the Al Hasa oasis. The interior of Nejd remained under the control of the local tribes, prominent among which were the Ibn Saud of Diriyah (close to Riyadh).

In 1549 the Ottomans took Qatif (north of Dammam) and then proceeded to occupy the remainder of the eastern region; with the exception of Bahrain which remained in Portuguese hands. The Ottomans built defensive forts at the ports of Qatif and Al Ugair - as well as in several other urban locations. The Al Hasa oasis became the location of the provincial capital. The Ottoman seat of provincial government was established at the new town of Hofuf in the southwest of the oasis, and a fort was built there. Hofuf has remained the chief town in the Al Hasa oasis. Earlier in the Islamic period Lahsa had been used as an alternative name to Al Hasa. Under the Turks Lahsa became the standard form: as, for instance on their maps. A battalion of janissaries was stationed at Hofuf to control the province.

Ottoman control over Lahsa province weakened later in the sixteenth century. A local uprising by the Al Humayd clan of the Bani Khalid tribe expelled the Ottomans in 1680.

The Bani Khalid were a tribal people whose orientation was inland, rather than to the Gulf. They built a new capital in Al Hasa oasis at Mubarraz. This is a little north of Hofuf and now the second town of the oasis. Towards the end of the 18th century groups of 'Utbi clans migrated from Nejd to various parts of the coast. They established themselves in Kuwait, Qatar (Zubarah: 1766) and Bahrain; then ruled there as clients of the Bani Khalid. The descendants of these 'Utbi migrants still rule Kuwait and Bahrain.

Although the Bani Khalid were active in central Arabian affairs, they were unable to withstand the militant expansion of the Wahhabite reformers, most active among which were the Ibn Saud of Diriyah (near Riyadh). The Ibn Saud defeated the Bani Khalid near Qatif in 1790. They took over the Bani Khalid domains and strengthened the defences of Hofuf and of Qasr Suhud (the fort of

Mubarraz). The Ibn Saud now had an outlet to the sea and came into contact - at Hofuf - with merchants of the East India Company.

Despite a major Turkish offensive against the Al Hasa oasis in 1799, the Ibn Saud retained control of the eastern region until Wahhabite independence was suppressed by the Turks in 1818. The second Turkish occupation of the eastern region lasted for only a year (1818-19). The Turkish forces withdrew from Hofuf in 1819 and the region reverted to local tribal control by the Al Humayd clan of the Bani Khalid.

In 1824 Imam Turki ibn Abdullah of the Ibn Saud moved his capital some ten miles, from Diriyah to Riyadh. The early town of the Al Yamamah region had been called Hajar and it was centred on the Wadi al-Watr, which is now the Al Batha district of modern Riyadh. Since the twelfth century the town has been known as Al Riyadh ("the Gardens"). In 1843 Imam Faisal of the Ibn Saud returned from exile to consolidate and expand the Saudi domain. He took over the Al Hasa oasis and its dependant eastern region from the Bani Khalid. The independence of Bahrain remained a cause of local political unrest until British protectorate was established over Bahrain in 1861. Qatif had declined as a port and Al Ugair now had only local significance. Bahrain had by this time become the principal port for the eastern region. Imam Faisal of the Ibn Saud died in 1865 and the Turks reoccupied the eastern region in 1871.

During the period when the Al Hasa oasis was ruled by the Bani Khalid and by the Ibn Saud, from 1680 until 1871, there appears to have been little local use of coinage. Coinage was useful to states whose major commercial outlook involved maritime trade in the Gulf, but coinage was of little use in the Arab tribal economy of the desert. It may be that Hofuf laris remained in use, but it is more likely that this was not the case to any significant extent. It may also be that Maria Theresia silver thalers began being used, but one may suspect that the major use of these thalers was following the Turkish occupation of 1871.

From 1871 until 1913 the Turks once again ruled over the eastern region. Their headquarters were reestablished at Hofuf, in the Al Hasa oasis. Port facilities were improved at Qatif and at Al Ugair. Meanwhile Abd al Rahman ibn Faisal of the Ibn Saud made an attempt to take Al Hasa from the Turks in 1874, but he was repulsed.

In 1891 the Ibn Saud lost their independence to the Rashid of Hail. Turkish authority over the eastern region was thereafter essentially unchallenged.

In 1902 Abd al Aziz ibn Abd al Rahman ibn Faisal of the Ibn Saud seized control of Riyadh - whence his father had been forced to flee into exile in 1891. It was on 5 Shawal 1319 (15 Jan. 1902) that Abd al Aziz stormed and captured the Masmak fortress of Riyadh: this was a fortress then being held by forces loyal to the Rashid of Hail, who were themselves loyal to the Ottoman Turks. Abd al Aziz proclaimed himself Emir of Riyadh.

Abd al Aziz went on to subdue surrounding towns, including Al Kharj, and during 1904 to 1906 (AH 1322-24) he made himself master of the western part of Nejd.

In 1913 (1331) he conquered the fortress of Hofuf in the Al Hasa oasis from the Turks and went on to acquire the eastern coast. Following this, Abd al Aziz declared himself Sultan of Nejd. Once again, Al Hasa and the eastern region became the principal commercial link between the Saudi capital at Riyadh and the rest of the world.

In 1919 (1338) Abd al Aziz campaigned in the northwest and conquered Hail from the Rashid, thus putting an end to Rashidi opposition against his expansion. In the same year he occupied Turabah. During 1920 to 1923 (1338-41) his forces occupied the Asir Emirate in the southwest from the local Emirs.

Abd al Aziz then set about overcoming the Emirate of Hejaz. He captured Taif in 1924 (Safar 1343) and Mekkah in the same year (Rabi al Awal 1343: October 1924). The last stronghold of the Emirate was Jeddah, which only fell in January 1926 (Jumadi al Thani 1344). Abd al Aziz augmented his title to Sultan of Nejd and King of the Hejaz in 1926.

He had already conquered some coastal territory south of Jeddah in 1925. Soon after the occupation of Jeddah (1344: 1926), Abd al Aziz consolidated his control over the southern coast as far as Jizan and extinguished the Tihama Emirate (1345:1926).

On 18th September 1932 (17 Jumadi al Awal 1351) Abd al Aziz decreed that his realm would be known as Saudi Arabia from five days thence: namely from 23rd September (21st Jumadi al Awal). The Kingdom's anniversary is celebrated annually on 23rd September. Two years later the kingdom acquired its present form with the conquest of Najran in 1934 (1353).

6. The coinage of Al Hejaz Emirate

Although Al Hussein ibn Ali ruled the emirate from 1916 until the fall of Jeddah in January 1926 (1344), it is unlikely that any coinage was issued subsequent to October 1924 (1343) when Abd al Aziz conquered Mekkah.

The coinage current in the Emirate at the time of its establishment was the circulating Ottoman specie plus imported Maria Theresa thalers. Coins of both classes are still commonly seen all across Saudi Arabia.

Some of the low denomination Turkish coins were countermarked "Al Hejaz" during the period 1916 to c.1922 and die struck coins were made at Mekkah during 1920 to 1923.

a. Countermarking of coins: 1916 to c.1922

The Emirate was founded in 1916, which was regnal year 8 of the Ottoman Sultan Mohammed V (1327-1336: 1909-1918). The commonest countermarked coins observed in Saudi Arabia are his 40 para copper-nickel issues dated AH 1327, regnal year 8 - in other words: 1916.

In excess of one hundred and fifty coins bearing the "Al Hejaz" countermark have been seen in Saudi Arabia during recent years and the great majority are low denomination Turkish issues struck during the few years leading up to 1916 (1334). Put in another way, the "Al Hejaz" countermark was applied to a cross section of low denomination coins current in the Hejaz at the time when the Emirate became independent.

The reason for applying the countermark was clearly not to authorise circulation of the coins because these were not foreign coins, but the already current coins circulating inside the Emirate.

Political advertisement is a far more likely reason for countermarking in this instance. The Hejaz Emirate countermarked current coins in order to advertise the fact and the legitimacy of the new political order. The new Emirate replaced former Ottoman sovereignty. The advertisement could be most widely disseminated among the local people by placing the countermarks on low denomination coins - rather than using larger coins.

According to this view, the Hejaz Emirate indulged in large scale countermarking of small size coins upon its foundation in 1916 as a political advertising exercise aimed at reaching the largest numbers of local people. The countermarking continued until about 1922, this being the date of the latest countermarked 40 para coins (AH 1336, RY4 = 1921/2).

These comments provide a basis for discriminating between genuinely countermarked coins and more recent imitations. There is, for instance, no reason to believe that any Egyptian coins were ever genuinely countermarked: they were not part of the locally circulating (Turkish) coinage.

Small Turkish coins bearing the "Al Hejaz" countermark are fairly common pieces which have a widespread provenance all across the breadth of Saudi Arabia. Specimens observed were all of 40 para denomination, or smaller, and all bore the regnal accession dates AH 1327 or AH 1336. Places where these countermarked coins were seen included Khamis Mushayt souk and Abha Museum in the southwest; Riyadh souk in the centre; Al Khobar souk and Dammam Museum on the east coast. Coins in the two museums are as follows: -

1. Abha Museum - "King Fahd Cultural Centre Museum (Abha)" - Ten coins: comprising eight 40 para coins dated AH 1327 countermarked "Al Hejaz" plus two 5 piastre coins (AH 1293; AH1327) countermarked "Nejd".
2. Dammam Museum: Twenty five coins, all countermarked "Al Hejaz": namely, AH 1327 - 40 para (16), 20 para (3), 10 para (3), 5 para (3).

One hundred and one countermarked coins collected during recent years from various souks are as follows:

Mohammed V (1327-1336: 1909-1918)
AH 1327 - 40 para - cmk Al Hejaz (x51)

Type 1: Nickel coins with "Reshad" to right of toughra

RY 3 - x3 (AD 1911)

RY 4 - x6

RY 5 - x3

RY obliterated: with Reshad (RY 3, 4, 5) - x4

Type 2: Copper-nickel coins with "El-Ghazi" to right of toughra

RY 8 - x18 - AH1327, RY 8 = AH1334 = AD 1916

RY 8, pierced - x1

RY 9 - x0

RY obliterated: with El-Ghazi (RY 8, 9) - x16

AH 1327 - 20 para - cmk Al Hejaz (x47)

Type 1: Nickel coins with "Reshad" to right of toughra

RY 2 - x1

RY 2/3 - x3

RY 3 - x3

RY 4 - x9

RY 5 - x14

RY 6 - x3

RY 7 - x0

RY obliterated (RY 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) - x13

RY obliterated: pierced - x1

Type 2: Copper-nickel coins with "El-Ghazi" to right of toughra

RY 7 - x0

Mohammed VI (1336-41: 1918-23)

AH 1336 - 40 para - cmk Al Hejaz (x3)

RY 4 - x2 (AH 1339 = 1921/2)

RY obliterated (RY 4) x1

Some characteristics of the "Al Hejaz" countermark on these coins are as follows: -

1. Many coins show some corrosion and this corrosion is continuous through the countermark, thus showing that the coins were countermarked before they became corroded. The subject of modern false countermarks is relevant to other issues. The countermarked 40 para and 20 para coins of AH 1327, RY 3 to 8; likewise the 40 para coins of AH 1336, RY 4; are fairly common coins of widespread provenance and they clearly bear old countermarks.

2. The countermarks were punched by hand. On some coins the left side of the countermark is more deeply punched than the right side, on other coins the right side is deeper, on others the top and on yet others the bottom.

3. Numerous different countermark dies were used. This is most readily observed by inspecting the two pellets in the design; one below "j" and the other above "z". These pellets vary in size, shape and orientation. They are usually quadrilateral, rarely circular; sometimes square, sometimes diamonds, but more commonly irregular quadrilaterals. The angle of the top stroke relative to the rest of the countermark is variable. There is also variation in the distance between the pellet and its related consonant.

4. The countermark was always stamped on the Toughra of the coin design. Only one error was observed showing the countermark on the reverse.

5. The same size of "Al Hejaz" countermark was used on 40 para coins and on 20 para coins.

Other coins

No silver coin was observed bearing the "Al Hejaz" countermark. It might not be surprising if small numbers of five piastre coins dated AH 1293 or AH 1327 were countermarked, but none was seen.

Large size Turkish silver coins and Maria Theresa thalers are known bearing the "Al Hejaz" countermark, but no specimen was observed in Saudi Arabia. Present observations cast doubts on the authenticity of countermarks applied to large silver coins.

b. Die struck coins of Mekkah: 1920 to 1923

Die struck bronze coins bearing the Mekkah mint name were issued in the name of Al Hussein ibn Ali. They were dated AH 1334, RY 5 (1920) and issued in denominations of One Ghirsh, plus its half, quarter and eighth fractions. Only the ghirsh and quarter ghirsh were observed; around twenty specimens in total.

There were some rare reissues in RY 6, but none was seen.

Specimens acquired were: One ghirsh: AH 1334, RY 5 (x2)
Quarter ghirsh: AH 1334, RY 5 (x2)

A more extensive coinage was struck in AH 1334, RY 8 (1923) comprising gold, silver and bronze denominations.

The general picture which emerges is that countermarking of low denomination Turkish coins was practised in the Hejaz Emirate from 1916 until about 1922, when it was phased out soon after the local minting of coins had commenced at Mekkah (1920).

7. The coinage of Nejd Emirate

Until 1913 the Nejd was an inland desert emirate in which there was no local tradition of a monetary economy. Conquest of the Al Hasa oasis and Gulf coast in 1913 gave Nejd control over a region where the use of coinage was a normal feature of the economy. The coinage in local use consisted of Turkish specie plus Maria Theresa thalers.

a. Countermarked coins: c.1913 to 1926

Coins bearing the "Nejd" countermark are very much rarer in Saudi Arabia than those bearing the "Al Hejaz" countermark. The only coins seen with the "Nejd" countermark were the two specimens in Abha Museum already noted: a Turkish five piastre silver coin dated AH 1293 and another Turkish five piastre silver coin dated AH 1327.

In contrast to the rarity of "Nejd" countermarks seen inside Saudi Arabia there exists a wide variety of coin types outside Saudi Arabia bearing "Nejd" countermarks. These include Egyptian and Turkish silver coins, Indian rupees of Queen Victoria and Maria Theresa thalers.

Indian rupees circulated in the maritime coastal trading region, especially around the Oman, Yemen, Red Sea ports. Nejd had no outlet to the Red Sea coast and there is little evidence that rupees circulated along its Gulf coastlands. Very few Victoria rupees are seen inside Saudi Arabia, and only slightly more later rupees. Rupees did not form part of the local currency scene in Nejd, hence it can be inferred that they were not countermarked in Nejd. Indian rupees of Queen Victoria countermarked "Nejd" probably all had this mark applied in other places and at a later time in order to enhance their value to collectors.

Similar logic can be applied to Egyptian coins bearing the "Nejd" countermark. The coins, themselves, did not form part of the local currency scene and the countermarks are best considered spurious.

Maria Theresa thalers belong to a different category insofar as these coins had been in popular local use since around the 1870's. Several hundred thalers have been observed all across Saudi Arabia. Most are genuine, but there are also numerous local imitations; some in silver and others in base metal. In the southwest, Maria Theresa thalers are available with the silversmiths of Khamis Mushayt and Abha, as also at such weekly markets as those in Abha and in Wadaiyan. Many of these thalers are mounted in silver belts, necklaces and headdresses. Base metal (silvered) forgeries of Maria Theresa thalers were also seen in substantial numbers - both alone and also mounted in silver jewellery. In the same region a popular form of chewing gum is commonly weighed out to customers by street vendors using (genuine) Maria Theresa thalers as weights. This practice has been observed in Abha, Khamis Mushayt and Wadaiyan. The gum is a treated brownish tree resin, lumps of which are displayed for sale in large baskets. Some say it is imported from Oman, others say from Somalia. The lumps of gum are sold at a price of ten rials (negotiable) for thirty grams - the Maria Theresa thalers actually weigh 28 gm, giving the vendor a useful profit.

In the far south of the country, numerous Maria Theresa thalers were seen in the souk at Najran, especially in the so-called Widows' souk. Thalers were the most numerous silver coins observed in Najran. Next came Saudi silver coins of Abd al Aziz, followed by Yemeni silver coins of Ahmad ibn Yahya.

In Riyadh, at Hofuf in the Al Hasa oasis, as also in Dammam and Al Khobar on the east coast Maria Theresa thalers are the commonest silver trade coins observed. They are seen in similar contexts to those already noted and the practice of using them to weigh out chewing gum was most recently seen at Riyadh in 1998. There can be no doubt that these thalers were readily available in

Nejd Emirate. The question is whether they were ever contemporaneously countermarked. Among the hundreds of thalers observed, not one single specimen bore any countermark of any description.

Large denomination Turkish silver coins are less common than Maria Theresa thalers. No specimen was seen bearing a countermark.

The evidence available inside Saudi Arabia suggests that very few coins were countermarked "Nejd" and that these were Turkish issues of 5 piastre denomination.

The "Nejd" countermark became obsolete when Abd al Aziz declared the combined kingdom of Nejd and the Hejaz in 1926 and began issuing die struck coins bearing his new title in the same year.

b. Die struck coinage: from 1926

Following the completion of his conquest of the Hejaz in January 1926, Abd al Aziz gave himself the title "King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd". Die-struck copper-nickel coins were issued in the same year (AH 1344) bearing this new title. Their denominations were One Ghirsh, plus its half and quarter. Two years later he augmented his title to "King of the Hejaz and Nejd and Dependencies" and introduced a wider range of coin denominations dated AH 1346 (1928); then AH 1348. The next coins were struck in his name as "King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia" from AH 1354 (1934/5) onwards.

8. A view on countermarked thalers

Maria Theresa thalers were current in the Arabian peninsula at the relevant time. However, the observed preference was for countermarking small size coins and no countermarked thalers have been observed in Saudi Arabia. The analysis should not end there because coinage circulated in two different environments. Small coins circulated among the local people inside the Emirates, and these were countermarked, probably for local advertisement. Large size coins had a much greater potential for servicing international trade around the coastal ports. For some decades prior to the period under discussion the practice of countermarking thalers (and rupees) had been popular across this maritime trading environment (Qaiti etc.). If the Hejaz or the Nejd Emirates countermarked any thalers, then it was for the purpose of advertising themselves among their maritime trading partners (there being no evidence that thalers were countermarked for internal use).

The evidence discussed suggests that thalers bearing either the "Al Hejaz" countermark or the "Nejd" countermark should be viewed with caution. They could all have been stamped in other places and at a later time for the benefit of collectors. Responses from any readers possessing further evidence relating to this subject would be welcome.



An Enigmatic Indo-Greek Gold Coin

by Robert Senior

Of all the Indo-Greek kings, only Menander was known to have struck coinage in gold until now that is. At the 1998 COINEX in London I was shown a small, square gold coin, c.6 mm and weighing probably less than a gram, that had been selected from the Mir Zakah II hoard. The gold looks base, a pale yellow, and one can clearly see how it was cut from a sheet or strip with some form of shears. On the obverse is a monogram which is known to have been used by Philoxenos, Theophilos, Nicias and Artemidoros previously. On the reverse is a diadem such as appears on some of the base coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. Who issued this little coin and why was it struck? See the drawing (made from memory) below;

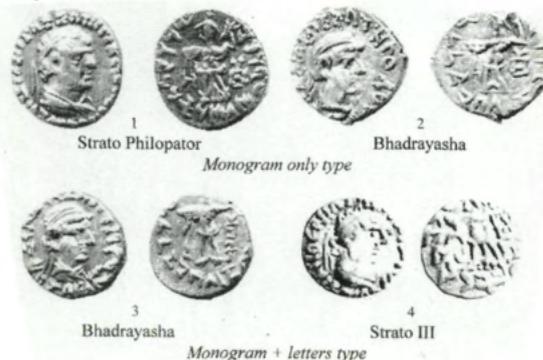


The obverse, being so small, could only accommodate the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ split over the four sides. On the reverse is the name *Jhoilasa* - Zoilos. The diadem and style suggest that the issuer must be Zoilos II but the monogram is not recorded for him. It is difficult to account for this coin as a particular denomination. Not only was gold not used in regular currency but, by this time, tetradrachms had ceased to be struck as well. One can only suppose at this juncture that it may have been issued for a special occasion, perhaps as a donative piece or to be scattered amongst the crowd much as the Mughals did centuries later. Unfortunately, I do not have a photograph, since, though promised one, the dealer sold it rather quickly after I had identified what it was! No doubt the present owner, whoever it may be, will publish it more fully at some time in the future.

Bhadrayasha: a Scythian King?

by Robert Senior

If it were not for the survival of some extremely rare coins we would never have known that a king called Bhadrayasha existed. There are just two varieties (ill. 2 and 3) and most examples have been found in Akhnoor (in Jammu-Kashmir province) alongside coins of the last of the Indo-Greek kings and those of the Scythian Satrap Rajuvula. The king's name is not Greek, though the style of his coins is and on their obverse the Greek legend appears to be a corruption of that of Zoilos II. In Kharosthi he gives himself the title *Maharajasa, the saviour, Bhadrayasha* in the Greek style rather than *King of Kings* or *Satrap* as was the Scythian mode. The monogram used is that associated in most catalogues with 'Jammu' though the actual whereabouts of the mint that issued them is unknown. Most coins of these last Indo-Greeks and those of Bhadrayasha and Rajuvula (silver issues) have surfaced in the towns of Jammu, Akhnoor and Sialkot. The questions that need examining are: who was Bhadrayasha? Was he Greek, Scythian or of an indigenous native race? And under what circumstances did he come to power?





Rajuvula



Maues 'Kashmir' issue

Over the last hundred years we have become accustomed to regarding the successive rulers who invaded north-western India during the period 200 BC to AD 200 as being of not only separate and distinct dynasties but of different peoples. Consecutively these were the Greeks, Scythians and Kushans. They were further subdivided into, perhaps, Macedonians and Greeks amongst the first group, with various Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and several 'Satrapal' dynasties amongst the second group. Now, however, a more complicated picture is emerging and there seems to be a much closer relationship between the various invaders.

The Scythians were noted for their migrations and came to the attention of the Greeks as early as 800 BC when they invaded the land north of the Black Sea and pushed on as far as Egypt. The Greeks believed them to be the descendants of Scythes, a son of Heracles, and considered them invincible. Half a millennium later Alexander the Great came into contact with them when he conquered Persia and then invaded Central Asia on his way to India. Alexander fought some Scythians and made alliances with others but, most famously, married Roxane, the daughter of a Scythian chief. He also discovered that some Greeks had already settled in these Asian provinces before his arrival there. In other words the Scythians and Greeks were accustomed to each other, to some extent lived together, and no doubt some, like Alexander, had intermarried. In the years following Alexander's death both Scythians and Greeks acted as mercenaries for the Seleucids of Syria (of Greek descent) and their Parthian adversaries (of Scythian origin). Sometimes there were unfortunate consequences such as when the Greek mercenaries of the Seleucid Antiochos VII changed sides during a confrontation and went over to Phraates II, resulting in Antiochos' death. Phraates' Scythian mercenaries, appearing late on the scene, were no longer required as a result of this event and, not being paid, laid waste to Parthian territory in revenge and then killed Phraates too.

Around this time other Scythians were migrating across the Pamir ranges into Kashmir and Hazara under pressure from the Yüeh-chih Federation which had ousted them from their homeland in the Ili basin (north of the Tien Shan range). Though some scholars have doubted this migration route, the Chinese accounts are quite clear and further evidence is found in the Kharosthi inscriptions which have surfaced in the passes leading to the Pamirs from Hazara¹. Some of these inscriptions are in the name of Maues, the first Scythian chief to issue coins in north-western India. Hazara-Kashmir was certainly his home base and where he struck his earliest coins (see ill. 6). The inscriptions prove that the passes were used at this time and the coinage indicates that, being at the end of this route, this was how those Scythians arrived there. But *why* did these Scythians take this difficult route to the south when other Scythians had fled along easier routes westward? The answer would seem to be that there was a population of Scythians already settled in Hazara and Kashmir that had migrated there centuries earlier. The route through the Pamirs was difficult but direct and the new settlers would find security amongst people of their own race.

The Scythians were not a homogeneous nation but periodically formed federations from the various related tribes and sub-groups. From around the beginning of the second century BC their migrations took them south of the Oxus and into Bactria. In Bactria and Sogdia the Bactrian Greeks had achieved independence from

their Seleucid overlords but they faced a continuous struggle against both the Parthians and Seleucids on the western front and these migrating nomads from the north. Some tribes may have had friendly relations with the Greeks and settled peacefully, forming alliances, but later, larger hordes arriving would have caused severe disruption and forced the Greeks with their existing allies further south across the Hindu Kush. This movement paralleled chronologically that of the Scythians of the Ili valley crossing the Pamirs into India.

On the coinage it is probably no accident that from the time of Euthydemus his line used the type of Heracles on their reverses. This might have been a sop to the Scythians and a reference to their supposed origins. Certainly the type was much imitated by Scythians in Sogdia, the principal Scythian heartland. These Greek rulers not only issued coins that appealed for support from people of their own ethnic origins but also to the indigenous population as is evidenced by the use of Brahmi script and Hindu deities on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon. Being so far from Greece, this ruling hierarchy of what must have consisted mostly of military men and adventurers probably sought matrimonial partners amongst the elite of the peoples they ruled with and over. There are several clues, certainly, on many Indo-Greek coins of appeals to Scythian sensibilities. Apart from the use of Heracles, we find Nike (a popular deity on Scythian coinage) and 'king on horse' types. We also find clubs, bowcases and horses on Indo-Greek copper, all of which may have had propaganda purposes in Scythian relations.

In a forthcoming monograph² I suggest that the reverse deities on Indo-Greek silver coins represent dynastic types and that from these we can see various families forming alliances, most likely through marriage. The majority of these were within the Greek hierarchy but I have suggested that one was through Peucolaos to Maues and thus a direct link between the first Scythian to strike coins in India and a Greek ruler. I also draw attention to the fact that Peucolaos and Maues depict Artemis (the hunter - the name Saka/Scyth means "archer") on their copper coins and that Artemidoros, an Indo-Greek king, was possibly related to Maues. Though his coins are of Greek style and he has therefore been regarded as an Indo-Greek, his reverses show Artemis (hence a link with both Peucolaos and Maues) and Nike, both of which I would suggest are appeals for Scythian support. I place him as a successor of Maues since the Nike reverse follows that of Maues and in fact is contemporary with a similar Nike occurring on the early coins of Azes. In an addendum to the monograph I publish a remarkable find that I made quite recently; a coin of Artemidoros on which he states that he is *Artemidoros, son of the King of Kings Maues!*

Our understanding of the history of this period must now be revised. It is obvious that if one Scythian, or part Scythian such as Artemidoros can bear a Greek name, others can do so. By the same token, Maues himself, long regarded as the first Scythian king in India, may have been part Greek³. His successor in Hazara-Kashmir (possibly his eldest son, maybe by a different mother?) was Azilises, who bore a Scythian name. Apart from Artemidoros we can look at the coinage of other 'Indo-Greeks' to see if there are hints of Scythian origin. The first contender would be Telephos who adopts monograms from Maues, has a reverse type on his silver coins similar to one on the coins of Azilises and an obverse with a peculiar serpent-footed deity⁴. One of the myths of the Scythians' origin as reported by Herodotos, states that they were descended from a cave-dwelling viper maiden. This deity is also found on copper coins of Hippostratos. The reverses of these coppers show a 'City deity with brazier' that only appears elsewhere on the coins of Azilises and Azes. He also uses multiple titles, unusual for a Greek, including *mahatasa*, which is common to Maues, Azilises and Azes. Apollodotos II seems to have issued a joint coin with a Scythian king which I also illustrate in the monograph. In other words there is a fusion taking place between Greeks and Scythians, and possibly with local Indians too since at the same time we have an increasing appearance of Indian deities and types on both 'Greek' and 'Scythian' coinage. The origins of Gandharan art and culture were obviously born of this fusion, and much earlier than previously supposed.

To get back to our original quest we need to look now at those Scythians who were already in India when Maues' forbears arrived there. The modern town of Sialkot lies on what was, before

Partition, a crossroads. Its ancient name was Sakala or Sagala, the name almost certainly being derived from Saka (Scythian)⁵. Running south to north is the main road from Gujranwala and Lahore to Srinagar and from thence is the route to Gilgit and the Pamirs. It also lies on the main road west to east from ancient Taxila, the greatest city in Gandhara, to the province of the Udumbara peoples immediately to the east of Sakala⁶. The city had been called Sakala prior to the time of Alexander the Great, proving that Scythians had migrated to this area *before* the Macedonian conquest⁷. To-date, with the exception of a drachm in the Lahore Museum, all the known examples of Maues' initial coinage have been found in the geographical region of Jammu-Kashmir (ill. 6). The obverses bear an enthroned city deity wearing a mural crown. There is too little information as yet to identify which city this deity represents but I would regard Srinagar or anywhere in the Kashmir valley as being unlikely and Sakala would therefore be a strong possibility. In fact, the triangle formed by Akhnoor, Jammu and Sialkot seems to be the easternmost source of any **silver** coins struck by either Scythians or Indo-Greeks⁸. I think that we now have a very good explanation of why the Scythians who crossed the Pamirs from the Ili Valley c.160 BC did so. There probably existed communications across the passes for trade with this early Scythian population that had settled in Hazara-Kashmir and after whom a major city had been named - Sakala. Where better to seek refuge and in what better area could a Scythian ruler such as Maues rise to prominence?

The historian J. Przyluski, in the 1920's was looking through ancient Indian literature to find evidence for the location and origin of two tribes, the Salvias and the Udumbaras. He concluded among other things that there were three related peoples - the Bhadrans, Madras and Salvias. One legend (in the *Mahabharata*) concerning their origin tells that a king Vyusitasva had seven children by his wife Bhadra Kaksivati - three Salvias and four Madras. Przyluski postulated that Vyusitasva may have been an Iranian name with 'Aspa' ending (as in Vistaspa, the father of Darius⁹). The Bhadrans and Madras were probably the same people but the use of two different dialects accounts for the two names. Their principal city was Sakala but it was also known as **Bhadramkara** in Indian chronicles. If the Bhadra lived there then they would name the city after themselves but others might refer to it by an older name such as 'City of the Saka'. This identification by Przyluski of Bhadramkara with Sakala is important as we shall see.

The forms Bhadra and Madra in Sanskrit become Bhalla and Malla in Prakrit and the latter are surely the warlike Malloi referred to by Arrian. In discussing the origin of the name Bhadra/Bhalla, Przyluski relates the word to both Bhallava (Pahlava) and Bhallika. The latter derivation as Bahlika signifies the people of the country of Balkh and is mentioned both in the *Puranas* and also the *Ramayana* as referring to people in the Punjab. The suggestion is that these Scythians who founded Sakala came from Balkh sometime before 300 BC. This then is the proposed origin of the name Bhadra and would indicate that the Scythian population of Sakala were principally Bhadrans/ Madras but probably also Salvias. The latter were a federation which was composed of peoples called Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakara, Yugandhara, Bhulinga and Saradanda¹⁰. Przyluski lists related **personal** names in use in the Indian epics as follows:

- Malavi wife of Asvapati, king of the Madras;
- Bhadra, the mother of the Madras; and
- Babliki, another name of Madri, queen of the Madras.

Is this then a clue as to the origin of Bhadrayasha? he may have been king of Bhadramkara (Sakala) and of the **Bhadra** race¹¹. His would therefore be a claim to an older ancestral Scythian origin than that of Maues. His family might have extended back to those ancestors who migrated from Balkh (Bactria) in Achaemenid times¹². His claim to power would therefore come from the support of what was probably the largest number of the indigenous population composed of Scythians of the Bhadra (Madra) and Salva clans. Their Indo-Greek/Scythian rulers could not claim such an ancestry. Who were these rulers?

After Maues, in Hazara, came Azilises¹³ and after him Azes, who was the scion of a different Scythian dynasty. Their contemporaries, and in some cases rivals, are the 'Greeks' who I have suggested are, or may be, part Scythian themselves - Artemidoros, Telephos, Apollodotos and Hippostratos.

The final 'Indo-Greek' coinage bears the names of, in succession, Dionysios, Zoilos II, Apollophanes and the several kings bearing the name Strato. Their coinage consists of only drachms or base denominations and it was issued solely in eastern Hazara-Kashmir and finally in just the 'Jammu - Akhnoor - Sialkot' triangle. Previously it has been supposed that this coinage represents a rump of Greeks pushed east by advancing and possibly barbarian Scythians but now we must consider that in fact they may well have been part-Scythian themselves but, as with Artemidoros, bearing Greek names. They would have formed an upper caste and the Scythians involved may have been those of Maues' clan that had accompanied his predecessors through the Pamirs. At first they were contained by Azes but thereafter the satraps and rajas who succeeded him provided the opposition and it was one of these, Rajuvula, who seems to have finally extinguished them. The last king to bear a Greek name was Strato III (ill. 4) and a small paper on him will appear in *Nomismatika Khronika* No. 16¹⁴. It was at the end of his reign that we see the issue of coins imitating his types in the names of Bhadrayasha and of Rajuvula. Bhadrayasha's drachms are in good silver and so are some of the early coins of Rajuvula (ill. 5). Such coins are rare and I have seen them in a few hoards which were found in 'Jammu' though one was more likely to have come from Akhnoor¹⁵. If we look at the sequence of the coinage of the last few rulers we see that coins were issued with either:

- a) the so-called 'Jammu' monogram on its own (Strato II alone, Strato Philopator - ill. 1 and Bhadrayasha - ill. 2)
- b) the monogram + field letters (Strato II, - not jointly with Strato Philopator nor by Philopator alone - , Bhadrayasha - ill. 3, Strato III - ill. 4 and Rajuvula ill. 5)
- c) just field letters and no monogram (Strato II + Philopator, Strato III and Rajuvula), or
- d) plain fields (Strato II + Philopator only).

These variations may represent different officina and, if so, the monogram alone might represent the principal mint in the capital. Officinas c) and d) may have been outside the capital. My impression from the hoards that I have seen is that Bhadrayasha's coins come somewhere **during** the reign of the last king, Strato III and that this reign is also interrupted or ended by Rajuvula. To understand these points one needs to identify the coins of Strato III (see paper *The Last Greek king of India* mentioned above). They all have a **young** portrait and there seem to me to be two different issues according to style and debasement, the cruder and more debased ones coming after the better issues of Rajuvula. What is significant is that the **last** king to issue coins with only the monogram is Bhadrayasha. Prior to the coinage of Strato III in Jammu there was that of the elderly Apollophanes followed by that of an even more elderly Strato II (his brother?). This was followed by a joint coinage of Strato II together with his "*father loving grandson, Strato*"¹⁶. On this last coinage the monogram of 'Jammu' has disappeared and one can speculate that for some reason the city was lost. A so-far unique coin is known of this 'father loving (Philopator) Strato' and it bears only the 'Jammu' monogram. Thereafter, as mentioned above, only Bhadrayasha struck coins thus. Assuming that this was a time when there were several factions vying for control we can guess that they were:

- a) the descendants of the last Indo-Greeks fused possibly with the Scythian elite related to Maues, i.e. the 'Stratos'.
- b) the Scythians under Rajuvula, possibly more closely related to the Azes family and under pressure from the Gondopharid Scythians,
- c) the older Scythians of the province, the Bhadra and related clans.

Were the elderly Strato III and his grandson ousted from the city with this grandson returning just long enough to strike a rare coinage of which just one has survived? After his demise did Bhadrayasha see his opportunity and seize power in the capital? He may have done this with the aid of a 'Greek' faction too, since he imitated the coins of Strato. His reign was short-lived and a younger Strato III and Rajuvula were left to dispute the territory between themselves though neither struck coins bearing the 'Jammu' monogram alone. That Rajuvula claimed to be a Scythian is shown on the Lion Capital of Mathura which is dedicated by his wife to the honour of '**the whole of Sakastana**' but he is of a different clan and his origins seem to be further west¹⁷. After

conquering Jammu he struck coins in Pathankot and finally acquired Mathura. His son Sodasa struck a few lead coins in 'Jammu' which supposes that it was held for some time¹⁸. The probable reason for Rajuvula's move eastward was the expansion of the Indo-Parthian (Scythians from Sakastan/Seistan) Empire under first Gondophares and then his nephew Abdagases. During this period a new force of Scythians was slowly expanding eastwards, a more vigorous group than any of their predecessors, the Kushan¹⁹. Firstly under Kujula Kadphises they occupied the upper districts of Swat and Hazara but, pressing relentlessly on, they occupied the whole of northern India, sweeping all the other Scythian rulers from their path.

Whereas the Greek movement into north-western India was more of a conquest that provided a ruling elite, the Scythian migrations were on a much larger scale and over a considerable period. The Scythians can be grouped together ethnically but consisted of many tribes, clans and sub-groups that, though they may have occasionally have come together to form federations, were often mutually hostile. As outlined above, a new picture is emerging in which the role that the Scythians played in the history of northern India is much greater and more complicated than previously supposed. Their success in penetrating and occupying this part of India was not only due to their numbers and frequency of migrations but their ability to merge with and co-operate with other factions including probably the local population. Obviously there were confrontations, not least with each other, and these are what necessitated the alliances that are becoming apparent, but it was not a conquest involving wholesale destruction and replacement of peoples. The period in question saw great changes in religion, art and culture with great increases in wealth, trade and city growth. Bhadrashya was a small player in this dramatic act but he may have been a connection between the earliest Scythian involvement in the area and a final phase which saw their last and greatest influx - that of the Kushan.

Notes

1. Principally at Chilas. See 'Chilas', Islamabad 1983, by Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani.

2. Monograph 2 'The decline of the Indo-Greeks' by D. MacDonald and R. C. Senior, published by the Hellenic Numismatic Society, 1998. This can be obtained either from the HNS or the authors.

3. The Taxila copperplate inscription of the 'Great King Moga' is dated in year 78 of an unknown era. This era has always been presumed to be a Scythian (Saka) one and some suggestions have tried to equate it with events involving the Parthian king Mithradates I. As we see now, there is no evidence of any connection between the Scythians from which Maues descended and the Parthians so far west but we do now have a reason for thinking that he may have adopted a Greek era. If he was part Greek and came to power with Greek support then using a Greek era would seem quite possible. The suggested era would have begun around 155-150 BC and could be linked to the foundation of a new dynasty by Menander.

4. Since my guess about Artemidoros' origin proved spectacularly correct I would also speculate that Telephos was possibly another son of Maues. Rather than the genealogical line of Maues dying with him as was previously imagined we now see the possibility of it descending through this 'Greek' line to the last Indo-Greeks. The mention of 'the illustrious king Muki' on the Mathura Lion capital may be a reference to Maues not just because he was prominent some three-quarters of a century before but possibly because powerful descendants were still living at the time it was inscribed.

5. The Scythians called themselves Saka (Chinese Sai) and from their name comes also Sogd as in Sogdia.

6. Audumbara or Udumbara (Sanskrit) or Odumbara (Prakrit). The Udumbaras are a subdivision of the Bhadra/Madra/Salva clan whose possible Scythian origin is dealt with in the publication referred to in the next note.

7. The source of much of this information is 'The Udumbaras and Salvas' by J. Przyluski, translated from the French by Chitrabhanu Sen. The English translation is published in 'Indian Studies Past and Present 1960-61' of the Asiatic Society, Bengal and the original in French is; 'Udumbaras' Journal Asiatique Vol. CCVII (1926) pp 1-25 and 'Salvas' Vol. CCIV, p. 310 - 54.

8. Coins found further east, primarily at Pathankot, are billon or copper and, as is well known, the Scythian ruler Rajuvula moved this way in order to occupy Mathura at the end of the first century BC.

9. On the Sind coinage of the early first century AD, under Scythian rule, we find Aspa the uncle of the Indo-Parthian ruler Sases who may be the same as Aspavarma who issued coins as successor of the Apracaraja Indravasu. We can postulate that perhaps these Apracarajas too were of Scythian origin, hence their survival under Azes and prominence in the time of Gondophares and Abdagases, the Scythian rulers from Sakastan. This is entirely speculative but worth considering.

10. The *Han shu* states that the Saka (Sai) who crossed over the Pamirs into Hazara-Kashmir 'split and separated and repeatedly formed several states'.

11. Not being an etymologist can lead one astray in making name-

relationships such as this but unless some expert can show me otherwise I think that this is a very strong association. The *Besnagar column* refers to the embassy of Heliodoros, son of Dion, in the time of Antialcidas to the Sunga king Bhagabhadra in Vidisa (Bhilsa). Heliodoros called himself a Bhagavata, a devotee of the reformed worship of Vishnu-Krishna. This latter title appears on coins of the 'Rajaraja Mahadeva' which have been found near Pathankot in Udumbara territory. Krishna appears on some coppers of Maues, Azilises and Azes. I draw no conclusion from the obvious connections here between Bhadra, Udumbara and Bhagavata but the *Besnagar* inscription shows not only a Greek relationship with an Indian ruler much farther south than those we are looking at but that this Greek had adopted a non-European religion. Perhaps the fusion between the Scythians, Greeks and Indians goes much further back than even Antialcidas (c. 127 - 120 BC) in what may be regarded as India proper?

12. Much of early Indian history is surrounded in mystery and this Balkh - Bhadra - Sakala - Malloi linkage is not 100% proven to be sure but Przyluski makes further suggestions, i.e. that Bahlika may have been changed at some time to Bahika in a play on words (means 'one from abroad, stranger'). These Bahikas are alluded to by Panini as being belligerent and the synonymous Malloi are recorded as having given stiff resistance to Alexander when he contemplated seizing Sakala. The province of Kashmir was the ancient Kaspiria and its principal city Kaspiera. The Caspian area was also called Kasperia, a province which was a Scythian homeland (notably of the ancestors of the Arsacid Parthians) and there may have been a similar migration in pre-Alexander times to Kashmir by a Scythian group thus giving the province their name.

13. There is also Zeionises (Jihonika) the Satrap, later Mahasatrap and son of Manigula, brother of the 'Great King'. This latter may well have been Maues himself though it could also have been Azilises.

14. 'The Last Greek king of India', The Journal of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, No. 16. Due out late 1998.

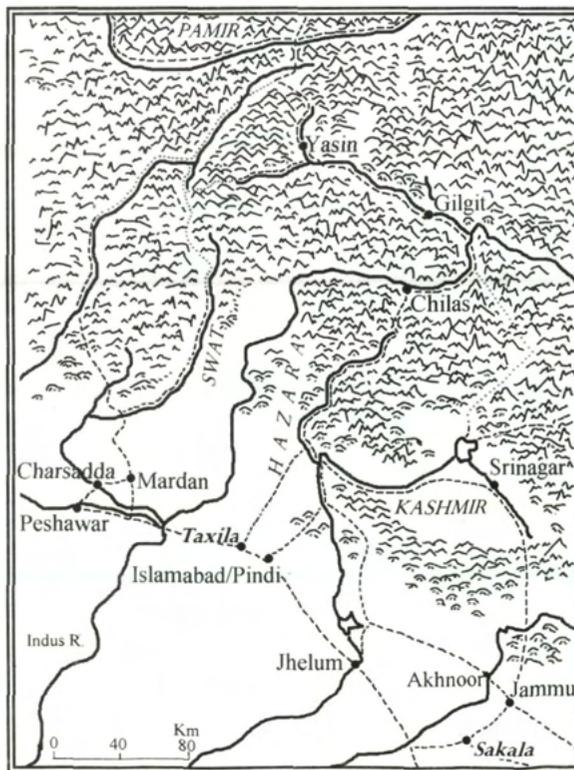
15. ONS Newsletter 128 and 138.

16. Apart from some early Bactrian 'Pedigree' coins, it was not the Greek way to name their father or sons on their coins but it is common amongst the Paratarajas, Apracarajas and Satraps. Now we have this Artemidoros pedigree coin. This itself may suggest that the Strato II + 'Strato Philopator' coins are not just joint but using a Scythian form of legend.

17. He struck a few rare drachms north-east of Taxila in Hazara bearing Zeus-Nikephoros types.

18. Interestingly his 'Jammu' coins have a horse obverse and Heracles reverse - both Scythian types. Other Satraps in Mathura also used the horse on their coinage and had the title Satrap. They seem to pre-date the coins of Rajuvula and are indicative of an earlier Scythian migration.

19. The Yüeh-Chih absorbed part of the Scythian Kuei-shuang into their federation but the latter migrated south and later settled in Ferghana, the capital of which was called Kuei-shan at the end of the second century BC. From there they invaded Bactria and later India.



Map of Hazara-Kashmir showing routes from the Pamirs via Gilgit and the situation of Sakala (Bhadramkara).

Notes

1. Göbl, R.: *Donum Burns: die Kusanmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie*, 1993
2. Cunningham, A.: *Mahabodhi*, pl. XXII, fig.17.
3. *Pataliputra excavations 1955-56*, pp. 52-53; JNSI XX, pp. 1-3.
4. Gupta, P.L. and Kulashreshtha, S.: *Kusana coins and history*, New Delhi, pp. 71-102, 1994.

My thanks are due to Mr Hakim Hamidi for providing me with valuable information and for very interesting discussions.

A Hoard of Durrani Coins from Muzaffarabad

by Nick Rhodes

At the recent Coinex in London, Riaz Babar of Peshawar allowed me to examine a hoard of Durrani rupees, that had recently been found at Muzaffarabad in the Pakistan part of Kashmir, about 50km north of Murree. The coins were, to a greater or lesser extent, encrusted with dirt, and they had not yet been cleaned in any way. I was assured that the hoard was complete, and had not been cherry-picked in any way, and I have no reason to doubt that this was indeed the case. I should like to thank Mr Babar for allowing me to publish this hoard.

The hoard consisted of 149 coins, of relatively few types and dates, mainly from the Kashmir mint, as follows:

Shah Zaman (1793-1801)

KM.576	1211	Yr.5 (8)
	1212	Yr.5 (2)
	xx	Yr.5 (1)
KM.578	1215	Yr.8 (7)
	1216	Yr.9 (3)

Mahmud Shah (1801-1803)

KM.588	1216	Yr.1 (29)
	1217	Yr.2 (81)
	1218	Yr.3 (2)
	date	illegible (9)

Shah Shuja' Al-Mulk (1803-1808)

KM.598	1219	Yr.1 (2)
	12xx	Yr.2 (1)

There were also four coins from the mint of Herat, as follows:

Shah Zaman (1793-1801)

KM.388	1212, 1214, 1216, and date illegible.
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It is interesting that the hoard consists of such a short range of dates. An eye examination of the coins of this period had earlier led me to suspect that there may have been some debasement, and the composition of this hoard also suggests a debasement starting around Yr.5 of Shah Zaman. Earlier coins, if they were of finer silver, as they visually appear to be, would tend to be withdrawn from circulation and melted. One of the most surprising aspects of the hoard, however, is the complete absence of the types KM.577 (known for 1213 & 1214 AH) and KM.589 (1218AH) both of which fall well within the date range of the hoard. Whether this is pure chance, or whether there is some reason behind it, is uncertain, but it is interesting to note that KM.577 does appear to be a rather scarce type.

I would like to suggest that somebody conducts a small project, testing the fineness of silver rupees of Kashmir of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Rupees of Bijapur dated 1091H. in the name of Aurangzeb Alamgir

by Jan Lingen

As it was not until five years later that the city of Bijapur fell to the Mughal forces, the rupees dated 1091 AH. in the name of Aurangzeb Alamgir with the mint name Bijapur have long puzzled various authors. Geo. P. Taylor¹ suggested that "There can be little doubt that it was while this siege was proceeding and capitulation seemed imminent that the powerful Mughal faction in the city, thinking to anticipate an inevitable surrender, caused the 1091 Hijri rupees to be struck in the name of the Emperor Aurangzeb." As different regnal years are reported, these rupees must have been

struck over an certain time span and not just on the moment when "capitulation seemed imminent".

Mitchiner² suggests that the rupee was part of the tribute which was paid on an irregular basis, but on historical grounds this can not be upheld either as will be shown below.

In May 1636 (1045 AH.) a treaty was concluded between Mughal Emperor Shahjahan and Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1037-1068 AH.; 1627-1656 AD), which required the Sultan to obey the Emperor, to pay a peace offering of twenty lakhs (20.00.000) of rupees in cash or kind, to respect the frontier of Golconda (at that time a tributary state of the Empire) and abstain from aiding Shahji Bhonslé -the Maratha chief- in hostile measures.³ Its independence was in a manner recognised by the imperial abstention from the demand for a regular annual tribute.

A wanton invasion of Bijapur by Aurangzeb in January 1657 was heroically opposed and ceased when at the end of the year the contest for the throne recalled Aurangzeb suddenly to Delhi.

In 1087 AH. (1672) Sikandar 'Adil Shah, as a boy of 4 years, was placed on the throne and a reign of selfish regents (wazirs) commenced that finally was to ruin the monarchy. It was a period of chronic civil war.

After the treaty of 1636 and the war with Bijapur in 1657, Mughal eyes, with such a weak sultan on the throne, fell again on Bijapur. Several times the Mughals invaded the Bijapur territory. To prevent Mughal occupation, Sikandar's sister entered the Mughal family and was married to Prince 'Azam. But the sacrifice of the royal maiden was of no avail to the doomed dynasty. Mughal greed was insatiable. In August 1679 (1090 AH.) they declared war against Bijapur. But Shivaji, the Maratha came to their rescue and also ravaged the Mughal dominions around. The greed for Bijapur caused ruin to the entire Empire and wasted money beyond calculation.

The Emperor was displeased at the failure of both his viceroy and general and issued an order (1 March) recalling them. At the end of May 1680 Prince Shah 'Alam handed over the office of viceroy to Khan-i-Jahan, for whom it was his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. That prince and the Mughal general Dilir Khan hastened northwards to reinforce the Emperor in the war with the Rajputs.

According to Jadunath Sarkar⁴ the only achievement of Prince Shah 'Alam, as viceroy of the Deccan, was that he influenced the moribund Government of Bijapur (March 1680; 1091 AH.) to read the khutba and stamp coins in Aurangzeb's name.

It is clear from this historical account that these rupees were struck by the Bijapur government to please the Mughal authorities and presumably hoped that with reading the khutba and striking coins in Aurangzeb's name that the Mughals would refrain from further besieging the town.

The known dates of the rupees struck at Bijapur in the name of Aurangzeb Alamgir are:

- 1091 AH./Ry.23 (March 1680 - 15-9-1680)
- 1091 AH./Ry.24 (16-9-1680 - 11-1-1681)

Other dates are reported, viz.:

- 1091/26, date combination which does not fit.
- 1092/24, date combination which does not fit.



This public obedience to the Mughal Emperor by the Bijapur government could not prevent the Mughal Emperor from further conquest of the Bijapur territories.

On the first of April 1685 the final siege of Bijapur began. The battle, however, lingered on and on without any sign of a breakthrough. Then Aurangzeb came in person to the battle scene.

It was the wise decision of the court nobles and Sikandar Shah

to surrender and after a few days' negotiations, Bijapur capitulated on Sunday, 12 September 1686 to the Mughal forces.

Sikander 'Adil Shah surrendered to the Emperor.⁵ Thereafter he remained a "caged pigeon" at the Imperial court. On the 3 April 1700, not yet 32 years old, he died at the base of Satara fort, which Aurangzeb was then besieging.

A week after the capitulation of Bijapur, Aurangzeb entered the city. He marched along the roads of the city, scattering handfuls of gold and silver coins to right and left.⁶ These were probably the new coins struck to commemorate the victory.

Such examples of this commemoration are the beautifully designed rupees dated 1097 AH./Ry.30 (12-07-1686 - 06-11-1686) 1098 AH./Ry.30 (07-11-1686 - 30-06-1687) 1098 AH./Ry.31 (01-07-1687 - 27-10-1687) /Ry.32



The epithet introduced on these coins is Daru-z-Zafar (the Abode of Victory)

Subsequent issues keep the same epithet but revert to the general Mughal style coinage. From the 46th regnal year, however, the old design was again revived.



AU mohur 1108 AH./Ry.41



AR rupee 1111 AH./Ry.44

The calculations for the commencement of the hijri-date as well as the regnal years of Aurangzeb have hitherto been done by all scholars from the date of his first coronation. S.H. Hodivala,⁷ however, pointed out that neither Elphinstone, Grant, Taylor, Whitehead nor Brown were right and that, by an imperial decree, the official date of accession was fixed about two months earlier. Also more recently F. Pridmore⁸ followed Geo. P. Taylor's data contained in the Numismatic Supplement No.VII, Article 51, 1907. For Aurangzeb's hijri and julus or regnal years see the table below.

Aurangzeb 'Alamgir

First coronation day:

Wednesday 1st Dhu'l Qa'da 1068 AH (21-07-1658)

Second coronation day:

Sunday 24th Ramzan 1069 AH (05-06-1659)

Official date of accession was fixed by imperial decree as:

1 Ramzan 1068 AH = 23-05-1658AD (Julian Calendar)

= 02-06-1658AD (Gregorian Calendar)

AH-date	commences AD	Ry	Date Ry. commences
1068	29-09-1657	1	23-05-1658
1069	19-09-1658	2	13-05-1659
1070	08-09-1659	3	02-05-1660
1071	27-08-1660	4	20-04-1661
1072	17-08-1661	5	10-04-1662
1073	06-08-1662	6	30-03-1663
1074	26-07-1663	7	19-03-1664
1075	15-07-1664	8	08-03-1665
1076	04-07-1665	9	25-02-1666
1077	24-06-1666	10	15-02-1667
1078	13-06-1667	11	04-02-1668
1079	01-06-1668	12	23-01-1669
1080	22-05-1669	13	13-01-1670
1081	11-05-1670	14	02-01-1671
1082	30-04-1671	15	22-12-1671
1083	19-04-1672	16	11-12-1672
1084	08-04-1673	17	30-11-1673
1085	28-03-1674	18	19-11-1674
1086	18-03-1675	19	09-11-1675
1087	06-03-1676	20	29-10-1676
1088	24-02-1677	21	18-10-1677
1089	13-02-1678	22	07-10-1678
1090	02-02-1679	23	26-09-1679
1091	23-01-1680	24	16-09-1680
1092	11-01-1681	25	04-09-1681
1093	31-12-1681	26	24-08-1682
1094	21-12-1682	27	14-08-1683
1095	10-12-1683	28	03-08-1684
1096	28-11-1684	29	22-07-1685
1097	18-11-1685	30	12-07-1686
1098	07-11-1686	31	01-07-1687
1099	28-10-1687	32	21-06-1688
1100	16-10-1688	33	09-06-1689
1101	05-10-1689	34	29-05-1690
1102	25-09-1690	35	19-05-1691
1103	14-09-1691	36	08-05-1692
1104	02-09-1692	37	26-04-1693
1105	23-08-1693	38	16-04-1694
1106	12-08-1694	39	05-04-1695
1107	02-08-1695	40	26-03-1696
1108	21-07-1696	41	14-03-1697
1109	10-07-1697	42	03-03-1698
1110	30-06-1698	43	21-02-1699
1111	19-06-1699	44	10-02-1700
1112	07-06-1700	45	29-01-1701
1113	28-05-1701	46	19-01-1702
1114	17-05-1702	47	08-01-1703
1115	06-05-1703	48	28-12-1703
1116	25-04-1704	49	17-12-1704
1117	14-04-1705	50	06-12-1705
1118	04-04-1706	51	26-11-1706

died 28th Dhu'l Qa'da 1118AH. = 20th February 1707

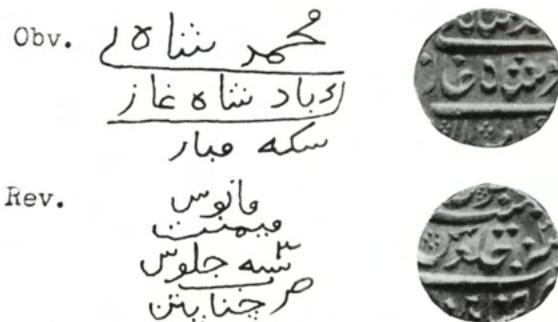
All AD-dates are given according to the Julian Calendar, for the present calendar (Gregorian calendar) add 11 days.

Notes

1. Numismatic Supplement No. XV (1910), 689-690.
2. Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies AD 600-1979, (London 1979), 179.
3. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol I (original ed. 1973; repr. Calcutta 1973), 20-21.
4. *Ibidem*, vol IV, 139.
5. *Ibidem*, vol IV, 278-279
6. *Ibidem*, vol IV, 280
7. Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics; XXI Chronology of the Reigns of the Mughal Emperors (Bombay 1976), 274-275.
8. The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, part 4 India, vol I, East India Company, Presidency Series (London 1975) xxi.

**The East India Company: Madras Presidency -
A Mohur of the Chinapatan Mint.**

by Ken Wiggins



Au mohur. Weight: 10.9 g

Writing of the coinage of the East India Company, Madras Presidency, Pridmore¹ listed in his catalogue one gold mohur in the name of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (1658-1707) which allegedly bears the mint name Chinapatan.² He remarks that the issue was limited and apparently ceased about 1703-1705, as mohurs were included in the Company's mint accounts of 1704-1705 but thereafter no further reference to them occurs until the year 1740.³

In February of that year the authorities at Madras were requested by some local shroffs to coin mohurs at the Company's mint. The shroffs were to supply the gold bullion and the mohurs so produced were to be of 95 touch. From this it would appear that the mohurs were intended for the use of private persons as there is no reference to the Company minting such coins from their own bullion.⁴

Pridmore discovered from the Company's records (Consultations) that the gold mohurs must have borne the mint name Chinapatan. Rupees with this mint name had been struck by the Company from 1692 and were still being struck in the name of Muhammad Shah. The records show that in 1743 there was an order for the purchase of 10,000 gold mohurs (1,500 Chinapatan of 95 touch and 8,500 Arcot of 93 touch).⁵

Pridmore never found a mohur of the Chinapatan mint in the name of Muhammad Shah, so the coin described above appears to be the first to come to light. Although it is basically the same type as the silver rupees it is doubtful if the same dies were used.

The only dating on the above coin is the regnal year. It appears to be a three (1721-1722) but according to the known facts this cannot be correct. It is much too early. The regnal year can hardly be 30 or 31 (assuming that the second digit is off the edge of the coin) which is equivalent to 1747-1748 for by this time the Company in Madras had authority to strike the Arkat gold mohur.

The only other possibility is that the regnal year is 26, with the 2 being joined to the 6 by careless engraving like this ۲۶

Muhammad Shah's regnal year 26 runs from May 1743 to May 1744. These dates coincide with the date of the report previously noted, and discovered by Pridmore, that in February, 1743, the Company ordered the purchase of 10,000 gold mohurs: 1,500 Chinapatan and 8,500 Arkat. If indeed the above mohur is dated regnal year 26, then it is possible that it is one of the 1,500 of this order.

Notes

1. Pridmore F. *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Part 4. India. Vol.1. The East India Company Presidency Series c.1642-1825.* Spink & Son Ltd, London, 1975.

2. Idem. Madras Presidency, page 64.

3. Idem page 23.

4. Idem page 26.

5. Idem page 26.

An Unrecorded Mohur of Kalayani

Dr Lawrence A. Adams of California has sent information about a gold mohur from the Hyderabad feudatory state of Kalayani. Hitherto only rupees and a very small number of fractions have been known. All the coinage is scarce.



The present coin weighs 10.94 g and is slightly smaller than the rupee counterparts (cf. KM 6). Two digits of a date "12" are visible on the reverse. The obverse consists of the Kalima, as on all the other coins, while the reverse has the mint-name and the outline of what is probably meant to represent a tiger. In view of the great rarity of this coin, it was probably struck for ceremonial or presentation purposes. It is noticeable, however, that the dies used appear to be different from the dies used for the rupees.

Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets and Tokens

by Robert P. Puddester

Part I - Viceroy Residencies' Passes and Tokens

The illustrations in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta Mint during research visits in the 1980s. The diameter is correct, unless otherwise noted, but other details are not to scale and are approximate. The illustrations emphasize those points necessary to ensure recognition but are not so complete as to depict exactly every detail. The numbering system and format follow the book *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*; these passes will eventually be incorporated in a new edition.

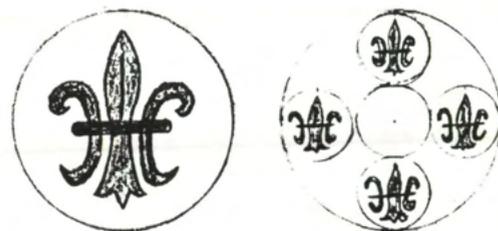
990.1.1 Viceroy Estate Token - Fleur de Lis

Obv: a fleur de lis

Rev: one small circle in centre with four similar sized circles at the top, bottom and sides, each containing a fleur de lis. The centre circle contains a number.

Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass

No hole. Each token was numbered.

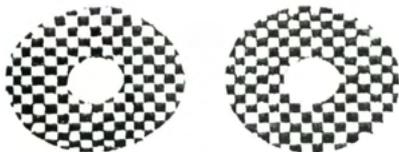


Labelled by the Calcutta Mint as a "Viceroy Estate Token". No date of manufacture is given. Based on its placement in the mint die-impression book believed to have been produced in the late 1920s, most likely in use as an access and control pass at the viceregal lodges in Simla and old Delhi.

After the announcement by the King-Emperor, George V, at the Delhi Durbar, in December 1911, that Delhi would become the new capital, the Viceroy moved from Government House in Calcutta at the end of march 1912 to the old Circuit House in Delhi (built to house the Curzons at the 1903 Durbar) which was renamed Viceregal Lodge. Although sometimes disparagingly referred to as "just a camp", the Circuit House was a particularly fine example of an enlarged and commodious Indian bungalow with more than adequate space for entertaining and for guests but not for the Viceroy's Private Secretary, Military Secretary, or aides-de-camp. They were relegated to permanent tents on the extensive grounds.

990.1.2 Viceregal Estate Token - Checkerboard

Obv: Checkerboard pattern covering complete surface.
Rev: same as obverse.
Diameter: 36 mm x 30 mm Metal: brass
Centre hole. First issued 7 August 1936. Dies returned 12 May 1938.

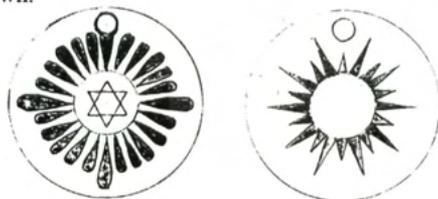


Labelled by the Calcutta Mint as "Viceregal Estate Brass Tokens". An unusual and arresting pattern. For use at either the new viceroy's House in New Delhi or at the Viceregal Lodge in Simla. The Hardinges, Chelmsfords, Readings and Irwins made the Viceregal Lodge (old Circuit House) their winter residence for 17 years until the Irwins, on 23 December 1929, finally moved into Edwin Lutyen's magnificent Viceroy's House in New Delhi (renamed "Viceroy's House" at the behest of the King-Emperor from its former designation "Government House"). The Circuit House became a part of the new University of New Delhi.

The previous fleur de lis token could also have been used at Viceroy's House if it was of later manufacture.

990.1.3 Viceregal Pass - Military Secretary

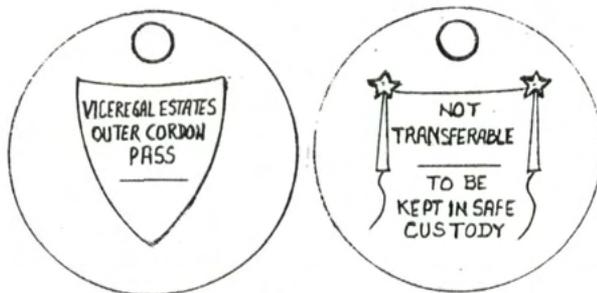
Obv: within a central circle, crossed triangles forming a six-pointed star of David. A tear drop pattern spreading out from the centre circle.
Rev: a pattern of radiating star-like rays around a blank centre circle.
Diameter: 40 mm Metal: brass
Holed at top. First issue 10 May 1928. These passes were sent to the Military Secretary of His Excellency the viceroy. No record of date withdrawn.



Use was almost certainly for the Viceregal Lodge in Simla and possibly for the Viceregal Lodge, Delhi. If used at the Delhi residence, possibly also used later at Viceroy's House. Viceroy's House was indeed a vast and magnificent "house". As Bence-Jones says *A building of both power and beauty ... succeeded triumphantly in (a) synthesis of eastern and western architecture.* Upon entering there was a huge circular durbar hall with thrones for the viceroy and vicereine, marble corridors leading via state apartments to the ballroom and State Dining Room with its table for more than a hundred people. These latter two rooms were separated by a huge open loggia, behind which was a grand staircase open to the sky. Two hundred thousand square feet including its internal courts; it was larger than the Palace of Versailles. The outer perimeter contained stone sentry boxes for mounted troopers of the Bodyguard, the only visible concession to security. During the 1920s, 30s and 40s, India was a hot bed of political intrigue, and the security advisors must have thrown up their hands numerous times at the openness of most of the viceroy's residencies.

990.1.4 Viceroy Estates - Outer Cordon Pass

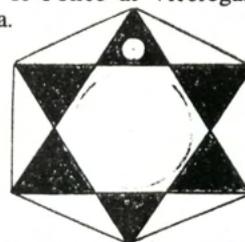
Obv: VICEREGAL ESTATES / OUTER CORDON / PASS
Rev: NOT / TRANSFERABLE / TO BE / KEPT IN SAFE / CUSTODY
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
Hole at top. First issue 23 October 1939. These passes were sent to the Military Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy at Simla.



Viceroy Elgin (1862) to Dufferin (1884) used Peteerhof in Simla as a viceregal residence although it was found inadequate by all, especially their wives. Lord Dufferin was the first viceroy to take the bull by the horns (the last thing the home government wanted was additional expenditures) and start the building of a new Viceregal Lodge in Simla. It was built so quickly (Dufferin visited the site nearly every morning and evening to the extent that the Public Works Member, Sir Theodore Hope, and his departmental officials were driven to distraction) that the viceroy was able to move in on 23 July 1888, a little more than four months before his term ended. Thereafter all viceroys, while in Simla from late March to October, resided at Viceregal Lodge. From the second Elgin (1894) onwards, viceroys also used "The Retreat", a few miles outside Simla, as a suburban residence. The viceregal estate in Simla in the 1930s was very large consisting of 331 acres with, in addition to the Viceregal Lodge, 25 houses. In these, approximately 900 persons lived, of whom 50 were Europeans and the remainder Indians.

990.1.5 Viceregal Estate - Belvedere

Obv: six-sided pass with crossed triangles around centre hole making a Star of David. Points of star darkly shaded thus outlining star points.
Rev: blank
Diameter: 31 mm Metal: brass
Hole at top. No hole in centre. First issued 16 January 1925. Passes sent to Deputy Commissioner of Police at Viceregal Camp, Belvedere, South District Calcutta.



When the viceroy, Baron Hardinge, moved to Delhi at the end of March 1912, the former Government House in Calcutta became the official residence of the Governor of Bengal (the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was abolished on 1 April 1912 and Bengal was raised to a governorship). The former residence of the L.-G. was the lovely estate of Belvedere built by Marquess Wellesley. As described by lady Reading's secretary in her diary *the house is big and white and cool, ... it was originally the country home of Warren Hastings, and has since been added to; is a fine three-storied erection with two great flights of steps leading up to the columned entrances back and front, which the Bodyguard adorn very effectively. There is a beautiful ballroom, drawing-room and a banqueting hall. One hundred persons could be seated at a long one hundred and fourteen foot table for dinner with one thousand persons accommodated at a ball.*

The viceregal residencies, whether summer, winter, occasional or retreats, were massive, sprawling affairs which must have imposed quite daunting control and security responsibilities on officials. From the assassination of Mayo onwards there were enough security related incidents, both real and imagined, to keep the Military Secretary, intelligence officers, local police officials and the security apparatus surrounding the viceroy and his residencies on their toes. One of the methods of providing access and ensuring control was the use of tokens, passes and tickets. Some residencies must have been easier to control than others. Government House in Calcutta, the official residence of the viceroy from 1802 until vacated by Hardinge in 1912, for instance, was situated in an enclosure on the Esplanade of some six acres with six entrances located on all four sides all under guard.

Nevertheless hundreds of permanent and temporary staff, workmen and visitors of all kinds sought entry each day. Three passes for the Governor of Bengal relating to the security of Government House will be illustrated in a future article. No records have been found of passes relating to Government House while the viceroy resided there. The security requirements of a non-enclosed site such as Simla must have been dramatically greater.

It will be noted that four of the five passes illustrated are without any identifying legend thus making it likely that examples may be in members' collections unidentified. Should any member have these or other passes / tokens relating to viceroy residencies, the author would appreciate information.

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Soghdian Kai Yuans

by T.D. Yih and J. de Kreek

(paper given at the Leiden ONS meeting in 1994)

Introduction

The development of the urban Central Asian civilisations was strongly dependent on the ancient Silk-roads that connected China with the West. At Merv the road divided into a northern branch that led via Bukhara and Samarkand to Kashgar; a southern branch followed the Oxus river and rejoined the other branch at Kashgar. Here it split again in trails running north and south along the borders of the Taklamakan desert.

The area known as western Turkestan, comprising the present republics of Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan was in ancient times split into three small states from west to east: Choresmia, Soghdia and Ferghana. Soghdia, occupying the Zaravshan and Kashka Darya riverbeds, was politically the most important one. In the 7th century, Transoxania was divided into a loose confederation of principalities under Turkish suzerainty. The ruling houses of the majority of the cities were linked by family and marriage bonds. Some of them were even related to the Turkish khaqan. Under them was a powerful and semi-independent aristocracy of land-owners (dihqans) and rich merchants.

The kinship of the ruling houses, however, did not prevent local wars and hostilities. The call for help by the prince of Saghaniyan in 705 gave the encroaching Arabs the excuse to invade the country. By the beginning of the 8th century, Qutaiba had firmly established Arab power in Transoxania taking advantage of the dissensions between the various princes. Thereafter, however, there were regularly revolts, around 723 supported by Sulu, the khan of the revived western Turkish empire under the domination of the Turgesh tribe. At one time the Arabs only held Bukhara, Chaghanian and Kish. Even the claimant to the Sasanian throne, Khusru, son of Peroz, a grandchild of the last Sasanian king Yazdigird, entered Transoxania. After the assassination of Sulu and the subsequent fall of the Turkish realm, the Chinese tried to assert their authority in Transoxania. Chinese influence in the western part of Central Asia ended with the defeat of the Chinese army by the Arabs in July 751 and ended all hope of independence for the Soghdians. With the definitive destruction of the city of Pendjikent (70 km east of Samarkand) in 760, the Soghdians disappear from history.

For a more detailed survey of the history see Barthold (1958) and Gibb (1970).

Due to their central position in the trade between East and West the cities prospered and reached splendid cultural heights. Soghdian became the lingua franca of that period. Well-known are the Soghdian manuscripts discovered by Peliot in Tunhuang far to the east. The wall paintings found in the ruins of Pendjikent, some 70 km east of Samarkand, show both Sasanian and Chinese influences (Albaum and Brentjes, 1972). Its last king, Divashtich, was slain by the Arabs at the fall of his last stronghold Mount Mug, which apparently contained his archives. Amongst the 80 manuscripts discovered, there were 25 on Chinese paper and 8

even in Chinese (Frye, 1954). Whereas much has been published on the Soghdians with respect to their language, architecture and paintings, much less is known about their coinage system.

Numismatics

The primary source is the Russian numismatist Smirnova. Her catalogue illustrates about 1573 Soghdian copper pieces (Smirnova 1981). A large number of Soghdian coins have been discovered during excavations in the ruins of Afrasiab (old Samarkand) and Pendjikent. The rulers of the various cities issued their own coinage. A characteristic feature of Soghdian coins is the presence of tribal marks called tamgha's, possibly based on Turkish influences.

Foreign influences on Soghdian coinage



As can be seen in Table 1, the Soghdian numismatic system clearly reflects both influences from the West and from the East. On the one side their coinage was clearly influenced by the Sasanian type of coinage, whereas on the other side they adopted the cash coin-type of the Chinese empire that extended its influence far to the west, since the foundation of the Tang dynasty early in the 7th century.

There are even coin-types that are a mixture of both coinage types. These hybrid types had, on the one side, the portrait of a king and, on the other side, the picture of the central square hole typical of the cash coins.

The strong influence of the Chinese can be extrapolated from the numbers of various coin-types. The majority of coins described in Smirnova's catalogue belong to the cash-type (86.7 %), whereas the Sasanian and hybrid types account for only 13.2 and 0.7 %, respectively. A number of Soghdian cash coins even imitate on one

side the famous Kaiyuan cash of the Tang dynasty. On the reverse, some types have a Soghdian tamgha to the right of the hole, whereas others have a tamgha to the left of the hole and a Soghdian word "βγγ" meaning Lord, to the right of the hole. Soghdian Kai Yuan coins have been found at the cities of Varaksha and Afrasiab. Soghdian cash have been attributed to several kings of Samarkand such as Shyspyr (640-60), Tukaspada (680-700), Turghun (700-20) and Gyrek (720-40).

The Turgesh themselves also issued coins based on the cash coin. Several of them were discovered during the Finnish expedition to Eastern Turkestan by Marechal Mannerheim (1904). They have on the obverse a tamgha around the square hole and on the reverse a Soghdian legend reading counter-clockwise "Celestial Turgesh khaqan cash".

Falsification of Soghdian Kaiyuan coins ?



The Soghdian cash from the Russian excavations are generally much worn and corroded. It was, therefore, a surprise to see several years ago Soghdian cash offered in sales lists from Hongkong. The quality of these pieces surpassed that of the Russian excavations so much that one had to wonder about the genuineness of the pieces. Some pieces have been studied for their metallic composition and script. Amongst them is a piece (no. 171) similar to the one described by Smirnova under No. 43. Another (no. 167), not described by Smirnova has a tamgha-like symbol to the right of the square hole. It has some resemblance to that of the two lower pieces in table 1.

It was reported to have been excavated at Lo-yang together with 3 other Kaiyuans. Surprisingly, a fellow Dutch ONS-member also received such a piece from the same dealer. The piece was illustrated in the 1940 Taiwan reprint of the catalogue of Ding Fubao listed amongst coins from the Tang emperor Wu Zhong. Furthermore, the piece was published as a forgery by Guo Ruoyu (1994).

Table 2 shows the metrical data and metallic composition of the two supposed Soghdian Kaiyuans as measured by X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF). Three Kaiyuans from China proper (nos. 168-170) were used as reference. Also included are the data measured for a Soghdian Tang piece as presented by Smirnova. With respect to the Chinese legends, the two supposed Soghdian coins have the writing style Ic, classified in accordance with Thierry (1991), which is in line with issues before 751.

The Soghdian word "βγγ" on the reverse of no. 171 does not fit with that on the Smirnova pieces. The two coins have a lower copper content than the piece of Smirnova. Copper content of other Soghdian pieces as presented by Smirnova ranges from 78-92%. Remarkable is the presence of antimony (Sb) in the Russian Soghdian pieces ranging from 0.02-0.4 %. There was no Sb in the suspected coins and also no Sb or only traces in the control Tang coins. This might be used as a weak proof that, in cases of falsification, authentic Kaiyuans have been used as a basis; the

special marks on the reverse might be applied by a special technique later on. Unfortunately, no evidence could be found for this even after microscopic examination.

In conclusion, no clear-cut proof for falsification can be given at present. However, the excellent condition of the pieces, which does not accord with an origin from excavations, the aberrant word "βγγ" and the small difference with respect to Sb content might be an indication of falsification.

The authors welcome any information on other Soghdian cash present in private or Museum collections.

Table 2

Code	W. (g)	Dia. (mm)	Th. (mm)	Type ^a	Percentage					
					CU	PB	SN	FE	ZN	SB
167 ^b	3.12	24.2	1.2	Ic	53	36	9	1	+	-
167 ^c	4.00	24.0	1.0	Ic						
171	2.81	24.1	1.3	Ic	67	12	19	1.5	+	-
Smirnova ^d					84	10	5	0.1	+	0.3
168	3.12	24.4	1.3	I	57	24	17	1	+	-
169	3.89	24.5	1.5	III	70	26	3	2	-	+
170	2.81	24.6	1.2	III	67	22	10	1	+	+

- a. classified according to Thierry (1991)
- b. according to the supplier (Mr. Vong, Dragon Coins, Hongkong) excavated at Lo-yang also with 3 other Kai-yuan's
- c. Specimen of a fellow Dutch ONS member from the same supplier
- d. from (Smirnova(1981))

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**Qarakhitay (Hsi Liao) Cash Coins Inscribed Kangguo
 Homage to the late Mr Wei Yueh Wang**

by Dr. T.D. Yih, The Netherlands

Introduction

Mr. Wei Yueh Wang from Huahote, Inner Mongolia, became an ONS member in 1985. He was a council member of both the Chinese and Inner Mongolian Numismatic Societies. Furthermore, he was one of the editors of the newsletter of the latter society. One of his fields of interest and expertise was the coinage of the Liao dynasty. My first correspondence with him dated from early 1985. Several years ago I received from him an illustration of rubbings of several Kangguo pieces. I then enquired whether he had obtained those rubbings from a numismatic book or whether he himself had the coins and had made the rubbings, but I did not receive an answer. Only recently I was informed that Mr. Wei Yueh died on 23 June 1994 (age 74).

In the following paragraphs a historical background of the Qarakhitay and a description of the rubbings are given.

History

At the beginning of the tenth century several nomadic peoples such as the western Xia, Jurchen and Khitan developed their military power and conquered parts of north China. In 907 Abaoji (Taizu) declared himself emperor of the Khitan and founded the Liao dynasty. In 1125 the last Liao emperor Tianzuo was defeated and captured by his former vassals, the Jurchen Tatars, who established the Chin dynasty (1115-1234). Nearly one year before, Yeh-lü Ta-shih*, a member of the imperial clan, foreseeing the end, had withdrawn to the northern fortress, K'otun on the Orkhon river. Around 1130 he invaded eastern Turkestan, while his army was strengthened by the arrival of a large number of Khitan tribesmen, who had been in the service of the ruler of Samarkand as mercenaries.

Moslem sources mention a number of cities such as Balasaghun, Kashgar and Khotan assaulted by the Qarakhitay. The city of Imil is reported to have been founded by him. Around 1141 he defeated the Saljuqid sultan, Sanjar, near Samarkand and gained possession of Transoxania (western Turkestan). He founded the western Liao (Hsi-Liao), also called the Black Khitan (Qarakhitay) realm, and adopted the title of Gurkhan. He died in the tenth year of the Kangguo period (1143).

Moslem subjects, but they did not interfere with the political structure of their conquests. They maintained the local rulers and were satisfied with tribute only. After the destruction of the Qarakhitay realm by the Mongols under Genghiz Khan in 1218, the majority of the Qarakhitay resumed their nomadic life. Only a small part under Buraq Hajib shifted to urban live and established a local dynasty in the southern Persian province of Kirman. The Ilkhanid Uljaytu ended this dynasty in 1306.

* Ta-shih (the Qarakhanid state of eastern Turkestan)

Numismatics

The Liao emperors did not mint many cash coins, and exchange, especially of livestock, remained an important method of payment throughout the whole dynasty. For their coinage, the Liao emperors adopted the Chinese cash system. The production of cash, however, was small compared to the huge production in the southern Sung realm. In the later years of the dynasty huge amounts of southern Sung cash circulated in the realm. From the last Liao emperor Tianzuo (1101-25) cash coins are known with the reign titles Qiantong (1101-11) and Tianqing (1111-21).

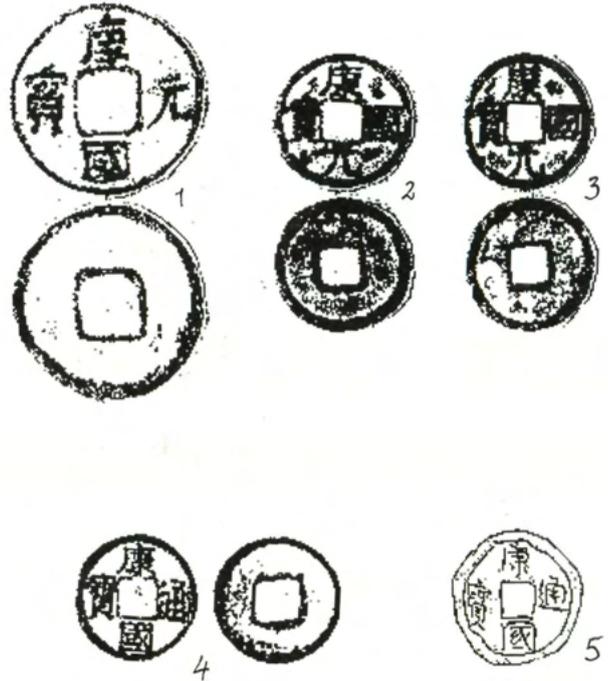
With respect to the coinage of the Qarakhitay very little is known. Vassal countries like Samarkand and Bukhara were permitted to mint their own currency with the name of the local ruler. The gurkhans, however, issued special Hsi Liao money. A Sung source (1149) mentions a cash coin with the legend *Kantian yuanbao*. This coin should refer to the empress Kantian, the widow of the founder of the dynasty, although she occupied the throne for seven years under the reign title Xianqing. Another cash with the legend *Kangguo* has been attributed to Yeh-lü Ta-shih himself. Although both coins have been described, no specimen or even illustrations were known until recently. The major books on Chinese numismatics such as Schjoth, Ting Fu Pao or Lockhart do not mention these coins.

Late News

There will be an ONS - Indian Coins Study Day at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, on Saturday 8 May 1999, 10.30am to 4.30pm. The topic will be Indian punch-marked coins. Anyone interested in participating or giving a short presentation is invited to contact Joe Cribb on telephone: 0171 323 8585 or e-mail: jcribb@british-museum.ac.uk

Description of the illustrations

The illustration sent by Mr. Wei Yueh Wang contained four rubbing-like drawings (nos. 1-4) and one ink drawing (no. 5) of Kangguo pieces.



The position of the characters around the square holes are as follows:

	top	bottom	right	left
No. 1	Kang	Guo	yuan	bao
Nos. 2/3	Kang	yuan	Guo	bao
Nos. 4/5	Kang	Guo	tong	bao

Number 1 seems to be a higher denomination with a diameter of about 34 mm.

The diameter of nos. 2, 3 and 5 is about 29 mm.; no. 4 is the smallest coin with a diameter of about 27 mm.

The author would welcome any information concerning the existence of these pieces or their illustrations in museum or private collections.

The best wishes for 1999 to all our readers

Early 17th Century Ottoman North Africa. Some Notes on its Monetary Situation

Dick Nauta

Introduction

During the 17th century, most of the seafaring nations of Europe were victims as well as perpetrators of piracy. The Dutch merchant fleet frequenting the Mediterranean was no exception. It was much harassed by the feared Barbary corsairs, who operated from a number of north African ports. Likewise, many of these corsairs became victims of the Dutch ships that ventured into these waters mostly with heavy armaments and in convoys. Pirate bases to the east of Morocco formed nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. This state of undeclared war with the rulers of the Barbary Coast did not help trade, which after all was the Dutch Republic's main interest in the region. Representations at the Sublime Porte by the able Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga produced some results in the form of treaties, concessions and capitulations but the interpretation of their stipulations by the different parties involved made them all but useless in north Africa. True enough, the Ottoman Sultan held sway along the Barbary coast, but the power of his word was mostly nominal only. For the corsairs and the townspeople of the north African ports, piracy was important not only for the tradegoods, ships and armaments that they brought as booty, but especially for the subjects of christian nations on board who were taken to be sold into slavery. Not only did these men and boys provide cheap labour but more attractively, they could be ransomed, freed, by their governments or by private (church) agencies of charity against considerable sums of money. Direct income, taxes and tithes deriving from this trade in humans provided a most lucrative source of revenue for the rulers of these North African ports and their Muslim subjects.

The present article deals with some monetary aspects during the 1620s in two of the most important of these corsair ports, Algiers and Tunis. It is based on a contemporary Dutch account of daily life and social, economic, political and cultural conditions in these towns, written by Dr Cornelis Pijnacker, a Dutch envoy.^A

Historical Background

The Dutch Republic of the early seventeenth century had considerable trade interests in the Mediterranean and along the Levantine coasts, for which reason it maintained a number of consuls in the most important towns. These consuls, by lack of ready communication with their government, were frequently left to their own resources in the most literal sense of the word. Around 1620 in Algiers, despite existing treaties, the situation with piracy and the ransoming of Dutch christian slaves got out of hand. It became such a burden on the national treasury that the States-General, the merchant-oligarchic government of the Dutch Republic, decided to send an envoy to parley with the Pasha of Algiers and the Bey (Dey) of Tunis in order to reach some workable agreement that would restore secure trade and protect Dutch shipping and sailors from the predatory attacks by the Barbary corsairs. At the same time the envoy should look into the perhaps suspect private practices of the Dutch Republic's Consuls in Algiers and Tunis.

They chose for this assignment Dr Cornelis Pijnacker, who at the time was a professor at the University of Groningen. He had studied Law in Leyden, Heidelberg and Padua and was said to be knowledgeable about oriental languages. Although not mentioned, we may assume that besides he had a practical knowledge of Italian. His first mission to Algiers and Tunis of about eight months was carried out in 1622. It was followed by a more extensive visit to these two states in 1625, which continued into the next year. Including travel, the second mission took almost a year and a half.

Pijnacker's first visit in 1622-23 to what were nominally Ottoman territories in North Africa, largely coincided with the second reign of the Ottoman Sultan Mustafa I, 1031-1032H (1622-1623). The second visit was accomplished during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, 1032-1049H (1623-1640). The local potentate in Algiers was the Pasha ("*Bassa*"), who was appointed for a period of three years. In 1031H (1622) this was a Husein Pasha, also mentioned as the 'vice roy'. The Pasha ruling Algiers during Pijnacker's second visit is not identified by name in the manuscript. In Tunis the *de facto* ruler from 1610 to 1637 was Yusuf Dey.

It is interesting that Pijnacker should refer in historical context (pp.76, 78, 108) to *keyser Soleiman den Tweede*, i.e. **emperor Sulayman the second**. The book's Editor surprisingly has continued this usage in his footnote 2 on p.75. The Ottoman sultan to whom Pijnacker refers is Sulayman the First, the Magnificent, or Kanuni Sulayman. The sultan nowadays known as Sultan Sulayman II ruled from 1099-1103 (1687-1691), that is some 60 years after Pijnacker produced his account.

The Manuscript

Upon his return to Holland and after having dealt with the disappointing outcome of his difficult and frustrating last mission, Cornelis Pijnacker next set himself the task to write an account of his sojourn in North Africa that was based on detailed notes of his wide-ranging observations there. Work on this undated manuscript was probably stopped around 1627. It was never published at the time but remained for 350 years in the archives of the States General in the Hague, to be first published in its original 17th century Dutch by the Linschoten-Vereeniging^B in 1975 with an informative introduction and annotated text. The book provides absorbing reading.

The manuscript on which the 1975 book is based was unfortunately never completed by Pijnacker. There are quite a few lacunae, especially towards the end. Some chapters he refers to in the text were never written or did not survive, others were left incomplete, yet others have been left unnumbered, their proper place in an eventual, published book probably yet to be determined. There is no clear division between the Algiers and the Tunis part, although in general it can be said that chapters 3 up to 21 are almost exclusively dedicated to Algiers, and following chapters may deal with either Algiers or Tunis, or both. After chapter 40, most of the manuscript text is dedicated to Tunis and the archaeology of Carthago. A further nine chapters following chapter 45 deal with Tunis and some general subjects (e.g. proverbs) but remained unnumbered.

Pijnacker's manuscript was written at a time when no standardised spelling of written Dutch existed. His writing of both Dutch and foreign words shows a rather inconsistent spelling and his crude phonetic renderings of some Arabic and Turkish words would appear to indicate that he was not familiar with their spelling in those languages. From the text it also appears that most of Pijnacker's informants would have been the well-to-do Turks and other better-off, non-native residents of the towns. In fact, in several instances he makes it clear that the Arabs (*Alarbes*) do not form a substantial part of the town population: they are reported to live largely outside the walled towns in tented camps as (semi) nomads. Arabic as a language appeared hardly current in the towns. A form of Spanish with elements from French, Italian, Arabic and of course Ottoman Turkish formed the *lingua franca* in the towns, understood and spoken by Turks and other inhabitants.

The book's editor, G.S. van Krieken, has provided many helpful footnotes, of three kinds mainly:

Firstly: notes that deal with problems, shortcomings, omissions or misspellings in the manuscript's original Dutch text, usually indicated by letters a,b,c etc. These are mostly of a linguistic nature. In so far relevant I have taken them into account in my translation into English. Such notes therefore are mostly not repeated in the present article.

The second kind of notes are those that explain archaic, foreign or obscure words or expressions in the original manuscript text or clarify situations and give their relevance in present day Dutch. In translation some of these have likewise become superfluous; a number however have been retained for interest.

The third kind of footnote concerns cross references in the text and references to other publications of interest, which are listed in an extensive bibliography at the end of the book. In so far relevant to the understanding of the text, or in so far of direct numismatic interest, I have retained and fully translated these footnotes. In the book these are not numbered in a continuous series but on a page by page basis. I have retained their original numbers; they follow directly each quote to which they refer. Some of the editor's footnotes in their turn have been annotated by the present author. Such secondary notes are placed in square brackets.

Within the context of a great many diverse topics, Pijnacker's book contains many references to prices for goods, amounts of money paid for services, income of state and dignitaries, monetary practices etc., nearly all of which Pijnacker related to contemporary European (Dutch) units of account. I have tried to extract most of these references, both for their numismatic as well as for general interest. In conclusion I have tried to place them in the context of what at present we know about the local Ottoman coinage of the time.

In the present article I present excerpts of numismatic/monetary interest, translated into English. These fragments have no logical coherence, being taken from widely varying contexts. The page numbers mentioned here refer to the modern book, not to those of the manuscript which are noted in the book's text in square brackets; I have not included them in the quotes. The last of the quotations is formed by the translation in its entirety of Chapter 22 of Pijnacker's manuscript, which specifically deals with the different kinds of money circulating in the two territories at the time of his visits.

Quotations from Pijnacker's original text are printed in *italics*; original editor's footnotes are appropriately printed in smaller type, whereas the remaining parts of the text are presented in the same font as this and foregoing paragraphs. Brief explanations in the quotations and the Editor's footnotes inserted by me are in [square brackets] and in normal print. Words of particular numismatic interest have been highlighted in **bold type** in both the quotations, footnotes and my own text. The words 'Algerians' and 'Tunisians' in the context of this paper refer to the inhabitants of the towns of Algiers and Tunis respectively.

Finally, in order to avoid confusion, textnotes in the narrative part of the article are marked in capitals rather than numbers, e.g. thus.^X The text notes to which these letters refer appear at the end of the article.

Miscellaneous excerpts

P. 47. Chapter 1, Part of a Capitulation of 1617 between the Porte and the Dutch Republic stipulates that once the Dutch captains of merchant ships will have shown their Patent or official licence of marine trade, the pirates are not allowed to come on board and inspect the ship under pretext of its carrying contraband goods, and so are not allowed:
... *to take the value of even a single asper.*

P. 74-75. Chapter 8, concerning the causes of the fame of Algiers:

After which the mentioned Horuc [Aruj] became commander in chief of the army of Algiers and caused the mentioned Selim Euteumi [Salim at-Tumi] to be killed in one of the baths, thus becoming master and king of Algiers, having coins minted in his name and behaving as an absolute master and king. Shortly after [1518] he was defeated in the town of Tremesean [Tlemcen], and was succeeded by his brother Cairadin [Khayr ad-Din (Barbarossa)], a saylor who had committed many pious deeds.

The paragraph continues on p.75 with more information about Khayr ad-Din, to which the book's Editor appends the following footnote:

2) After the death of Aruj the Algerians try to free themselves from the heavy yoke of the corsairs. Khayr ad-Din sends to the Sultan in Istanbul for assistance and in exchange undertakes to pay an **annual tribute**. Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) sends 2000 janissaries and 4000 volunteers, with whose assistance the rebellion is suppressed. Under Selim's successor, Sulayman II [sic] (1520-1566), Khayr ad-Din becomes commander in chief of the Ottoman fleet.

P.76. Chapter 8, more about Khayr ad-Din Barbarossa:

The Turkish emperor has received him with great honour and extended to him an annual salary of forty hundred thousand aspers, which in those days - there being forty aspers to a rijxdaler [dollar] or a piece of eight - amounts to no less than a hundred thousand rijxdaler yearly; in addition he has made him admiral of the sea with the highest superior power and bestowed on him the title and dignity of Vesci, that is, secret counsel.

Editor's footnote to p.76:

1) Ordered to present himself in Istanbul in 1533 Khayr ad-Din is soon promoted to Qapudan Pasha, supreme commander of the Ottoman fleet. That he has also been given the title of Vesci (probably Wazir = minister) is otherwise unknown to us. [The title *Vesci* in this context would seem an Italianised phonetic rendering of a word Pijnacker must have heard. In this pronunciation it reminds one of the present day Egyptian word *Besh*, as in e.g. the typically inflated address of: *Ya Besh Muhendis!* when speaking to a taxi driver in Cairo, which goes back to the Ottoman title of *Pasha*, rather than *Wazir*].

P. 80. Chapter 10, about the reasons why the Algerians have to resort to piracy:

It is such that the State of Algiers has to maintain sixteen thousand janissaries who receive pay, that is, they are paid in aspers, eight thousand janissaries who are paid with renda³⁾ that is with bread and other foodstuffs⁴⁾ another forty thousand Swabes⁵⁾ who receive little, that is, not more than two guldens or four doubles monthly, and only then when they go out to campaign.

And because this large number of soldiers cannot be paid from the income of the State, and because the Divana [Council of the janissaries] will not allow any reduction of this number, and because moreover the Great Master [the Ottoman Sultan] all the same continues to demand from the Bassa [Pasha of Algiers] a large sum of money as tribute from the State - to wit, usually forty thousand sultanis or Hungarian ducats,⁶⁾ which amounts to a hundred and seventy thousand guldens - so follows necessarily that the pay and other expenses of the state have to be supplemented with robbing the enemies of the Great Master; it is the Bassa, who, in order to take up his assignment has to add up [i.e. pay] all the tribute before he leaves Constantinople, is entitled to all the profits and income of the entire State; he is therefore also held responsible for paying the soldiers.

Editor's footnotes to p.80:

3) unknown. [probably the Arabic word *ghidha'* غِذَاء foodstuffs, victuals].

4) According to Salvago, in Algiers there were at most ten thousand janissaries who were paid in cash. Adding to this the children of the janissaries who

were included in the pay rolls as well as the older ones who were no longer in active service, one would reach a total of 18.000. (Salvago, "Une mission délicate" Revue Tunisienne (1937), 478).

5) zouaves; Salvago gives a number of 25.000 zouaves (id. 499). [Zouaves: traditional North African footsoldiers].

6) for the different coins in circulation see Chapter 22 below.

P. 82, Chapter 11, concerning the income of the State of Algiers:

I have been told that the largest part of the country, stretching westward towards the town of Oras [Oran] is being leased every half⁽²⁾ year for sixty thousand seanes^{)} - that is, **two gulden a sean** - the eastern part towards Tunes for **thirty thousand seanes**, the southern part, being the least, brings every half year **eight thousand seanes**. Incoming and outgoing goods via the water throughout the year [are estimated] at **seventy thousand seanes**, the rights on fishing in the sea as well as in some inland ponds twenty thousand **seanes**, of goods brought into town such as skins, wax, wool, yarn, about ninety thousand **seanes**.*

Editor's footnote to p.82:

8) 'half' left out in the manuscript. [It is not clear on what the Editor bases his interpretation that this should be every **half year**, instead of a **full year**. He may have linked this to the half-yearly payments which Pijnacker's dragoman had to make to the Pasha. See excerpt p.83 below].

*) [The term **seanes** or possibly **seans** (in the Dutch text written according to the Dutch plural form as sean-en) most likely refers to the same coin which in Chapter 22 is called the **scano** and a few lines later is referred to in the (Dutch) plural form as **scanen**. See below, p. 126, Chapter 22].

P. 83, further about the income of the State of Algiers, here the Pasha's share in the booty:

*The income from the share of the prizes or booty is also uncertain, it being in all truth when I say that during my sojourn in Algiers in 1622 in the month November, the Pasha was offered as his share in the booty, apart from half of the half of empty ships, which is his by right, the sum of **one hundred and fifty thousand doubles** - that is **seventy-five thousand guldens** - for all that was brought in during the month of November, it then being the 21st November. It was thought [by Pijnacker's informants] that the Pasha who was there at my time had enjoyed more than ten hundred thousand [a million] **croonen** [crowns] from the booty and succession rights [death duties] from the dead.*

*He also farms out all the officers jobs, even the sergeants have to pay some money, my Dragoman [interpreter] told me that he has to pay the Pasha **thirty sultanis** every half year...*

P. 84, concerning redeeming [freeing by paying a ransom] of christian slaves [hostages]:

*In addition it is customary that every two or three months the Spaniards and Italians have a priest redeem several hundreds of slaves with money that is collected through alms. It is then compulsory that they buy ten or twenty slaves from the Pasha, each at a price of two hundred **pieces of eight**.³⁾ The Pasha then buys some lame and unfit slaves for little **money** to hand them over to the priest for the set amount. This happens many times a year and this practice brings the Pasha an incredible amount of money.*

Editor's footnote to p. 84:

3) **Pieces of eight** [in Dutch: **Spaanse mat**, pl. **matten**] had a value of **2.25 to 2.50 gulden** [guilders].

P. 85, concerning the Pasha's many practices to extract money from his subjects or others:

*The Pasha demands from me **a thousand Spanish pieces of eight** for handing over the Agreement, and when with many arguments against it I told him that I had had to spend a great amount to get to him with war ships, that I had given him many good presents, upon which he replied and said that he had to... [make?] the money work again by paying the great number of soldiers, that his tribute to the Great Master which he had already paid within Constantinople was **forty thousand sultanis**; and that he had spent another twenty thousand doubles in order to attain his present rank; and that, when he would return to Constantinople, he would need to spend another **twenty thousand doubles** on friends at the court, favourably inclined towards him [to defend him against sundry complaints and accusations from the subjects of Algiers that would have reached the court].*

P.97, Chapter 14, about redeeming or freeing of slaves within Algiers:

*... the Spaniards and Portuguese collect money through almsgiving, to large amounts. The collection of this money is done by the monks of the Trinity and so usually every six or ten months a monk or other Catholic clergyman comes to Algiers with the sum of **three hundred thousand gold croonen** [crowns] in order to redeem any number of slaves and to take these with them. This has the effect that with such redemptions Spain is being exhausted of ready cash, because no cash ever leaves Barbary again, it only enters the country - or one takes trade goods because cash money or cheques are costly⁴⁾- everyone in Africa **keeps his money buried in the ground**, and it never leaves Africa again because they have no lack of any goods or trade wares from our or any christian country.*

Editor's footnote to p.97:

4) Traders preferred to take tradegoods from North Africa rather than cheques, as the rate of exchange at Livorno for cheques issued in Algiers amounted to no more than around 70%.

P.98, Chapter 15, more about redemption or ransoming of christian slaves and its cost:

The expenses are usually as follows:

- An unskilled slave, if not a ship's carpenter nor a trumpeter, is bought from his master for normally around a thousand doubles, that is somewhat more than **five hundred guldens**.

- The Pasha or viceroy takes for the right of the tithes of all sold goods and exported wares ten in hundred, in this case that makes a **hundred doubles**.

- The Master of the Port called Rais del Porto, for his right of a hundredth part of outgoing goods, receives **ten doubles**.

- For sealing of the letter of release (manumission), done by the Pasha, **forty-six doubles**.

- For inspection of the ship to ensure that the freed slave and no other will enter the ship, to the Rais of the port, to the Sciausses [?] and the Jucassin^{*)} together equally **forty-six doubles**

(continued on p. 99) -

*For the Emmini, that is the tax collector, two-and-a-half in a hundred, that comes to **twenty-five doubles**.*

- The Dragoman or language man, as he in his turn has to lease his job from the Pasha as has been explained before, receives for his impartiality and services for every departing slave **eighteen doubles**.

- The Jacassy^{*)}, which is the sub-dragoman, which every nation has to interpret to the Dragoman the language of the particular

nation, as the Dragoman is only versed in Spanish, Italian and Turkish, receives for the right of every departing slave nine doubles.² Of cash money, one first must pay ten per cent before it is brought on land, as otherwise the money will be confiscated; this too is for the Pasha, but in 1626 I managed this differently. [but Pijnacker fails to explain how].

Editor's footnote to p.99:

2) Pere Dan (Historie van Barbaryen, p. 434) provides the following list of duties payable when redeeming a slave: the Pasha to be paid ten per cent, that is to say if one has been redeemed for **150 pieces of eight**, one has to give him 15. To the secretaries of the Divan **four and a half pieces of eight**. Etc. etc This footnote is rather lengthy and provides a summing up similar to the one above with even more diverse payments due when ransoming slaves; in this note all those amounts are given in **pieces of eight**, rather than as **doubles** as above on pp.98-99.

*) Jucassin, Jacassy: possibly derived from Turkish *caku*, boasting about achievements yet to be accomplished, and *cakaci* (or *cakali*), boaster, braggart. The word may have undergone a change of meaning. (Personal communication, etymology suggested by Dr.Hans Wilski).

(text continued on p. 100)

*This is the normal ransom for a common slave.*¹⁾ Other slaves with qualities, command much higher ransoms, such as a mate²⁾ **one thousand dalers [daalders]**, a trumpeter **a thousand dalers**, a ships surgeon **a thousand dalers**, a merchant, a man of quality, many thousands. A merchant from Venice who travelled with me from Barbary to Italy had paid **ten thousand sultanis or Hungarinn ducats.⁴⁾ A Count from Bosuca with his retinue, although they did not know of his position, had paid **fifteen thousand sultanis**. High placed persons may command a ransom of a **hundred thousand sultanis**.**

From this one can observe that the Algerians do not keep the slaves to torture them, but rather to expect their ransom in due course, whether this is collected through alms or is provided by friends of the prisoner.

Editor's footnotes to p. 100:

1) the cost of freeing a Dutch slave is estimated at **409 Spanish pieces of eight (= 980 gulden)**. Of this amount **250 pieces of eight** are the actual ransom, the remaining **159 pieces of eight** are paid for all sorts of dues (Heeringa, Bronnen, X, 903).

4) approximately **40.000 gulden**.

P. 102, Chapter 16, concerning the collection of taxes and the armament of foot soldiers:

*All these soldiers go on foot and it would be a shame for any of them to be mounted, each has a good and beautiful musket which is much longer than ours and which is often beautifully decorated, usually with silver inlay, such that there are muskets which cost **eighty pieces of eight**.*

P. 115, Chapter 18, here: concerning the office of Messenger of the Divan, of whom there are seven, appointed from amongst the janissaries:

*... if one of these seven dies the new incumbent will have to pay the Agha **600 seanes that is 1200 gulden**.*

P. 129, Chapter 23, concerning weights and measures in Algiers and Tunis:

An ounce in Tunis is equal to [the weight of] a Spanish piece of eight as it is in Marseille.

*A caphys in Tunis does four and a half sacks in Livorno, eight caphisi make a camel load.*³⁾ *In the year 1621, the year before I was there, a caphys of wheat was bought for **three gulden** which is equal to a scudo. Then in the year 1622, because of the terrible plague, little had been sown, and much of the crop remained on the fields unharvested, resulting in exceptionally high prices when a caphys was sold for **five crowns.***⁴⁾

*The cantaro in Tunis is 100 pounds and makes 128 pounds in France; the pounds of Marseille are 16 ounces; a Spanish piece of eight does exactly **one ounce minus two dragmen**. Thus I experienced matters in Tunis.*⁵⁾

*In Algiers the smallest measure for grain is called sa', and weighs 35 Algerian pounds, which of the best quality grain [wheat], is sold at **two and a half doubles**, barley for **forty aspers**. Eight sa' make a sa' tzulzie, that is 280 pounds, which is half a camel load.*⁶⁾

Editor's footnotes to p 129:

2) **1 Spanish piece of eight = 24.81 grams.**

3) 1 qfiz = 640 liters

4) **1 scudo or French crown = 3 gulden and four stuyvers** (see p 125 of the manuscript)

5) **A Spanish piece of eight weighs 28.35 grams minus 2x1,772 grams = 24.81 grams.**

6) The sa' (çaa) is a measure of volume for dry goods 1 qfiz (in Tunis 640 liter) = 16 ouiba (of 40 litres) = 192 sa' of 3.33 liters each. 35 Algerian pounds = 189 kg. [presumably a typographical error for 18.9 kg] **two and a half double d'or = 62 1/2 aspers**

P. 130, Chapter 24, concerning funerary customs, about the cost of a shroud:

*Such a cloth [shroud] costs normally **two sultanis**, but because of the great number of deaths [due to the plague] during my time there cost as much as **seven or eight crowns.***⁴⁾

Editor's footnote to p 130:

4) In Algiers: **2 sultanis = 246 1/2 asper**. **Seven or eight crowns = 1050 or 1200 aspers**. Thus the price of a shroud has gone up from **two** to between **four and five sultanis**.

P. 136, Chapter 26, concerning almsgiving; Algerians and Tunisians not only give alms, **some aspers**, to humans without distinction of their nationality or religion, they also give alms to animals:

*Dogs, by bequest, may receive **several aspers** weekly to enjoy [food] to its value. In Tunis there was a dog in my neighbourhood of which I was told that it received **36 aspers** a week by testament of its deceased owner, this dog went dressed up in a red damast coat... [sentence in manuscript not completed].*

Pijnacker then continues (pp.136-138) to describe at length, the mild and friendly attitude of the townspeople towards dogs and cats, i.a. that there are special shops where for a few **aspers** one can buy, as a gesture of goodwill (almsgiving), some skewers of meat for the stray dogs in town that assemble near such shops in large numbers, or for a similar small amount some of the smallest fishes, cut into many pieces, for ditto cats!

P.141, Chapter 28, concerning circumcision amongst the Algerians and Tunisians, mostly performed at home by the local barber: *And the barber is given his pay, a **couple of aspers** to the value of about **four stuyvers**.*

P.153, Chapter 33, concerning colours in use, black being reserved for the dress of male Jews, and during Ramadhan worn by old

Turks to indicate a period of sadness during the fast:

And for this they take such fine material [laecken = woven woolen cloth] that it costs them as much as six crowns per ell.

P. 155, Chapter 34, concerning the plague that was a frequent occurrence in the towns, and of Captain Ward, a famous English renegade, who also died of the plague in Tunis:

... he was buried close to the gate named Bab Bosar [Bate al-Bahr, the sea gate] within a square walled place where there was a delapidated church [mosque] for the renovation of which he had left by testament an endowment [waqf] of several thousand sultanis.

P. 163, Chapter 38, about camels in Algiers and Tunis; property expressed in the number of oxen, sheep and camels:

A camel within Tunis is usually sold for twenty crowns.

P. 164, Chapter 39, concerning horses and riding:

... because of their costliness they [horses] are reserved for the great lords. Actually a passably good horse in Algiers or Tunis costs no more than ten, twenty, thirty, or at most forty Spanish pieces of eight.

In this same chapter Pijnacker also mentions that there are no horse-drawn carts because the condition of the roads would preclude their use. He then describes how a carriage, taken at sea as booty and brought to Algiers, had been moved to a small, level area outside Bab Luet [Bate al-Wadi]:

... drawn by some children and those who would want to ride on it would have to pay an asper. This carriage there drew as many spectators as an elephant or a camel would draw in our country.

P. 180, Chapter 45, a description of the present state of the ruined town of Carthago; about a water supply then recently constructed from there into Tunis:

Issufo Day [Yusuf Dey], head of the militia, in anno 1620 caused to be led into the town of Tunis and nearby places a fountain [presumably a water course is meant]. The water flows through several arches of cut stone. It is a beautiful work, they stated that it had cost them forty thousand gold crowns.

P. 187, Chapter (not numbered), about the number of soldiers and armed civilians of Tunis:

The Swabes [zouaves], who receive a daily pay of 4 aspers, without any bread or anything additional, are 2,500 in number. The Aga is the head of the janissaries and his office [function] is for a year; he enjoys over and above his ordinary pay a crown daily, a quarter of a sheep, sixteen loaves of bread. The year having expired, if his daily pay was thirty or more aspers, it is reduced to twenty without ado and he then becomes a Manzulagha.

P. 188, same chapter:

Concerning all those who enjoy a salary, it should be known that all children of the janissaries who are knechtens [lit. little helpers, pages], also receive an asper daily. And if their father dies he also receives an asper from his father's pay with which he will have to content himself till such time when he will receive a place [in the ranks of the janissaries]. This registration of the youngsters happens every year on the 15th day of the month Sha'ban and even if they were still in the cradle they may already be registered to receive their asper daily without however receiving a loaf of bread as they do in Algiers.

P. 188, Chapter (not numbered), about the income of the state of Tunis for the soldiers.

In order to pay the soldiers of the state, 7500 janissaries and 4000 zouaves, the Pasha [Dey] has the following annual income:

<i>From goods that enter or leave Goleta in ordinary crowns:</i>	50,000.-
<i>From olives or olive oil from the country:</i>	60,000.-
<i>From fishing rights in the whole country including the lake of Tunis and the waters at Biserta:</i>	15,000.-
<i>From the export of leather goods and other wares</i>	80,000.-
<i>From tithes of all grain</i>	- [left blank]
<i>From death duties</i>	- [left blank]

The pay of the soldiers or paga every month amounts to around a hundred thousand gold crowns, that is twelve hundred thousand [ordinary] crowns yearly.³⁾ And the income from death duties is totally uncertain during periods when there is plague as it was when I visited, death duties were said to amount to as much as six hundred thousand crowns. The [tithes from] grain are usually taken to be three hundred thousand crowns, this being a high estimate. Nevertheless this income is not enough for the ordinary pay of the soldiers, for that reason it is necessary to supplement this shortfall by robbing their enemies.⁵⁾

Editor's footnotes to p.188:

3) Others estimate the salary of the janissaries at 60.000 pieces of eight per two months (135.000 to 150.000 gulden) (Pigeon, La milice, Cahiers de Tunisie, 1956, 312).

1 French gold crown = 3 gulden and 4 stuivers (see p 125 of the manuscript).

5) Ellyat provides the following summary of the Tunisian state income for 1615:

- Leases collected by the Pasha:	400,000 crowns	
- Income from customs duties and piracy:	100,000 crowns	
- Annual contribution from the Moors who fled Spain:	30,000 crowns	(from Pignon, Un document inédit, 36-37).

P. 126, Chapter 22.

Concerning the kinds of coins and money used in Algiers and Tunis during my time. The Algerians use money of silver, gold, copper and a mixture of silver and gold. Of the silver coins the most important ones are aspers and half aspers. These are of pure silver without any admixture, very thin and square, so that I was inclined to think that they were called aspers from the Italian word 'asperitate' because of their sharp corners.¹⁾ Some Turkish letters may be seen on them, but [these are] without meaning, because they are cut from large sheets of metal on which letters are stamped, which causes the script to be cut up and so become unintelligible.

At my time, anno 1626, in Algiers, there were 116 aspers in one real of eight or a Spanish piece of eight; in Tunis this was 52 aspers, and half aspers accordingly.

The Spanish reals are good money there and are called un d'ocho, un suzzo d'real kibir, that means, a big real. And it is subdivided into four doubles de piatta, that is doubles of silver, which is a fourth part of a mat [i.e. quarter piece of

eight], that is, **29 aspers**.^{2/5)} Now, in 1626, **58 aspers**.^{3/6)} Moreover, they have a habit of saying that a **double d'oro**, that is a **double of gold**, which is worth no more than **25 aspers, now 50**. The word **aspers** is so common there, (p 127) that they call all money **aspers**, like we use **penningen [pennies]** in a [generic] sense for money.

If one mentions **doubles** only, without any additional words, it is understood to be the **smallest double** or the **double d'oro**, of which **four and a half plus three and a half aspers** make one **Spanish mat [piece of eight]**. With such **doubles** all public sales or auctions of goods in the **Bedestan** or market are conducted.

Indigenous gold money are the **sultanini**. These are **Turkish ducats**, with Turkish letters stamped on them, which here [i.e. in Holland] is called the **Moorish ducat**, it is equal to a **Venetian zecchino**, a **Hungarian ducat** or a **Dutch ducat**, which are also all together current and much coveted, as they are in Tunis.

These **sultanini** and all other **ducats** did at my time a **piece of eight and a half real**, at times it does **seven reals**, so that there was profit in exchanging Spanish pieces of eight against that rate, for reason that pieces of eight are the most well-known and most liked money there. Within Tunis a **sultanino** did **eighty aspers**, such that according to that calculation, a **Tunisian asper** is worth more than a **stuyver** [Dutch coin, one twentieth of a gulden]. There were also **quarter sultanis** in use, which are valued at **20 aspers** in Tunis.

Pistolettes^{4/1)} from Spain are also current. During my time there, it was profitable to exchange these, **two Spanish pieces of eight and a half against one pistolet**, sometimes one would have to give a little more, to wit, **thirteen doubles d'oro**, which according to our currency amounts to **six gulden and six stuyvers**.^{5/2)}

Scudo, the **French crown**, during my time in Algiers did **twelve reals d'oro**, that are **half doubles d'oro**, which is about **three gulden and four stuyvers**.

Copper money they don't have except for **bourbe**, thus called in the **lingua franca**, but in Turkish called **mangur**.^{6/3)} In Algiers there are **four [bourbes] in an asper**.

Silver and gold amalgamated is the material of a certain coin in Algiers called **scano**, which is very broad (p 128) and thin, like our **rosennobles**,^{7/1)} totally pliable, because the larger proportion is silver, it does not do more than **four simple doubles**, and has Turkish letters on both sides. The purchase of booty in the 'Bedestan' is done by bidding in **scanes** as I have witnessed, and even have offered for some cases of sugar.

Editor's footnotes to pp 126-128 have been renumbered to run consecutively from 1-7. Their original numbering on a page by page basis is retained in the translated text after the slash, e.g. thus: 2/5)

p. 126. 1) **asper** - in Turkish "**akçe**" (for which see Encyclopaedia of Islam) - derives from the Greek "**aspros**", which means "to look white", referring to the colour of this silver coin.

[My friend Wilski does not agree with the Editor's etymology based on the Greek *aspros*; my faithful 1968 Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary however provides the following information: "asper, a small (obsolete) silver Turkish coin. [Gr. *aspron*, rough, later white]" The Turkish word '*akçe*' similarly has the meaning of 'whitish'. This kind of appellation is not uncommon in numismatics: the Dutch word 'wit' (white) was used in a similar context during the late middle ages, to distinguish coins of 'pure' silver from those containing an appreciable admixture of copper, the latter being called 'zwart' (black). See p.272 of Dr H. Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse Munten*, Aula Books 213, 1976. Same work, see also p. 257, entry '*Albus*' 1. a silver coin struck from 14th to 18th century, forming the basis of the coinage system of the states of the Lower Rhine; 17th century 1 albus = 2/3 Dutch stuyver. 2. Latin for white.]

2) - **un d'ochro**: a piece of eight [properly in Spanish; *un real de a ocho*]; - **un suzzo d'real kibir**: a large real [the Editor does not translate the Italian or Italianised word *suzzo*, which is here in combination with the Spanish word *real* and the Arabic word *kabir*, probably a fair sample of the *lingua franca* of the Barbary Coast! I have been unable to establish either meaning or origin of the word *suzzo*. In modern Italian it is apparently unknown]. - **double de piatta**: (perhaps) **double de fidda** = **double of silver**. [I do not know in how far there is a remote etymological link between the Spanish word *plata* for silver (as obviously meant here in the Italian (*piatta*) rendering of the Spanish word), and the Arabic *fiddah*, **فضة**, with the same meaning, as ventured by the Editor].

3) About a devaluation of the Algerian currency, during this period or circumstances that could explain such a change in value nothing is known.

p. 127, 4) a gold coin.

5) **2 1/2 Spanish pieces of eight** in Algiers equal **290 aspers**; **13 doubles d'oro** in Algiers equal **320 aspers**.

6) **mangur** = **mangir** = Turkish copper coin.

p. 128, 7) English gold coin, also current in the Netherlands.

Discussion

From the above descriptions, drawn from a host of different contexts, it may be clear that the monetary situation in the territories of Algiers and Tunis was highly confusing, putting it mildly. A plethora of coins from countries bordering the Mediterranean were current and demanded their place in the local practices for certain transactions or calculations. This however was the normal situation of the day, not only within the Ottoman Empire, but just as much so in most of Europe. Without electronic calculators the continuous conversion from less well understood to more familiar values and their exchange rates must have caused many a headache from the sheer amount of continuous mental calculation and concentration required.

Below I try to set out the main factors in the monetary field as mentioned by Pijnacker, and try to equate their values according to the information given by the author and the book's Editor. This will then be compared with what we know about these coinages from other sources, especially those that relate to Ottoman numismatics. References to illustrations of the indigenous coins in the text below are to KM # numbers.^{C)}

The most generally used coin is the **asper** or **akçe**, well-known to Ottoman numismatists. As Pijnacker mentions (Chapter 22, p.127 above), the word **asper** used in a generic sense replaces the word for money in general, as is common in many languages. The asper described here, though the denomination was current throughout the Mediterranean basin, is clearly an indigenous coin. Its characteristic square shape goes back to the 11-12th century AD square silver dirham of the Almohades (Mawahhidun) of North Africa. Surprisingly this type of coin, locally designated as *nasri* (named after the ruler Mohammed an-Nasr, 1199-1214 AH) is well-known from Tunis, although the earlier issues from e.g. Pijnacker's time at present are extremely rare by any standards. This seems strange especially when considering that as reported by Pijnacker, it has been such a common coin. In his manuscript, Pijnacker does not mention the designation *nasri* for this coin; its usage may have become obsolete in his time. The square aspers struck during the rule of Ahmed III, 1115-1143 (1703-1730), i.e. almost 100 years after Pijnacker's time, are the least rare of these coins, and at that still scarce. These latter coins have at times been erroneously attributed to Ahmed I, 1012-1026 (1603-1617), as the initial digits of the actual year of minting are frequently missing, and the two digits shown on the coins for the tens and units of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries AH largely overlap as can be seen.^{D)} For an illustration of the aspers of Ahmed III, see Tunis, KM #34, and illustrations and description in articles mentioned in the text notes. For Algiers, this type of square asper, though in Pijnacker's day

reportedly a common coin, to my knowledge, up to now appears unrecorded for this mint. Pijnacker also mentions the **half asper**, clearly as a separate coin. To my knowledge no such coins from that region are known to Ottoman numismatics. From the text it is not clear what shape these half aspers were. Pijnacker's explanation for the frequently partial legibility of the inscriptions^{E)} of these square or rectangular coins as deriving from the cutting of squares from a pre-stamped sheet or strap of silver (p.126) is intriguing and not improbable. It sounds like a rational method for making these square coins. However, a process of coining pre-cut square planchets similar to that of minting round planchets would not necessarily produce any better or worse results as amply demonstrated by any sample of round coins of the period.

The next indigenous coin is the **sultani**, which Pijnacker mentions by its Italianised name *sultanino*, pl. *sultanini*. Instituted by the Ottoman Sultan Fathi Mehmed in 882, the sultani was designed to be equal to, and to take the place of, the dominating Venetian *zecchino* which during the 14th to 16th centuries was the international trade coin of choice in the many Venetian dependencies of the eastern Mediterranean basin and beyond on the Black Sea littoral. The sultani's eventual wide currency and acceptance is apparent as Pijnacker says that even in his day it is known in the Dutch Republic as the Moorish ducat. For illustrations of locally minted sultanis see e.g. Algeria, KM# 3 and 7 and Tunis KM# 9 and 18. Sultanis weigh around 3.4 g, are about 18-20 mm in diameter by a thickness of 1 mm. Pijnacker does not distinguish between locally minted sultanis and those from other likely mints (Tarabulus Gharb, Misr, Qustantiniyya, Haleb etc.). His mention of the use of **quarter sultani** coins in Tunis (Chapter 22, p.127), again is tantalising, as such coins are not today known to have existed there (or elsewhere for that matter) at that time, nor indeed at any later time in Tunis or Algiers. As far as presently known the first occurrence of a *half sultani* (not mentioned by Pijnacker) is substantiated from the rule of Sultan Ahmed III, 1115-1143 (1713-1730) onwards, more than a hundred years after Pijnacker's visit.

Another indigenous coin is the **sean** or **scano** (the difference in writing may well be due to the reading of the letter c for an e or vice versa in the original manuscript). No coin under either of these names is known from literature to Ottoman numismatists. It is most likely an indigenous word. This coin, as Pijnacker clearly describes (Chapter 22, p.127-128), is very broad in size like the *rosenobles*, thin and pliable, because it is made of a silver-gold alloy; it has 'Turkish' letters on both sides. From this simple but clear description, there can be little doubt that Pijnacker refers to the coins denoted in literature as **dinar**, struck at Tlemcen (Tilimsan) in pale gold and patterned on the (Moroccan) Ziyaid dinar in the name of the three successive Ottoman sultans Selim II, Murad III and Mohammed III, i.e. between approximately 974-1012 (1566-1603), and, in view of their apparent wide circulation in Pijnacker's days, possibly beyond the latter date.^{E)} These coins have a weight of about 4.2 g, a diameter of about 30 mm and are about half a mm thick. For an illustration of this coin, see e.g. Algeria, KM# 2 and the article mentioned in text note E. These coins are now rare.

The last indigenous coin mentioned by Pijnacker is the copper **bourbe** or **mangur**, at the value of four to an **asper**. These coins, struck in the name of Sultan Murad IV, 1032-1049H (1623-1640) are known to numismatics from Tunis, but to my knowledge are not recorded from Algiers. They are small and proportionally rather thick coins, mostly poorly struck and usually too small to take the total imprint of the die. For an illustration of this coin see e.g. Standard Catalogue of World Coins, Tunis, KM#15.

Values of the local coinage

In order not to further confuse the issue of the 31-odd coins and/or denominations mentioned in the context of Pijnacker's descriptions, I have tried to synthesize from the context of his writing the values of the indigenous coinage in the European monies mentioned. I shall not attempt to relate all the confusing denominations of European coinage current at the time in the two territories. It is clear from the text that Pijnacker himself too at times was victim to this highly confusing multitude. In the text quoted, Pijnacker provides in all more than 38 instances of comparative values of coinages, a number of which are multiple references. Of these, 16 relate to aspers, 6 to sultanis, 3 to scano and 1 to bourbe. The other twelve concern comparisons or rates of exchange between foreign (European) coinages. It is easy to imagine how travellers and traders, unfamiliar with the local monetary scene, must have lost out, time and again in the obfuscation that money changers could weave with ease around any deal involving different coinages and metals, terms and languages.

Asper (= akçe) and half asper - there is a surprising difference between the aspers of Algiers and Tunis: those of Tunis are more than twice the value of aspers from Algiers. This fact is not further explained. We are left to guess whether the silver content was meddled with or whether the coins were of different weights. In addition a change in value of the asper in Algiers is mentioned, from 116 to 132 aspers to the piece of eight; Pijnacker does not elaborate. Present-day information provides no explanation for these variable values, the more so as here it concerns coinages of the same metal (silver) and assumed purity. To my knowledge, no square aspers from Algiers from this period are known to us these days, and those of Tunis nowadays are quite rare, despite their having been so common in Pijnacker's days. It should however be noted that during the early 17th century, the Spanish pieces of eight formed the main, if not the only source of silver bullion for the states of the Mediterranean basin and far beyond, and aspers and other silver coins were minted from that same source of silver, so one may assume a direct and constant link between the asper and the piece of eight, unless the silver content of the asper was decreased, a not uncommon practice in other parts of the Ottoman empire (e.g. the Yemen). One piece of eight, we are told, weighs 24.81 g of [pure] silver. The weights of individual square asper pieces of Ahmed III are known to have varied considerably (see de Candia, text note D); this would seem to confirm that the asper circulated at face value rather than at weight value, as can be inferred from Pijnacker's text.

The following value comparisons involving aspers occur in Pijnacker's text:

- 40 aspers (approx.) in a Dutch rijcxdaler (of 50 stuyvers, 29.03g, 0.885 AR)
- 40 aspers in a Spanish piece of eight (p. 76, i.e. 0.62g per asper);
- later (p.126): 116 aspers (Algiers, i.e. 0.214g per asper) and:
- 52 aspers in a Spanish piece of eight (Tunis, i.e. 0.47g per asper)
- 29 aspers in a double de piatta ("*now, in 1626, 58 aspers*"; this would work out at an improbable 232 aspers in a piece of eight; p.126).
- 25 aspers in a double d'oro, later ("*now*" 1626?, p.127, 50 aspers in a double d'oro).
- 20 aspers in a 1/4 sultani (Tunis), p.127; i.e. 80 aspers in a sultani.
- 123.5 aspers in a sultani (p.130, 2 sultanis = 246 1/2 aspers, Algiers?)
- 150 aspers in a crown. (p.130)
- 290 aspers in a pistolet (Algiers, p.127)
- 1 Tunisian asper approximately equals one Dutch stuyver (1.31g of 0.333AR). This, assuming a silver content of over 0.9, would make the asper about 0.45g in weight, an acceptable weight for the asper of that period, and tallies with the 52 aspers in a piece of eight, see above).
- 1 asper is four bourbes (this presumably concerns the Tunisian asper, as so far the denomination *bourbe* is only known to us from Tunis)

Sultani. Sultanis weighed approximately 3.4g of usually rather pure gold and were very nearly equal to the Dutch and Hungarian ducats, the French gold crown and the Venetian zecchino (on which latter it was originally based), all of which are coins mentioned by Pijnacker, who also notes that in Holland the sultani is known as the Turkish or Moorish ducat. The Dutch ducat of 3.5g of the time was around 4 gulden and 4 stuyvers = 84 stuyvers. As we have seen that the Tunis asper was approximately equal to the Dutch stuyver, then it tallies nicely when we see that there are 80 aspers in the sultani (pp. 127). Although not mentioned as such, it is probably the less valuable Algerian asper that does as many as 123 1/4 to the sultani (p.130).

The following comparisons of values occur in the text:

- 1 sultani is 4 1/4 gulden (p.80) and 4 gulden (p.100)
- 1 sultani is 1 piece of eight + 1/2 real = 8 1/2 reals (but sometimes 7 reals! p. 127).

Because of its high intrinsic value, the sultani was the preferred coin for payments of large amounts outside the territories, the most important of which was of course the annual tribute due to the Ottoman sultan. Sultanis and the various ducates may not have been very common in ordinary monetary circulation, judging by the remark (p.127) that they are much coveted and for that matter may have been traded at an agio in relation to silver coinage.

Sean, scano. No rate of the scano to the asper or the sultani is provided, but Pijnacker gives the following clear and consistent exchange rates which enable a comparison with the sultani in terms of aspers:

- 1 scano equals 2 gulden.
- 1 scano equals 4 simple doubles.

As the sultani is 4 gulden (or 4 gulden and 4 stuyvers), the scano is roughly equal in value to half a sultani, and hence to about 40 aspers. However, not being of pure gold, it must have been rather a tricky coin to deal with. It can be readily appreciated that, where the value of coins was very much determined by their intrinsic metal value, the usefulness of a low-grade gold coin was very limited in international trade and payments. Hence its probably mostly local importance and use in bidding for booty in the local market or *bedestan* and in payment for farming out to tax collectors the marches around Algiers. See also remarks and footnote concerning these coins in the Discussion, above.

Bourbe. Mentioned only once (p. 127) and not in any context of financial transactions. Most likely the coin of the poor and not apparently used to express fractions of values of silver coins. Pijnacker mentions its value as four bourbes to the asper and leaves it at that. Not even the scraps of meat or fish bought as 'alms' for the town's dogs and cats (p. 136) are paid for with bourbes but are priced in aspers!

Different Uses of Coins

Pijnacker's manuscript speaks about coins and monies almost at random it seems: prices or amounts are mentioned in aspers, in crowns, in doubles, in pieces of eight, in sultanis, without any apparent system. It would however appear that certain amounts mentioned in a particular denomination would also be payable in that denomination, and not necessarily via a rate of conversion, in any other denomination. E.g. the thirty sultanis which Pijnacker's dragoman had to pay every six months would indeed have to be paid in sultanis and not in, say, pieces of eight to equivalent value. Below I have tried to see if there is, after all, some logic or consistency underlying the use of the different denominations:

Small out of pocket payments are made in aspers. As mentioned, asper is comparable to e.g. English current common usage of *penny* (*pennies*, *pence*) or current Dutch *cent* (*centen*). Pijnacker states this on p. 126/127: "The word aspers is so common there, that they call all money aspers, like we [Dutch] use penningen in a sense for money". An example of such use is found on p.47, 'not even a single asper'. Other examples of smaller amounts expressed in aspers are alms, either directly handed out or as bequests (p. 136). The same chapter also mentions meat and fish being bought with aspers. The payment to the barber for carrying out a circumcision (p. 141) amounts to a few aspers. The fare for a ride in the carriage drawn by children (p.164) is an asper.

Salaries of the janissaries (p.80) and that of their children (p. 188) are expressed in *aspers*, as was also the standard practice in Istanbul. However, in the same paragraph the pay of the zouaves is expressed in *gulden*s converted from *doubles*. Elsewhere (p. 187) the pay of these same zouaves is expressed as *four aspers per day*, and the Agha of the janissaries receives a *crown daily* over and above the *thirty or so aspers of daily pay* which he receives for the year that he holds this function. He must be one of the lucky few who actually gets paid for the job, the others all seem to have to pay for the privilege of getting the job. For instance, the amount of Pijnacker's dragoman's fee for holding this function, is expressed as thirty *sultanis* (equals approx. 120 gulden) per half year (p.83). A similar payment to the Pasha by one of the Aghas for holding the office of Messenger of the Divan is 600 *seanes*, that is 1200 gulden (p. 115).

Large amounts too may be expressed in *aspers*, such as the 'forty hundred thousand *aspers*' salary which the Sultan is said to have granted to Barbarossa (p.76), this amount may originally have been expressed in *kiyasa*, i.e. purses, of hundred thousand aspers each. On p.80 however, a similarly large amount of the annual tribute to the Ottoman Sultan is expressed in *sultanis* or *Hungarian ducats*. Expressing amounts in different coin possibly has to do with a selective or preferential or even compulsory use of gold and silver for defined purposes in the hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire. E.g. the Sultan would pay in silver, but would be paid in gold. The amount involved in the construction of impressive waterworks at Tunis (p. 180) is expressed in *gold crowns*, which again are equal to the *sultanis* and *ducats*, but for reasons unexplained yet another denomination is introduced here.

Income of the State which means income of the Pasha or the Dey, is equally differentiated into various coins. Whereas on p.82 the amounts for leases of the marches to the west, east and south of Algiers are expressed in *seanes* (*scanos*) the Pasha's share in the booty from piracy (p.83) is expressed in *doubles*, converted to gulden; in the same paragraph the Pasha's estimated total income from booty and death duties is expressed as more than a million *crowns*. Income of the state of Tunis (p. 188) similarly is listed in *ordinary crowns*. A payment to be made by Pijnacker to the Pasha for handing to him the signed agreement (p.85) is expressed in *pieces of eight*, whereas the Pasha himself during the same episode told Pijnacker that he himself had paid twenty thousand *doubles* in order to attain his present rank and would need a similar amount later on to appease all those making claims on him.

Amounts of ransoms and many different fees paid for the freeing of christian slaves from the Algerians are variously expressed in *pieces of eight* (p.84), *crowns* (p.97), *doubles* (p.98), *daalers* (p. 100) and *sultanis* or *Hungarian ducats* (p. 100) and later on in the footnote referring to another source (Pere Dan), the amounts again are in *pieces of eight*.

Prices for goods are equally variable: for mukets in *pieces of eight* (p. 102), for wheat in *gulden*s or *scudos*, and a little on in the same paragraph wheat is valued in crowns, yet later on the same page in *doubles*, and barley is priced in *aspers*. The price for a shroud for burial is expressed as two *sultanis*, and later, with prices gone up, in *crowns*. Further on, p. 153, the price of expensive black cloth

is similarly expressed in *crowns* per ell, one of the few (chance?) consistencies in the document. Camels are priced in *crowns*, but horses are traded in *pieces of eight*.

Additional remarks of numismatic interest can be culled from many of Pijnacker's pages.

For instance, pp. 74-75, the fact that before 1518 Selim at-Tumi struck coins in his own name in Algiers. I have been unable to verify this fact elsewhere. Or the remark on p. 97, "*Spain is being exhausted of ready cash, because no cash ever leaves Barbary again, it only enters the Country*", an interesting statement which, surprisingly enough appears to be corroborated by a chance find of another remark in a Dutch pamphlet of the time, which states that "in the year 1623 in Spain they were minting iron coin."^G A further striking note in the same paragraph states that "*everyone in Africa keeps his money buried in the ground and it never leaves Africa again because they have no lack of any goods or trade wares from our or any Christian country*". This refers both to the habit of salting away money by burying it, and the important economic fact that trade in the Mediterranean between its northern and southern shores was very much a one-way street. The summing up of all the expenses involved in freeing christian slaves also tells us much about the practices of the officials there and of the processes which traders and others had to put up with once setting foot ashore. Pijnacker also tells us (p.127) that "with such *doubles* all public sales or auctions of goods in the bedestan or (slave)market are conducted". He is talking of the smallest *double* or *double d'oro*, from the description a *silver* coin, despite its name (and rather contradictory like the contemporary and equally confusing Dutch *silver goudgulden* of the time). However, a little further on, p. 128, he writes that "*the purchase of booty in the bedestan is done by bidding in scanes as I have witnessed and even have offered for some cases of sugar*". Are we to conclude from this that the smallest *double* or *double d'oro* is equal to the *scano*? No, the *scano* equals 4 *simple doubles* but possibly because of the fairly straight-forward value relationship, both coins may have been current for the purposes mentioned.

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Text Notes

A) Originally produced in manuscript in 1627 by Dr Cornelis Pijnacker under the title *Historysch Verhael van den Steden Thunes, Algiers ende Andere Steden in Barbarien Gelegen* (Historic account of the towns Tunis and Algiers and other towns situated in Barbary). First published in 1975 in annotated form by Martinus Nijhoff Publishers in the Hague for the Linschoten-Vereeniging as volume LXXV in their series of historical texts. The extensive introduction and annotations are by G.S. van Krieken.

B) The Linschoten-Vereeniging, a society founded in Holland in 1908 is largely comparable to the British Hackluyt Society. It is named in honour of the 17th century Dutch sailor-explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten. One of its main objectives is to (re)publish in annotated form historical texts related to world travel and exploration by mainly Dutch travellers.

C) For illustrations of the four indigenous coins discussed in this paper (square asper or akçe, sultani, scano or dinar, and bourbe or mangir) reference is made to KM numbers under Algeria and Tunis in the readily accessible Krause & Mishler *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, (any recent year). For some of the coins, more extensive literature with illustrations is available as mentioned in the notes below.

D) For an extensive description of the square asper, see: Farrugia de Candia, *Monnaies Husseinites de 1705 à 1782, IV* (Husseinid coins of 1705-1782, IV) in: *Revue Tunisienne* No. 21 of 1935. On pp.18-24 this article provides an extensive description of the square aspers of Ahmed III, which, although struck much later, are basically similar to the coins described by Pijnacker. On p.23 de Candia actually describes an asper of Tunis (no date) in the name of Sultan Othman II 1027-1032 (1618-1623), which would have been in circulation during Pijnackers visits. In note 9, p.20, de Candia lists the physical parameters of these coins and shows their weight range as from 0.35 to 0.55g. He also states a rather lower silver content (0.650/1000) for the aspers of Ahmed III than the 'pure' silver of these coins which Pijnacker mentions without however providing details.

E) Further interesting information about the square aspers of Tunis can be found in an article by Yenisey E. and R. Ehlert, *Osmanische Nasri-Prägungen in Tunus von Achmed 1. und Achmed 3.* (Ottoman mintings of *nasri* in Tunis of Ahmed I and Ahmed III) (forthcoming), which partly updates the de Candia article (text note D above). In it a square asper from Tunis of Sultan Ahmed I, 1012-1026 (1603-1617), dated 1013, and weighing 0.787g is described and illustrated. Moreover, the distinct texts on the coins of Ahmed I and of Ahmed III are clearly explained, clarifying the differentiation between these previously often wrongly attributed coins.

F) For an extensive description and illustrations of this interesting coin, see Arroyo, H., *The Ottoman Coinage of Tilimsan*, in: *Oriental Numismatic Society, Occasional Paper No.12*, 1979.

G) See Enno van Gelder, H, *Twee brochures over inflatie uit de 17e eeuw* (Two 17th century brochures on inflation), in: *De Beeldenaar*, Vol. 14, No.2, 1990, p. 61.

ANNEX 1.

List of coins and/or denominations mentioned by Pijnacker in his manuscript.

Indigenous

asper
sultani
seanes
half asper
Moorish ducat
Turkish ducat
quarter sultani
bourbe
mangur
scano

Foreign

rijxdaler (dollar)
piece of eight, Spaanse mat, un d'ocho
gulden
double
ducats
crooner (crowns)
dalers (daalders)
Hungarian Ducats
scudo = French crown
stuijver (stuyver)
double d'or
gold crown
ordinary crowns
Dutch ducats
Spanish reals
doubles de piatta/doubles of silver
double d'oro
penningen (pennies)
pistolettes from Spain
Venetian Zecchino
rosennobles

ANNEX 2.

Listing of all references to comparisons of coin values and weights.

- Page
76. forty aspers to a rijxdaler or a piece of eight.
80. two gulden = four doubles
80. 40,000 sultanis (=Hungarian ducats) equals 170,000 guldens
82. 2 gulden = a seane
83. 150,000 doubles = 75,000 gulden
84. pieces of eight = 2.25 to 2.50 gulden
98. 1000 doubles is somewhat more than 500 gulden
100. 10,000 sultanis (Hung. ducats) = approx. 40,000 gulden
100. 409 pieces of eight (=980 gulden).
115. 600 seanes is 1200 gulden.
126. 116 aspers in a real of eight (Algiers); 52 aspers in a piece of eight (Tunis).
126. un d'ocho (piece of eight, Spanish Real, big real) is 4 doubles de piatta (AR) = one quarter piece of eight = 29 aspers. (now in 1626, 58 aspers).
127. a double d'oro (a double of gold) is worth no more than 25 aspers, now 50.
127. 4 1/2 double d'oro and 3 1/2 aspers make one piece of eight.
127. 1 sultani (+ all other types of ducats) = one piece of eight and a half real, sometimes 7 reals.
127. 1 sultani = 80 aspers
127. 1 Tunisian asper = more than a stuyver.
127. 1 quarter sultani = 20 aspers in Tunis.

127. 1 pistolet = 2 1/2 pieces of eight
1 pistolet = 13 doubles d'oro = 6 gulden and 6 stuyvers.
127. a scudo or French crown = 12 reals d'oro (that is half doubles d'oro) = 3 gulden and 4 stuyvers.
127. four bourbe in an asper.
127. (note 2) 2 1/2 pieces of eight in Algiers = 290 aspers.
13 doubles d'oro in Algiers = 320 aspers.
128. 1 scano (like rosenoble) = 4 simple doubles.
129. weight of one ounce in Tunis = weight of a piece of eight, as in Marseille.
a piece of eight = 24.81 grams.
a piece of eight does exactly one once minus two dragmen (drams) (in Tunis).
a piece of eight weighs 28.35 grams minus 2x1.772g = 24.81g
129. three gulden = one scudo
129. five crowns: 1 scudo or French crown = 3 gulden and 4 stuyvers
129. 2 1/2 double d'or = 62 1/2 aspers.
130. 2 sultanis = 246 1/2 asper
seven or eight crowns = 1050 or 1200 aspers.
188. 100,000 gold crowns = 1,200,000 ordinary crowns.
188. 60,000 pieces of eight = 135,000 to 150,000 gulden
188. 1 French, gold crown = 3 gulden and 4 stuyvers

ANNEX 3

List of presently known names of coins/denominations for Algiers and Tunis.

The following are mentioned in the Krause and Mischler *Standard Catalogue of World Coins* for Algiers.

- 14 1/2 asper (akce or dirham saghir = little dirham) = 1 kharub.
2 kharuba = 1 mazuna
24 mazuna = 1 budju

Of all these local names or denominations none are mentioned in the Pijnacker manuscript. A Note in KM explains in addition the following: "the silver budju weighed about 13.5g [and would thus be a little more than half of a piece of eight (24.81g), of course depending on the silver content, and would be close to a sean or scano]. "The gold sultani was officially valued at 108 mazuna but varied in accordance with the market price of gold expressed in silver. It weighed 3.20 - 3.40 g". [This would equal 3132 aspers to the sultani, so obviously this reference belongs to a much later period].

For Tunis KM lists the following monetary system:

- 6 burben (bourbine) = 1 burbe (bourbe)
2 burbe (bourbe) = 1 asper
13 burbe = 1 kharub (caroub)
16 kharub (caroub) = 1 piastre (sebili)

Arabic name:

qafsi or fals raqiq	= burbine	= 1/12 nasri
fals	= burbe	= 6 qafsi or 1/2 nasri
nasri	= asper	= 1/52 riyal
kharub	= caroub	= 1/16 riyal
1/8 riyal	= 1/8 piastre	= 1 kharub
1/4 riyal	= 1/4 piastre	= 4 kharub
1/2 riyal	= 1/2 piastre	= 8 kharub
riyal	= piastre	= 16 kharub

No link up with the gold sultani is mentioned. In the text of the KM catalogue the following additional names for 17th / 11/12th century coins are mentioned (Turkish words): bakir = copper for (burbe?); dört köse = four corner for 'nasri' (asper), onluk for ten (nasri?), yarım for half (sultani).

The coinage therefore remains complex and confusing.