

ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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ONS News

ONS Website

A reminder that the ONS Website can be found at <http://www.onsnumis.org>. The site contains a full index of newsletter contents which members may find useful.

Obituaries

Jiang Qixiang (1931-2002)

I am very sad to bring the news that Professor Jiang Qixiang, China's foremost scholar of Xinjiang numismatics, died on June 2nd from cancer of the esophagus. Professor Jiang was born in Huaiyin, Jiangsu. He studied history at the prestigious Fudan University, Shanghai, graduating in 1958, whereupon he was sent to work at the Xinjiang Museum, in Urumqi. He and his contemporaries were pioneers in museum work and archaeology in Xinjiang. In 1979 he transferred to the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, where he started studying the coins found in Xinjiang. For the next twenty years he devoted himself to the subject, writing the book *Xinjiang Heihanchao qianbi* (The Qarakhanid coins of Xinjiang) (1990), and co-writing (with Dong Qingxuan) the bilingual Chinese-English book, *Xinjiang Numismatics* (1991). He co-edited *Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi 3* (Daxi series, vol.3) on the coins of the Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, and contributed to specialist numismatic and archaeological publications as well as to more popular journals about Xinjiang and the Silk Road. He was awarded several prizes by the Xinjiang government for his 'outstanding contribution to the professions' and in 1994 was awarded a gold medal by the China Numismatic Society for his article on the coins of Muhammed Arslan Khan found at Atushi. As China's specialist on Islamic coins, he corresponded with scholars throughout the world, and made his first visit overseas in 1998, as the recipient of a British Academy K.C. Wong Fellowship, to spend three months in the UK studying the Central Asian, Islamic and Chinese coin collections at the British Museum. A select bibliography follows:

Books

- *Xinjiang heihanchao qianbi* [The Qarakhanid coins of Xinjiang]. Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, Urumqi, 1990.
- (with Dong Qingxuan), *Xinjiang Qianbi / Xinjiang Numismatics*. Xinjiang Art and Photo Press, Urumqi, and Educational and Cultural Press, Hong Kong, 1991.

- (co-ed. with Chen Yuan and Yao Shiduo) *Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi 3: Sui, Tang, Wudai, Shiguo shiqi huobi* [The Great Series on Chinese money, vol.3: Coins of the Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms]. Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai, 1991.
- (ed./trans.) *Helahanchao qianbi de lishi yiwenji* [A collection of translated texts on the coins and history of the Qarakhanids]. (publication details unknown).

Articles

- 'Xinjiang Atushi chutu de Helahanchao qianbi jiaozang qingli jianbao' [Short report on the hoard of the Qarakhanid coins unearthed in Atushi, Xinjiang], *Wenwu* 1985(12).
- 'Xinjiang Atushi chutu de Mohanmode A'ersilan Han qianbi yanjiu' [A study of the coins of Muhammed Arslan Khan unearthed in Atushi, Xinjiang], *Zhongguo Qianbi* 1986(2).
- 'Beijing chutu "Xinjiang yinbi" kaobian' [A second look at the 'Xinjiang silver coins' unearthed in Beijing], *Xianggang qianbi yanjiuhui kan* (Hong Kong), 1990(5).
- 'Yi mei Huigu qian' [A coin with a Uighur inscription] in *Qianbi shijie* (Taiwan), 1990(6).
- 'Liang zhong Xinjiang Heihanchao qianbi kao' [On the Qarakhanid coins of Xinjiang], *Shushu* (Japan), 1990(8).
- 'Xinjiang gudai qianbi faxian yu yanjiu' [Ancient coins of Xinjiang: discovery and research], in Xu Haishen (ed.) *Xinjiang gudai minzu wenhua lunji* [Collection of articles on the culture of the ancient peoples of Xinjiang]. Xinjiang daxue chubanshe, Urumqi, 1990.
- 'Qiuci wuzhu qian' [On Qiuci wuzhu coins], *Qianbi shijie* (Taiwan), 1991(7).
- 'Shitan Sui Tang Wudai Shiguo Xiyu huobi wenhua' [An investigation of the coin cultures of the Western Regions during the Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms], in *Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi 3*, Shanghai 1991.
- 'Tantan Xinjiang chutu de Alimali zao Chahetai hanguo qianbi' [On the Chagatayid coins made in Alimali unearthed in Xinjiang], *Xianggang qianbi yanjiuhui kan* (Hong Kong), 1992(7).
- (co-author with Li Yousong) 'Xinjiang Bole faxian de Chahetai hanguo jinbi chubu yanjiu' in *Zhongguo qianbi xuehui* (ed.) *Zhongguo qianbi lunwenji 2* [A collection of Chinese numismatic theses 2]. *Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe*, Beijing, 1992.

Translations

- 'Mahemode - Keshige'er he ta de "Tujuewen dacidian"' (translation from the Uighur edition of the Encyclopaedia of Turkic Languages) in *Xibei shidi*, 1985(3).

- Two articles on Qarakhanid coins by AA Davidovich, for inclusion in the book *Helahan chao qianbi he lishi wenyi*.

Helen Wang

Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society took place on 25 May 2002 at the London Coin Fair. Howard and Frances Simmons, organisers of the fair, made a room available for the meeting.

Stan Goron gave the Council's report on the activities of the Society during the year to 31 March 2001 and David Priestley presented the accounts of the Society for the same period. In accordance with the Society's constitution all the Council members (other than regional secretaries) stood for re-election and were re-elected. Council members are Nicholas Rhodes, Secretary General; Stan Goron, Deputy Secretary-General and Newsletter Editor; David Priestley, Treasurer; Peter Smith, Secretary; Paul Withers, Membership Secretary; Joe Cribb, Publications Secretary; Howard Simmons and Tony Holmes ordinary council members.

Dr. Ruby Maloni of Bombay University gave the Ken Wiggins memorial lecture on mint records of the Mughal mint of Surat. The Michael Broome memorial lecture was given by Stan Goron: an introduction to coins of the Safavids.

London

There will be a study day on East Asian coinage on 5 October 2002 at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, starting at 11 am. Speakers will include Helen Wang of the British Museum.

Oxford

There will be a study day on 28th September 2002 at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford in the Museum's Headley Lecture Theatre, beginning at 11 am with a welcome address by Nick Mayhew the keeper. The focus of the lectures will be North-West India, Pakistan, Afghanistan - Gandhara region in 2nd century BC to 5th century AD and papers are expected to deal with Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Kushana, Kidarite and Hunnic coins. Speakers will include, Shailendra Bhandare of the Ashmolean Museum, Joe Cribb of the British Museum and Naseem Khan from the University of Peshawar, Pakistan. We expect to end by 4.30 pm at the latest.

Further information can be obtained from Shailendra Bhandare, telephone number 01865-288270 and Mrs. Rosalyn Britton-Strong 01865-278058.

Birmingham

The Seventh-Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table 2002 will take place on 23-24 November 2002 at the University of Birmingham Barber Institute of Fine Arts/Westmere conference centre. The theme will be "Coinage & history in the 7th century Near East".

Contributions are expected to include:

- Prof. Cécile Morrisson (Dumbarton Oaks and Paris): "Coinage and its historical context in 7th century Syria"
- Henri Pottier: "Coinage in Syria under the Persian occupation"
- Marcus Phillips: "The currency of 7th century Syria as a historical source"
- Susan Tyler-Smith: "Calendars and coronations: the numismatic and literary evidence for the accession of Khusrau II"
- Tony Goodwin: "The strange coinage of Jund Filastin"
- Andrew Oddy: "Die study of the Constans II bust-type coins of Hims"
- Lutz Ilisch: "Mints and minting rights for copper coinage in Jund Qinnasrin in the early Islamic period"

The programme is designed to permit maximum discussion, and numbers attending will be limited to facilitate this. Anyone

wishing to participate, should contact Vicky Georgantelis or John Haldon at the following address:

Dr E. Georgantelis, Barber Institute of Fine Arts & Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman & Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham; tel ++44 121 414 7332; E.Georganteli@bham.ac.uk
 Prof. John Haldon, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman & Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham; tel ++44 121 414 6627; j.f.haldon@bham.ac.uk

These details can also be found at
<http://www.onsnumis.org/Birmingham2002.shtml>

Medea Tsotselia (The Janashia Georgian State Museum, Tbilisi) gave an overview of several of these hoards recovered in Georgia. Dr. Sears traced the evolution of several series of Muslim dirhams struck in this region shortly before the introduction of Islamic dirhams.

The third panel, entitled "Monetary History of the Eastern Frontier," raised issues in the monetary history of eastern Iran. Parvaneh Pourshariati (Ohio State University) discussed the struggle between provincial elites and the Sasanian monarchy in sixth and seventh century Iran with special emphasis on Khurasan. Richard Frye (Harvard University) pointed out new avenues of needed research on the coinage of the Silk Route. Dr. Naymark examined the coinage of Sogdiana and its circulation in the eighth century, from Qutayba b. Muslim to Abu Muslim.

The fourth and final panel, entitled "Money and its Uses," treated the ways early Muslim governments employed coins in the organization of the Islamic state and the legitimation of its authority. Kameya Manabu (Hokkaido University, Japan) tied the striking of Arab-Sasanian coins to payment of stipends to the Arabs in the *'ata* system, while Dr. Sears examined legends on the coinage of al-Hakam b. al-'As promoting an absolutist conception of government for the first time on Muslim coinage.

The abstracts of many of these papers may be found on the ANS web-site, www.amnumsoc.org. Participants have been invited to submit their papers for publication to the *Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies*, *The American Journal of Numismatics* and *Al-Sikka*. The conference will meet again next year in June. Abstracts for proposed talks and inquiries should be sent to Stuart D. Sears (sears@aucegypt.edu) or Michael L. Bates (bates@amnumsoc.org).

(Stuart D. Sears, The American University in Cairo)

Other News

The International Conference on Late Sasanian and Early Muslim Coins of Iran "The Heritage of Sasanian Iran: Dinars, Dirhams and Coppers of the Late Sasanian and Early Muslim Periods" took place at Columbia University on June 8th and 9th. The conference presented a wide range of papers on the coinages of greater Iran from the 5th to 8th centuries CE. It also featured a workshop on the reading of the Pahlavi and Soghdian legends on these coins. The American Numismatic Society and Columbia's Center for Iranian Studies and Middle East Center co-sponsored it financially with additional support from Middle East Medievalists. More than twenty people attended from as far away as Japan, Georgia, Egypt, France and Belgium.

The papers discussed the reading and interpretation of the legends and iconography on the different Iranian coinages of these periods, their use by governments in meeting administrative needs and legitimizing authority and their subsequent use and circulation. Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic Coins at the ANS, gave the plenary lecture entitled "The Coinages of Iran and Its Neighbors in the Seventh Century." The lecture traced the development of the late Sasanian coin type and its numerous imitations by contemporaries and successors in Iran and adjacent regions.

The first panel, entitled "Iconography, Imitations and Unusual Coins," treated the use of symbolism and legends on Sasanian coins, and their imitations. François Gurnet (Independent Scholar, Brussels) discussed the alternating emphasis in Sasanian iconography on religious and dynastic symbols, culminating in the sixth century in the creation of a relatively constant dynastic type. Stuart D. Sears (The American University in Cairo) argued, on both numismatic and literary evidence, for the attribution of the mint legend WH to Veh-Ardashir, one of the Sasanian empire's capital cities in Iraq. Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University) described imitations of Sasanian drachms minted under Varahran V in Marw and the silver coinage of Bukhara.

The second panel, entitled "Monetary History of Transcaucasia," addressed coins and hoards of the Caucasus. Georges Depyrot (CNRS, France) discussed his remarkable encounters with dozens of such hoards in Georgia and Armenia.

The 9th Annual Meeting of ICOMON will be held in Beijing at the Beijing Hotel (a first-class hotel), 14-18 October 2002. The conference theme is "Money and Banking: the Varieties of the Monetary Experience". This conference will be hosted by the China Numismatic Museum and the People's Bank of China (the Central Bank of China). Those wishing to attend the conference may register online at www.china-meeting.com as soon as possible.

The contact address is Prof. Weirong Zhou / Prof. Congming Gao, China Numismatic Museum, 22 Xijiaominxiang St., Beijing 100031, China; tel ++86 10 66053039; fax ++86 10 66071393; e-mail: chinumis@public2.bta.net.cn

New and Recent Publications

R. Mathee: "Mint consolidation and the worsening of the late Safavid coinage: the mint of Huwayza", in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)*, 44, 4, Brill, Leiden, 2001.

Stefan Heidemann: *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien. Städtische Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen in ar-Raqqa und Harran von der Zeit der beduinischen Vorherrschaft bis zu den Seldschuken* (Islamic History and Civilizations. Studies and Texts 40), Leiden (E. J. Brill). ISBN 900412274, price € 99.

"The period between 950 and 1150 AD is regarded as a turning point in the history of Islamic Culture from the early Islamic to the late medieval civilisation. What led to the urban decline inbetween and the later recovery? Harran and al-Raqqa serve as paradigms for the development in Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. The collapse of the Abbasid state left this region, bounded by the Buyids, Fatimids and Byzantines, to nomadic tribes not acquainted with urban culture. After 1086 AD, measures undertaken by the Seljuqs to safeguard their hegemony

led to a renaissance of cities inspite of permanent power struggles and the crusades. They based their rule on fortified places. The financing of the army led to the distribution of land as fiefs (iqta') and subsequently to a dislodgement of nomads and a recultivation of former agricultural land. Cash money for the treasury was generated by skimming long distance trade; this in turn required public security on the roads. An analysis of the monetary circulation based on archeological and literary evidence serves to measure the extent of the economic recovery. These chapters cover the period from the 'black dirham' to the coinage reforms in the Zangid period, the copper coins in Syria, the figural copper dirhams in Northern Mesopotamia and other developments. Most important in the intervening period were imported coinages such as Byzantine gold coins, especially the *michaelton* of Michael VII and the Byzantine folles known in the literal sources as "qirtas". A corpus of the coin production in al-Raqqa, Harran and al-Ruha'/Edessa supplements the textual sources. The corpus itself covers Fatimid coins struck in al-Raqqa and in al-Rahba, all known coins of the Bedouin dynasty of the Numayrids as well as the first 'black dirhams' struck in the crusader principality of Edessa".

Stefan Heidemann & Claudia Sode: "Christlich-orientalische Bleisiegel im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena" in: *Aram* 11-12 (1999-2000) pp. 533-593.

Stefan Heidemann: "Die Fundmünzen von Harran und ihr Verhältnis zur lokalen Geschichte", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65 (2002), pp. 267-299.

264 coins were excavated during the early fifties of the past century by Seton Lloyd und David S. Rice. The finds comprise coins from the Byzantine empire until the destruction of Harran in 1270. All the coins are described and analysed as a source of the history and coin circulation in the region of Harran, now located in south-west Turkey.

Catalogue of the SilverPunchmarked Coins of the Government Museum Mathura, 2001, Hard Bound, 136 pages, 29 b/w plates illustrating 506 coins; over 200 drawings.

The Coins of Tamilnadu by K. Ganesh. "The book covers the coinage of Tamilnadu during the period 9th century AD to 18th Century AD i.e. from the rise of imperial Cholas to the establishment of the British Empire. Except for some scattered literature, this period has not so far been exhaustively dealt with. The book deals with the coinage of the Imperial Cholas, Pandyas, Kongu Cheras, Madurai Sultans, Madurai Nayaks, Thanjavur Nayaks, Gingee Nayaks, Thanjavur Marathas, Gingee Marathas, Sivaganga Rajas, Setupatis, Nawabs of Arcot and coins of other chieftains. In all about 700 coins are illustrated. The book has 234 pages.

Barbara Mears has proved the following information on four books that have recently been published in Tamil by Arumugam Seetharaman.

1. *Madurai Nayaka Cash*. 53 pages. Each page has 2 types of coin listed on it in Tamil, with large clear black and white photos of each item. Also find spots and weights. This is a useful feature of all Mr Seetharaman's books. I would guess about 30% coins are not in Mitchiner.
2. *Tamil Cash*. 43 pages of new finds from Tamil Nadu. From the Sangam Age to the Dutch period. Again each coin is clearly illustrated, one or two to a page. I would say that approx 90% coins are not published elsewhere.
3. *Tanjore Nayaka Cash* (co-author: Sankaran Raman). 50 pages of Tanjore Nayaka issues, approximately 60-70% not known to me. Same clear format as previous issues. Mr Seetharaman lives in Tanjore and is the expert on these coins so this must be the definitive work on the series.

4. *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Tamilnadu, part 2*. (part 1 is also available) 41 pages of finds from Tamil Nadu. Again covering period from 1st - 2nd centuries to the European Colonial period, including some antiquities, seals etc, including a Duplex medal, Indo-Dutch coin and a Madras 2 fanam piece.

A fifth book, on Pallava cash, by both authors, is being published. This covers more than 100 coins from the Pallava period, including many inscribed coins.

The books are available from S. Raman, D1/8 Anand Apartment, 50 L.B. Road, Tiruvenmiyur, Chennai 41, PIN 600041, India. The price of books 1-4 listed above is US\$3 each, of the Pallava book, US\$9. Postage for all the books: US\$8, or minimum postage of US\$6.

Dr. Hans Wilski : *A New Table of Countermarks*

This is a comprehensive description of countermarks and countermarked coins. The book continues the studies published in "Countermarks on Ottoman Coins", but it can be used equally well as a book on its own. As the number of hitherto unknown countermarks has increased, numerous drawings have been improved and reading errors have been eliminated".

144 pages including 10 photographic plates, tables and numerous text figures. Hardbound. Publication : July 2002.

Price: EUR 34,- plus postage.

Verlag Donata Kinzelbach, Stolze-Schery-Str. 3, 55124 Mainz, Germany (tel ++49 6131 45662; fax ++49 6131 41088; e-mail kinzelbach@aol.com) have a remainder stock of the reprint of Heinrich Nützel's *Münzen der Rasuliden*, first published in Berlin in 1891 and reprinted in Mainz in 1987, for €9 plus postage instead of the previous price of €36.

The Coinage of Tripura, with description of the Seals, Decorations and Medals of the State - by N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose. 18.5 cm x 24 cm, c130 pages, 17 plates and other illustrations in the text. Publication expected October 2002. Price \$21, p&p (sea mail) paid for pre-publication orders. 30% discount for orders of 10 or more copies. Advance e-mail orders to nicholas.rhodes1@btinternet.com or bosecoins@rediffmail.com

Michel G. Klat: *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams - The Umayyad Dynasty*, Spink, London, 2002. ISBN 1 902040 46 5 322 pages, illustrated throughout, casebound. Price: £100. This is the long-awaited work that covers this series and will be the standard reference work for the foreseeable future.

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 179 (May 2002), 180 (June 2002), 181 (July 2002).
2. Jean Elsen s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; e-mail numismatique@elsens.be; www.elsens.be) list 221 (May-August 2002) contains several hundred oriental items.
3. Poinsignon Numismatique (4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, 67000 Strasbourg, France; tel ++33 388 321050; fax ++44 33 388 750114; numismatique.poinsignon@wanadoo.fr), list 47 (June 2002), includes a good selection of oriental coins.
4. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 858 272 9440; fax ++1 858 272 9441; e-mail gr8scotte@aol.com) catalogue 124 including modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes.

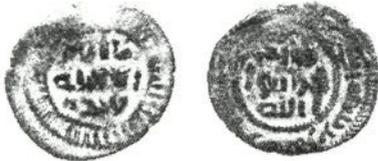
Auction News

Jean Elsen s.a. auction 70 took place on 15 June 2002 and included some 300 lots of oriental coins. (Jean Elsen s.a., Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be.

Articles

Sulaiman bin Khalīfat Allāh Revisited

by Nikolaus Schindel



SNAT 525a

Among the most interesting Umayyad coins listed by Lutz Ilisch in his Tübingen Sylloge is a fals which cites in the circular legend on the reverse a certain "Sulaiman bin Khalīfat Allāh"¹. On the Tübingen specimen, however, only the name itself can be read. The appearance of three more coins of this type provides further information on the legend, and has given me the idea to deal with the entire issue and its mint-place, al-Ramlah, in some detail. All three specimens are from a private collection and were bought in Jerusalem. As for the readings of the circular legends, I have only listed those letters which can be read with certainty.



1. Fals. AE. 3,74g. 8 o'clock. Obv. / rev. traces of overstrike, rev. die cracks
 Obv.: لا اله الا الله وحده
 Rev.: محمد رسول الله
 between two lines of dots circular legend وس سليمان بن ج =
 ...ūs sulaiman bin khal...



2. Fals. AE. 3,74g. 2 o'clock. Obv. double struck
 Obv.: As 1
 Rev.: As 1; circular legend = الفلوس سليمان ...al-fulūs
 sulaiman...



3. Fals. AE. 2,77g. 2 o'clock. Flan crack at 4 o'clock
 Obv.: As 1
 Rev.: As 1; circular legend = ليفه الله بارمله ...līfat allāh bi al-ramlah...

As for the dies, it seems that SNA 525a shares the obverse die with no. 1, whereas no. 3 appears to have been struck with another one. For all four coins apparently the same reverse die was used, as far as the condition and the rather uneven strikes permit a really reliable statement on die identities.

Putting together the legends of all four coins, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of its full form. The legend starts at 12 o'clock; between 9 o'clock and 7 o'clock, the word *fulūs* appears, followed by the name, "Sulaiman bin Khalīfat Allāh". The mint name "bi al-Ramlah" is written between 2 o'clock and 12 o'clock. Unfortunately, the first quarter of the legend between 12 o'clock and 9 o'clock cannot be read with certainty, due to corrosion on coin no. 2. There are, however, some traces of letters which offer at least a possible reading, if one takes into consideration better attested legends from other issues and mints. On coin no. 2, there are two letters at 11 o'clock which resemble *mīm* and *nūn* or *rā*. Since on coin no. 3 at 12 o'clock traces of what seems to be an *alif* can be made out, I am inclined to reconstruct the first word as *amara*, "he ordered", a common phrase on Umayyad coins on which caliphs or governors are cited. Of the second word, only the last letter is recognisable; with its long horizontal stroke which runs towards the *alif* of *al-fulūs*, it is most likely that it should be read as a final *bā*.

One thing that is certain about the beginning of the legend is the fact that it does not follow the usual form *mimma amara bihi al-amīr x*, although the word *amara* is most probably present here, too. The occurrence of the word *al-fulūs* might help insofar as this expression, meaning either the plural of *fals* or in a more general sense "money"² is attested only on Arab-Byzantine issues from Yubna³ and on coins from Ṭabariyah struck in the name of al-Walīd I (SNAT 313-318), thus also chronologically not too far away from the issue in discussion here. On the Ṭabariyah coins, the legend reads: *mimma amara bi-darb al-fulūs bi-ṭabariyah 'abd allāh al-walīd*. Hence, since Ṭabariyah and al-Ramlah have the same elements in their coin legends – the word *fulūs*, minting place and minting authority, although in reverse order –, and since the traces of letters on coin no. 2 do not contradict the following reading, it is possible to reconstruct the legend of the al-Ramlah coins of Sulaiman in the following way: امر بضرب الفلوس سليمان بن جليفه الله بارمله = *amara bi darb al-fulūs sulaiman bin khalīfat allāh bi al-ramlah*, "Sulaiman, son of god's caliph, ordered the minting of this money in al-Ramlah". This form corresponds to the defective form on SNAT 319, which reads *amara bi darb al-fulūs 'abd allāh al-walīd*. However, the two most important things about the legend – the name of Sulaiman and the mint name – can be read without any doubt.

Whereas at least the general outlines of the legend as well as the use of the word *fulūs* connect the Sulaiman issue with the Ṭabariyah coins of al-Walīd, the title "Khalīfat Allāh" in contrast is attested numismatically only on Arab-Sasanian coins⁴ as well as Arab-Byzantine issues from Ma'arrat Miṣrīn and Manbij⁵, two mints in the northern province of Qinnasrīn.

There can be no doubt that the person mentioned on these coins is Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik, the seventh Umayyad caliph who ruled from AH 96 – 99 / AD 715 – 717⁶. The most famous exploit of his rule was the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople from 716-718. Apart from the coins under discussion here, there is another epigraphic testimony for Sulaiman before he became caliph, namely the inscription on a bowl found in the Umayyad complex at Jabal Usais in SW Syria. It cites the prince as *amīr sulaiman bin amīr al-mu'minīn*⁷, and hence should also be dated before AH 96. Here, the office of his late father is mentioned, too,

but in the usual form of Umayyad caliphal titulature. The title "amir" may refer to Sulaiman's status as heir apparent, or as governor of Filastin. A similar formula is attested on the inscription from Qasr Burqu in eastern Jordan, dated AH 81, where Sulaiman's brother al-Walīd is cited as *al-amīr al-walīd bin amīr al-mu'minīn*⁸. It should be noted here that, contrary to the reading of the two inscriptions quoted above, on the coins in discussion here the title "amir" is missing from Sulaiman's titulature. For this peculiarity, as well as for the use of the rare title "Khalīfat Allāh", I cannot offer any explanation. One might guess that this title was used rather than "amīr al-mu'minīn" because 'Abd al-Malik was already dead when those coins were struck, but the scarcity of dated epigraphic testimonia does not permit a reliable solution of this question.

There is another inscription, this time on a lead bulla, which might refer to Sulaiman too. It reads *hūlahil 'ard filastīn*, "chief of the land Palestine"⁹. Since Sulaiman was the most prominent person to govern Filastīn, this attribution seems fairly likely. A similar bulla, mentioning al-Urdunn instead of Filastīn is said to exist too and might be an indication that Sulaiman also held the governorship of this province¹⁰.

It is Sulaiman's position as governor of Filastīn given to him by his brother al-Walīd¹¹ which is of special interest in this context, and its chronological implications for the Umayyad copper coinage of the Syrian region. Since there are only very few and small issues of dated coins in Bilad al-Shām¹², the coins citing Sulaiman are of some importance in this respect once their chronology is established.

According to early Arab tradition, it was Sulaiman who founded the city al-Ramlah in the vicinity of Tel Aviv¹³. The problem is that no exact date is given¹⁴. According to Tabari, Sulaiman began the building imitating his father and brother in their construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque at Damascus respectively. Since the building of the mosque in the capital began immediately after the accession of al-Walīd I in AH 86, and was in its main substance finished six years later, AH 92¹⁵ could be the terminus post quem for the beginning of construction work at al-Ramlah. It is plausible to assume that Sulaiman came upon the idea of emulating his father's and brother's architectural achievements only when substantial parts of the latter's mosque in Damascus were finished, a view which can be supported also by an admittedly rigid interpretation of Yakut's text which in both cases uses the same word, *بنى* "he built"¹⁶. There are some doubts, however, concerning the historicity of the traditions concerning the reason for the building of al-Ramlah¹⁷. According to Wellhausen, in AH 90 a group of fugitives from the Umayyad East met Sulaiman already at al-Ramlah¹⁸, but Tabari never mentions the city in this whole episode¹⁹, and its date itself is also by no means firmly established²⁰. The terminus post quem thus might be AH 92, although there is no certainty about it. On the other hand, this date is – if one does accept the tradition concerning the foundation of al-Ramlah – the earliest possible date on which building activities could have begun at all. We know that the first building to be completed in al-Ramlah were Sulaiman's palace, as well as the "house of the dyers", whereas the mosque was completed only under Sulaiman's successor, 'Umar II²¹. One can assume that the minting took place within the palace compound, and although size and technical requirements of the mint are likely to have been rather modest²², there can be hardly any doubt that minting activity began only when the palace was finished. If one accepts this consideration, the issue of the coins discussed here should be dated even later than AH 92.

The terminus post quem certainly is the death of al-Walīd I on Jumādā 13 AH 96 = February 2nd, AD 715²³, since upon becoming caliph, there can be no doubt that Sulaiman would have called himself caliph rather than just son of the caliph. This

means, on the other hand, that at the death of al-Walīd, the construction works in al-Ramlah must have reached a level such that at least the mint was operating. On the same day on which al-Walīd had died, Sulaiman is said to have received the oath of allegiance in al-Ramlah²⁴, another argument that the residence was already finished in AH 96.

Given these considerations, the coins in discussion were most likely minted between AH 92 and AH 96, with a strong possibility, given the considerations discussed above, that the issuing took place towards the end of al-Walīd's reign, perhaps in AH 95 or 96. There can be no doubt that they represent the first issue of the new mint at al-Ramlah. On the one hand, the extraordinary legend and especially the mention of the city's founder, Sulaiman, here styled *bin khalīfat allāh* are strong arguments in favour of this view. On the other hand, there are stylistic reasons: on these coins, the lower part of the combination of *lām* and *alif* is depicted with a square line, whereas on all other al-Ramlah coins – except SNAT 51 – of the "radiate" and later types, this combination is shown with a round lower end. Therefore, one can see the coins citing Sulaiman as a kind of special issue celebrating the new city and its mint. The choice of the radiate type, used here for the first time, also supports this interpretation as a specially designed festive type. Whereas the legend was soon dropped, being replaced by the usual formula, the obverse type, featuring a series of small strokes connecting the inner and outer rim and resembling rays, remained in use, the centre of the production being in al-Ramlah (SNAT 45-57), with rarer specimens attested for the mints of Iliya (SNAT 15f) and Ludd (SNAT 211). Since the first specimens of this "radiate" type are directly connected with Sulaiman himself, and since the city founded by him has the largest output of this type, it is tempting to assume that the entire issue with regular circular legend was struck during Sulaiman's caliphate, that is to say, from 715 to 717. This view is supported by the fact that the radiate type was an innovation of Sulaiman, since chronological as well as statistical considerations make it rather unlikely that the entire series featuring the radiate obverse type was struck during al-Walīd's reign. Hence, the chronology of Umayyad copper coins from Bilad al-Shām might be moved a little bit forward, with the possible attribution of the plain, mintless type to the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, and the three-circle type to al-Walīd's reign. Such far-reaching statements on the early Islamic copper coinage, however, deserve more research.

Notes

1. L. Ilisch, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Palästina IVa Bilād as-Sām I*, Tübingen 1993, 525a (SNAT); erroneously, he transliterates the name with سليمان. My sincere thanks to Lutz Ilisch for his kind permission to make use of the photo of the Tübingen coin in this article.
2. S. Lane-Poole, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, repr. Cambridge 1984, vol. 2, 2440 s.v. "قلس".
3. I have to thank Mr. Shraga Qedar for this most friendly information.
4. J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins (Umayyad governors in the East, Arab-Ephthalites, 'Abbasid governors in Tabaristan and Bukhara)*, London 1941, p. 24f, pl. 31, 5.
5. *Umayyad coins*, London 1956, no. 99ff; no. 102ff.
6. For general information cp. EI¹, vol. 4, 560f s.v. "Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik" (K. V. Zetterstéen); EI², vol. 9, 821 s.v. "Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik" (R. Eisener); J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 160-165; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, London / New York 2000², 72-75; the most detailed information can be found in R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaiman b. 'Abdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987.
7. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, vol. 2, Vienna 1971, 85f, pl. 14/2.
8. Grohmann (note 7), 84; pl. 12/2.

9. Vecchi auction sale no. 5, March 5th 1997, lot no. 1381; according to S. Lane-Poole, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, repr. Cambridge 1984, vol. 1, 621 s.v. "حلال", the word emphasizes the manly virtues of a ruler.
10. Once again, my thanks go to Mr. Shraga Qedar for providing me with this information.
11. al-Baladhuri, *Kitab futuh al-buldan*, transl. P. Hitti, repr. Beirut 266, 220
12. For those series, cp. S. Qedar, "The Dated Islamic Coinage of Palestine", *Israel Numismatic Journal* 4, 1980, 63ff
13. Cp. EI², vol. 8, 423f s.v. "al-Ramla" (E. Honigmann); E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islām nach den arabischen Historikern und Geographen*, Leipzig 1912, 73f
14. One tradition, cited by Eisener (note 6), 20, note 55, gives as date AH 98, hence after Sulaiman had become caliph, and thus is certainly wrong, and does not help.
15. Cp. EI², vol. 2, 281 s.v. "Dimashk" (N. Elisséeff); however, the building of the "maqsurah" is attributed to Sulaiman, cp. Eisener (note 6), 20, note 55. O. Grabar, *Die Entstehung der islamischen Kunst*, Cologne, 1977, 112 gives AD 714/15, i. e. AH 95/96.
16. Yakut, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1867, vol. II, 818, 15f
17. Eisener (note 6), 21
18. Wellhausen (note 6), 161
19. Tabari, transl. M. Hinds, Albany 1990, vol. 23, 156-163
20. Eisener (note 6) says that Tabari's dating lacks substance.
21. Cp. al-Baladhuri (note 11), 220f; al-Baladhuri, *Kitab futuh al-buldan*, ed. M. de Goeje, repr. Leiden 1969, 143, 10: *قصر*
22. On the "invisibility" of ancient mints, cp. I luoghi della moneta. Le sedi delle zecche dall'antichità all'età moderna, Atti del convegno internazionale, 22-23 Ottobre 1999 Milano, Milan 2001. For pointing my attention to this book, as well as for useful advice, I have to thank Mr. Matthias Pfisterer.
23. The exact date is reconstructed by Wellhausen (note 6), 141.
24. Tabari, transl. D. S. Powers, Albany 1989, vol. 24, 3; the tradition concerning the whereabouts of Sulaiman at the time of his brother's death is not unanimous, however: Cp. Eisener (note 6), 38f.

Qarākhānid Coins as a Source on the History of Shāsh.

By Michael Fedorov

In 1979 B. D. Kochnev published (having written at least two years earlier) an article about the history of Shāsh (Chāch) and Īlāq based on data provided by Qarākhānid numismatics (Kochnev 1979, 110-166). More than 20 years have elapsed since then, many new coins have been found, some uncertain points have been settled and his article has therefore become out of date. There were also some mistakes in the article, not to mention some questionable conclusions and notions. That is why I decided to update and elaborate the history of Shāsh based on the latest numismatic data from Qarākhānid coins.

Shāsh was a mediaeval province in the valley of the Chirchik flowing westward and falling into the Syr Darya. The Chirchik had two river-heads flowing down from the Chatkal and Pskem mountains. Nowadays Shāsh is part of Tashkent oblast' in Uzbekistan and capital of Shāsh. Binket is modern Tashkent. According to Muslim geographers of the 9th-10th centuries AD, Shāsh was famous for its silver mines. There was even a mint called "Ma'din al-Shāsh" (Shāsh Mine) under the 'Abbāsids, Tahirids and Sāmānids. There were also Qarākhānid mints Shāsh and Binket (Bartold 1963, 226-228; Belenitsky, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973, 195-200; Buriakov, Kasymov, Rostovtsev 1973, 76-108).

Shāsh

The name of a province was often used on coins instead of the name of its capital. The main mint of Shāsh province was almost always named Shāsh. The name "Binket" is quite rare on Qarākhānid coins.

The earliest Qarākhānid coins (fulūs) of Shāsh were minted in AH 388 (Kochnev 1995, 207/70). In 382/992 the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Hārūn Boghrā Khān, had conquered

Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids but worsening health had forced him to leave Bukhārā. He died on the way to his capital Balāsāghūn. The Sāmānid amir, Nūh II, returned to Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 318-321).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, the Qarākhānid drive to the west was led by Naṣr b. 'Alī, who came from another Qarākhānid branch. From 383 coins were struck in his name in Khojende; Farghāna, situated to the east of Khojende, was already under his sway. In 385 Īlāq also came under the sway of Naṣr (Kochnev 1995, 203/6; 204/13). Fulūs of AH 388 Shāsh show that this province came under the sway of the Qarākhānids no later than that year. These fulūs cite al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl, i.e. Naṣr b. 'Alī, and his suzerain, Khān al-Ajall, i.e. most probably his father, the ruler of Kāshghar, Arslān Khān 'Alī. But no later than 391, Shāsh became the domain of Naṣr's brother and suzerain Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Arslān Khān 'Alī died in 388). Coins of AH 391 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 210/110-111) cite Khān al-'Ādil (suzerain Aḥmad) and Naṣr b. al-Qasīm (vassal). On the obverse, where a vassal or subvassal is usually cited, is the *laqab* Saif al-Daula. But this *laqab* belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī. A coin of AH 394 Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212/135), citing "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa Saif al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī", proves this.

In AH 392 (Kochnev 1995, 211/116-117) some dirhems (type 211/117) still cite Khān al-'Ādil and his vassal Naṣr (i.e. Naṣr b. al-Qasīm). But then the name of the vassal disappears and coins cite only Khān al-'Ādil Abū'l Favāris Quṭb al-Daula, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Dirhems of AH 393 (Kochnev 1995, 212/129) cite Khān al-'Ādil (reverse field) al-Amīr al-Jalīl Abū'l Favāris (reverse marginal legend), Abū'l Favāris Alp (obverse). No vassal is mentioned.

For part of 394 (Kochnev 1995, 213-216/139-143, 157-159, 179, 180) coins cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alī or Khān Naṣr al-Milla (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī). No vassal is cited. Then coins of 394-396 (213/139, 141, 142) cite, on the obverse, a new vassal, Yūsuf. On the reverse Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alī, or Khān Naṣr al-Milla Abī Naṣr is cited. Fulūs of 394-396 (213/143) cite Amīr al-Jalīl Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh and his suzerain Khān al-'Ādil. Some fulūs of 395-396 (214/159, 216/180) cite Yūsuf or Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh. No suzerain is mentioned. Some dirhems of 395-396 (214/157-158; 216/179) cite the vassal *Naṣr* (written in Uigur) or Naṣr (written in Arabic) instead of Yūsuf. No doubt this was the same Naṣr b. al-Qasīm, the first vassal of Aḥmad in Shāsh in AH 391.

And so, if one may believe the coins, Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his vassal Naṣr b. al-Qasīm (or Naṣr) were in control of Shāsh in 391 and part of 392 while for the remainder of 392, 393 and part of 394 Aḥmad was the sole owner of Shāsh. No vassal is cited for that period. Some of the coins struck in 394, 395, 396 in Shāsh cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his new vassal, Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh or simply Yūsuf. But at the same time some of the coins struck in 395 and 396 in Shāsh cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his old vassal *Naṣr* (written in Uigur) or Naṣr (written in Arabic). And yet other of the coins struck in 396 in Shāsh cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī only, without any vassal. Such "leap-frogging" was characteristic of the early Qarākhānid khaqanate with its feudal-appanage system. In addition to all this, some fulūs of AH 395-396 cite only Yūsuf or Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh, again without any suzerain. It was quite common, however, for copper coins to omit mention of the suzerain.

A coin of AH 398 Shāsh (Fedorov 1964, 100) cites Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alī. But then in 399-401 (Kochnev 1995, 218/217, 218, 221/259) we find coins of Shāsh citing Amīr al-Sayid al-Malik al-Muzaffar Quṭb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla (suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and a new vassal, Nizām al-Daula Abū'l Muzaffar (or al-Muzaffar) Ṭonghā Teghīn. In 400-401 a subvassal named Rāzī is also cited. Oddly enough, some of the dirhems of AH 400 (Kochnev 1995, 221/260) mention only Nizām

al-Daula Abū'l Muzaffar Ṭonghā Tegīn and Rāzī. Aḥmad b. 'Alī is not mentioned.

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title "Ṭighā" (as I read it then) Tegīn belonged to Naṣr b. 'Alī before he received the new, higher title of İlek (second only to the title of Khān). There was no unanimity in reading this title: some read it as Ṭighā Tegīn, others as Ṭonghā Tegīn. A fals of AH 385 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 204/16) settled the question: on this coin the title is written in Uigur *Tonga Tegin*. So after Naṣr b. 'Alī received the higher title of İlek, his old title, Ṭonghā Tegīn, was given to another Qarākhānid. The name of this Qarākhānid is revealed by a dirhem of AH 401 Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 222/289) citing Nizām al-Daula al-Muzaffar Ṭonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥa(san). He was the same Qarākhānid who was made supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate in AH 415.

In 400-402 a war broke out between Ṭongā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī. In 401 in Tūnket (the capital of İlāq) dirhems were minted (Kochnev 1995, 222/278) citing Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī). This coin shows that the third of the brothers, Muḥammad, took sides with Naṣr and that the allies conquered İlāq, which had been under the sway of Aḥmad since at least 387. Apart from Tūnket, Aḥmad lost Shāsh and Ispījāb, while the allies lost Uzgend and Ṭarāz (Fedorov 1990, 8-9). Peace was made in AH 402 on the terms of the "status quo ante bellum". Soon after that in AH 403, İlek Naṣr died.

So some of the coins struck in Shāsh in AH 401 cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his vassal, Ṭonghā Tegīn, but in that same year, some coins of Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 223/279) cite Amīr al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla (suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī), Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Pādshāh (vassal, Naṣr b. 'Alī) and Mu'izz al-Daula Mut. Kochnev (1993, 211-213) noticed one interesting peculiarity. On the coins of the towns which Naṣr possessed before the war Aḥmad was traditionally cited as suzerain, while on the coins of Ispījāb, Shāsh, Tūnket and İlāq, places conquered by Naṣr, there is "as a rule" no mention of Aḥmad. Kochnev adds: "It appears that, even in the provinces conquered by Naṣr, mention of Aḥmad was not excluded from coin legends at once, nor everywhere. Thus on one dirhem of AH 401 Shāsh both brothers are cited". I believe that mention of Aḥmad on this AH 401 dirhem was due to Mu'izz al-Daula Mut.

During the time of the Sāmānids, Ispījāb was governed by a semi-independent local Turkic Dynasty, which survived under the first Qarākhānids and which Kochnev (1987a, 160) named "The Mutids" since the name Mut was "very popular" with the rulers of Ispījāb, either as a patronymic, or dynastic name. The Mutids are cited on the early Qarākhānid coins of 389-404/998-1014 Ispījāb as vassals of the Qarākhānids.

When, in 400, internecine war broke out between İlek Naṣr and his brother, Ṭoghān Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī, Ispījāb's owner took advantage of this situation. During part of AH 400 (Kochnev 1995, 219/229) he issued coins as an independent ruler: on the reverse we find Abū Manṣūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut and Mīrek, but there is no mention of their suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Later in 400-401 Abū Manṣūr Mut took sides with Naṣr and recognised him as suzerain: Naṣr b. 'Alī Pādshāh is cited on the reverse and Mu'izz al-Daula Mut on the obverse of Ispījāb dirhems (Kochnev 1995, 219/230, 221/262). But then in 401 Mut disappears from the coins of Ispījāb. Naṣr b. 'Alī is cited on the reverse and 'Alī / Ṣarāf is cited on the obverse, above and under the Kalima (Kochnev 1995, 221 Nr. 263-264). In AH 401, instead of Ispījāb, Mu'izz al-Daula Mut was granted Shāsh, where he circumspectly cited both brothers as his suzerains.

In 402 in Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 224/298-300) types 224/298-299 cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Pādshāh İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī and his vassal, Mu'izz al-Daula (i.e. Mut), there is no mention of

Aḥmad b. 'Alī as supreme suzerain. Some coins of this same year struck in Shāsh (type 224/300) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Pādshāh İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī. Neither suzerain nor any vassal of his are mentioned. But by that time, in 402, Mut was already striking coins again in Ispījāb, first as a vassal of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī then, after peace was made, as a vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 223/282-286).

In 403 Naṣr died and the situation changed. Coins of AH 403 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 226/326-328) cite Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī or Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla and his vassal, Yūsuf. Type 226/328 also cites a subvassal Māmūnī. Fulūs of AH 403 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 226/329-330) cite Amīr al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Alī or Amīr Ṭongā Qarākhāqān (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and his vassal, Yūsuf.

In 404 (Kochnev 1995, 229-230/372-377) the coins cite Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī, and his vassals and subvassals. Type 229/372 cites the vassal, 'Alī (reverse) and subvassal, Yūsuf (obverse). Type 230/373 cites, on the reverse, the vassal, 'Alī, on the obverse, subvassal Yūsuf (above the Kalima) and subsubvassal *Nasr* (under the Kalima). Type 230/374 cites, on the obverse, vassal Yūsuf (above the Kalima) and subvassal *Nasr* (under the Kalima). Type 230/375 cites, on the obverse, vassal Yūsuf (above the Kalima) and subvassal Rāzī (under the Kalima). Type 230/376 cites on the obverse, vassal Yūsuf (above the Kalima) and subvassal 'İbād (under the Kalima). Type 230/377 cites, on the obverse, only the vassal Yūsuf.

In AH 404 a war broke out between Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Arslān Khān Manṣūr. The third of the brothers, Muḥammad b. 'Alī was at first loyal to Aḥmad but then sided with Manṣūr.

In 405 (Kochnev 1995, 232/407-410) coins of Shāsh cite Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī or Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Type 232/407 cites, on the obverse, vassal Yūsuf (above the Kalima) and subvassal Rāzī (under the Kalima). Types 232/408, 410 cite Yūsuf as vassal. Type 232/409 cites, on the reverse, 'Alī as vassal and, on the obverse, Yūsuf as subvassal. Then the situation changed.

For part of AH 406 (Kochnev 1995, 234/433-434) coins of Shāsh cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and his vassal and brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek. Then Muḥammad b. 'Alī sided with Arslān Khān Manṣūr b. 'Alī. Some coins of AH 406 (Kochnev 1995, 234/435-438) cite Sanā al-Daula İlek, or Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek, or İlek and his suzerain, Shams al-Daula Malik al-'Ādil Manṣūr b. 'Alī or Malik al-'Ādil Manṣūr b. 'Alī Shams al-Daula or simply Shams al-Daula Khān.

In 407/1016-17 peace was made between the warring brothers and, soon after that in 408/1017-18, Ṭoghān Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī died (Bartold 1963, 336, 591; Fedorov 1972, 153). Under the terms of the peace treaty some towns were returned to Aḥmad, but Shāsh was not restored to him. During part of AH 407, coins of Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 235/440, 237/269-473) cite Arslān Khān and İlek. I believe these were struck before peace was concluded. Then mention of Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek disappears from the coins of Shāsh and in 407-409 (Kochnev 1995, 237/269-472, 239/494) they cite Nūr al-Daula Shams al-Milla Arslān Khān as the sole owner of Shāsh. Fulūs of AH 407 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 237/473), most probably struck before peace was made, cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek, without any suzerain being mentioned.

Then in 409 some Shāsh dirhems (Kochnev 1995, 240/512) cite Arslān Khān and his vassal, Jaghrī Tegīn. A fals of AH 406 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 233/415) cites, on the reverse, Arslān Khān and Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn (field) Amīr al-Sayyid Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Manṣūr (marginal legend). So Jaghrī Tegīn was the son of Arslān Khān Manṣūr.

In 404-405 coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 229/368, 231/394,395) cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān and his vassal, Jaghrī

Tegīn. Then in 405, coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 231/396) cite Arslān Khān and his vassal, 'Adud al-Daula Jaghrī (Tegīn) *Hus(ain)*, the name Ḥusain being written in Uigur. This dirhem shows that Jaghrī Tegīn Ḥusain changed allegiance and sided with Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr in the latter's war (of AH 404-407) against Tongā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Oddly enough, in 404 and part of 405 Jaghrī Tegīn was a loyal vassal of Tongā Khān Aḥmad, despite the fact that his father, Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr, had waged a war against Aḥmad b. 'Alī. But times change!

In 410 (Kochnev 1995, 242/539-542) coins of Shāsh (type 242/539) cite Nūr al-Daula Abū-l Muzaffār Arslān Khān as immediate owner of the town. Then in that same year types 242/540-542 cite Nūr al-Daula Abū-l Muzaffār Arslān Khān or Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān as suzerain of Ūkā (reverse) 'Alī (obverse) or Toḡhā Ūkā (reverse). Ūkā in Turkic mean "younger brother", so maybe 'Alī Toḡhā Ūkā was a younger brother of Arslān Khān. "Toḡhā" in Turkic means "hero, champion".

In 411 (Kochnev 1995, 243-244/563-565) coins of Shāsh cite Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān as suzerain of Illās al-Ḥajjāj. Judging by his name, this vassal was certainly not a junior Qarākhānid.

In 412 (Kochnev 1995, 244-245/576, 581-589) some coins of Shāsh (244-245/576, 581-589) cite Arslān Khān and his vassal, al-Manṣūr İlek (i.e. Arslān Khān's brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī; al-Manṣūr in this case is not a proper name but an epithet meaning "Victorious"). Type 245/583 also cites a subvassal named Mīrek. Other types (245/586-589) cite only Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī or Malik al-Manṣūr İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Arslān Khān is not cited on these dirhems. One type (245/ 589) cites also a vassal of Muḥammad b. 'Alī named Kūpchūrbek.

In 413 (Kochnev 1995, 246/599-603) dirhems of Shāsh cite Arslān Khān as suzerain of al-Manṣūr İlek, though one type (246/603) cites only Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Arslān Khān is not cited on these coins. In 414-415 (Kochnev 1995, 235/441, 246/600-602, 612) dirhems of Shāsh cite Arslān Khān as the suzerain of al-Manṣūr İlek (or simply İlek).

In 415/1024-25 Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr and İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was usurped by another branch of the Qarākhānids, the so-called "Ḥasanids". Toḡhā (Toḡhān) Khān (II) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan usurped the throne and captured the capital of Arslān Khān, Balāsāghūn, which town also had the name "Quz Qrdū" (Fedorov 1980, 38-39, footnote 4).

In 415 (Kochnev 1995, 247-248/630, 635-642) there was new ruler in Shāsh. Types 247/630, 640-642 cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (suzerain Muḥammad b. Ḥasan) and his vassal, İlek al-'Ādil 'Alī b. Ḥasan or İlek al-'Ādil Bahā al-Daula. Types 248/640, 642, 643 cite, on the obverse, a subvassal Yazdādī. Types 247-248/636-639 cite, on the reverse, Khān (suzerain Muḥammad b. Ḥasan) and Bahā al-Daula İlek, or simply İlek. Type 248/639 cites, on the obverse, the subvassal Yazdādī. Some coins of 415-416 (types 247/ 635, 249/666-669) cite Malik al-'Ādil Toḡhān Khān (suzerain Muḥammad b. Ḥasan), vassal Bahā al-Daula İlek, or simply İlek, (i.e. 'Alī b. Ḥasan) and sometimes subvassal Rāzī.

In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān Yūsuf, ruler of Kāshghar, invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids. At the same time Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan (known in the chronicles as 'Alī Tegīn), the brother of Toḡhā (Toḡhān) Khān Muḥammad, hid with troops in the desert. Very soon however, Maḥmūd realised that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and returned with his enormous army to Ghazna. But Maḥmūd's intervention allowed Qadir Khān to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket till AH 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende to Qadir Khān (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

In 418 (Kochnev 1995, 251/695) dirhems of Shāsh cite Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Sīn.

In 421 (Kochnev 1995, 253/727-731) types 253/727-728 cite Qavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān as vassal of Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. of his father, Qadir Khān Yūsuf). Types 253/729-731 do not cite any suzerain. Type 253/729 also cites a vassal of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, called Māmūnī.

In 422 (Kochnev 1995, 253/739-740) coins of Shāsh cite Qavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān as vassal of Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. of Qadir Khān Yūsuf.

According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1963a, 43) Qadir Khān died in Muḥarram (first month) AH 424. Coins of Shāsh struck in Muḥarram 424 (Kochnev 1995, 256/774) cite Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān as vassal of Malik al-Mashriq. Then in 424-425 (Kochnev 1995, 256/775) dirhems of Shāsh cite Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān as vassal of his elder brother, Arslān Khān (Sulaimān b. Yūsuf). Some coins of AH 425 (Kochnev 1995, 257/797) cite Arslān Khān, vassal Sulṭān al-Daula (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf) and subvassal, their brother, Jabra'īl b. Qadir Khāqān. Some coins of AH 425 (Kochnev 1995, 258/798) cite suzerain Malik al-Mashriq and vassal Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān but they were struck from an obsolete reverse die of AH 424 coins.

In 426 (Kochnev 1995, 258/808) coins of Shāsh cite Boghrā Khān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf) and his vassal and brother, Jabra'īl b. Qadir Khāqān. There is no mention of Arslān Khān as supreme suzerain. Dirhems of AH 426 Shāsh are the first coins where Muḥammad b. Yūsuf is cited with the khanian title, Boghrā Khān, i.e. as equal to (and independent from) Arslān Khān.

Dirhems of AH 427, 430 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 259/821) cite Qavvām al-Daula Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān as the sole, independent possessor of Shāsh. Neither Arslān Khān nor Jabra'īl b. Qadir Khāqān are cited on those dirhems.

In AH 433 (Kochnev 1997, 277/1187) dirhems of Shāsh cite Qavvām al-Daula Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā-*Han* (written in Uigur). Then there is a gap in the coinage of Shāsh until AH 445 (Kochnev 1997, 281/1233, 1234) when the dirhems of Shāsh cite Malik al-Islām Qavvām al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān.

Around the year 447 Arslān Khān attacked Boghrā Khān but Boghrā Khān defeated him and took him prisoner. Boghrā Khān became the supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. But 15 months later he was poisoned by one of his wives (who also ordered the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be strangled). She put on the throne her juvenile son, Ibrahīm. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Ibrahīm was defeated and killed by the ruler of Barskhān, Ināl Tegīn. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm took advantage of this internecine war to attack the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids in AH 416-418 to Qadir Khān Yūsuf, including even easternmost Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

Dirhems (Kochnev 1997, 252/909) minted in Shāsh in 45(8?) cite Yemīn (al-Daula Toḡhān Tegīn (Sh)u'aith-i Ibrahīm, i.e. Shu'aith son of Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. It is strange that Shu'aith did not mention his father as suzerain. Dirhems (Kochnev 1997, 252/918-919) minted in Shāsh in 45(9?) cite 'Imād al-Daula wa Ṭāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm or Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm and his vassal, Toḡhrul Tegīn on the obverse. Could it be that Kochnev mistook Toḡhān Tegīn for Toḡhrul Tegīn?

Coins minted in Shāsh in 45(9?) (Kochnev 1997, 252/917) cite 'Imād al-Daula wa Ṭāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm; no vassal is cited. Coins minted in Shāsh in 45(7?) 9?) and in Shāsh(?) in 45(9?) (Kochnev 1997, 250/896) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Sīn; no vassal is cited. Dirhems minted in Shāsh in 45x (Kochnev 1997, 253/924) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-

Mashriq wa'l Šīn; no vassal is cited. So it seems that Ibrahīm's son Shu'aith possessed Shāsh but was later deprived of it because of his independent policy which reflected in the fact that he did not cite his father as suzerain on his coins.

Coins minted in Shāsh in 460 (Kochnev 1997, 253/931) cite al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn and his vassal, Īnāl Tegīn who could be either some new vassal or the same Shu'aith with the higher title of Īnāl Tegīn. Before his death, Ibrahīm, weak from illness, abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. His other son, Shu'aith, rebelled. Internecine war broke out between the brothers in 460/1068. The Eastern Qarākhānids used this to attack the Western Qarākhānids and reconquered almost all the lands lost by them to Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Only Khojende, which became a frontier town, was left to Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov, 1983, 122).

In 462/1069-70 coins of Shāsh (Kochnev 1997, 287/1338) already cite the Eastern Qarākhānids: 'Imād al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Qarākhāqān and his son and vassal, Zain al-Dīn 'Umar Jaghry(?) Tegīn. It looks as if Kochnev misread Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn as Jaghry Tegīn, because on all the other coins and also in the written sources 'Umar always had the title, Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn. The dirhems of AH 462 Shāsh are the latest Qarākhānid coins so far recorded for this mint.

Binket

There is one fals minted in AH 403 on which Markov (1896, 226/227) read the mint-name as Bukhārā, Vasmer (1930, 90 anm. 9) as Binket and Kochnev (1995, 224/303) as Benāket. On another fals of exactly the same type he (Kochnev 1995, 225/306) read the mint-name as Dakhket. These fulūs cite, on the reverse, Sanā al-Daula Khān (field) al-Amīr al-Ajall Muḥammad b. 'Alī (marginal legend) and al-Khān al-'Ādil Nāṣir... (i.e. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān Ahmad b. 'Alī) in the obverse marginal legend.

Kochnev (1993, 197-198) wrote: "AH 403 fulūs of Benāket and Dakhket cite, in the reverse field, Sanā al-Daula Khān. The position of the title, Khān, and the laqab Sanā al-Daula, which belonged to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, leads one to attribute the title, Khān, to Muḥammad. One must not exclude the possibility that, because of serious changes in the dynastic situation after the death of Naṣr b. 'Alī ... Muḥammad laid claim to the title of Khān, but very soon renounced his claim. The utter scarcity of coins with the inscription 'Sanā ad-Daula Khān' (only three pieces) ... raises another possibility namely that this inscription is the result of a mistake. Although the same mistake on coins of two different towns seems impossible (yes, indeed! - M. F.) one should bear in mind that these three fulūs are identical and differ only in their mint-names (underlined by me - M. F.) i.e. they derived from the same prototype where the mistake in question had been made".

But the identical nature of the said coins is evidence that they were minted at the same mint of Binket or Benāket and that the reading "Dakhket" by Kochnev is mistaken. To support his mistaken reading, Kochnev had to invent some "common prototype with a mistake", from which both the coins of Binket or Benāket and so called "Dakhket" supposedly derived. But, in fact, things were considerably simpler: the title of suzerain "Khān" is written in large letters in the middle of the field while the laqab of the vassal, "Sanā / al-Daula", is written in smaller letters above and under the title of the suzerain.

So if Vasmer was right, the earliest Qarākhānid coin of Binket was minted in 403/1012-13. Then there was gap of half a century. In 458/1065-66 dirhems of Binket (Kochnev 1997, 251/904) cite the supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānids, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭaghā(!) Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn and a certain (vassal?) 'Alī. In 459 dirhems of Binket (Kochnev 1997, 252/910) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn. No vassal is cited.

Circa AH 460 Ibrahīm abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. His other son Shu'aith rebelled. Internecine war broke out between the brothers. The Eastern Qarākhānids took advantage of this, attacked the Western Qarākhānids and reconquered almost all the lands lost by them to

Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Only Khojende, which became the frontier town, was left to Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov, 1983, 122).

In 461 coins of Binket (Kochnev 1997, 256/953) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm and his son, Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Šīn. Kochnev (1997, 296) noticed that the reverse die of this coin, citing Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm was obsolete, and that a die of this type was used on another coin with an obverse die dated 44(5?). According to the chronicles Ibrahīm died in AH 460 (Bartold 1963b, 630), but there are several coins of AH 461 which cite Ibrahīm. It is difficult to accept that all of them were struck from obsolete dies. Another dirhem of AH 461 Binket (Kochnev 1997, 255/949) reflects another political situation which prevailed in 461 in Binket. This coin cites Malik al-'Ādil Nāṣir al-Haqq wa'l Dīn Nāṣr (reverse) Shams al-Mulk Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Šīn (obverse). There is no mention of Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm on this coin.

The AH 461 coin of Binket is very important because it shows that the Eastern Qarākhānids conquered Shāsh no earlier than 461/1068-69 and no later than 462/1069-70. It will be recalled that, in AH 462, the coins of Shāsh (Kochnev 1997, 287/1338) cite the Eastern Qarākhānids 'Imād al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Qarākhāqān and his son and vassal, Zain al-Dīn 'Umar.

The dirhems of AH 461 Binket are the latest Qarākhānid coins of this mint known so far.

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Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
388	D	W. Khān al-Ajall ('Alī b. Mūsā?)	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (Naṣr b. 'Alī)	
391	D	W. Khān al-'Ādil Saif al-Daula (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Naṣr b. al-Qasīm	
391	D	The same		
392	F	The same	Naṣr (b. al-Qasīm)	
392	D	W. Khān al-'Ādil Qutb al-Daula (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)		
393	F	W. Khān al-'Ādil Abu'l Favāris Alp (Aḥmad)		
394-395	D	W. Khān Naṣr al-Milla Abī Naṣr (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Yūsuf	
394	D	W. Khān Naṣr al-Milla (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)		
394	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Yūsuf	
394-396	D	The same		
394-396	F	W. Khān /Kān al-'Ādil (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Amīr Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh	
395	F		Yūsuf	
396	F		Amīr Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh	
395-396	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Naṣr or Naṣr (b. al-Qasīm)	
398	D	The same	Naṣr	
399-400	D	W. Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Nizām al-Daula Tonghātegīn (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	
400-401	D	The same	The same	Rāzī
400	D	W. Nizām al-Daula Tonghātegīn	Rāzī	
401	D	W. Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (Naṣr b. 'Alī)	Mu'izz al-Daula Mut
402	D	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	Mu'izz al-Daula	
402	D	The same		
403	D	W. Khāqān Qutb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Yūsuf	
403	D	W. Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla	Yūsuf	
403	D	The same	Yūsuf	Māmūnī
403	F	W. Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Yūsuf	
403	F	W. Tongā Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Yūsuf	
404,5	D	W. Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī	'Alī	Yūsuf
404	D	The same	'Alī	Yūsuf & Naṣr
404	D	The same	Yūsuf	Naṣr
404,5	D	The same	Yūsuf	Rāzī
404	D	The same	Yūsuf	'Ayyār
404,5	D	The same	Yūsuf	
405	D	W. Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abī al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. 'Alī	Yūsuf	
406	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān	W. İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
406	D	W. Shams al-Daula Khān	The same	
406	D	W. Shams al-Daula Manşūr b. 'Alī	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
406	D	W. Manşūr b. 'Alī	W. Sanā al-Daula İlek	
407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
407-409	D	W. Nūr al-Daula wa Shams al-Milla Arslān Khān		
407,8,10	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān		
407	F	W. İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī		
408,9	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)		
409	D	The same	W. Jaghrytegīn	
410	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān	W. Ükā 'Alī?	'Alī?
410	D	The same	W. Tonghā Ükā	
411	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān	Ilyās al-Ḥajjāj	
412	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
412	D	W. Nūr al-Daula	The same	
412	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	Mirek
412	D	W. İlek(or Malik) al-Manşūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī		
(412)	D	W. Muḥammad b. 'Alī	Küpchür(?) Bek	
413	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
413	D	W. Malik al-Manşūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī		

Table 1. Shāsh. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānids.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
415	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Īlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan	
415,6	D	W. Toḡhān Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Īlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	Rāzī
415	D	W. Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	The same	
415	D	The same	W. Bahā al-Daula Īlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	
415	D	The same	W. Īlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	Yazdādī
415	D	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	W. Īlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan	The same
415	D	The same	W. Bahā al-Daula Īlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan	
415	D	The same	W. Bahā al-Daula Īlek	Yazdādī
416	D	W. Toḡhān Khān (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan)	The same	
416	D	The same	W. Īlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan)	
416	D	The same	The same	Rāzī
418	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Sīn (!) Qadir Khān (Yūsuf b. Bogrā Khān Hārūn)		
421	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	E. Qavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān	
421	D	E. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān	Māmūnī	
421,2	D	E. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khā(-n or -qān)		
421,2	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	E. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khā(-n or -qān)	
422?	F	The same	The same	
424	D	The same	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān	Mīrek
424,5	D	E. Arslān Khān (Sulaimān b. Yūsuf)	The same	
425	D	The same	E. Sulṭān al-Daula (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	E. Jabra'il b. Qadir Khān
425	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Sulaimān b. Yūsuf?)	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān	
426	D	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)	E. Jabra'il b. Qadir Khāqān	
427,430	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Qavvām al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)		
433	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Qavvām al-Daula Boghrā Han (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)		
445	D	E. Qavvām al-Daula Malik al-Islām Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)		
457?,9	D	W. Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Sīn al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr)		
460	D	The same	W. Ināltegin	
458?	D	W. Yemīn ...tegin Shu'aith (b.) Ibrahīm		
459?	D	W. 'Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr)		
459?	D	The same	W. Toḡhrul(Toḡhān?)tegin	
459?	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	The same	
46x ?	D	Arslāntegin Shams? (or Shu'aith?) Ibrahīm	'Abbās b. ...	
462	D	E. 'Imād al-Daula Toḡhrul Qarākhāqān	E. Zain al-Dīn Toḡhrulteḡīn 'Umar	

Table 2. Shāsh. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year	Suzerain	Vassal
458	W. Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Sīn al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭabghā(!) Khān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr)	'Alī
459	W. Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Sīn al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr)	
461	W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm (old die?)	W. Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Sīn Shams al-Mulk (Naṣr b. Ibrahīm)
461	W. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Sīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (b. Ibrahīm)	

Table 3. Binket. All coins dirhems. W – Western Qarākhānid.

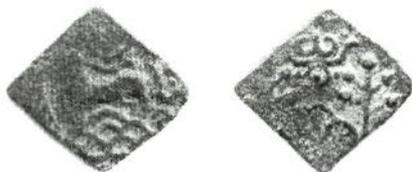
Three Ancient Indian Copper Coins

By Richard Wells and Wilfried Pieper

The following three coins in Richard Wells' collection appear to be unpublished and are illustrated and described here.



1. A uniface punch-marked copper coin from the Narmada valley, punched with five different devices. On the bottom there is a river-symbol, consisting of two parallel wavy lines with indistinct objects, representing water animals, between the lines. On top there is a double-orbed Ujjain-symbol. In the middle portion of the coin three devices are arranged from left to right: a bull to right, a railing, probably as part of an incomplete tree-in-railing or standard-in-railing, and a bold srivatsa symbol. The special importance of this coin results from the presence of the srivatsa symbol. The coin type is unrecorded and, furthermore, to our knowledge a srivatsa is unknown until now on the entire series of Narmada copper punch-marked coins. Such a type is even missing from the recently published specialised collection of Prof. Shankar Tiwari (*Shankar Tiwari collection of Early Coins from Narmada Valley*, by S.J.Manglam and P.Tiwari, 2001). What however is known, is a series of worn die-struck Ujjain copper coins counterstruck with a srivatsa symbol (see *Ancient Indian Coins*, by O.Bopearachchi and W.Pieper, 1998, pl.11, coins 4-5). It might be that the counterstriking was done by the same authorities who also issued the punch-marked coin described here.



2. The obverse of this square copper coin shows a lion to left standing on a hill. The hill is composed of eight arches: four forming the bottom row, three forming the middle row and one bigger arch on top. Behind the lion, on the right side, can be seen a part of a nandipada symbol. The reverse of the coin has a multi-arched hill symbol with the exact number of arches unclear. Above the hill is a nandipada. The hill is flanked by a tree on either side: that on the right is very clear, that on the left is somewhat indistinct. In *Numismatic Digest*, vol.III, pt. II, 1979, p.26, a similar coin was published which, however, was of lead, weighing 2.9 grams with a diameter of 15x14 mm. The ND coin came from Kotalingala, an ancient site in the district of Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh. On the ND coin the lion is seen without a hill symbol. But of course it could be that the hill symbol on that specimen is simply off the flan. The reverse design is related to that of the specimen published here but the trees flanking the hill represent a new design variety. Nevertheless, this new type seems to be connected with the Kotalingala series.



3. There seem to be five punches on this Narmada valley copper coin, two of them are not identifiable. The identifiable ones are an elephant with upraised trunk, a tree in a four-compartment-railing and a wheel symbol. A wheel is extremely rare within the series in

question and only known from Mitchiner, ACW, coin 4615. The Mitchiner coin is a heavy 17.6 grams copper punched with only three devices: an elephant, a flower-on-hill and a wheel. Though the specimen published here is of incomplete design, it deserves attention because of the presence of the wheel symbol on it. Until now Mitchiner's coin seems to have been the only known specimen with a wheel symbol within the entire series of Narmada valley copper punch-marked coins.

Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia

By Osmund Bopearachchi

I have published in a previous Newsletter, (*ONS* 169, pp. 19-21) nine bronze coins which belonged to a hoard containing 22 Indo-Greek bronze coins, found in 2000 at Pandayale, a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area in Pakistan. The coin that I publish here, also from the same hoard, entered the private collection of Mr. Muhammad Riaz Babar, along with three other bronze coins:

1. *Menander I*. Bust of Athena / Shield with Gorgon head, *BN*, 19 A. M .
20 x 20 mm. 7.15 g
2. *Diomedes*. Dioscuri standing facing / Humped bull to r., *BN*, 10 C. $\Sigma \boxtimes$.
20 x 18 mm. 8.16 g
3. *Diomedes*. Types and monograms as on the previous coin.
20 x 17 mm. 8.48 g

It was Mr. Babar who first identified the present overstrike: Thanks to his collaboration, I was able to examine the coin personally. I am most grateful to him for authorising me to publish it. As we shall see later, there is no doubt that this bronze coin of Agathocleia and Strato (*BN*, series 3) is overstruck on a coin of Diomedes (*BN*, series 10). There are instances where new overstrikes generate much enthusiasm. However, this new overstrike causes more problems than it solves. Let me come to this point later.

Here is the description of the over-types and the under-types (see the line drawing by François Ory):

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD 22 x 19 mm. 8.63 g



Obv. Over-type of the coin of Agathocleia and Strato:
Helmeted bust of Athena to r. Legend in Greek:
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ / ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛ[ΕΙΑΣ].

Under-type of the reverse of Diomedes (when the coin is rotated 90°): Traces of the humped bull to r.
Legend in Kharoshthi: [Maharajasa / tratarasa / Di]yunitasa.

Rev. Over-type of the coin of Agathocleia and Strato:
Herakles seated on a rock, holding the club against his r. thigh. To l. upper part of the monogram: Kf .
Legend in Kharoshthi: Maharajasa / tratarasa dhra/mikasa Stra[tasa].

Under-type of the obverse of Diomedes (when the coin is rotated 90°): Traces of Dioscuri, standing facing, holding a spear.

Legend in Greek: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΔΙ]ΟΜΗΔΟΥ.



The reverse die of Agathocleia and Strato's issue had penetrated deep into the obverse of Diomedes' coin leaving no room for any doubt to identify the undertype. It is evident that the dies of Agathocleia and Strato have been used to overstrike the coin of Diomedes.

As we know, a large number of bronze coins of Heliocles II are overstruck on coins of Agathocleia and Strato, but this is the first known coin of Agathocleia and Strato overstruck on a coin of Diomedes. This overstrike thus puts into question the chronological frame of c.135-125 BC attributed to Agathocleia and of c. 95-90 BC to Diomedes. Consequently, the chronological order attributed to Agathocleia and Strato and Diomedes has to be reconsidered in the light of this overstrike.

Even in spite of any textual evidence, it is generally agreed that queen Agathocleia, whose name and portrait appear on a number of coin issues, either alone or in conjunction with those of Strato, was the mother if not at least the regent of the latter. When the coins of Agathocleia are set in a chronological sequence, we can indeed observe that Agathocleia was regent during the infancy of Strato. On a first series of coins the portrait of Agathocleia together with her name in Greek appears on the obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, while the name and titles of Strato in Kharoshthi, without portrait, are relegated to the reverse: *Maharajasa tratarasa Dhramikasa Stratarasa* (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 1). On the next issue, she takes the title "Θεοτρόπος" (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 2). At the second stage the portrait of Agathocleia occurs in association with that of Strato, with the legend in Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, and on the reverse appears the legend in Kharoshthi *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratarasa Agathukriae* (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 5), associated with Menander's monetary type Athena Alkidemos. In the next series her name disappears from the Kharoshthi legend (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 6). The numismatic evidence thus shows how, with the growth of her son, Agathocleia gradually abandoned her role of queen-regent, until her portrait and her name disappear completely from the coinage. For these reasons it is impossible to separate the series represented by the bronze coin of Agathocleia and Strato, from the proper issues of Strato I.

I have considered Diomedes as immediate successor of Philoxenus because of the monograms appearing on their coins. Out of his six monograms, Diomedes shared five of them Σ, Φ, Β, Δ, Α

with Philoxenus. In addition, stylistically the portrait of Diomedes is closer to that of Philoxenus.

At least three possibilities can be suggested to interpret this overstrike which jeopardise to a certain extent conventional chronological sequence attributed to Agathocleia—Strato and Diomedes.

1. The first possibility is to accept that some dies were reused even many years after the death of the sovereign in question. This hypothesis may lead to a dangerous exercise. It can be used as a trump card whenever an embarrassing problem arises. In addition to everything else, it would provoke more controversy concerning numismatic methodology. It must be stressed here that there are several ways to interpret the reasons for overstriking. It may result from the shortage of metal, but it applies more to precious metal, I mean gold and silver. The second, perhaps the most valid reason, as far as the Indo-Greek coinage is concerned, is to erase the memory of predecessors (see C.H.V. Sutherland (1942) and G. Le Rider (1975). Obviously this logic does not apply to a dead sovereign overstriking coins of a living king. I personally think that this overstrike cannot be regarded as a pure mint accident that occurred some time after the death of Agathocleia. As matter of fact, the obverse and reverse dies of Agathocleia and Strato's present coin are identical to the one in the American Numismatic Society (SNG, no. 983). In another words, it is more likely, that the overstrike was done when the regular bronze coins were issued. So, one has to discard the first possibility.

2. The second possibility is to consider Agathocleia as a successor or a close contemporary of Diomedes, and place her reign 40 years after the death of Menander I.

3. The third possibility is to place Diomedes as an immediate successor of Menander I and Eucratides I. In favour of this hypothesis one may argue that among the successors of Eucratides, Diomedes is the only king who adheres fully to Eucratides' monetary type. Diomedes represented as his predominant reverse type the mounted Dioscuri prancing, holding spears and palms (BN, Diomedes, series 1-7), which was the monetary type *par excellence* of Eucratides I (e.g. BN, Eucratides I, series 1-2, 4-8). Furthermore, out of his six monograms, Diomedes shared three Φ, Δ, Α with Eucratides I.

I prefer to leave the question open for the moment until I complete the corpus of all the Indo-Greek coins. This corpus may help us to solve at least some of the chronological problems in the light of new numismatic evidence. It is hoped that such a study would lead to a greater appreciation of the very real difficulties a numismatist has to face in reconstructing the history of one of the most enigmatic periods of India's past.

BN: O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.

SNG: O. Bopearachchi, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, Part 9, New York, 1998.

C.H.V. Sutherland, "Overstrikes and Hoards: The movement of Greek Coinage down to 400 B.C.", *NC* 1942, p. 1-18.

G. Le Rider, "Contremarques et surfrappes dans l'Antiquité grecque", dans *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Annales de l'est, publiées par l'Université de Nancy II*, Mémoire no. 44, 1975, p. 27 - 55.

To Err is Human

By Osmund Bopearachchi & Klaus Grigo

Attention is drawn to an article published in a previous issue of the same journal to a coin of Lysias characterised by an engraving mistake (*ONS Newsletter*, 169, 2001, pp. 20-1. There the name of the king in Greek appears as ΥΠΙΣΥΛ instead of the usual ΑΥΣΙΟΥ). The present notice is based on another coin of the

same series struck in the name of the same Indo-Greek king characterised by a different engraving error.

LYSIAS. AE, INDIAN-STANDARD, Circular flan.



Obv. Bust of Heracles to r., wearing wreath, club and palm over his left shoulder. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΗΤΟΥ / ΙΚΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. Elephant walking to r. *Maharajasa apadihatasa / Lisiasa.*

22. 9, mm, 5.20 g. Below: Π (BN, series 9. B). (see the line drawing by François Ory).



Apart from the right stroke of the monogram which takes the form of an elongated 'S' instead of the usual concave line, the reverse does not have any anomalies. It is the obverse that interests us more. Instead of the usual legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΛΥΣΙΟΥ, appears: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΗΤΟΥ / ΙΚΛΥΣΙΟΥ. While engraving the legend the engraver has mistakenly left out two letters: 'IK' of ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ. Realising the error, he had then made up for it by introducing the two missing letters at the beginning of the king's name in Greek, thus creating confusion.

This coin is one of the many specimens of the second Mir Zakah deposit which reached the Peshawar bazaars. The yellowish-reddish patina of this specimen is one of the main characteristics of the bronze coins from the two Mir Zakah deposits (see BN, pp. 37-8).

This coin enables us to understand the different stages of die-engraving. It seems that first the type and then the legend were engraved. Concerning the legend, first the title 'Βασιλεως' was engraved. This starts at 7 o'clock, instead of the usual 9 o'clock and ends up at 10 o'clock. The epithet begins at 11 o'clock. The engraver realised his mistake only when the epithet ended up at 2 o'clock. If the epithet was correctly engraved it would have reached the usual 4 o'clock position. In order to fill the large gap between 2 o'clock and 7 o'clock which represents more than one third of the total space, the engraver added the two missing letters: IK of ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ at 6 o'clock. The name of the king, instead of the usual 8 o'clock to 5 o'clock anti-clockwise disposition, begins at 5 o'clock. To our knowledge, this is the first known example of Indo-Greek coinage where a die-engraving error in the legend was subsequently corrected.

O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.

O. Bopearachchi, "Some interesting coins from the Pandayale hoard", *News Letter ONS*, 169, 2001, p. 19-21.

Three Interesting Indo-Greek Coins

By Osmund Bopearachchi & Ta-Cheng Li

The aim of this short article is to examine three very interesting Indo-Greek coins in the private collection of Ta-Cheng Li.

1. LYSIAS. AR. INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM



Obv. Diademed bust of king to left, wearing a crested helmet, seen from the back, thrusting spear with his upraised right hand. The left shoulder of the king is covered by an elephant scalp with tusks instead of an aegis.

Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. Naked Herakles standing facing, crowning himself with his right hand, and carrying club, palm and lion's skin in his left arm.

Monogram: Π.

Legend in Kharoshthi: *Maharajasa apadihatasa / Lisiasa.*

This coin, which was for sale on eBAY, 2000, item # 408796294, belongs to a bilingual series struck in the name of Lysias known from more than ten coins, but interestingly, it is the first known specimen with the monogram Π. Of course, this monogram, in both the forms Π and Π, though rare, is attested in Lysias' coinage, see for example, BN, series, 4 B, 8 D & E, 9 A. The lower part of the Kharoshthi legend is off flan, yet the upper portion of 'a' is clearly visible. So the name of the king with this monogram has to be read as *Lisiasa*. The dark patina of the coin is characteristic of silver coins from both Mir Zakah deposits (BN, pp. 37-9).

2. AR ATTIC-STANDARD TETRADRACHM



Obv. Diademed bust of king to right, wearing a *kausia*.

Rev. Poseidon standing facing, holding a long trident in his right hand, and in his left a palm with ribbon.

Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

To l. Π, to r. Π. The letter 'B' under Poseidon's armpit. BN, series I. 16, 19 g., 32 mm.

The first coin bearing these two monograms came to our notice from the Kuliab hoard found in January 1998 in the region of Kuliab, situated in modern Tadjikistan, about 8 to 10 km from the Qizil Mazar in the Qizil Su valley, on the right bank of the Oxus River (O. Bopearachchi, 2000, Kuliab hoard, no. 136). The hoard seems to have comprised 800 tetradrachms and drachms. We had access to 205 coins, 52 tetradrachms, 48 drachms and 105 obols (O. Bopearachchi, 1999). The second specimen bearing the same monograms appeared in the CNG, *Mail Bid Sale*, 50, no. 1016.

The third specimen which we publish here, was for sale in *Dmitry Markov Coins and Medals, Mail Bid Auction*, 10, no. 207. The inverted "E" first appeared to us as an engraving error, like no. 137 of the Kuliab hoard (O. Bopearachchi, 1999), where instead of the usual , we get , with an inverted 'N'. Curiously enough, the three coins known until now bearing the combined monograms:  &  are all struck from different dies. Consequently, it is more difficult to consider this 'anomaly' as a pure accident. Nevertheless, we have no explanation to justify the presence of such inverted letters.

We further observe, the presence of a small letter 'B' under Poseidon's armpit when viewed from some angles. Since we did not have access to the other two coins bearing the same combined monograms, it is very difficult to detect from the photographs alone, whether this letter is present or not. Could it be a secret signature of the engraver?

3. AR ATTIC-STANDARD TETRADRACHM



Obv. Diademed bust of Heliocles I to r.
Rev. Apollo standing facing, head left, holding arrow in right hand; bow in left hand, resting on ground.
 Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
 To l.  or .

This coin was for sale on *eBAY*, 1999, item # 195365205, and was described as "Obv- Diademed bust of Eucratides II right. Rev- Apollo standing, facing, holding bow and arrow". The portrait on the obverse is certainly not of Eucratides II. Certain facial characteristics are closer in style to the middle-aged portrait of Heliocles I as depicted on his coins. Furthermore, on the known coins of Eucratides II with the parallel legend arrangement on the reverse (cf. *BN*, series 1), the two diadem ends of the king's portrait on the obverse fall downwards in parallel straight lines from the knot (see for example *Trésor de Qunduz*, nos. 248-340). The diadem with undulate ends flying in the air, similar to the one on the present coin, are not attested on the tetradrachms of Eucratides II with parallel legends. On the contrary, this type of diadem arrangement is known from some issues of Heliocles II (see for example *Trésor de Qunduz*, nos. 396, 480 & 518).

The reverse of the coin depicting Apollo standing facing, head to left, holding arrow and bow belongs to the first series of Eucratides II as indicated by the Greek legend (cf. *BN*, series 1). This monogram  with its variant , is the commonest of all the tetradrachms of Eucratides II. The Qunduz hoard alone had 26 specimens with this monogram. Yet not a single reverse die identical to the present coin is so far reported. Besides, one may also observe, on the coins bearing this monogram, that the position of the arrowhead pointing to the upper middle portion of the monogram is not so far attested in Eucratides II's coins. The two words of the legend are not arranged symmetrically either, the one on the left being slightly slanting.

This coin is most probably a mule. We have no proof whatsoever for showing any family relationship between

Eucratides I and his successor, Eucratides II. We know that Eucratides I was assassinated by a son who shared the kingship with him, so the murderer in question would have been one of his successors, Eucratides II, Plato or Heliocles I, known to us through their coins. What is certain is that Eucratides II was a successor of Eucratides I along with Plato and Heliocles I in southern Bactria. Like Plato and Heliocles I, Eucratides II seems to have struck only silver coins of Attic standard, which are correctly attributed to Bactria. The possibility of such a mule could be explained by the fact that most of the coins of the three kings henceforth limited to a restricted area in Bactria, were struck in the same mint.

BN: O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.

Trésor de Qunduz: R. Curiel & G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz* (MDAFA, XX), Paris, 1965.

O. Bopearachchi (1999), "La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)", *Indologica Taurinensia*, 1999, pp. 15-121.

Some more rare Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic coins

By Bob Senior

43) HOSPISES In ONS Newsletter 170, page 18 I published a coin of an early Kshaharata Satrap that had been found in the Punjab. The identity of that Satrap was not completely certain though I suspect it is Abheraka, but the coin located these early Kshaharatas in the north and identified their coinage as being on a lighter weight standard than that used by the Indo-Greek Apollodotos II, whose coins they copied. This weight standard was c. 11.5 g. Now, an even more remarkable coin has surfaced in Abbottabad, some 100 km north of Rawalpindi. This \AA coin can be described as follows:

Obv. Humped Bull standing left, the Kharosthi letter *Pu* before. Around, a Greek legend starting on the left and reading clockwise:

[Σ]ΑΡΑΤ.../[Σ]ΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ/ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟ.../ΟΣΠΙΟΣ

The coin is not only double struck but also struck obverse over reverse, leading to some misalignment and confusion in the design. The Greek legend is in the form of a square and further, has square letter forms.

Rev. A figure, possibly the king, standing on the right, facing a giant fire altar and holding out an object towards the altar (taper?). Around is the legend in Kharosthi, starting on the right:

Chaharata.../Chadrapasa/Jayatasa/Hospisa

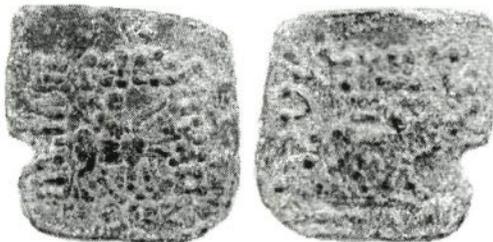
The last two letters of *Chaharatasata* are faint or lost in the overstriking and the second letter of *Chatrapasa* seems to actually be a *Dra* rather than the expected *Tra*. The letter *Spi* is a compound letter with the *Pi* over a tiny *Sa*. The coin weighs 11.45 gm, 28.5 mm diameter





The obverse design of Bull facing left does not appear on Indo-Greek coins and only rarely on Indo-Scythic coins. The first is of Maues (ISCH 13) and the others are rare issues of Azilises (ISCH 47, 55) and Azes (ISCH 111 and 117) from Hazara and the even rarer issue of Zeionises as Satrap (134). All but the Maues issue are square. Square letter forms appear on the joint Maues-Machene coin, Spalirises with Azes coins and early Azes coins. A later sequence is on the satrapal coinage of Kharahostes and this new coin probably fits somewhere in between the two periods. No similar named ruler is known unless there is a connection to Hyspaosines of Characene (Charax) and it seems a bit far-fetched at this time to suggest a connection between Kshaharata and Charax! The Fire Altar reverse is most unusual though a king with fire altar does appear on some Parthian coppers (Artabanos II, c. 10 - 38 AD) and Kushan kings are also shown putting incense on altars. However, the prominence given to the altar on this coin makes it significantly different. Whether this king struck his coins before the Kshaharata dynasty in Gujarat was founded or after is open to question but we may expect other coins to surface in time that will have a bearing upon this problem.

44) AZES One anomalous issue of Azes is the square Æ series with King mounted with spear obverse and Bull reverse - ISCH 121. These often have corrupt legends and fall into two issues, those with *Rajaraja* legends and those with *Rajadiraja*. Of the tiny 1/4 size coin only the former have been noted to date, but here is one with a clear *Rajadiraja* legend in the top reverse line. 121.20b. 2.17gm.



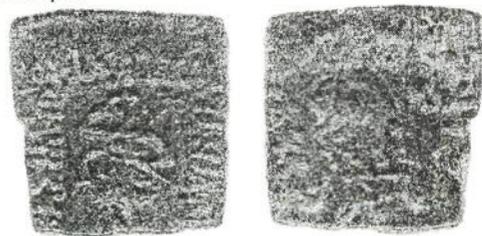
45) STRATO I Drachm. 2.20 gm. This coin is as BN series 27, the last silver issue of Strato but it bears a monogram only known until now from the coins of Epander (DIG plate 4, No. 13). There seems little doubt that Epander followed Strato either immediately or shortly. Additional comments on this will be published in the next newsletter. This unique coin is an important addition to the corpus of Indo-Greek coins since, though a new monogram for a monarch's particular denomination of type is discovered now and again, it is unusual to find a completely new monogram for that king.



46) ARTEMIDOROS Tetradrachm. 8.75 gm. In the table on page 231 of ISCH volume II I listed all the known types and monograms of Artemidoros and this issue is not amongst them. The obverse and reverse types are as issue H1 and the sigma + monogram may be related to issue 3, known from the unique copper H13. The monogram is not found on any other Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythian coin.



47) ARTEMIDOROS Æ UNIT. 7.00 gm. All the coppers of Artemidoros are rare but the commonest of them is issue H12, Artemis obverse/ bull reverse and with normal legends. Strangely, the commonest monogram found on the silver coins, especially drachms, was absent until now from the coppers. This is the first known example.



Some New Coin Types of the Kushan King Kanishka II By Pankaj Tandon

Over the last year or so, I have acquired for my collection several coins of Kanishka II that appear to be unpublished. This note will report on five such coins, two of which are of great importance in helping us understand the transition from the Kushan to the Kushano-Sasanian coinage in the northwestern parts of the Kushan empire. Two of the other coins suggest the need to re-attribute a coin assigned to Vasishka by Robert Göbl in his magnificent study of the Kushan coinage.^{1 2 3 4 5} I will discuss the coins in the order in which they might have appeared in Göbl's catalogue.

Coin 1 is a new variant of G 544, with standing king right and Ardoksho reverse. The obverse is similar to G 544, with Brahmi *vi* in the right field. There is a letter between the king's right foot and the fire altar, which Göbl had identified as a Brahmi *pu*. However, the present coin shows clearly that the letter in question is part of the circular legend which begins at 1 o'clock: *Shaonanoshao Kan...i...shko Koshano*; it is the Bactrian "f" in *Kanishko*. The reverse shows the enthroned Ardoksho with diadem and cornucopia and with good legend right, spelling out *Ardoksho*. The variation is in the reverse control mark. G 544 has the Brahmi *aksharas ha* and *la*. However, this coin has the Brahmi *ru* as in G 549, but the placement here is the unusual position below the throne rather than the upper right field.

Coins 2 and 3 are closely related to G 554. These are two specimens of the same coin, and I believe they are in fact the same as G 554 itself, but clearly they are of Kanishka II and not of Vasishka as Göbl has stated for G 554. Perhaps a closer reading of G 554 (from the Burns collection) might reveal that it has been mis-read.

In any event, the present coins show the standing king right with the reverse depicting Oesho (or Shiva) and the bull left. Control marks are the same as in G 554, but the legends clearly

show the coins to be of Kanishka II. The early part of the legend, starting at 1 o'clock, is missing from both coins. We can just see the *Sha* in *Shaonanoshao*, but in coin 3 we can discern the bottoms of *Ka* at 5 o'clock and then, on both coins, starting at 7 o'clock, we clearly have *nishko Koshano*.

It is worth noting the close relationship between these coins and the long-haired coins from the later years of the reign of Vasudeva I (which Göbl attributed to Vasudeva II), G 525-536. They clearly show the continuity from Vasudeva I to Kanishka II and must be the output of the same mint. These coins of Vasudeva I are the only ones² that have a legend starting at 1 o'clock. This convention for a 1 o'clock inception seems to have been adopted for all of Kanishka II's coinage, a fact to which we will return below.

Finally, coins 4 and 5 are the most important coins being presented here. They are both in the style of the late coins of Vasudeva I (Göbl's Vasudeva II), a style that Mitchiner has called the "Pushapura" style.³ These "Pushapura" coins are considered to be the transition to the Kushano-Sasanian series. However, the present coins are clearly of Kanishka II and they form a bridge to the coins that Göbl assigned to a new king Xodeshah (G 662-664), but which Cribb and others have assigned to Kanishka II.⁴ I believe the present coins greatly strengthen the argument for assigning the so-called Xodeshah coins to Kanishka II.

Coin 4 appears to be the earlier of the two and is perhaps a close follower of G 657. The *nandipada* symbol has appeared in the right field, along with three dots below and one dot above. The ribbons on the trident above the altar still have some dynamism to them, as they appear to wave in a breeze. On the reverse, the *swastika* has not yet appeared. Shiva is standing in a graceful *tribhanga* and there are three dots below the bull's head. What is of course most important about this coin is the obverse legend. The start, unlike all of the Vasudeva I coins of this style, is at 1 o'clock and reads, in good Bactrian, *Shaonanoshao (Ka) ... nishko Koshano*. Thus, it is the first known coin of Kanishka II in this "Pushapura" style.

Coin 5 is a late follower of coin 4 in fundamentally the same style that may be intermediate between coin 4 and the so-called Xodeshah coins, or it may even parallel the Xodeshah issues. The key "advances" over coin 4 are as follows:

- The legend has started to degenerate: here it reads *Ononoshao ... Kanisho Shoa*.
- The ribbons on the trident shaft above the altar have lost their dynamism; they simply hang limply.
- A *swastika* has appeared below the bull's head.
- A crescent has appeared on top of Shiva's head.

All of these features appear in the Xodeshah coins, and the present coins therefore seem to be clearly linked to them, as they also share the 1 o'clock legend inception with them (something the Vasudeva I coins do not). A difficulty in assigning these coins to Kanishka II, as Cribb has suggested we do, was that there were no good Kanishka II coins linked to them. Cribb's suggestion therefore was in the nature of a well-educated guess. However, the present coins clearly represent the "missing link." They are good coins of Kanishka II that lead directly to the Xodeshah coins and thus it seems quite reasonable to assign the Xodeshah coins to Kanishka II. Coin 4 is an "early" Kanishka II coin of the "Pushapura" style, coin 5 is a somewhat evolved (and degenerate) version of this, and the Xodeshah coins represent a further evolution with larger, somewhat more scyphate flans.

A natural question to ask is what light these coins throw on the transition from the Kushan to the Kushano-Sasanian coinage. Cribb, in his seminal paper on this transition, says the Kushano-Sasanian "series begins with coins issued in the names of the Kushan kings Vasudeva I and Kanishka II. ... They precede the issue of the first coin with the name of a Sasanian ruler."⁵ More specifically, Cribb identifies the earliest issues of Ardashir I (G 680-83 and G 688-696) as following from the issues of Vasudeva I. This would suggest that Ardashir seized power from Vasudeva I, at least in the extreme northwestern part of the empire. So what

is the role of the issues of Kanishka II? Clearly there is a relationship, since the Kanishka II issues share a 1 o'clock legend inception with the Kushano-Sasanian coins, something the Vasudeva I issues do not. Cribb based his assertion on his attribution of the Xodeshah coins to Kanishka II, an attribution that, so far, has been more of a conjecture than a well-supported proposition. Our coins 4 and 5, by linking the Xodeshah coins to Kanishka II, strongly support Cribb's conjecture.

So how did the transition to Kushano-Sasanian rule take place? It seems there are two possibilities. The first would be that the Kushano-Sasanian incursion took place at around the time that the succession from Vasudeva I to Kanishka II took place. The earliest issues of the Kushano-Sasanians would then follow from the coinage of Vasudeva I, say north of the Hindu Kush. Later, after Kanishka II acceded to the throne, the Kushano-Sasanian power expanded further, perhaps south of the Hindu Kush, and their coins then followed those of Kanishka II. The second possibility is that the Kushano-Sasanian advance took place against Vasudeva I, but that at least part of their conquest was wrested back for the Kushans by Kanishka II. Thus the Kanishka II issues would follow the earliest issues of the Kushano-Sasanians. Further research is needed before we will be able to choose definitively between these two alternative possibilities.

Notes

1. Robert Göbl: *Münzprägung des Kušanreiches*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984.
2. With the exception of G 523, which is a rare coin with cursive legend.
3. Michael Mitchiner: *Oriental Coins and their Values: The Ancient and Classical World*, London: Hawkins Publications, 1978.
4. Joe Cribb: "Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology," *Studia Iranica*, 19, 1990, pp. 151-193.
5. Joe Cribb, op. cit., p. 155.

Coin details

Coin 1



Weight: 7.91 gm. Diameter: 22 cm. Die axis: 12:00h

Coin 2



Weight: 7.70 gm. Diameter: 22 cm. Die axis: 12:00h

Coin 3



Weight: 7.86 gm. Diameter: 23 cm. Die axis: 11:00h

Coin 4



Weight: 8.00 gm. Diameter: 24 cm. Die axis: 11:00h

Coin 5



Weight: 8.00 gm. Diameter: 22 cm. Die axis: 12:00h

Coins of the Indian Sultanates

Some more additions to the listings in the book of the above title by your editor and JP Goenka.

Sultāns of Dehlī

Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (AH 644-64)

New type D148 Jītal 3.4 g



Obverse: in central circle, two letters *d/r/z...w/f/q*; around within what appears to be a diamond-shaped border: *nāsir al-dunyā wa'l dīn*; outer border may contain some inscription or just ornaments.

Reverse: within square - *maḥmūd bin iltutmish al-sultān*.

This unusual type, of which two specimens have now been seen courtesy of Sohail Khan and Frank Timmermann (present coin), is unlike any other Sultān of Dehlī *jītal* in its design. The two letters in the obverse centre may well represent an, as yet, unread mint-name. The metal is very coppery and is probably low-grade billon. Maḥmūd was a weak ruler during whose reign the government of the state was mostly entrusted to Ulugh Khān, the future Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban. The design of this type suggests a westerly provenance, probably somewhere in the Punjāb. More research is needed.

Sultāns of Bengal

Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf (AH 879-85)

New type B578 Gold tanka 10.8g Dar al-Darb



This is the first gold coin reported for this ruler. The legend is the same as on the silver tankas, type B561 in particular. The date is 884. Photo courtesy of JPG and Michael Mitchiner.

Bahmanīs of the Deccan

Maḥmūd Shāh (AH 887-924)

New type BH 126A Gānī 14.5 g



Similar to type BH126 but, on the reverse, *muhammad* appears to be above *maḥmūd* and, on the obverse, the final letter *nūn* of *hannān* is above the word and cuts both the *alif* of *hannān* and the first *alif* of *al-mannān*. Published courtesy of Barry Tabor.

New type BH152 One-sixth Gānī 2.8 g



Obverse: *maḥmūd shāh* Reverse: *bin muḥammad shāh*
Similar to BH151 but the word *bin* is on the other side.
Published courtesy of Frank Timmermann.

Two Mughal Copper Coins

By Sanjay Sahadev

A half tanka of Akbar from Burhanpur



Obverse: *nīm tanka akbar shāhī zarb burhānpūr*

Reverse: *khurdād ilahī 45*

This coin is unusual in having the *nīm tanka* in one line.

Weight: 20.4 g

A falūs of Shāh 'Alam I of Aḥmadnagar



Obverse: probably *'alam bādshāh sikka mubārak sanah 1123*

Reverse: *zarb ahmadnagar 4*

Weight: 16.54 g

Two Rare and Important Coins of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan I,

By Shailendra Bhandare

Rupee of a new mint: Junnar

It is not often that one has an opportunity to report a new mint for one of the Imperial Mughal rulers. Earlier this year Farokh Todywalla, a noted coin dealer from Mumbai, sent me a scan of a rupee of Shah Jahan I (1627-1658 AD) that deserved publishing.

The specimen is now in a private collection and I most gratefully acknowledge the permission of the owner in allowing me to publish it. The coin is dated AH 1065 (= 1655 AD) in the 28th regnal year of the Emperor and may be described as follows:



Obverse: the *Shahāda* in a square enclosure with ornamental arabesques at cardinal points. The date 1065 is visible in the bottom left corner, just below the word *allāh*. The field outside the rectangle has the names of the four Caliphs with their epithets, out of which 'wa 'ilm 'alī' and a part of 'ba-saddiq 'abū bakr' are visible.

Reverse: bears the Emperor's name in a rectangle similar to that on the obverse. The regnal year 28 is placed in the bottom right corner, below the word *shāh*. The legend within the rectangle reads *shāh jahān bādshāh ghāzī* and his *laqab* and other titles such as *sāhib qirān thānī* would have been placed in the field outside the rectangle. Only parts of *shihāb al-dīn* are visible in the bottom margin. The most significant detail on this side is the mint-name that appears in the right field outside the rectangle as *zarb junair*.

'Junair' may be identified with Junnar, a town of great antiquity situated in the Maratha Deccan. Today it is headquarters of a subdivision (Taluka) of the same name in the district of Pune, Maharashtra State. The town enjoys a unique position in the history of Deccan. It dates at least a couple of millennia back in antiquity and rose to eminence in the first wave of urbanisation that the Deccan witnessed in the early historic period under Satavahana rule (c. 2nd cent. BC – 2nd cent. AD). It occupies a cardinal position, being situated upland from the Nanaghat pass and on the main trade route joining towns and urban centres in the hinterland with ports such as Kalyan and Sopara on the Konkan coast. In the first century AD, Junnar served as the capital of the Satavahanas and subsequently the Western Kshatrapa (Kshaharata) ruler Nahapana. This period of prosperity gave Junnar much of the archaeological heritage that it now boasts, namely the numerous Buddhist cave temples that dot the mountainous ranges surrounding the town, indeed the largest concentration to be found anywhere in India.

After the Satavahana period, Junnar fell into relative oblivion although its strategic position meant that it retained its commercial importance. A chain of hill-forts exist in its vicinity and the town itself is fortified. Most of these forts and the fortifications of the town itself date from the medieval period (c. 15th cent. AD) and the town was an important outpost of various sultanates that controlled the Deccan during this period. The Khiljis of Delhi won it from the Hindu kingdom of the Yadavas of Devagiri (Daulatabad) in 1315 AD. Subsequently it was held by the Tughlaqs, who lost it to the growing regional power of the Bahmani Sultans of Gulbarga. In the aftermath of Bahmani fragmentation (c. 1480 – 1530AD), Junnar lay in the hands of the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar and became one of the principle towns of the *Jagir* of Shahaji Bhonsle, the powerful Nizam Shahi statesman and father of Shivaji. It was during this period (c. 1630 – 1640 AD) that Junnar was embroiled in the strife between the Mughals and the Nizam Shahi kingdom, which was under the virtual tutelage of Shahaji Bhonsle. The Emperor who pursued the Deccani campaign with determined vigour was Shah Jahan and it was directed under some of the most notable generals the Mughal court had to offer, lastly resting in the hands

of Prince Aurangzeb. (I have discussed the numismatic vestiges of this campaign in one of my earlier papers, see ONS 162, 2000). The protracted struggle ended in 1636, when Shahaji accepted a humiliating treaty and surrendered the boy claimant he had resurrected to the Nizam Shahi throne. He then sought a baronial tenure with another Deccani Sultanate, the 'Adil Shahi house of Bijapur. Meanwhile in 1630, Shivaji was born on the hill-fort of Shivneri adjoining Junnar town. Aurangzeb was appointed the viceroy of the Deccan, a post he held till 1644 AD.

But our coin conclusively postdates this period of campaign and therefore the reasons for its issue must be sought elsewhere. The date it bears falls within an important episode in Shah Jahan's reign, the second viceroyalty of the Deccan held by his son, Prince Aurangzeb. This period saw an escalation in acrimony in their relationship, which eventually led to Aurangzeb's usurpation of power and Shah Jahan's confinement in 1658. After successfully managing the Deccan affairs, Aurangzeb was sent in 1644 to direct a protracted war against the Safavid ruler of Iran who had invaded and taken over parts of the Mughal provinces situated on the far north-western frontier of the Empire, namely Kabul and Qandahar. The apogee of Safavid conquest was reached with the fall of Qandahar city into Iranian hands. The campaign against the Iranians lasted for several years and the results it brought were far more disastrous than the Deccani glories achieved by Aurangzeb – in fact there is room to believe that court politics had envisaged this outcome and deliberately involved Aurangzeb in it so that it would tarnish the success of his Deccan tenure. Fortunately for the Mughals, Qandahar was won back and that effectively helped them to save face. After returning from the frontier region, Aurangzeb was re-appointed as the viceroy of the Deccan on 17th July 1652. He, however, took more than a year to take over the reins of his office, reaching Daulatabad only on 11 November 1653.

Meanwhile, the Deccan under the Mughals had suffered greatly from financial mismanagement after Aurangzeb's departure in 1644. The ensuing seven years had witnessed six viceroys, including those officiating till a new man was appointed to the post. None of these was as efficient an administrator as Aurangzeb had been and that had brought about a general state of misgovernance of the province with revenue collection falling to a third of the estimated amount. After Aurangzeb's second appointment he gave the revenue administration into the hands of Murshid Quli Khan, who was made the *Diwan* of the Deccan. He efficiently restructured the revenue administration and brought some regularity to the collection of dues.

The coin needs to be seen in the light of these events. It is likely that the *raison d'être* for a mint to exist at Junnar may have been more to do with economic decisions than political conditions. In my earlier paper I offered my views on the issue of rupees at Ausa during the first campaign of Aurangzeb where the evidence at our disposal is somewhat similar to the Junnar rupee – the Ausa rupee also appears to have been struck a couple of years after the Mughal conquest of the town and both are so far unique specimens, thereby indicating the fact that these respective mints were sporadically run. Since the conquest and emission equation which fits a few other rare Mughal mints, cannot be invoked in the case of these coins, we have to look elsewhere for the reason as to why the mints were operated. The other similarity as far as the historical component of the evidence goes is the financial mismanagement that immediately preceded in both these areas, i.e. Ausa and Junnar, before the Mughals took charge and tried to ameliorate it by changing taxation and revenue tenures. It is therefore possible that the decision to run a mint was taken to encourage monetisation of the regions in question, especially in the precious metal realms, so that revenue could be collected more efficiently and also in cash terms rather than kind. The rarity of these coins indicates that operation of these mints may have been a stopgap measure until the regions were sufficiently

monetised to exert a specie pull from neighbouring regions which had mints that were more productive.

There may, however, be just a faint chance that there was a political reason as well – the year 1065 AH ends on 30 October 1655, and the chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign suggest to us that around that time a small campaign was launched by the Mughals. This was against the Kingdom of Jawhar, which nestled amidst the Western Ghat ranges to the west of Junnar. The king of this tiny kingdom was named Shripat and belonged to the Koli hill tribe. He owed allegiance to no-one. Rao Karan, the Rajput baron of Bikanir urged Aurangzeb to wage a war against this ruler to bring him under Mughal suzerainty and offered to lead the campaign if the kingdom were made over to him as a fief against a tribute of 50000 Rs. Aurangzeb sought Shah Jahan's approval for this and, when it was granted, Rao Karan was dispatched against Jawhar on 3 October 1655. The campaign lasted for a few months and Shripat surrendered on 3 January 1656. It is quite likely that this campaign may have generated some need for money and such may have been supplied from a temporary mint at Junnar. If this is the case the Junnar mint may have produced coins sometime between 3 and 30 October 1655. But this seems to be a secondary conjecture; the primary reason for the mint to operate at Junnar indeed would have been economic.

(The historical details in this note have been gathered from "History of Aurangzib", by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 170-210)

A unique Half Rupee: mint Ghorahghat

This coin was offered in Steve Album's list no. 176 and it has been subsequently acquired by the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum. Sheetal Bhatt published a rupee of Shahjahan from this mint ("Two New Mughal Mints", Numismatic Studies, vol.2, ed. Devendra Handa, Delhi, 1992) which so far is believed to be unique as well – however, market rumours allude to a couple of other specimens being found. It would be worthwhile to reproduce historical details from Sheetal's paper here:

Ghorahghat is a subdivision headquarters in Dinajpur district of East Bengal, presently in Bangladesh. It is located on the west bank of the Karatoya River and has remains of a military outpost that was established here under Mughal rule. It finds mention in descriptions of the Bengal campaign of Akbar when in 982 AH a general named Majnun Khan Qaqshal was sent 'towards Gharaghat' in pursuit of Daud Khan Kararani, the fleeing Afghan Sultan of Bengal. Contemporary sources mention Ghorahghat as one of the most important fortified posts of the *Subah* of Bengal. It's location on the southwestern border of the Koch kingdom made it a gateway to Bihar from that region. Shahjahan immediately after his coronation appointed Qasim Khan Juyini as governor of Bengal, replacing Fidai Khan who served under Jahangir.

The rupee which Sheetal published had the date 1037 AH and *ahd* as the regnal year. The coin published hereunder has both these details truncated. Other details of the photograph of the rupee supplied in her paper indicate that the half rupee being published here is in fact its die duplicate. The clinching clue to conclusively prove this is the existence and positioning of the decorative marks and the *nuqtas* in the legend on the both sides of the coin. The coin may be described as follows:



Obverse: Persian legend bearing Shah Jahan's name in four lines as *shihāb al-dīn muḥammad ṣāhib qirān thānī shāh jahān bādshāh ghāzī* with the *ha* of *muḥammad*, *sha* of *bādshāh* and *Ye* in mazzool form of *ghāzī* forming the three dividers. Parts of the legend are truncated.

Reverse: the *Shahāda*, followed by *zarb ghorahgha(t)* towards the bottom edge of the coin. The mint-name is partly truncated but allows a good restoration. To the left of the first character a small dagger mark is seen.

Sheetal Bhatt discusses this dagger mark in her paper by offering suggestions as to its existence. First she sees it to be a manifestation of the 'quasi-Mughal' nature of the coin and remarks "as to who its issuer was has to be further investigated". Then she suggests that it may have been a "die-engraver's fancy" by comparing it with a tiny bird encountered on Akbar's rupees of Berar mint. It may be prudent at this juncture to clarify matters in this respect. The dagger mark is certainly not an indication of any 'quasi-Mughal' nature of the coin as the issue of coinage was a strictly state-regulated enterprise under the Imperial Mughals. There is room to believe that such marks were not placed as a 'fancy' of the die-engraver either as they seem to have some circulatory function. Many of them show a marked regional orientation in their occurrence and, more often than not, this reflects the political organisation of the Mughal Empire. For example, the dagger mark under scrutiny here is a characteristic of mints located in the province of Bengal. It appears initially on coins of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) mint in the reign of Jahangir and continues to appear on coins of that mint well into the reign of Shahjahan. A similar mark is also seen on other mints such as Katak located in the same province. Its occurrence on coins of Ghorahghat is therefore well justified in this context and the points that remain to be investigated pertain to the nature, spread and function of such marks.

An Unrecorded Nepalese Dam of Jagatprakash Malla of Bhatgaon

By Klaus Bronny (edited by W. Bertsch)

Jagatprakash Malla (1644-73 AD) is the first king of Bhatgaon (Bhaktapur) known to have struck his own coins. Hitherto, only the denominations mohar, suki and adhani have been published. These are listed and illustrated in the best available publication on Nepalese coins, authored by Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro¹. Recently I obtained a specimen of the smallest unit struck in silver, a dam, of this ruler.



(about three times actual size)

Description of the coin: 1 dam, AR (bracteate type), 0.040 g
A sword in vertical position; four Newari characters arranged in two lines: *śrī śrī / ja ga* Three dots are placed above the top end of the sword and there is a dot above each of the syllables *śrī*.

The coin is of fine style and undoubtedly genuine.
In the early 1990s N.G. Rhodes saw another specimen of a dam of this ruler in Nepal with John Hoag². That coin is slightly different to the one which I have illustrated in that it has two dots placed on either side of the point of the sword in slightly lower position.

1. Rhodes, N.G., K. Gabrisch & C. Valdetaro: *The Coinage of Nepal*. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication no.21, London 1989, p. 113 and plate 26.

2. Communication by letter dated 4 August 2001.

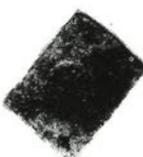
A New Punchmarked hoard of the Mathura Region.

By Paul Murphy

On a recent visit to India both Shinji Hirano and I had the opportunity to see a new hoard of punchmarked coins in Delhi. They are said to come from the Mathura region. We were told the hoard was just over 400 coins in VF condition, which on inspection proved to be mostly the case.

There are several aspects to this hoard:

- Most of the hoard was debased and going to the copper stage;
- The predominant symbol was the tree followed by the man. The exception to this is the GH.476 coin (without the man) amongst the hoard. There could have been more of this type, but unfortunately time was not on our side to go through the whole hoard. Note the tree remains;
- All the coins seen had one single official mark on the reverse. The marks were a sun, a man or the three eggs with the line through. The sun and the man have variants as seen below.

Reverse Marks						
						
						

When I reached the IIRNS centre in Nasik, Amiteshwar Jha brought to my notice an article by the late Dr. P.L. Gupta with reference to the Mathura region. The article concerned is no. 14 "Early coins of Mathura Region" and was published in *Mathura, The Cultural Heritage*, (Ed) Doris M. Srinivasan, New Delhi, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989.

Here I take the liberty of quoting extensively from Dr Gupta's article as this will enable the reader to understand the approach taken.

"The silver coins of the subsequent two periods – pre-Mauryan and Mauryan – are found together in most of the hoards, as also in the hoards or lots ascribed to Mathura. Since the meaning of the symbols punched on these coins still remains a puzzle in Indian numismatics, we may only say that the Mathura region probably formed part of the Magadha Empire from the time of the Nandas or a little later. But we cannot say exactly when it was included in that empire and what was its status within the empire.

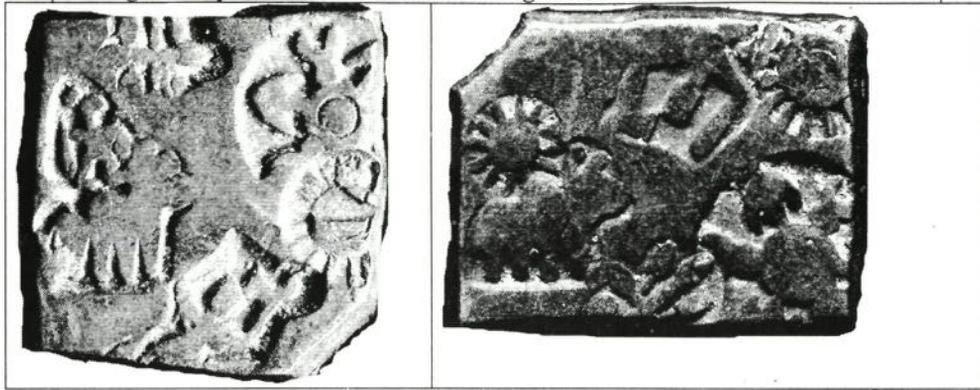
However, two symbols of the punchmarked coins appear to me closely related to the Mathura region. One of them is the tree symbol – it is seen as the fifth mark on a number of varieties of the pre-Mauryan punchmarked coins. The same symbol is also seen on a series of monarchical coins of Mathura of a later period. Since the symbol is seen only in these two series of coins, the natural inference would be that the two series of coins are interrelated by this symbol, and that symbol meant one and the same thing on both sides. As this symbol on the later monarchical coins appears to signify the state or the mint-town, which in both cases was Mathura, it may be assumed that on the punchmarked coins, too, this symbol meant the same thing. Thus this symbol maybe called the 'Mathura symbol'.

This assumption finds further support from a later variety of punchmarked coins, which attracted my attention while I was examining the Mathura Museum coins for this paper. On this variety of the punchmarked coins, there is, along with the above-mentioned symbol (i.e. tree), another symbol – a standing human figure holding a plough in his left hand and a long stick (maybe a *musala*) in the right hand. The two attributes in the hands of the human figure in this symbol are very similar to those seen on the *drachmae* of the Indo-Bactrian ruler Agathocles, discovered in the excavations at Ai-Khanum in the Oxus valley. One side of these *drachmae* bears the figure of Vasudeva (Krsna) holding *carka*; the other side shows the figure holding a plough. The plough is the well-known attribute of Samkarsana (Balarama) in Indian iconography. If the identification of the figure on the punchmarked coin were admitted as Samkarsana (Balarama), this would be his earliest anthropomorphic representation. The association of Samkarsana (Balarama) with Mathura is well known. He was a hero of the Vrsnis clan, and his effigy on the punchmarked coin has replaced the symbol, which is generally identified as the insignia of the Mauryas. This suggests that it is a post-Mauryan issue, and might have been issued by the Vrsnis at the fall of the Mauryan Empire. Here the figure of Samkarsana (Balarama) is perhaps meant to represent the Vrsnis. As such, the third symbol on the punchmarked coins may be taken as the symbol of the ruling mint or the capital town of the state. If this assumption is established, it might lead to the key to unravelling the mystery of the symbols on the punchmarked coins."

The two particular symbols Dr Gupta ascribed to the Mathura region are:

The Tree	The man with the plough- shear
	
Ahata symbol number: N.14.63	Ahata symbol number: N.15.17

Enlarged samples from the hoard showing the cow variants.



Now the issues and concerns:

- The presence of the GH. 476 (series IV) coin in the hoard is very interesting as it carries the tree symbol. You will note in the hoard table below that I have moved the original placement of the tree symbol from the fifth to the third position. On all the coins I noticed from the hoard, the tree was present.
- The question arises - how will the coinage (with the possible exception of GH 476), fit into the GH series? If one looks at the symbols alone we are looking at series Va. But Gupta and Hardaker defined the variance between series Va and Vb as follows: Va is without the official reverse mark, whereas Vb carries the official reverse mark. All the coins that were reviewed from the hoard carried an official reverse mark. The nearest GH number to the main hoard types is GH 497-499 of series Va. Especially GH 497 but carrying variants of the cow as the fifth symbol and all having a bold reverse mark. One coin purchased is in fact GH 497 and, because of the reverse mark, it would be put into series Vb. It would be interesting if collectors can let the writer know if they have GH 497-499 with the reverse mark or not. If a reverse mark were present, I would be interested in what reverse mark it is.

Coin No.	Reference No.	GH Obverse Symbol Positions				
		1	2	3	4	5
GH 497	V VIII A 5 (Amaravati Hoard V XIX 1)	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.15.17	N.4.16	N.14.63
						

The coins in the hoard discussed would seem to be a regional issue of the Mathura area of the Mauryan Empire. The task for the future will be to identify the other regional symbols.

The tree symbol is found on the following GH numbers:

Series	GH Numbers				
III	325 (VR)				
IVb	374 (S)	376 (XR)	378 (XR)		
IVc	391 (XR)				
IVd	399 (XR)	412 ®	419 (VC)	453 (XR)	468 (VC)
	476 (XR)				
Va	478 ®	485 (N)	495 (XR)	497 (VR)	
VIb	544 (XR)				
Comments:	The bold numbers also have a cow present either with or without hump and facing left or right. Notice the high rarity markings provided by Gupta and Hardaker for most coins where the tree is present on the coin.				

Mathura Region – Punchmarked Coins of the Mauryan Period.

Coin No.	Reference No.	Obverse Symbol Positions					Reverse Marker	Coin Image
		1	2	3	4	5		
1	GH.476 (Prasad 14A3) Source: PM	G.32.2	G.27.38	N.14.63	N.21.15	N.14.51	MOR.9.3	3.29g
								
2	Awaits Classification Source: PM	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.37	MOR.9.1	3.28g
								
3	Awaits Classification Source: PM SH	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.37	MOR.9.2	3.21-37g
								
4	Awaits Classification Source: PM	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.38	MOR.8.5	3.32g
								
5	Awaits Classification Source: PM SH	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.38	MOR.8.3	3.24-38g
								
6	GH 497 with reverse mark. Source: PM	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.16	MOR.2.2	3.30g
								
7	Awaits Classification Source: DR PM	G.32.2	G.27.19	N.14.63	N.15.17	N.4.40	MOR.8.6	Unavailable
								

Supplement from the Ahata Symbol book.

Mauryan Official Reverse Marks					
MOR.1.1 	MOR.1.2  (small)	MOR.1.3 			
MOR.2.1 	MOR.2.2 				
MOR.3.1 	MOR.3.2 	MOR.3.3 			
MOR.4.1 	MOR.4.2 				
MOR.5.1 	MOR.5.2 	MOR.5.3 			
MOR.6.1 	MOR.6.2 				
MOR.7.1 	MOR.7.2 				
MOR.8.1 	MOR.8.2 	MOR.8.3 	MOR.8.4 	MOR.8.5 	MOR.8.6 
MOR.9.1  (Large)	MOR.9.2  (Medium)	MOR.9.3  (Small)			

Acknowledgements:

First of all, my gratitude to Amiteshwar Jha for bringing to my attention Dr. P.L.Gupta's Mathura article. Secondly to Shinji Hirano for providing the information on the coins from his personal collection. Thirdly to Dilip Rajgor for providing further information including photographic material.

References:

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J.Allan: Coins of Ancient India, (British Museum), reprint 1967, Alden Press, Oxford

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P.L.Gupta & T.R.Hardaker: *Ancient Indian silver punchmarked coins of the Magadha-Maurya Karshapana series*, 1985, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Maharashtra, India

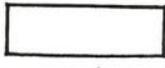
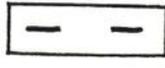
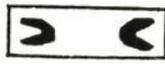
Abbreviations:

PM – Paul Murphy SH – Shinji Hirano

A New Punchmarked hoard of the Surashtra Region.

By Paul Murphy

A hoard of punchmarked coins has recently been found in Amreli. The exact number of coins found is said to range from 200 to 300 coins. The coins are in mixed condition from Fine to VF+. All the coins carry the Srivatsa symbol with varying minor symbols surrounding or a stylised tree. Where the Srivatsa symbol is used there is normally a rectangular box at the bottom. As is usual with Surashtra coins, there are several variants within the box. For the majority of the coins the reverse is blank. There are a few coins which carry a 'U' shape with a dot or an indeterminate old pattern, possibly re-strikes. The weight of the coins I was able to weight ranges from 0.95 grams to 1.07 grams.

<i>Amreli Hoard Types</i>				
Type No.	G.25.15	G.25.16	G.25.17	G.25.18
1				
				
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4
	Source: PM	Source: PM	Source: DR	Source: DR
2	N.14.64	N.14.65	N.14.66	G.24.26
				
				
	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.3 Reverse
Source: DR	Source: DR	Source: DR	Source: DR	
Type 1 box variants				
				
				

Acknowledgements:

My sincere gratitude to Dilip Rajgor for allowing the use of his photo collection on the hoard.

References:

Ahata Project: Ahata Official Symbol Book (version date 20th March 2002) – unpublished.
D.Rajgor: *Punch-marked Coins of Early Historic India*, Reesha Books International, California, USA, 2001.

Abbreviations:

DR – Dilip Rajgor PM – Paul Murphy

The Ashmolean Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins – part II

By Vincent West

[Editors note: in Newsletter 171 we not only inadvertently omitted the second half of this article but also managed to misname the author. The author is Vincent West and not Vincent Price. Our apologies both to the author and the film actor!!]

King and Coin No.	AC Type	Metal and Weight (grams)	Die Axis	Provenance (see Table 2)	Notes
Gersem					
59	150	AE ¹⁵ (0.91)	03:00	Stone (1963)	Obv. pellet l. of crown. Rev crescent l. of crown ¹⁶
Armah					
60	151	AR (1.03)	01:00	Baldwin (1963)	
61	153	AE (1.49)	12:00	Barnard (1931)	Obv. cross r. of chin
62	153	AE 2.21	12:00	Seaby (1959)	Obv. crescent on its back ¹⁷ r. of chin
63	153	AE 1.91	06:00	Stone (1963)	Obv. three pellets, two above one, behind neck
64	153+	AE (1.38)	12:00	Wright (1978)	Obv. crescent sloping left ¹⁸ r. of chin
65	153+	AE 1.86	12:00	Wright (1978)	

Table 2: Provenances in Chronological Order

Provenances are those given on the tickets and in the Accession Registers. A plus sign by the provenance indicates that it not quoted in AC.

Provenance and Date	Description	Coin Nos.
EEF (1915)+	Presented by Egypt Exploration Fund 15 January 1915	16
BSAE (1926)	Presented by British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE) July 1926. Presumably from hoard found by Guy Brunton during his excavations at Qaw al-Kabir, south of Asyut, Egypt in 1923-4 (see Milne 1926). For other coins of the same type from this hoard see West 2001b.	17, 18, 19 ¹⁹
Milne (1930)	Presented by Joseph Grafton Milne (Assistant Keeper, later Deputy Keeper of Coins ²⁰) 2 September 1930 ex Sotheby sale 28 July 1930, part lot 178	29
Barnard (1931)	Presented by Francis Pierrepont Barnard, (Honorary Deputy Curator of Coins 1922-1928 ²¹), 12 November 1931	61
Russell (1957)	Presented by Dr H B L Russell of Addis Ababa July 1957 ²²	20, 23
Seaby (1959)	Purchased from B A Seaby Ltd 2 December 1959, presold from the collection listed in Seaby 1960	with prices and Seaby 1960 AX references: 21 (AX17, £3.75), 24 (AX44, £4.75), 31 (AX63, £4.25), 33 (AX84, £2.50),

		47 (AX101, £4.75), 49 (AX125, £3.75), 55 (AX186, £5), 58 (AX182, £5), 62 (AX162, £5)
Spink (1960)	Purchased from Spink and Son Ltd 8 January 1960 for £5	41
Baldwin (1963)	Purchased from A H Baldwin and Sons Ltd 26 January 1963 ex Sotheby sale 10 December 1962 (lots 142-173 were Aksumite coins ex Guisepepe Tringali of Asmara, Ethiopia)	with Sotheby lot numbers and prices: 4 (lot 155 £28), 60 (lot 172 £10)
Stone (1963)+	Presented by Mrs Stone of Oxford 13 February 1963	25, 28, 42, 43, 50, 56, 59, 63
Seaby (1964)	Purchased from B A Seaby Ltd 24 November 1964 for £5 ²³	54
Munzen und Medaillen (1965)	Purchased from Munzen und Medaillen, Basle, Switzerland, list 250, December 1964/January 1965 (numbers 806-815 were Aksumite coins), 27 January 1965	with list numbers and prices in Swiss francs: 2 (807 225.00), 7 (810 200.00), 32 (814 200.00)
Oxfam (1968)	Lent by Oxfam 22 March 1968 from Ras Mengesha Seyoum, then governor-general of Tigray province. Found at Aksum	1
Christie (1969)	Purchased at Christie sale 17 June 1969 ²⁴ (lots 122-171 were Aksumite coins). See also Falkiner (1984)	with lot numbers and prices: 3 (128 £65), 5 (138 £20), 6 (131 £32), 10 (140 £14), 13-14 (142 £10), 30 (152 £130), 39 (149 £18), 45 (160 £14), 46 (156 £28), 57 (165 £20)
Lord and Western (1971)+	Purchased from Nancy Lord and Cecily Western, who worked in the Museum Conservation Department, 21 July 1971 for £12	11, 26, 34, 35, 36, 44
Wright (1978)+	Presented by Sir Dennis Wright of Haddenham, Bucks 28 August 1978. No. 8 was bought in Asmara and no. 40 in Aksum	8, 12, 22, 27, 37, 40, 48, 51, 64, 65
Falkiner (1984)+	Presented by Richard Falkiner 12 September 1984 ex Christie (1969) <i>q.v.</i> , acquired at of after sale	with Christie (1969) lot numbers: 9 (lot 132), 15 (lot 143), 38 (part lot 150), 52 (part lot 169), 53 (lot 170)

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- Juel-Jensen B.E., 1999, "Chapelet Casting in Aksum", *Spink Numismatic Circular*, February 1999, Vol. CVII/1, p. 8.
- Kraay C.M. and Sutherland C.H.V., 1972, revised 1989, *The Heberden Coin Room – Origin and Development*, Oxford.
- Milne J.G., 1926, "The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century", *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 43-92, especially p. 92.
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- Seaby, 1960, "The Coins of Axum", *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* 501, February 1960, pp. 45-9, 59, 64-5, pl. 8; 502, March 1960, pp. 92, 108, pl. 11; 503, April 1960, pp. 138-140, 149-150, 155-6, pl. 14; 504, May 1960, pp. 183-6, 201-2, pl. 17; 505, June 1960, pp. 226-8, 244, pl. 24.
- Sutherland C.H.V., 1951, "Joseph Grafton Milne", *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 112-125.
- West V., 2001a, "Ge'ez Punctuation Marks on Aksumite Coins", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 166, Winter 2001, pp. 4-5.
- West V., 2001b, "The Early History of the British Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 167, Spring 2001, pp. 28-32.

Notes

- For the history of the Heberden Coin Room see Kraay and Sutherland 1972
- See Christie (1969) and Falkiner (1984) in Table 2
- The AC illustrations of the four type 51 coins are unnumbered. They are in the order 17, 18, 19, 16
- AC incorrectly assigns this specimen to BSAE (1926)
- See Juel-Jensen 1999
- See note 5
- AC incorrectly says Hahn 1983 33(2), which is actually no.16
- See West 2001a
- AC pp. 227-8 incorrectly ascribe a coin of type 126 to the Ashmolean. That coin is ex Spink auction 13.7.00 (Dreesmann Part II) lot 941 ex Sternberg auction VIII 16-17.11.78 lot 373 = Hahn 1983 69(2)

10. This variety is not recorded in *AC*. The exact shape, position and number of pellets are difficult to determine on worn coins
11. Based on first letter of legend, a Ge'ez Š
12. *AC* incorrectly gives 69(1)
13. See note 11
14. See note 11
15. Or debased AR
16. This variety is not recorded in *AC*
17. *AC* does not distinguish the varieties of crescent
18. See note 17
19. See note 4 re no. 16
20. See Kraay and Sutherland 1972 and for an obituary Sutherland 1951
21. See Kraay and Sutherland 1972 pp. 10-11
22. Tickets give July, Accessions Register gives 2 August
23. Not in Seaby 1960
24. *AC* incorrectly gives 21 June for no. 46
25. References to Hahn 1983 illustrations are given as e.g. 33(2) rather than 33² to avoid possible confusion with footnotes

Ṭabaristān PYE¹ 130-146

by Alan S. DeShazo

Margin 1011

Breast Ornaments ∴ and ⊙

PYE	Governor	sub-prefect	sub-prefect	sub-prefect
130				
131				
132				
133				
134				
135				
136	Hānī 𐩧 ∴	Muqātil ?	Sulaimān ∴	Jarīr ∴
137	Hānī 𐩧 ∴ Hānī 𐩧. ∴ Hānī 𐩧 ⊙	Muqātil ∴	Sulaimān ∴	Jarīr ∴ abzūd ∴ abzūd ⊙
138	Hānī 𐩧 ∴ Hānī 𐩧. ∴	Muqātil ∴	Sulaimān ∴	abzūd ⊙ abzūd, Ma'add ⊙ Ma'add ⊙
139	Hānī ? ‘Abd Allāh	Muqātil ∴		
140	‘Abd Allāh	Muqātil ∴	bakhkh ∴ not Yahya	
141	‘Abd Allāh	Muqātil ?		
142				
143				
144				
145				
146				

Hanī Hānī b. Hānī

‘Abd Allāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Qaḥṭaba

bakhkh See Gaube, Tafel 12, 150. This is not of Yahyā. The word is an elongated *bakhkh*.

There are two other individuals in the Ṭabaristān series with the name ‘Abd Allāh. One was ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Arīf. The other was ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’īd al-Ḥarashī whose coins are dated PYE 151 but commonly misread as 141. Because of the restrictions taken in the construction of this chart, neither of them belongs on it. Some experts do not agree with me on the interpretation of the year as being 151, because the decade of the date omits the “n” of *panjah*, but then the intrusive “p” must be taken into account.

The coins with *bakhhk* are dated PYE 140 and not the usual misreading of 130. There is no riser above the final letter; therefore it is not a *yā*. The lack of the flourishes in the obverse margin already sets this issue apart from those of Yahyā, as well as the date. The *bakhhk* issue continues the *bakhhk* series of Sulaimān with a gap of only one year, but since Sulaimān's name no longer appears, it must have been authorised by someone else, possibly a former deputy of his.

There are other breast ornaments for these coins, but including them at this point may actually obscure the basic framework that is the object of this article.

I have extended this chart to PYE 146 as there will be a companion construct eventually that will show issues dated as late as that year. A third separate chart will deal with some of the issues dated after 146.

Note

1. PYE is the Post Yazdgard Era that was used to date the coins of the Tabaristan series of the reduced weight Arab-Sasanian coins. That era was calculated from the end of the reign of the Sasanian king Yazdgard III (A.D.632/3-651). The equivalent dates to the *hijri* calendar for the issues in this article are:

PYE	H	PYE	H	PYE	H
136	= 171	138	= 173	140	= 175
137	= 172	139	= 174	141	= 176

A Quarter Mohur of Jahangir Struck on the Occasion of a Royal Hunt (Shikar)

By Jan Lingon

New discoveries in Indian Numismatics are almost daily news, but to find a completely new type of gold coin of the Mughul emperor Jahangir is something outstanding.

Recently I received from an acquaintance the accompanying illustration of this peculiar coin: it is a ¼ mohur struck in AH1034/Ry.20.



The legend on it reads¹:

*hamesha ain zar kunad karam dar shikārgāh /
shāh-i-shikār dost jahāngīr bādshāh*

Which can be translated as:

*This gold will always do favour in the Shikargah /
(struck by) Jahangir Badshah, the King who enjoys the hunt.*

Metal: AU Weight: 2.75 gm Size: 14-15 mm.

No mint name is given, but the location is indicated as Shikargah, the king's hunting grounds. This qualifies it as a mint name similar to the Urdu used on other coins, and which indicates a military or royal camp. The reason for the issue of this interesting little coin must be of some importance; there must have been something to celebrate and, indeed, there was.

In the appendix to the Jahangirnama, by Muhammad Hadi², who describes the events from the nineteenth year of the royal accession of Jahangir onwards, we read that the Emperor left Lahore on the 25th of February 1625 for Kashmir to tour the mountains. For the year 20 after the royal accession, in which year this quarter mohur was struck, the text of Jahangirnama starts:

On Thursday the tenth of Jumada II 1034 (March 10, 1625), the world-illuminating sun entered the constellation of Aries, and the twentieth year after the royal accession commenced. At the foot of Mount Bhaner the emperor enjoyed hunting, shooting 151 mountain rams with musket. The celebration of culmination was held at the station of Jangirhati. From Bhaner to this station His Majesty enjoyed seeing superb groves of redbud trees³, and since at this season the Pir Panjal Pass is full of snow and it is extremely difficult – nay, impossible – for a mounted rider to get through, the imperial retinue went via the Punch Pass. In those hills oranges grow, remaining on the trees for two and three years. It was heard from zamindars there that one tree produced nearly nine thousand oranges.

At this point Asaf Khan's son Abutalib was given leave to take up the governorship of Lahore in his father's stead. Sardar Khan's son Sayyid Ashiq was assigned to the hill country north of the Punjab.

The Royal camp arrived on 7 April at Nurabad on the banks of the Bahat river (present Uri) and on 10 April it reached Burmala. Finally, on 27 April they arrived at the palace in the happy vale of Kashmir. After spending the summer in Kashmir the emperor left the valley again for Lahore on 11 October 1625.

From the above passages from the Jahangirnama one may reconstruct that if there was an auspicious reason to strike this outstanding coin it was on the occasion of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the royal accession and particularly the successful hunting during which the emperor, himself, shot over 150 mountain rams. The coins were probably struck as nisar or largesse money to be distributed to those who made the hunting successful. The celebration of culmination, as mentioned in the Jahangirnama, took place at the station of Jangirhati and it was there that these coins must have been struck.



The exact location I have not been able to reconstruct, but it must be in the foothills of the Himalayas, somewhere in the neighborhood of Rajauri on the way from Nooshera to Punch (see map⁴ above). It would not surprise me that Jangirhati may, in due course, turn out to be an alias for Rajauri. At least one can say that this great rarity was struck within the Subah of Kashmir on the occasion of the successful royal hunt which coincided with the 20th anniversary of the royal accession.

- 1 Thanks to Shailendra Bhandare who kindly provided the reading and translation.
- 2 *The Jahangirnama, Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, New York, 1999.
- 3 This must be the so-called 'Flame of the forest', which flowers in spring.
- 4 Irfan Habib. *An atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi 1982.

“Bombay Billys” The British Coinage for the Malabar Coast – A reappraisal

By Drs. Shailendra Bhandare & Paul Stevens

Supplement to Newsletter 172

Historical Introduction:

The English East India Company established its trading post in Surat in December 1612. Bombay, located about 250 km to the South of Surat was acquired by the Company in 1661 as an agreement between England and Portugal, whereby it formed the dowry of Princess Catherine when she was married to Charles II, the King of England. Gradually the island grew in its importance and, in 1687, the headquarters of the East India Company's government was transferred from Surat to Bombay.

As the trading horizons of the East India Company were broadened, factories were opened at other places, some of which were located on the Western coast. The traditional spice producing area of Kerala was one such target market for the Company's trading activities. To the British tradesmen the term 'Malabar' meant the entire coast of Kerala - from Mount Dilla (South of Mangalore) to Cape Comorin (Kanniyakumari). Traditionally, however only the northern part of the Keralan coast bears the geopolitical designation 'Malabar'. The history of the region centres on the coastal towns of Tellicherry, Mahé, Calicut and Cannanore. The former two lay very close to each other midway between the latter two, which are located to the south and north, respectively.

The British established a factory at Tellicherry (now called Thalasserry) in 1683. The grant for establishing this trading outpost was obtained from the local ruling family, the Kurungot Nairs, who held the area under their control from their overlords, the Kolathiri Rajahs of Chirakkal. The company intended to trade in cardamom and pepper, both of which were local produce. In 1708, a fort was built at Tellicherry. Relations between the British and the local rulers were very cordial, and indeed none other than a prince of the Kolathiri household laid the corner stone of the fort. Between 1708 and 1761, the Company actively pursued its interests in the region and gradually increased its sway to adjoining areas with more privileges such as civil and judicial indemnities and the right to collect custom duties.

Meanwhile, the trading ambitions of the French East India Company were not far behind in seeking benefits from the spice trade. They sent a representative named Mollandin to another local family, the Vazhunnavars of Badagara, and established their trading enclave at Mayyazhi, about 5 miles to the North of Tellicherry. Contrary to the English, relations

between the local rulers and the French were not cordial and soon a conflict broke out. The French, under a general named De Pallardin, were successful in wresting Mayyazhi from the local rulers. The victory, however, was attributed to the efforts of a French captain named Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais and in his honour the town was renamed Mahé, which uncannily came close in pronunciation, at least in part, to the original Mayyazhi. The French maintained their possession in Mahé until 1954.

Calicut (now called Kozhikode) enjoys a pre-eminent position in the history of Malabar as compared to both Tellicherry and Mahé. It was here that Vasco da Gama landed in 1498 with an intention of *buscar Cristaos e Especeria* ("seeking Christians and Spices"). It had been a town of great commercial importance, frequently visited by the Arabs and the Chinese to trade in spices and 'Calico' cloth that derives its name from the town. A local dynasty ruled here, entitled 'Samuthiri' and known in European annals by the name 'Zamorin'. The Portuguese, ever since the landing of da Gama, had tried to assert themselves politically and religiously in Malabar and that brought them into conflict with the Zamorins. This conflict lasted for several decades and resulted in the Zamorin seeking alliances with other European powers like the British and the Dutch. Although the influence of the Portuguese waned during the course of the 16th century, that of the other powers grew steadily – the British first visited Calicut in 1615 and a factory was set up in 1664. However, unlike the Portuguese, their involvement was confined to trade only. Dutch presence in Calicut lasted until 1721, when they withdrew out of Malabar completely due to a treaty signed between them and the British.

A Muslim family known as the 'Ali Rajahs' ruled Cannanore (now called Kannur), located north of Calicut, Tellicherry and Mahé. Originally belonging to the Kolathiri stock, they were converted to Islam sometime in the 12-13th centuries. Their capital seat was the town of Arakkal. A unique feature of the household's dynastic practice was a general agreement on female primogeniture and so we see many Queens ruling Cannanore under the title of 'Beebi'. Although the words 'Ali Rajah' were commonly used to address the household, their title accommodates a more sanskritised 'Aadi Raja', literally meaning 'First King' and it was carried irrespective of the gender of the

ruler. The 'Ali Rajahs carried out a spice trade of their own through ports such as Dharmapattanam that belonged to them and, as such, were viewed as competitors by the advancing European mercantile companies. In 1664, the Dutch attacked and defeated the ruler of Arakkal and imposed trading restrictions on him. The animosity between the European companies meant that the 'Ali Rajahs were friendly towards the British during the early years of British presence in Malabar. Indeed, during an internal strife with the Kolathiri family in 1720-22, the ruling 'Ali Rajah Muhammad 'Ali sought the help of Robert Adams, the chief of the Tellicherry factory, as a mediator. As the political equations changed in the region, however, the 'Ali Rajahs became gradually hostile to the British. The ascendancy of Hyder Ali in Mysore gave pre-eminence to the religious connections between the Mysore and Cannanore families, which were strengthened by matrimonial ties. When Hyder and later his son, Tipu, chose to subdue Malabar's local Hindu ruling families, the Cannanore family

under the Beebi Junnamabi sympathised with Mysore.

In 1778, Tipu conquered the areas of Calicut and Cannanore. His intentions of waging war against the Travancore Kingdom further south brought him into direct conflict with the British, who had granted security to the ruler of Travancore under the terms of a subsidiary alliance. Mysore domination lasted sporadically in the north of the region (Cannanore) and almost continually in the south of the region. Tipu was hostile to the Zamorins of Calicut but amicably disposed towards the 'Ali Rajah family of Cannanore, presumably because of his religious affinities. As a consequence, Cannanore witnessed British depredations during the long Anglo-Mysore struggle and finally the British occupied the town in 1790. The 'Ali Raja family was nominally re-instated but actual political control remained in British hands ever after. In 1792, a treaty imposed on Tipu by the British as a result of their success in the Anglo-Mysore war forced him to relinquish the territory permanently.

Coinage in 18th and 19th century Malabar – a circulatory context

Indigenous coinage in Kerala may be termed sparse in a general historical sense. During the 14th-17th centuries, the chief currency of the region seems to have been gold fanams, commonly called 'Viraraya' Fanams. These were struck initially by the Hoysalas and subsequently copied by the rulers of Coorg (Kodagu). They seem to have reached the coastal region of Malabar from upland Coorg through the trade across the southernmost part of the mountain chain, the Western Ghats. The abundant variation in their design and precious metal content indicate that a few varieties may also have been struck locally. The Venad kingdom located to the south of Malabar produced a profuse copper coinage during these years and, in all probability, this was the lower metal equivalent of the gold coins, namely the fanams.

These local coinages may seem inadequate given the large volume of trade in spices that was being conducted in the region – but, in fact, this trade brought in foreign coins in quantities sufficient to satiate any exigent currency demands. The most popular of these coins was the Venetian gold sequin.

At the beginning of the 18th century, silver made its appearance in the currency regime of Malabar. Although it is widely believed that the Venad kingdom (Travancore of a later period) struck silver chukrams as early as the 1600's, Beena Sarasan has shown recently that the issue of silver chukrams was not facilitated until c.1750 ('Coins of the Venad Cheras', Calicut, 2000, p. 85). The earliest silver coins struck indigenously in Malabar during this period are called 'Velli Fanams'. The metallic term 'Velli', meaning silver, must have been included in the nomenclature to distinguish them from the gold fanams. The first coins of this kind seem to have been struck by the 'Ali Rajahs of Cannanore. They are mintless, bear on the

obverse the inscription *Al-Malik Al-Wali 'Ali Raja* and on the reverse *B'al-Hijarat Sanah* followed by the date. They weigh around 2 gm and the earliest date seen on them is 1122 AH (= 1710 AD). In view of the other recorded dates it is just possible that this date is a misengraving for 1132 AH, and that would put the earliest date of issue c. 1720. Alexander Hamilton, who visited Cannanore in 1703, makes no mention of a silver currency. He mentions "all coins circulating being of gold" and remarks on their small size, thereby indicating a preponderance of the gold fanams ('The Ali Rajas of Cannanore', by K.K.N. Kurup, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 12). On the other hand, the British are known to have collected and dispatched a sample of silver fanams of Cannanore from Tellicherry to Bombay to get them assayed, *vide* a letter dated 26th November 1729. ("Letters from Tellicherry, vols. 1-4, 1729-1736", printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1934. This letter is reproduced in vol. 1 1729-31, p.17). It is therefore evident that the issue of silver fanams at Cannanore must have begun sometime between 1703 and 1729. The probability of the date being 1720 is more likely because that was the year of accession of the 'Ali Rajah named Muhammad 'Ali. From the chronological details on these coins, they seem to have had a sporadic, yet long lasting issue.

It is not certain what was reason for introducing a silver denomination weighing two grams, when nothing of that kind was in circulation before. Pridmore, while discussing the British issues for Malabar (see further) comments that the East India Company introduced their silver fanams to replace gold fanams circulating in the region because they were "tiny debased pieces subject to fluctuation and easily lost". However, to be equivalent in terms of

metallic content given the contemporary rate of exchange between gold and silver, a gold fanam weighing 0.35 gm would have had to correspond to 4 gm in silver, rather than the 2 gm actually found. The observed specimens of 'Vira raya' Fanams do not appear debased to that extent. So reasons for the introduction of the 2 gm denomination still remain to be determined.

Once the denomination was introduced by the 'Ali Rajahs, it gained wide acceptance in trade. This is ostensibly because, being of silver, it was directly convertible into the predominant rupee system of currency – it was equivalent in weight to 1/5th of a rupee. Perhaps this was one of the reasons that silver was chosen as a principal metal of circulation. The British followed suit and introduced their 'Velli Fanams' sometime after 1719-20, and these are the chief subject of discussion of this paper. In British correspondence the coins are referred to by the sobriquet 'Billy' Fanams, which is ostensibly an anglicised form of 'Velli'.

The French, too, struck coins in the same denomination at their factory at Mahé. It is also reported that, alongside the silver fanams, coins in the 'rupee' system were also struck there but none have survived. The French struck silver coins named 'Royalins' or 'Fanons' at their chief outpost Pondicherry, situated on the Eastern coast, and it is possible that the same name was given to the silver coins issued from Mahé. Whilst a good deal of information is available regarding the operation of the mint at Pondicherry, that for the Mahé mint is scanty. One point to note, however, is that coins with a Persian inscription seem to have been struck at Mahé at least a few years before they were at Pondicherry. This is interesting as far as adopting a native style coinage was concerned. Although the issues struck at Mahé do not refer to a Mughal ruler, they have legends in native script mentioning a pseudo-mintname 'Puducheri', the native name for Pondicherry. The earliest date these coins are known to bear is 1731. In c. 1738, the French silver issues of Mahé are seen to have undergone a radical change in their design. Along with a distinctly superior calligraphy, the coins now bear the letter 'P' prominently on their reverse, in all probability standing for 'Pondicherry'. The mintname on coins in this second series appears as a more Persianised 'Phulcheri'

than the previous 'Puducheri'. It is believed that the coins were struck until the 1820's.

As regards the coins of metals other than silver, both the British and the French struck copper coins. Not much research has been done about them – Pridmore refers to the British issues as 'Paisas' while the French issues are called 'Biche', presumably a corruption of 'Paisa'. When the weights of both these series of copper coins are compared, it becomes apparent that they actually complement each other and their denominational structure corresponds to the local 'Cash' system (See further under appropriate section). As for gold, no issue is known for the French mint at Mahé. The British are not known to have struck any gold in Malabar, apart from a pagoda issued in 1809 that Pridmore identifies as the 'Nishini' or 'Revenue' Pagoda (Hoan). However, this view is challenged further in the course of this paper. The 'Ali Rajahs of Cannanore struck a gold pagoda, which remains to be published in detail and that is undertaken as an appendix to this paper.

During the Mysore occupation, currency in Calicut is seen to have undergone a drastic change. Initially, Tipu ordered a variant of the gold 'Vira Raya' Fanams to be struck there. This variety is inscribed with a Persian letter *he* and called the 'Bahaduri Vira Raya' Fanam. In tune with Tipu's currency reforms after he ascended the Mysore throne in 1782, he introduced a Paisa-Rupee-Pagoda system in Calicut. He also opened a new mint in the region at Feroke (Farrukhi), located near Calicut, which, during the later part of his reign, became the principal mint for copper and gold. While gold and copper issues of both Calicut and Feroke under Tipu (namely fanams and paisas) are fairly numerous, silver is exceedingly rare for these mints. This phenomenon was probably an outcome of the large issue of French and British silver fanams in the preceding years.

The brief description presented about the circulatory context of British coinage in Malabar enables us to see it in a wider perspective, as part of a flourishing and localised monetary economy. As will be seen in the next section, Pridmore failed to take this context into account while presenting his analysis of the Malabar coinage. We hope to remedy this flawed analysis to a large extent.

Pridmore's Assessment of the Malabar Coinage:

The discussion of the Malabar silver coinage is to be found on p. 114 of Pridmore's treatise. Having noted the fact that a denomination to the weight of a fifth of a rupee was not intended for circulation in Bombay, he adduced evidence from Sir Walter Elliot's book *Coins of Southern India* that the silver or 'Velli' Fanam "as appears from the records in the Calicut *Kacheri* (= 'Office') was originally coined tentatively in Bombay in 1730 AD". He further identified the earliest

of these issues as bearing a peculiar inscription on the obverse, which is derived from a Mughal legend but which incorporates the English numeral '5' in a conspicuous position. Having noted that these coins have a fine calligraphy, a Hijri date of 1131, a regnal year *Ahd* (= first) and the mint name of 'Munbai', Pridmore rightly concluded that the prototype for the design of these issues is a rupee of Shahjahan II, struck at Bombay (Mumbai in the vernacular). An important

archival source (for which he, in his inimitable and often irritating fashion, gives no clear reference) is quoted to support the fact that the issue of these 'fifth' rupees, or 'Bilys' as they were later called, was under way in December 1727 at the Bombay mint and that it was specifically being carried out for the Tellicherry factory.

This is where Pridmore's accuracy ends as far as analysing the coinage goes! His subsequent treatment of the Malabar coins is uncharacteristically superficial and arbitrary. Elliot remarked, "these old Velli Fanams had generally the numeral '5' in English or Malayalam form" (Malayalam or Malayalam is the local language of Kerala and has its own alphabet and numbering system). Pridmore takes this remark *prima facie* and neatly groups the coins into three 'distinct types' –

First type: Nice round coins showing the major portion of the die impression with the numeral '5' in the 'normal English form'

Second type: Slightly smaller and thicker coins, which now show a distinct style of design.... 'The numeral '5' is now in the Malayalam form'.

Third type: Crude copies of the first and second types.

There are many surprising elements in Pridmore's classification. Firstly, he fails to recognise that what Elliot terms as the 'Malayalam' form of 5 is actually the English numeral turned upside down. It only vaguely resembles the Malayalam numeral 5, which is:

⑤

Secondly, he notes the 'distinct style' of design but fails to translate it into an aid for classification. As will be seen later, the design of the Bilys not only helps in classifying them but also offers important insights into the chronology of British coinage in Malabar in general. Pridmore comments that 'once established, the only change made in these later issues is the AH and Julus years, which relate to the reign of Muhammad Shah. No attempt was made to correct the design to correspond with the change in the name of the Emperor'. He therefore fails to note that, although the Bilys begin as a corruption of Shahjahan II's issues, at least some of them bear the name of another Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II. Curiously, he lists such a Billy in the catalogue with other silver issues of Bombay in the name of Alamgir II but leaves it without any comment.

Pridmore is at his worst when he tries to attribute the categories he created for the Bilys chronologically and by location. Firstly, his views are based on the wrong premise that they have two forms of the numeral five, one English and the other Malayalam. He attributes the first type to the 1719-1730 period. This is interesting because even though the coinage uses a 1719 issue as a prototype, the earliest documentary reference is that of December 1727. Pridmore assumes that the coinage actually began in 1719 or immediately thereafter, when there is nothing to base this inference upon. He further comments that the coins were issued for circulation from the Tellicherry factory, which is correct – but treats them as replacement for gold

fanams judging by the fact that they "circulated as 'Fanams'". He therefore sees their issue as a measure to replace the gold fanam (*vide supra*), thereby ignoring the fact that the gold and silver fanams were two different coins, albeit homonymous. He is obviously unaware of the fact that the introduction of this denomination was a British response to an already circulating silver coinage, namely the Cannanore fanams. This is where he fails to take into account the context of coin circulation in Malabar – a shortcoming that remains a constant feature of his views on the coinage.

He then takes the mention of a small debasement (2.5%) in the Bilys in the 1727 reference as a basis for the attribution of the second type of these coins, with the so-called 'Malayalam' form of 5. The premise for this attribution is flawed because Bilys of his 'second' type show much more debasement in their contents than the mere 2.5% mentioned in the reference. This fact can be ascertained even with the naked eye.

There are many discrepancies between Pridmore's text and what he actually lists in the catalogue. Firstly the arrangement of the catalogue, when it comes to these particular issues, is somewhat tedious - Bilys of the first type, with a clear date 1131 AH are listed in the main section of Mughal style coinages of the Bombay Presidency in the catalogue. Also listed there are those that allegedly bear the RYs corresponding to Muhammad Shah's reign. There is a Billy in the name of Alamgir II that appears in the same catalogue section but eludes any mention in the text. Then there is a jump in the catalogue and all other varieties are consigned to the sub-section on 'Malabar Coast'. Up to this point, the classification in three 'distinct types', so evocatively suggested in the text, is nowhere reflected in the catalogue. The coins listed in the 'Malabar' section of the catalogue are clearly of the 'second type' as they have the so-called 'Malayalam' form of the numeral 5. A time bracket of nearly 65 years is suggested for these coins, while only two actual varieties of coins with the 'Malayalam' numeral have been listed. It is evident that this number would fall short of bridging, by any logic, such a long lapse of time – although it could be attributed to Pridmore having found only two of the many, as yet undiscovered, varieties. However, there is yet more confusion – a third coin attributed to the same time bracket actually has the 'English' form of 5 and as such is a misfit in the classification scheme!

The third 'type' of Billy that Pridmore enlists in the text is actually supported by only one coin in the catalogue. For some reason he remarks that 'crude copies of the coin, or of the earlier 1/5th rupee, appear to be locally minted imitations, possibly struck in the Calicut mint before the Company acquired control in 1793, or by the 'Ali Rajahs of Cannanore circa 1731-1788'. Here again he betrays his flaw of treating the British coinage in isolation – there is no question of striking any Bilys at Calicut in the period he mentions, because Calicut remained firmly under Mysore control

for about 15 years before the British acquired it in 1793. As such the only coins that were struck in this period at Calicut were the Mysore coins – the fanams and other mainly copper issues mentioned above. There is no evidence of any British monetary involvement at Calicut before the Mysore occupation, and the mint under the Zamorins is accredited with minting only a variety of 'Vira Raya' gold fanams. The 'Ali Rajahs of Cannanore minted their own silver coins to the same standard as that of the Billys and as such there is no reason to believe that they copied the British issues. Pridmore has actually listed a coin as of 'Cannanore' mint, but gives no substantiation of his attribution, apart from the fact that the coin betrays what he calls 'crudeness' in execution as compared to the 'second type' of Billys. This, as one can see, is clearly a qualitative assertion and as such cannot be taken as an evidence for the attribution.

In relation to the early issues of the Malabar Coast, Pridmore's assessment of the later silver issues is much more detailed and based on firmer foundations. This is the period in the aftermath of the 1792 treaty with Mysore that gave the Company complete control of the regions of Calicut and Cannanore. The British chose to re-instate the respective ruling families, namely the Zamorins and the 'Ali Rajahs, at both these places but only in a nominal manner. The most important implication of the Company assuming control of coinage was that it tried consciously to substitute the gold fanams with silver coins – this was in accordance with the company's efforts to drive the gold fanams out of circulation because of the economic impracticality that was involved in their use following a change in the gold-silver price ratio. Although initially the Malabar Commission rejected the proposal when it was referred to it, it was decided in 1799 to strike the silver Billys. A mint was set up in Calicut and a completely new design was adopted for the Billys. Rather than the usual design showing the name of the Mughal Emperor, a legend that Pridmore read as '*Nishini Sikka*' and roughly translated as 'Revenue or Government coin' was placed on these coins. The mint

name of these coins appears as 'Talcheri', and the other distinguishing feature not present on any earlier coins was the inclusion of English letter 'T' followed by '99' as an indication of the year of issue, 1799. In addition to this chronological detail, a Hijri date of 1214 also appeared on the obverse.

In May 1800, the Malabar province was transferred to the Government of the Madras Presidency. The issue of Billys under the Madras government, dated 1805, had a different design. These coins had the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, and the mint name 'Mumbai' on the reverse, while the obverse depicted a pair of scales, the letter 'T' and the AD date. The 'T99' and 'T1805' are the last issues of Billys – ostensibly struck in Malabar and they are datable due to the obvious chronological details they bear.

Apart from the fifth rupees or Billys, the Malabar Coast region also had full rupees in circulation. The only mention that Pridmore makes of these coins is while attributing and discussing a partially machine struck issue of 1810-1813 period, struck at the Calcutta mint for circulation in the Malabar region. He does not, however, explain why the striking of rupees was undertaken specifically for the Malabar Coast at a time when Billys happened to be the principal silver currency of the region. This created a doubt as to whether he had missed any previous rupees struck for use in the region. Upon further examination, this doubt was confirmed. We will come to the identification and attribution of earlier rupees of the Malabar region at a later stage in this paper.

Pridmore's assessment of the copper coins of Malabar mirrors his confusion regarding the Billys. He correctly attributes a series of copper coins bearing the 'balemark' on the obverse and the AD date in bold numerals on the reverse as Malabar issues. But one finds an exactly similar, machine-struck coin dated 1798 attributed to Madras as a pattern. We will discuss his views regarding copper coins for Malabar at an appropriate later stage.

Reassessing the Malabar Coinage – Methodological Approach

The doubts about Pridmore's assessment were first cast when one of us (Stevens) documented a large group of Billys that appeared in the London market at the end of 2001. Nearly 300 pieces of Billys were examined in this study and lacunae in Pridmore's classification became evident. Firstly, contrary to Pridmore's contention, many of these coins showed discernible chronological details. Many coins showed RYs and the large number gave an opportunity for us to study them in such detail as would be useful to arrive at a much finer classification than that attempted by Pridmore. The basis of Pridmore's grouping had to be discarded, because what he identified as a 'Malayalim' numeral 5 was in fact the English numeral turned upside down. A set of 'full die depictions' was made of each obverse

and reverse, and a mix-and-match exercise was carried out to yield the most comprehensive picture of the known varieties of Billys. The task of classifying the Billys was limited to all those issues that predate the last two – the 'T99' and 'T1805' issues.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible for us to access the archival information on the subject as quoted by Pridmore, because he was extremely careless about giving references to the details that he reproduced in his book. He does mention, "Records have been traced in the Bombay mint accounts of silver Fanams extending to the year 1796" – but gives neither the details of these records nor the reference to enable one to trace them in the myriad of records in the 'Oriental and India Office Collection'. Perhaps a sound

comparison with archival material is desirable for this kind of essentially numismatic analysis that we have carried out, but that will have to be relegated to the future. The internal numismatic evidence that our study provides is pretty well structured and as such leaves a few lacunae that may or may not be filled with archival research. Having said that, we have successfully traced some of the archival material used by Pridmore and provide the references to those works.

As Pridmore correctly noted, the Billys have 'distinct styles of execution'. We utilised this feature extensively in our classification and this, combined with the RY details within each group served as a basis for arriving at a chronological sequence for the coins.

It was noticed that there exist nine varieties of obverses and several more varieties of reverse dies for Billys that predate the 'T99' issue. Each of them has distinct features. Some overlap occurs between these obverses and reverses and this helps to determine the chronology. For instance, reverse 2 occurs with both obverse B and D1. This overlap is shown in table 1.

Before proceeding to the arguments supporting the proposed chronological sequence, it is necessary to describe the different attributes of the various obverse and reverse varieties.

Description of Obverse varieties:

Obverse A:



This is derived from the designs of the 'Mumbai' rupees of Shahjahan II and bears a neatly executed figure 5 in the centre. In addition, it bears vestiges of an AH date in the bottom left field which, being faithful to the prototype design, is usually 1131. However, there exists a specimen in the BM collection that has a date 1143, corresponding to 1730 AD. The word in the top line in this case is 'Ghazi'.

This design further degrades into what may be termed obverse A1, where it retains most details of obverse A. A distinct change, which is carried forward in all subsequent types as a stylised vestige, is the vowel sign of 'u' appearing over 'm' in the word 'Mubarak' (last line). In most cases the chronological detail is seen to degenerate into vestigial numerals. However in the case of a solitary coin it has been observed to read AH 1154.

Obverse B



This shows a noteworthy degradation in the execution of the legend as compared to the previous obverse. It retains the word 'Ghazi' in the top line. However, in the last line, the chronological details after the word 'mubarak' no longer exist and also the vowel and other signs in the word such as the sign of 'u' over 'm' and the 'S'-shaped sign to identify the 'k' as the last letter of the word – have all been jumbled up.

The second significant observation that can be made regarding this obverse is the execution of the figure '5'. There are three distinct varieties depending on the length of the oblique stroke that joins the curve and the top horizontal line of the numeral – with short, medium and long stroke. Depending on the way the stroke has been executed, the numeral assumes a progressively lanky appearance. For the entire design, two styles of execution are seen in general – one where the letters are fine and the other, where they are bolder.

Obverse C:



The top line in this case clearly spells out 'Alamgir', so here there is no ambiguity about whose designs have been used as a prototype. The execution of legends in this case seems to be quite accurate, and the extant specimens show it to be of superior workmanship. The figure '5' survives in the centre. Although there is no explicit chronological detail seen, a group of small vertical strokes just below the 'Ain' of 'Alamgir' indicates a vestige of the Hijri date as it appeared on the prototype.

Obverse D1:



On this variety the word in the top line seems to be 'Manoos', which one would expect as the top line on the reverse given the usual legend arrangement. This obverse type is also noteworthy for a most peculiarly engraved '5'. The oblique stroke of the numeral is at its

longest here and that gives the numeral a very lanky appearance. The partial letters seen on the last line are remnants of 'Mubarak', which makes this design stylistically closer to obverse 2. Also noteworthy is the shape of the 'knot' in the top line and the way it curves in a sigmoid fashion towards the end of the stroke. There is no chronological detail, not even in a vestigial form.

Obverse D2:



This is by far the rarest obverse type – there were only three coins represented in the group of 300 that we examined (although others with less readable legend may have been of this type). Consequently, it has not been possible to reconstruct the design to the extent that we have with the other types. Stylistically it bears close links with obverse D1, in terms of the execution of the extant characters and the 'knot' in the top line that retains the same flow in its course. However, the most significant distinguishing feature is that the numeral '5' now appears inverted – the form that Pridmore erroneously described as the 'Malayalim'. This is a significant deviation in the type characteristics and continues in all succeeding obverse types.

Obverse D3:



This bears a direct link with the previous varieties insofar as the word in the top line is still 'Manoos', however the execution of the characters seems to be of better workmanship. The 'knot' in the top line no longer bears the sigmoid end. The figure of 5 is seen in the inverted form and bears a close resemblance to that seen on the previous variety.

Obverse E:



This obverse retains the word in the top line as 'Manoos' and continues to bear the inverted figure '5'. But the execution of characters is noticeably better

than that seen in obverses D1 and D2. It lacks chronological details and the bottom line shows vestiges of 'Mubarak'.

Obverse F:



Executionally, this is the most singular of all the obverse types and shows no similarity with any of those listed above. The only sequential link it offers in the design is the inverted figure '5' in the centre. Almost all characters are vestigial, but one can certainly discern the top line as derived from 'Shah Alam', while the central and bottom lines are 'Badshah' and 'Sikka Mubarak'. The central line has some noticeable peculiarities – to the right of the numeral and beyond 'Sha', the vestige of the 'Alif' in what remains of 'Ba' has assumed a sharply backward slash-like form and there is a circle to its right. To the left, there is a cluster of four dots within a curve and one of those always bears a small prong coming out of it. No chronological details are visible.

Description of Reverse varieties:

Reverse 1:



Reverse 1 matches with obverse A inasmuch as it too is a direct derivation of the design of the Shahjahan II 'Munbai' issue. The chronological detail is RY Ahd or 1; the mintname is 'Munbai' and even the small differentiating mark of a flower is faithfully reproduced in the 'Seen' of 'Julus'.

Reverse 2:



The most noteworthy feature of this design is the word 'Julus' and the way in which the flow of execution between the 'Jim', 'Laam' and 'Waav' characters has been affected. In fact this remains a point worthy of note for all the succeeding reverse types. In this particular case the 'knot' of 'Laam' and 'Waav' has the shape of an almost isosceles triangle. The differentiating mark in the 'Seen' of 'Julus' is a cluster

of five or six dots. The regnal years observed for this design are 12, 21, 24?, 25, 2, 3, 5 and 9. There are some coins that show figures other than these, but in most cases they turn out to be jumbled die engravings – like 6 occurring as a result of an incorrectly engraved 2. On a couple of coins '01' was seen, which we have reasons to believe is an error for 9, with the '0' emerging as the misconstrued *nuqta* of 'Noon' in 'Sanah', above which the RY is usually placed. Extant specimens indicate RYs 12 and 21 may also be a case of wrongly engraved dies.

Depending on minor variations, reverse 2 may be further classified into –

Reverse 2.1:

Like rev 2 but no (or dot?) differentiating mark. Only seen with RY 21 and possibly RY 24. The vowel sign for 'u' points towards the bottom of the upstroke of the 'Laam'

Reverse 2.2:

Like rev 2 but with flower differentiating mark (flower differs from rev 3, see below.)

Reverse 3:



This is similar to reverse 2, but differs in depicting a flower with a stalk as the differentiating mark, rather than a cluster of dots. Only one RY is noted for this reverse type, and that is 9.

Reverse 4:



This reverse forms the crucial link between the previous reverses and the subsequent ones in being the first where the RY 9 seems to have become a 'fossilised' detail. This is continued subsequently and, as will be seen, constitutes an important tool to devise an internal chronology for the Billys. This reverse has many other interesting characteristics in terms of its execution and differentiating mark. Firstly, the execution is crude as compared to any of the reverses listed so far, but it has a distinct style. Its manifestations can be judged on the same parameters as the previous reverses – the execution of the word 'Julus' and its constituent characters. Here we find the 'Jim' has a distinct 'upward' bent at its beak, the vowel

sign of the 'u' above it often seems attached to the vertical stroke of 'Laam', and the knot of 'Waav' is not isosceles but projects higher vertically, on some coins being hollow. It also extends outwards from the vertical stroke much closer to its top end. The differentiating mark is a flower with a stalk, but the stalk has additional curves besides it and the flower itself has a 'blob'-like execution. A set of vertical lines appears below the RY, indicating corruption of the curves of 'Seen' in the word 'Sanah'.

Reverse 4A:



The major difference here lies in the fact that although much of the execution of the inscription is very similar to that seen on reverse 4, here the differentiating mark of the flower is replaced with a cluster of dots. On some coins it appears to be a vestige of the 'flower' seen on reverse 4, but without the small curvy lines that flank the stalk. The reverse retains the chronological detail of frozen RY 9.

Reverse 5:



Here again the execution is markedly superior to that seen on reverse 4. However, the most noteworthy aspect is the chronological detail, where the RY is seen now definitely 'frozen' at 9. The differentiating mark in the 'Seen' of 'Julus' is a flower, but without a stalk, and the execution of the word itself bears close similarities with reverse 2 rather than reverse 4, with the 'knot' being triangular in shape, but not hollow or projecting vertically.

Reverse 6:



Like obverse F, this is by far the most distinct reverse type and there are many noteworthy aspects to it. Firstly, the execution of the word 'Julus' is very

different from what has been listed so far. The chronological detail is surely 9, the frozen regnal year that becomes a feature from reverse 4 onwards. The mint name is preceded by what looks like a remnant of 'Fi', but is most likely a version of 'Zarb', even though a downward sloping stroke appears to its right.

Matching these obverse and reverse designs with the actual specimens available to us, both from

reported sources and the large group we had an opportunity to examine, the combinations shown in table 1 can be worked out to delineate the varieties of Billys. The observations can be tabulated with reference to some of the obverse and reverse characteristics as shown in table 2 below:

Table 1. Obverse and Reverse Combinations

Type	Obverse	Reverse	RY
1	A	1	1
1a	A1	2.1	1, 22
1b	A1	2.2	12?, 25
2	B	2 (2a, 2b, 2c)	2, 3, 5, 6?, 9
3	C	3	9
4	D1	2	9
5	D1	4	9
6	D2	4	9
7	D3	4A	9
8	E	5	9
9	F	6	9

Table 2. Relationship of Obverse and Reverse Varieties

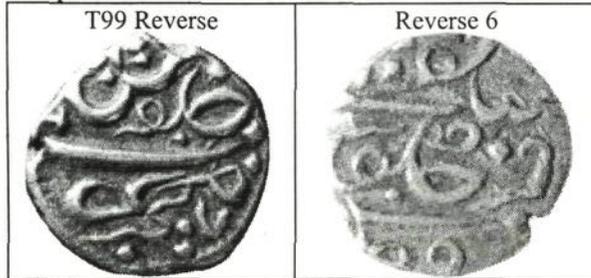
Obv.	Normal '5'	Inverted '5'	Top word 'Ghazi'	Top word 'Alamgir'	Top word 'Manoos'	Top word 'Shah Alam'
Rev.						
RY 1	Type 1	-	Type 1	-	-	-
RYs 2,3,5 and 9	Type 2	-	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	-
RY9 (Frozen)	Type 3	Type 8, 9	-	Type 3?	Type 5,6,7,8	Type 9
Cluster of dots, or 'flower'	Type 2, 3	Type 8, 9	Type 2	-	Type 4	Type 9
Flower with stalk	Type 1	Type 7	-	Type 3	Type 7	-
Flower with stalks and curves	Type 5	Type 6	-	-	Type 5, 6	-

Interpreting the observations: a dating sequence for the Billys

Having described the different obverse and reverse types, we will now turn to the chronological sequence in which they were issued.

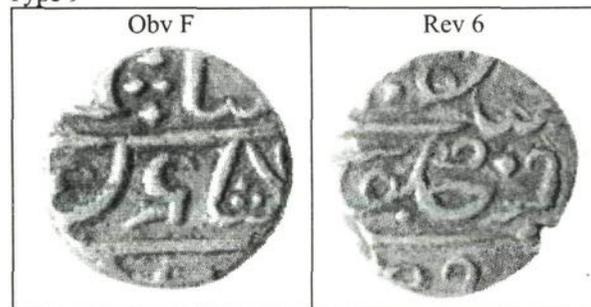
The form and execution of 'Julus' on reverse 6 is worth noting because it provides a direct link with the same characters on the reverse of the 'T99' issue – which has a fixed chronological placement due to the date it bears. This shows that coins of Type 9 (obverse F and reverse 6 combination) cannot be far removed from the 'T99' issues.

Comparison of Reverses of T99 and Reverse 6



The differences that they show in execution from all other Billys would suggest their chronological distance from the rest of the group. Both these inferences (i.e. Type 9 is close to T99 and far from the other Billys) go well with the historical facts known about the region. We have seen that the region came under British control after 1792 and that an agreement was effected between the British and the Zamorin of Calicut, whom the British had restored to nominal power and allowed to 'continue coinage'. We have no clue what coinage was 'continued', but Pridmore mentions the name of the mint master who was in charge of the Calicut mint in 1795 (Mr. Rickards) and assumes it was the gold fanams that were struck and gradually replaced by the 'T99' issues about seven years later. However, going by the important link in type characteristics that we have just described, it is reasonable to ascribe the Billys of Type 9 to this period. The 'continuation' of coinage mentioned in the documentary sources more likely refers to continuing striking the Billys, as they must have been struck by the British in the region before the Mysore conquest.

Type 9

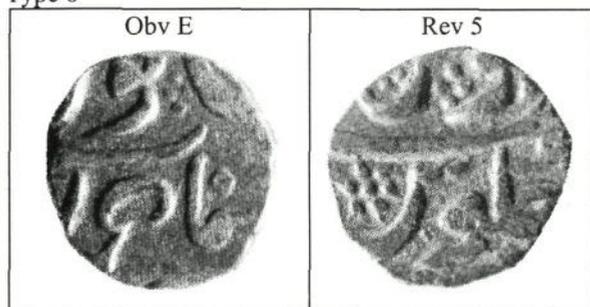


One would assume that coinage of Billys, and indeed other coinage like that of copper, must have stopped during the period of Mysore domination of Malabar. We have no historical account of how exactly the establishment of Mysore rule at Calicut and the cordial relationship that Tipu shared with the Ali Rajah family of Cannanore, affected the British at Tellicherry. But, given the extremely hostile attitude of Tipu towards the British, it is conceivable that the situation at Tellicherry must have been anything but conducive to trade, since the establishment was virtually surrounded by Tipu's forces. As a result of the treaty of Mangalore, signed in 1784 between Tipu and the British and often regarded as a document of Tipu's political virtuosity, he allowed the British to 're-establish their factory at Calicut'. It is interesting to note that the issue of French fanons in Mahé also virtually ceased during this period, and the only dates known for French copper issues are 1787 and 1790. Given the friendship between the French and Tipu the striking of a minor coinage could well have been ignored by him. However, a British coinage at Calicut during this period should be regarded an unlikely occurrence given the important theocratic implications coinage would have had in the Islamic state that was established under Tipu. That there was no British coinage during the years of Mysore domination is well reflected in the design of the Billys, which show a remarkable shift in type characteristics between issues of Type 9 and the rest of the group.

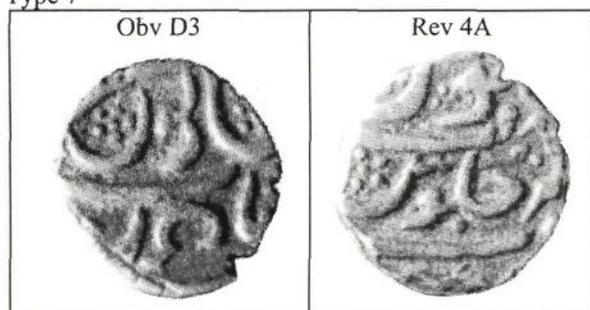
So, what about coins issued immediately before the Mysore occupation? An obvious break in the series occurs with the figure 5 being rotated from its normal position through 180°. There are three obverse designs where this is seen to have occurred – obverse D2, D3 and E. The relative chronological placement of these three designs can be judged from the fact that obverse E couples with reverse 5 on coins (Type 8), where the chronological detail seen is RY 9. It has a markedly superior degree of execution in its details over obverse D2. Obverse D3 may be placed between obverse D2 and obverse E because, although it has a degree of refinement in execution, it is not as fine as that seen in obverse E. Thus Obverse D2 links up with obverse D1 in terms of the style of execution whereas obverse D3 does so with obverse E. Both obverse D2 and D1 share a common reverse - reverse 4 – to yield types 6 and 5, respectively. Obverse D3 however shares its reverse with reverse 4a (to yield type 7), which is the same as reverse 4 but differs only in the execution of the flower motif. All these types have the chronological detail as RY 9. Stylistic comparison would suggest that this detail has been derived from the series of coins immediately preceding those with reverse 4, namely that with reverse 2 – where the RY occurs in stages as 2, 3, 5 and 9 before it is frozen on the last. It is therefore clear that coins of Type 8 (obverse E and reverse 5 combination) come last in the sequence. They

are preceded by coins of Types 5, 6 and 7 (obverse D1-reverse 4, obverse D2-reverse 4 and obverse D3-reverse 4a combinations), which in turn are preceded by those of Type 4 (obverse D1 and reverse 2 combination).

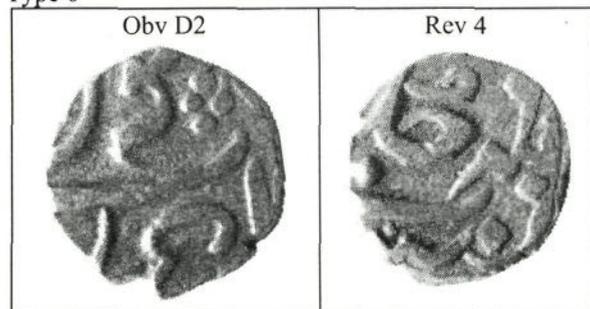
Type 8



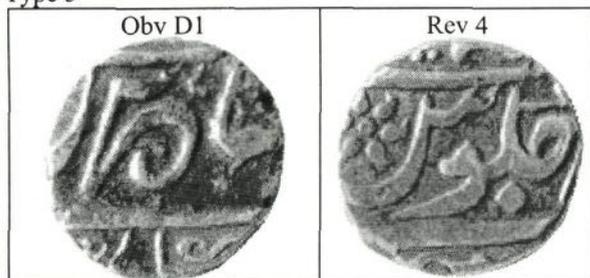
Type 7



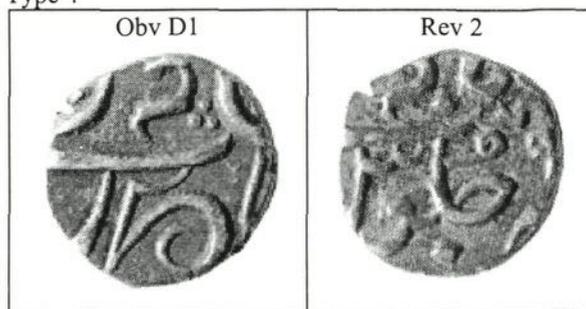
Type 6



Type 5



Type 4



It is also worth noting at this juncture that all coins with the said obverse and reverse types also have one common link, which also indicates their chronological proximity – they all have the word ‘Manoos’ in the top line on the obverse. Thus a series can be worked out depending on stylistic similarities and the occurrence of the chronological detail. If we assume that the series with RY 9 was indeed issued for the first time in that year, even though it is a posthumous RY, we see that none of the coins with that detail could have been struck prior to 1762-63. This date and a year in the early 1780’s - when British coinage in Malabar must have temporarily ceased in the aftermath of the establishment of Mysore supremacy in the region after c.1780 - offers us a time bracket to accommodate the Billys with an inverted ‘5’ (of which the first appears very rare) and some of those types that bear the frozen RY 9, but have the normal ‘5’. Judging by the preponderance of the issues of types 7 and 8 with inverted ‘5’, it seems likely that they must have dominated in circulation for most of this time bracket. Billys with the normal ‘5’ and having the RY detail frozen at 9 (namely those of Types 4 and 5, comprising combinations of obverse D1 with reverse 2 & 4) may be placed earlier than those with an inverted ‘5’ and having the same RY detail. Therefore it may be concluded that coins of Types 4, 5 and 6 should be placed at this crucial juncture in working out a sequence for the Billys, their evolution and placement denoted by the numerical order.

This leaves us with Billys of Type 2 (obverse B and reverse 2 combination) - those that have the top word in the obverse inscription as ‘Ghazi’ and also a normal form of 5. Here the sequencing becomes somewhat complicated because, although these issues bear RYs 2, 3, 5 and 9, the name of the king whose reign corresponds to them is not visible on the coins. Moreover, three distinct varieties in execution of the figure ‘5’ are noticed. To arrange these coins in a sequence, some external help needs to be sought. This comes again from the standpoint of executional style, but in this case we have to concentrate on the reverse, rather than the obverse. If one compares the style of the engraving of legends on the reverse to the known rupees of Bombay that Pridmore lists, it becomes apparent that Billys of Type 2 match the reverse of those struck in the name of Alamgir II. The Billys and rupees with RYs 5 and 9 - remarkably similar in

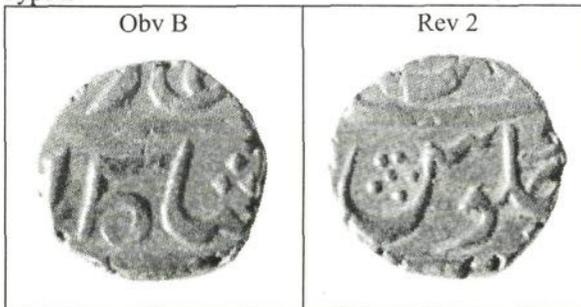
execution, while those with RYs 2 and 3 are similar, albeit not quite so close.

Comparison of Rupee and Billy of Alamgir RY 5



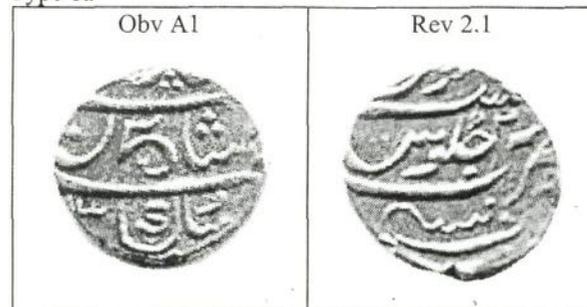
We therefore have to conclude that the RYs that these Billys bear represent the reign of Alamgir II and as such they can be placed in the period of his reign leading up to the fictitious RY 9, i.e. 1754 - 1763. Judging by the numbers, it is clear that the issue of Billys was quite profuse in this period.

Type 2



Coins with reverse 2 designs link up with those having reverses 2.1 and 2.2, on the basis of a stylistic and executional similarity. Since coins with reverse 2.1 and 2.2 bear regnal years which are essentially from a different set (22, 25 and possibly 12 and 21, although the rendering of the last two figures is not entirely free from doubt), it would be logical to conclude that they precede those of type 2. The most likely contender to whom this set of RYs would belong is Muhammad Shah, although his name itself is not mentioned on coins, their obverses being derived from obverse A1, where the word in top line is 'Ghazi'. These may be termed types 1a and 1b. Between these two, those with reverse 2.1 (type 1a) show a greater similarity to reverse 1 and therefore should precede those with reverse 2.2 (type 1b). RYs 22 and 25 of Muhammad Shah would indicate a date of issue of 1741-42 and 1744-45. Indeed, the solitary coin bearing the AH 1154 offers a concordance with the RY 22 that its reverse bears and therefore would serve as a conclusive chronological benchmark for Billys of these types.

Type 1a

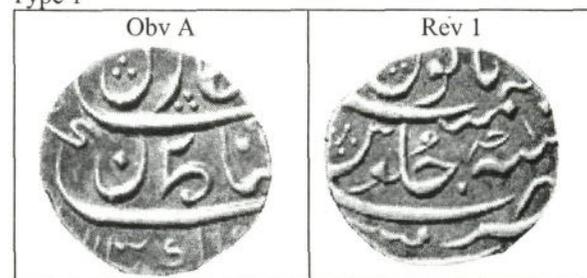


Type 1b



We know that the issue of Billys began sometime between 1719 and 1727 with coins of Type 1 (obverse A and reverse 1 combination). All of them have the RY 1 and most have AH 1131. As such it can be inferred that their issue continued bearing these chronological details as a 'frozen' instance for some time. An archival reference in "Letters from Tellicherry, vols. 1-4, 1729-1736" vol. 1, pp.24, 29 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1934) mentions the coining of Billys in Bombay to be transported to Tellicherry in 1730. One specimen in the BM collection actually bears the date AH 1143 (although the RY is still *Ahd*) quite clearly, thereby substantiating the archival reference that the issue continued at least until 1730-31.

Type 1



As the next issue in the chronological sequence that we have outlined could be dated only in the early 1740s, it is evident that there exists a gap in the production of Billys for a few years, i.e. from the 1730s to the early-1740s. The rarity of coins that could be dated to the 1740s, namely those bearing RYs 22 and 25 of Muhammad Shah, indicates that the impasse continued through the mid-1740s. We do not know the reasons for this lapse or the ensuing drop in production, but it is possible that it had something to do with the politics

in the region. These years saw an escalating strife between the British and the French in South India, particularly in the region then known as the 'Carnatic', today called Tamilnadu. It is quite probable that this may have affected trade and in turn the coin production in Malabar, and it is worth noting that there are no dated French issues from their mint at Mahé for a similar period, i.e. 1738 – 1750. It seems, therefore, that the factors affecting the British coinage in Malabar also affected the French coinage in the region and the mint stopped producing its 'fanons' (which were a complimentary coinage to the Billys in terms of denomination). As the dates on them indicate, the issue of fanons was resumed in 1750, and the British followed suit after a few years.

This dating and sequential scheme leaves out the Billys in the name of 'Alamgir (Type 3 - combining obverse C and reverse 3).

Type 3



This is quite a distinct issue judging by the fact that type characteristics such as the finesse in the execution of the legend and the differentiating mark on the reverse are different from any other designs we have discussed so far. Only one of these is known to show a chronological detail and that is RY 9, and for that we have no clue whether it was put as a current year or a frozen year. Since the name of the issuing king, however, is quite certainly 'Alamgir, one would presume that the issue of these Billys was not begun before 1754, the date of his accession. It therefore seems that these coins were current with those discussed in the preceding paragraphs, especially those of type 2 and as such their issue adds to the volume of Billys that can be ascribed to this period. Their execution and other characteristics, however, are so markedly different from their contemporaries in circulation (Types 2, 4, 5 and 6) that it is likely that they were struck at a different mint. It therefore transpires that, at least for the period under discussion, there seem to be two mints striking Billys.

This brings us to an important question – where were the Billys actually struck? The 'T99' issues bear the mintname 'Talcheri', but conceivably were struck at Calicut. Documentary evidence irrefutably suggests that in the years when Billys were first introduced, they were struck in Bombay and then transported to Malabar, to be put in circulation at Tellicherry (*vide supra* – "Letters from Tellicherry"). All the Billys, excepting the 'T99', bear the mint name 'Mumbai'.

This would pose a question as to why the mint name on the 'T99' issue was inscribed as 'Talcheri'. A plausible answer to this is – in the immediately previous instance when the coins were being struck (i.e. before the Mysore conquest) the coins actually were struck at Tellicherry (Talcheri) even though they had the mint name on them inscribed as 'Mumbai'.

This observation may fail to convince if seen in the wake of what Pridmore describes, "Records have been traced in the Bombay mint accounts of silver Fanam coinages extending to the year 1796". But he does not give any reference to these 'accounts' and the contents therein. Further, Pridmore's mention itself is not free from doubt. In addition to his statement above, on p. 115 he states that "an entry in the records show that as late as the year 1796, the Bombay mint coined a quantity of silver Fanams for the west coast". When these two statements are compared it becomes clear that they do not suggest in any way that the Bombay mint was solely responsible for the production of Billys, or that there was a continuous production of the said specie at Bombay in the period c.1720-1796. Indeed, Pridmore appears to interpret the evidence in this way, and contends that other 'crude' varieties "appear to be locally minted imitations". Moreover, a situation wherein a supply of Billys was sent from Bombay to Tellicherry at sporadic intervals even though a mint was in operation at Tellicherry – especially to augment exigent currency demands – is not entirely unimaginable. The documentary evidence that Pridmore puts in print is unequivocal inasmuch as, for the early years, the minting of Billys was indeed carried out in Bombay ("Letters from Tellicherry" vol. 1, p. 14). The chronological scheme we have just outlined indicates that there was a gap between the initial launch of Billys and their subsequent resumption in circulation sometime between 1750-1755, and there is no clear indication that Billys in this period and afterwards were struck in Bombay alone. The fact that there exist two broadly different varieties of Billys in circulation for the period 1754-1763 (Type 3 and Types 2, 4, 5 & 6 – the first with the 'Alamgir' legend and the latter with 'Ghazi' or 'Manoos' legends) may indicate that while some of the Billys were struck at Bombay, others may actually have been struck at Tellicherry. This then raises the question of how to divide them into the product of 'local' and 'main' (Bombay) mints. If we base our observations on the premise that the supply from Bombay was sporadic, it would be reasonable to conclude that the rarer of the two types should be attributed to Bombay, while the rest were minted locally. Thus, it is likely that Billys of Type 3 were Bombay imports and those of Types 2, 4, 5 and 6 may have been struck locally.

Indeed, there seems to be more evidence to support this observation. There exists a 'crescent-marked' coinage of rupees in the name of Alamgir II bearing the mint name, Mumbai. Pridmore lists rupees and fractions with RY 9 and remarks that "their cruder minting style and a comparison with the Calcutta

minted Rupee of 1810-1813 suggest that they were struck at another mint and intended for a particular locality". It is puzzling why he retains this ambiguity of 'another mint' and 'particular locality' while discussing these coins, while he attributes the 'Calcutta minted rupees' with which the comparison is being drawn, to the Malabar Coast. It is likely that these Alamgir Rupees with the crescent mark were struck for circulation on the Malabar Coast. Even more interesting are the stylistic parallels that one can draw between the execution of these Rupees and Billys with the same RYs – from the standpoint of execution it is evident that the same 'hand' is responsible for cutting the dies of crescent marked rupees as that of the Billys. The 'different' mint at this particular juncture could only be located at Tellicherry and it would be reasonable to assume that the coinage at Tellicherry went under the pseudonym of Mumbai.

The Rupee coinage for Malabar – a reattribution

The issue of 'crescent'-marked rupee coins starts with RY 5, at least 4 years prior to that listed by Pridmore. (Rupees with RY 5 are hitherto unpublished). Pridmore completely missed the identification of the 'crescent' on rupees and fractions in the name of Alamgir II as a privy mark for the Malabar Coast. It was evidently added to distinguish the rupees intended for the Malabar Coast from the rupees circulating in Bombay, especially when both of them had the same mint name. In fact the 'machine-made Calcutta rupees' that Pridmore draws a comparison to while describing these coins, are a direct continuation of the coin type when it was reintroduced in 1810-1813. Even though struck at a much later date, they retain all the features of the Alamgir II issue in a rudimentary form – his name, the privy mark itself, albeit inverted, the mint name 'Mumbai' and a flower as a differentiating mark. The crescent does not appear on the Billys presumably because their circulation was limited to Malabar and as such there was no overlap with other similar looking coins – consequently there was no need to add a privy mark on them. However, a remnant of the crescent may be seen in the form of a 'circle' that appears on the obverse of Billys of Type 8 – the issue that immediately precedes the 'T99' coinage and the first to be struck after the territory was wrested back from Mysore domination.

There are some more varieties of Malabar rupees that Pridmore failed to note. These bear a striking resemblance to Billys of Types 5 and 6 in terms of

It is therefore likely that for some time the striking of Billys was carried out at two mints, Bombay and Tellicherry. However, there is reason to believe that at some point this dual coinage must have ceased. Judging purely from the coinage, one would hazard a guess that the turning point may be marked by the figure of a '5' going upside down. Since the issues post-1763 predominantly exhibit this characteristic, we would conclude that they were struck locally at Tellicherry (Obviously, the Billys of Type 9 must be excluded because we have seen that they were struck at Calicut). Since we have concluded that the T99 Billys followed type 9, the above argument provides a logical reason for the later occurrence of 'Talcheri' as the mint-name on the 'T99' issues.

execution. They are also in the name of Alamgir II and retain the RY 9, presumably as a frozen detail, but are much cruder in execution than other rupees bearing the same date and listed by Pridmore. The noteworthy difference (which is reflected in the Billy design as well - see reverse 4 for details) is the differentiating mark on the reverse. This is characteristically a flower with a stalk and two curves next to it. The mint name is apparently 'Mumbai' but all the other traits of these coins conclusively point to the fact that they were not struck at Bombay. These coins can be further grouped into two series, which are linked with close stylistic similarities in their execution. The first retains the crescent mark whilst on the second this is replaced by another privy mark, a lotus-like symbol. It seems that the 'crescent' marked rupees in this variety were struck locally at Tellicherry in the aftermath of the 'crescent'-marked rupees imported from Bombay. This is a phenomenon similar to that noted for Billys. It is evident that the issue and circulation patterns for these derivative 'crescent'-marked Rupees and their fractions match with those of the Billys. It can therefore be inferred that the issue and circulation of these coins spanned the same period i.e. post-1763. In all likelihood the 'lotus' marked coins succeeded them, and probably continued being issued sporadically until 1778 when the Mysore occupation destabilised trade equations in the region. Appendix 1 lists a complete catalogue of the 'crescent' and 'lotus'-marked Malabar silver coinage.

Copper and Gold Coinage for Malabar

In addition to the study of the silver coinage described above, this paper offers an opportunity to review the copper and gold coinage of the EIC in Malabar, and particularly to discuss how these might relate to the chronology of the Billy Fanams

The copper coins that Pridmore lists under his 'Malabar' section are characterised by certain features – all of them have a 'bale mark' on the obverse and an AD date on the reverse. The execution of the bale mark is typical – it is heart-shaped with the curves showing a depression on the sides just before they join to form the

bottom end of the 'heart'. Also noteworthy is the fact that the obverse and reverse devices are enclosed in circular borders. The weights indicate that the coins are based on a 6 gm standard, with fractions weighing around 3 and 1.5 gm following in succession. They have been widely identified as 'Pice' from documentary evidence, but their denominational structure may have been based on a local standard in vogue on the coast further south, where a 6 gm copper coin equalled a 4-Cash denomination.

The attribution of these pieces by Pridmore to the Malabar Coast is undoubted, but some of their aspects that he only hints at are worth discussing here. It is important to note that like the Billys, the copper coins also fitted into a wider currency picture for the region. Although no indigenous authorities like the 'Ali Rajahs of Cannanore or the Zamorins of Calicut are known to have struck any copper coins, the French mint at Mahé produced a series of copper coins. These were called 'Biches' and there are important comparisons to be drawn between the French and British copper issues in Malabar to highlight their complimentary nature. Firstly, there exists a similarity in design for both these issues – the French issues bear a group of fleurs-de-lis, a symbol of the house of Bourbon and therefore an indication of French sovereignty, quite similar to the 'bale mark' that became associated with the British East India Company and its sovereign rights. The reverse designs of these coinages are the same – they both prominently show the AD date. Moreover, the design element of enclosing both the obverse and reverse motifs in a circular border features in both these coinages. Lastly, the weights of the French biches and their denominational structure closely match those of the British issues.

The details of dates that the French and British issues furnish indicate that they almost had a parallel period of circulation. These details could in fact throw important light on the date of introduction of these coinages in Malabar. The earliest date known for British issues is 1726. Pridmore lists a 'Pice' dated 1705 and a _ Pice dated 1710 – he illustrates the Pice but skips the _ Pice. The Pice of 1705 does not bear any resemblance to the features that characterise the series beginning 1726. The _ Pice is quoted from Maj. R. P. Jackson's article in the BNJ vol. V, p. 342. When its illustration was consulted from source, it too, clearly showed no resemblance to the features noted above for the 'Malabar' series. It is evident that both these coins have found mention in the 'Malabar' listing quite erroneously and therefore their attribution as such needs to be revised. It is quite possible that they are issues attributable to the Madras Presidency. The fact that copper issues for Malabar began in 1726 could indicate that the epoch of the issue of Billys might not be dated far beyond that year. As we have already seen the earliest archival reference to Billys is dated December 1727. In light of both these facts, we would venture a suggestion that Billys were first introduced c. 1725 and not much before that. The choice of making

the Shahjahan II rupee a prototype for Billys may have had something to do with the fact that a design dissimilar to the current issues of the Bombay mint (which would have been in the name of Muhammad Shah in c. 1725) would have helped in a quick identification of Billys and avoided the possible confusion with quarter rupees of Bombay, which differed only marginally in weight.

The dates known for copper coins in Malabar also substantiate the fact that both British and French issues virtually ceased during the years of Mysore domination. The last date seen on any British issue in the region is 1779, and it would be reasonable to assume that this is when the issues of Billys also must have come to an end. The copper coins therefore help us in ascertaining both the period of issue and the demise of Billys in the years prior to the political upheaval under Mysore in the Malabar region.

There seems to be no mention in Pridmore's text about a resumption of copper coinage in years subsequent to Mysore domination. He lists a few coins dated 1803 and 1807 under the denominational terms 'Paisa' and 'Half Paisa', but these are markedly different in their execution and weight structure from anything that was known to have circulated in Malabar during the pre-Mysore occupation years. Instead, they exhibit similarities with issues of the Salem mint, which was located upland from Malabar and is known to have been productive under the Madras Presidency during the 1790s. (An excellent paper publishing these issues was read by the late Ken Wiggins on 12 June 1999, at the ONS study day organised at the Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It was published earlier as 'Two Unsuccessful Mints of the East India Company' in *The Numismatic Circular*, Volume 88, No.10, pp. 349-350.) However, this mint was closed before 1803, and these small coins could not have been issued from there. Perhaps they were issued from Madras although this must remain a matter for speculation at the moment.

There is, however, one enigmatic coin that Pridmore describes as a 'pattern' under his Madras listing (no.341), which exhibits similarities to the Malabar issues in terms of execution and weight and is dated 1798. This date is very close to the introduction of the 'T99' issue, which marked the introduction of a 'new coinage', struck at the Calicut mint. Pridmore's study of the coin suggests that it was partially machine-struck and the only place where this could have happened at that time was Madras mint. Although full-scale coining machinery was not available at the Madras mint until 1806-07, it is possible that some experiments may have been carried out on machine punching of the blanks. Hence he attributes the piece to Madras. In our opinion, it is certain that the piece was intended to be put into circulation in Malabar judging by the weight standard and the style of execution even though it may have been produced semi-mechanically in Madras. As such it throws open an unknown

experiment in Malabar coinage – an attempt at introducing machine-struck coins in the region. The rarity of the coin suggests that it was not put into circulation very widely, if at all - the reasons for which are beyond the evidence currently at our disposal. Apart from this solitary specimen, no other copper coin can be attributed conclusively to Malabar in the years after the territory was retrieved from Mysore rule.

According to Pridmore, the gold issues of Malabar were limited to a solitary instance apart from the nondescript 'Vira Raya' Fanams. This was the 'Revenue Hoan' struck at the Calicut mint in 1809. Some thought should be given to this term and Pridmore's interpretation of it to make sense of certain features of the coin itself, like the obverse legend. His conclusion in identifying the coin as such stems from a draft recommendation made to the Bombay Government in 1793, wherein intentions to strike such a coin were mentioned. The main reason for this was to have a gold coin that would facilitate conversion with the 'Mohur-Rupee' system – it was intended to have the "Bombay Muhr divided into 5 parts, each part to be of the value of three rupees and the coin to be called a 'Revenue Hun'. By regulating the fanam and hun in this way, the Bombay rupee and muhr would become convenient multiples of the existing currency system". It is clear from this description that the term 'Revenue Hun' was employed with an emphasis on the convertibility aspects in mind, and not the actual collection of the revenue. It is evident that it denoted a coin that was readily acceptable in revenue transactions because of its easily convertible nature and therefore it was to be a 'preferred' coin for revenue payments. Designating a particular coin for revenue payments had been a practice of many 18th-19th century indigenous governments like the Marathas or the Nizam and there are enough documentary sources available to support its existence. The British in Malabar evidently resorted to it and therefore termed their gold coin a 'Revenue Hun'.

Pridmore, however, interprets the reference in a different manner. His interpretation is based on a revenue survey conducted after the Madras Government took charge of the province, in which it is indicated that the revenue of the province was tendered in "debased *Vira Raya* gold fanams, of which ten were termed a *Hoon*." References to 'Tellicherry' Fanams and "debased silver coins called Billy Fanams" were also made in the survey. In addition, a suggestion was made that the *Vira Raya* Fanams should be recalled and the silver currency should be confined to the Bombay or Arcot rupee, and Madras fanams should replace the two smaller silver coins (i.e. the Tellicherry fanam and the Billys). Based on these references, and for reasons best known to him, Pridmore says, "from this it seems that the Tellicherry hun dated 1809 was struck at Calicut as a temporary measure for the revenue collections of that year.... with its issue, the recommendations made in 1793 for a *revenue hun* were completed".

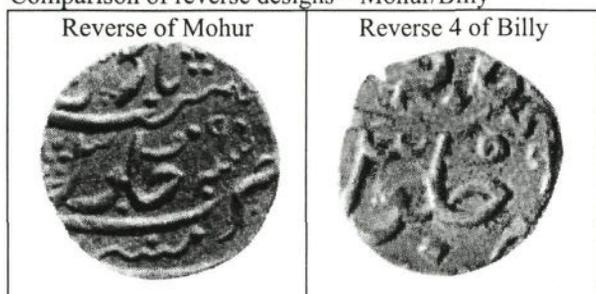
Pridmore's inference defies logic. Nowhere in the sources is there an indication that this gold issue was indeed called a 'revenue hun', or for that matter that any other coin known by that term was ever struck. The recommendations were made in 1793 and the issue is dated 1809, and one would wonder why it took nearly sixteen years for them to be completed, when the mint at Calicut was up and running soon after 1793. The obvious indication seems to be that Pridmore has misconstrued the term as denoting a specific coin, as opposed to the documents, which point to it being employed as a generic term.

Pridmore's contention that the Persian legend on the obverse of these gold coins and also on the 'T99' type of Billys reads 'Nishini Sikka' may have something to do with his inference that the 1809 pagoda was a specially struck issue – because he takes the legend to mean 'government coin'. But there is nothing to suggest that 'Nishini' means 'Government' and Pridmore is silent on the source of this idea. 'Nishani' Hoan, as a generic term is found in several Maratha and other Deccani documents, but of a much earlier period and its exact connotation has been difficult to ascertain. In any case, if it had anything to do with the 'government' or revenue collection, its occurrence on the 'T99' Billys is rendered inexplicable, because there is no indication that those coins were struck under any such compliance factors as Pridmore attributes to the issue of the gold hoans. We therefore have to conclude that both Pridmore's reading of the legend and the meaning that he tends to derive from it, are incorrect. The word looks more like a corrupted form of 'Kampani Sikka' – especially when the nasal compound after 'K' is spelled in Persian with 'Noon' rather than 'Mim', similar to 'Mun-bai' instead of the phonetically closer 'Mu-m-bai' – and that would make better sense in the context of the coinage, than 'Nishini Sikka'.

Pridmore does not list any other gold issues as intended for the Malabar Coast – neither hoans nor mohurs nor their fractions, so their existence in the years prior to 1809 would be considered unknown. Whether there was a gold coinage for Malabar during these years would therefore be a question worth asking. After all, gold had been reaching the Malabar Coast in the form of Venetian sequins and when viewed in the wake of the Company's efforts in achieving convertibility between the Pagoda-Fanam and Mohur-Rupee systems, it would be logical to presume there was room for some of this gold to be converted into coinages befitting one or both these systems. While reviewing his treatise in the course of facilitating our analysis of the Malabar coinage, it became evident that there are some coins that would fill this apparent gap. These are listed on p. 147 and numbered 8-11. They are struck in the name of Alamgir II in denominations of 1, 1/2, 1/4 and 1/15 mohur. The 1/2 mohur (or 1/2 rupee in gold as Pridmore calls them) is not actually known to exist, but other coins are illustrated. They all reside in the British Museum collection. The most

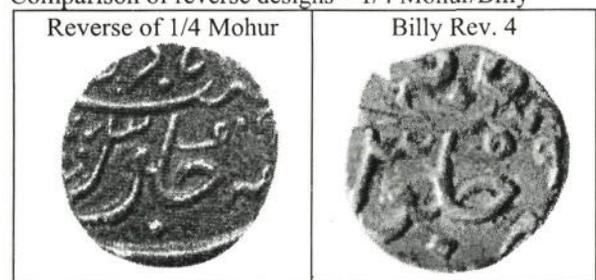
striking feature of these coins is their similarity in execution with some of the obverse and reverse die varieties we have already described. The reverse of the mohur comes very close to reverse 4 of the Billys, while its obverse resembles one of the rupees with a reverse similar to reverse 4 designs.

Comparison of reverse designs – Mohur/Billy



The reverse of the so-called 1/2 mohur is almost identical to reverse 4 of the Billys in all its characteristics, while the obverse is again close to the rupees just mentioned.

Comparison of reverse designs – 1/4 Mohur/Billy



In the case of the 1/15 mohur (small 'rupee' of gold in Pridmore parlance), the illustration is not clear enough to reveal the reverse details but the obverse again shows similarity with the obverses of the mohur and the 1.4 mohur. Two characteristics common to these coins are noteworthy - they all have the frozen RY 9 and also the 'lotus' mark (The RY detail is truncated on the 1/4 Mohur). As we have demonstrated in the preceding section, both these are peculiar aspects of silver issues of Malabar in the period 1763 – c.1778. It is therefore very likely that the gold coins, too, are

issues intended for the Malabar region.

There is more evidence to the story. The weight of the 1/4 mohur that Pridmore lists is not equal to that denomination. A 1/4 mohur should weigh in the range of 2.7 to 2.9 gm depending upon whether it was struck to a 10.8 gm or 11.6 gm standard. The specimen that Pridmore lists weighs 3.84 gm and is therefore considerably heavier than the normal weight for a 1/4 mohur. The only gold denomination that corresponds to that weight in the period we are talking about (1760-1780) is a pagoda (hoan): It is therefore evident that what has been listed by Pridmore is not a 1/4 mohur at all – but a pagoda. As pagodas were not a preferred denomination in the Bombay region, it would mean that this particular issue was destined to be circulated elsewhere. The only area where it could have done so was South India. The resemblance in execution that the obverse of this coin has with the 'lotus'-marked rupees and the reverse with type 4 of the Billy reverses indicates that this coin is a pagoda struck for circulation on Malabar Coast. This is also supported by the observation that its weight is not far removed from the only other gold coin from the same region and roughly proximate with it in chronological terms - the Cannanore Pagoda.

This attribution would give strength to our contention that the other denominations should be ascribed to Malabar as well, although it must be admitted that this inference would be subjective in the absence of unequivocal evidence. The only other explanation that would account for the weight of 3.8 gm is that the coin may be of a denomination of 1/3 mohur or 'Panchia'. Such coins were struck at a later date in the Bombay mint to encourage the convertibility of gold coins along the western coast, because coinage systems changed along a north-south axis, with the Pagoda-Fanam system gaining precedence over the Mohur-Rupee system. As the weight of 1/3 mohur corresponded to that of a pagoda, the denomination had definite convertibility value. However, the history of such attempts as well as the launch of the denomination is a phenomenon that can be dated to the 1800's rather than the time period to which this particular coin can be attributed. So the probability of it being a pagoda is greater than that for it to be a 'Panchia'.

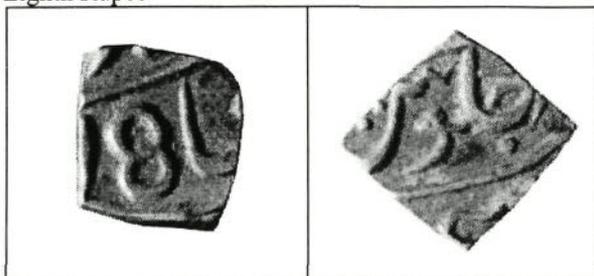
Epilogue:

This paper throws a new vista open for the history of British coinage in India. It is now clear that, for almost a century, the Malabar Coast enjoyed, a coinage initiated by the British in response to the stimulus that the 18th century spice-trade provided. It had its ups and downs depending upon the course of political events – initially those concerning Anglo-French rivalries and later the strife with Mysore that lasted for a good part of two decades. It therefore falls into three distinct chronological phases: the first lasting from c.1725–1743, the second from c.1754–1778 and the

third, c 1793–1805. Eventually the coinage was discontinued in favour of the Madras silver currency, which was more widely accepted and universal in its character. As we have seen, the issues of Malabar have to be studied using methodologies different from the 'structuralist' approach that Pridmore followed. But at the same time we have to acknowledge the significance of his seminal contribution, for without using it as a basis, reassessing the coinage would have proved difficult.

Postscript:

Eighth Rupee



It is worthwhile publishing a curious and unique piece in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum while we discuss the broad range of Malabar coinage. In marked contrast to all other silver coins, this is square. The legends and traces of the mintname (Mumbai) seen on this coin leave no doubt that it was struck for circulation in Malabar. Most striking is the fact that instead of the usual numeral '5' in the centre of the obverse legend, this coin has '8'. The coin weighs 1.42 gm, which is equal to an eighth of a rupee (two annas). It would therefore seem '8' is intentionally put on it to indicate that it was an eighth of a rupee.

This is an enigmatic coin - we cannot ascertain when it was struck because it lacks any chronological detail. Stylistically, it comes very close to Billys of Type 2, because, as the obverse details reveal, the top word on it seems to be 'Ghazi'. This would mean that it was struck in the early 1750's - when the coinage was resumed in the aftermath of the first break it suffered after the 1730's. There is no documentary information available regarding the issue of an 8th

rupee in Malabar - but many sources mentioned by Pridmore indicate that the actual value of the Billys fluctuated, depending upon debasement and wear, anywhere between their face value, which was a 1/5th of a rupee, downwards to an 1/8th of a rupee. These fluctuations may have hampered one of the chief utilities of Billys - their direct convertibility from a regional standard to a much more widely accepted and 'national' rupee standard. The 1/8th rupee probably indicates an experiment whereby such a denomination was struck to counteract this fluctuation and thereby keep the advantage of the Billy-rupee conversion. However, the rarity of the coin is proof enough that this experiment failed to get off the ground.

This coin hints at the importance of a design element that was unique to the Billys - the occurrence of an English numeral. It is evident that the figure '8' on this coin was used as a denominational indicator and it proves beyond doubt that in the case of the Billys, the figure '5' was an intentionally incorporated element and not just a 'corruption' of the Persian characters in the legend of their prototype design (the Shahjahan II 'Mumbai' rupee). It was also a denominational indicator and helped to show that each coin was equivalent to a fifth of a rupee, thereby avoiding confusion with _ rupees, which had a closely similar weight. A foreign numeral would also have helped in instant identification of the coin as a British issue and in this respect it is comparable to the inclusion of the 'P' on French issues of Mahé.

Appendix 1:

The 'crescent' and 'lotus'-marked silver coinage in Malabar

The coins listed here are in an order of progressive degradation in type. The privy marks are placed in the second line on the obverse, just above the *daal* in the *Badshah Ghazi* portion of the legend. The series begins with RY 5 of Alamgir (coin 1), goes on to bear RY 9 (coins 2-8), which is subsequently frozen as the execution degenerates in style. It is worth noting that a corresponding debasement also occurs in the coins. This observation, however, is not based on any quantitative metallic analysis. Coins 5 and 6 provide a crucial executional link, where the execution remains virtually the same but the lotus replaces the privy mark of a crescent. The lotus may be clearly seen in coin 7, which retains all the executional links with coin 5. All coins except the last are rupees and weigh in the range of 11.0-11.3 gm. The last (coin 8) one is a half rupee of the 'lotus' variety and weighs 5.76 gm.

General description:

Obverse: Legend in three lines *Sikka Mubarak / Badshah Ghazi / Alamgir*

Reverse: Legend in three lines *Manus Maimanat / Sanah* (followed by the RY) *Julus / Zarb Munbai*

Coin 1



Coin 2



Coin 3



Coin 4



Coin 5



Coin 6



Coin 7



Coin 8



Appendix 2

The gold Pagoda of Cannanore



Disposition: British Museum collection (accession number BM 45-4-26-144)

Weight: 3.42 gm

Metal: Gold

Obverse: Persian legend in two lines *Al-Malik Al-Wali / 'Ali Raja* ('The King, The Lord Ali Rajah) with the 'ye' of 'Wali' in *mazhool* form as the divider.

Reverse: Persian legend in two lines *B'il Hijarat Sanah 1194* ('In the Hijri Year 1194')

The reasons for the 'Ali Rajahs striking a gold coin at this juncture (AH 1194 = 1780-81 AD) are not conclusively known, but it is reasonable to assume that it must have been a special striking, since the coin appears to be unique. The book 'Ali Rajas of Cannanore' by KKN Kurup gives details of a *firman* of the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey received by the ruler of Cannanore (appendix 3, pp.101-102) which is dated in the very same AH year as seen on this coin. It is quite likely that a representation seeking legitimacy was made by the 'Ali Rajah to the Turkish Sultan,

recognising him as the Islamic Caliph and coins of a high value were struck to be offered as a *Nazar* to the Sultan. Another likely candidate to receive a tribute in specially minted gold coins may have been Tipu Sultan of Mysore and, considering that he had just recently extended his hold over the region, the 'Ali Rajah as his ally may well have struck a pagoda in his honour.

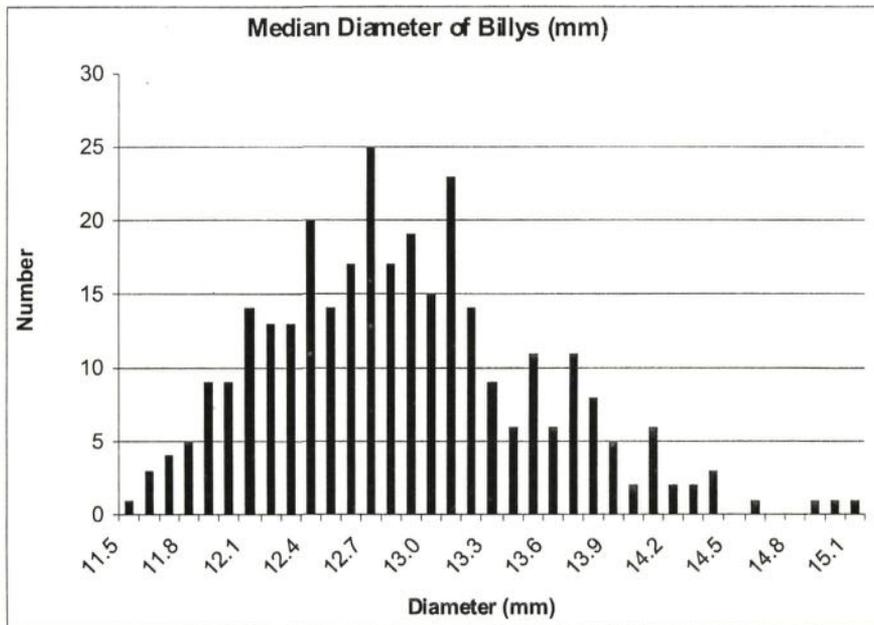
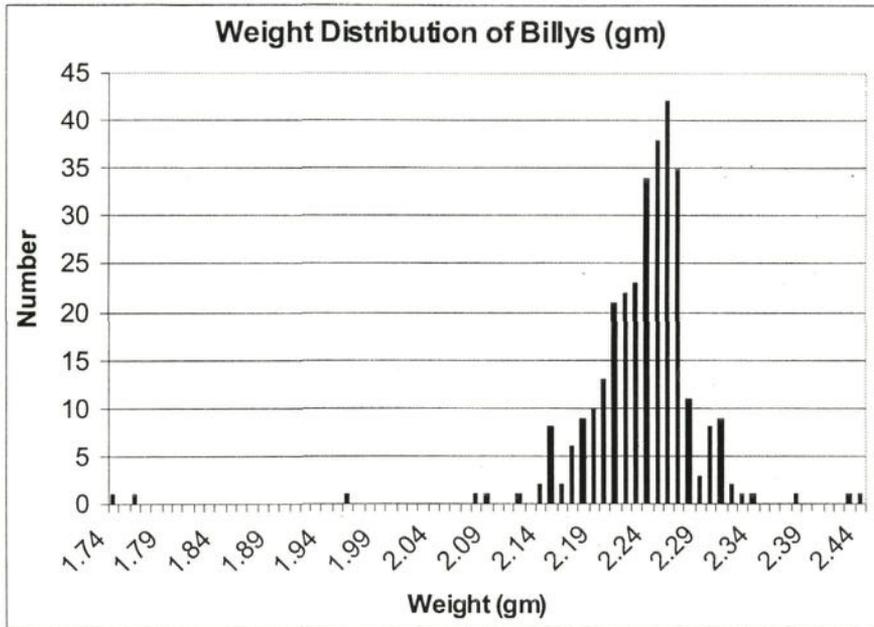
Kurup gives another interesting bit of information on p. 94 of his book. A letter from the selection of 'Arakkal Papers' (he does not give a source reference to these papers) dated 8th June 1862, lists a group of coins presented to Lord Elgin, the viceroy of India, by the rulers of Cannanore as evidence to indicate that they had held minting prerogatives in the past. It is unfortunate that the list does not go beyond detailing the metal and the dates of the coins, especially as none of the extant specimens match any of the coins described in the list! Therefore it is worth reproducing the list here as it occurs in the archives: -

1. *An Octangular Gold coin dated 1176*
2. *A Gold ditto of 1199*
3. *On small ditto of 1104*
4. *Ditto ditto of 1149*
5. *A silver coin of 1199*

It may also be appropriate to note at this juncture that the Krause Catalogue of World Coins lists a 'double Fanam' of Cannanore in gold, but we are not aware of its existence.

Appendix 3

The weight and diameter distribution of Billys

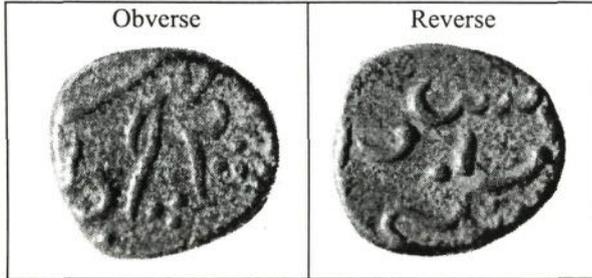


Appendix 4

Some more enigmatic silver fanams (1/5 rupees)

When we examined the large lot of over 300 Billys it included a few other coins. Their association with the Billys in the lot and a complimentary weight standard pointed to the fact that they had been in circulation simultaneously. While a few of these coins were French issues of Mahe (early variety, without 'P'), two coins of an entirely different variety were also noted.

French Fanon



We have no clue as to who was the issuer of these coins. One of them makes it clear that they are struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah Type



The other bears traces of the mint name, which, albeit truncated, suggests that it must have been 'Arkat'. The same coin also bears the chronological detail on the reverse as RY 8. As this corresponds to 1727-28, it is evident that the coins not only conform to the weight standards of the Velli Fanams, but that they were

struck in the same period as that when the coinage was gaining grounds in the Malabar region – with the British and French issuing their own Velli Fanams.

Arkat



It is unlikely that either the British or the French issued these coins. Both these powers adopted the 'Arkat' style coinage much later in the course of their respective numismatic histories. The French obtained permission to strike coins at Pondicherry in the name of the Mughal Emperor and with the mintname 'Arkat' in 1735. The British followed even later, in 1742. The French, however, did strike native style coins bearing Persian legends at Mahe before 1735 and the British had a Billy coinage in the region with the mintname 'Mumbai'. Permission to mint these latter coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor had been a prerogative ever since Farrukhsiyar granted the British a charter in 1715. However, they did not have the right to strike 'Arkat' coins at the date borne by the coins in question. Among the indigenous authorities, the Cannanore rulers had their coinage in their own names. The only possible contender left, as issuer of these coins, is the Zamorin of Calicut. However, there is no evidence to support this attribution – at this juncture it merely remains a conjecture, and the coins enigmatic.

Acknowledgements

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