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NEWSLETTER

No. 177

Autumn 2003

information about this and future meetings please contact
Nikolaus Ganske, E-mail: @

ONS News

ONS Website

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

Members News

Congratulations to Dr Hans Wilski on being made a Life Member
of the Hellenic Numismatic Society in recognition of his work in
the field of Greek Numismatics. Dr Wilski's important book
Countermarks on Ottoman Coins was published in 1995 and his
New Table of Countermarks was published more recently and
reviewed in Newsletter 174.

Request for information

Susan Tyler-Smith is working on a group of about 600 Sasanian
coins, the latest of which is dated year 12 or 13 of Khusrau II, at
present on loan to the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena. They
are part of the so-called 'Year 12' or 'Shiraz' hoard which first
appeared on the European market in the early 1970s. She is trying
to gather as much information as possible about the hoard and has
consulted the published reports of Seaby, Warden, Ilisch and
Sears but would like to hear from anyone who has personal
recollections of the hoard and/or may have bought part of it.
Another 47 coins probably from the same hoard were reported,
with a brief description, by Lowick (*Coin Hoards* 2, p. 95-6, no.
357). These coins were then in private hands but a full listing was
made and filed at the British Museum. Unfortunately she has not
yet been able to locate this list so would be very pleased to hear
from the present owner of the parcel. The Jena parcel is by far the
largest part of this important hoard which has been made available
for study. Susan hopes to publish a detailed, well-illustrated
catalogue of it along with a discussion of the problems thrown up
by the hoard.

Please contact her at @ or @
U.K.

Cologne

The next meeting of the Indian Coin Group is due to take place on
8 November 2003 at the Römisch-Germanische-Museum. For

(September 2003) of modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes.

Auction News

Auction 76 of Jean Elsen s.a. (██████████) Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; numismatique@elsens.be; www.elsens.be held on 13 September 2003 had around 150 lots of oriental interest.

Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals (PO Box 950, New York, NY 10272, USA; tel ++1 718 332 4248; fax ++1 718 332 8676; markov@banet.net; www.russian-coins.net) recently held a mail bid auction that included some 140 lots of central Asian and various Islamic coins.

Auction 376 of Dr Busso Peus Nachf. (██████████) Frankfurt am Main, Germany; tel ++49 69 959 6620; fax ++49 69 55 59 95; info@peus-muenzen.de; www.peus-muenzen.de) held on 29/30 October had some 450 lots of oriental interest including a fine collection of Parthian coins.

Morton & Eden's next auction of Coins and Banknotes will be held on 11 December, and includes almost 200 lots of Islamic coins. Among the Umayyad material, highlights include unique dirhams of Dashtaq 94h and "Naysabur" 82h (each is the specimen illustrated by Klat), as well as other rare dirhams from Arran and Zaranj and a Revolutionary Period dirham of Hamadhan 129h. There is an extensive selection of Abbasid coins, ranging from large lots of commoner dirhams through interesting Cilician cast fulus to such rarities as an unpublished dirham of San'a, struck on a broad flan and dated 280h, a double-weight dinar of al-Ahwaz 322h and rare late dinars from the mint of Irbil. Fatimid coins include a dinar of Dimashq 446h and an extremely rare issue of the partisan al-Basasiri struck at Madinat al-Salam in 451h. An extremely rare square-in-circle dinar of the Rum Seljuq Kaykhusraw III, struck at Madinat Siwas in 668h is estimated at £3,000-4,000, while a dinar struck by the Zanj rebels at Madinat al-Mukhtara in 261h is expected to reach £4,000-6,000.

For all enquiries about this or future sales, please contact: Stephen Lloyd, Morton & Eden Ltd, (██████████) London (██████████) Tel: +44 (0)20 7493 5344 Fax: +44 (0)20 7495 6325 steve@mortonandeden.com

Other News

News from Zhoushan Numismatic Society, China

Zhoushan Numismatic Society is one of the most active regional numismatic societies in China. It was founded on the 20 January 1987, for a while had its own journal *Zhoushan Qianbi* and continues to produce a newsletter *Zhoushan Qianbi Tongxun*. To celebrate its fifteenth anniversary, the Society has published two new books.

The first is *Yingzhou quantan* [Coins of Yingzhou] a collection of papers presented at numismatic conferences organised by the Society since 1998. It is arranged in four parts, with each part containing the proceedings of the conferences: (1) on the numismatist, Fang Ruo (1869-1954); (2) on forgeries and coin authentication; (3) on coin-finds from Zhoushan; and (4) on world coins.

The second is *Yingzhou qianbi wenji* [Yingzhou numismatics: a collection of articles]. It is the proceedings of the Society's conference held in 2002.

Yingzhou is the old name for Zhoushan, an important port in eastern Zhejiang province. The editor-in-chief is Mr Sheng Guanxi, an extremely active member of the society.

SHENG Guanxi (ed.), *Yingzhou qianbi wenji*, Zhoushan: Zhoushan Qianbi Xuehui, 2003. (334 pp.) [ISBN 7-105-01520-3] SHENG Guanxi (ed.), *Yingzhou quantan*. Zhoushan: Zhoushan Qianbi Xuehui, 2001. (545 pp.) [ISBN 7-5205-3928-2]

Helen Wang

New and Recent Publications

Kh & A Mousheghian, C Bresc, G Depeyrot, F Gurnet: *History and coin finds in Armenia - Inventory of coins and hoards (7-19th century)*, II, 2003, 136 p, 8 pl. Published by Moneta, (██████████) Wetteren, Belgium. Fax: ++32 93 69 59 25; www.cultura-net.com/moneta. Price: €50.

Landon Thomas: "A rare Sultani of Sultan Murad IV" in *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. CXI, No. 4, August 2003, London.

G. P. Singh: *Republics, Kingdoms, Towns & Cities in Ancient India*, 2003, New Delhi, hard-bound, 336 pages.

This new work has the following five sections:

1. The Post-Vedic Republics: A Critical Assessment of the Functioning of Republics; General Causes of the Decline & Disappearance of Republics
2. The Sixteen Mahajanapadas of Northern India in the Age of the Buddha
3. Trends, Patterns of Urbanisation, the Growth & Decline of Towns & Cities in Ancient India from the Post-Harappan Period to the Gupta Age with Special Reference to the Ganga Valley.
4. A Fresh Literary Discovery of the Seals of Dvaraka in the Epic Age: A Supplement to Archaeological Discovery by S. R. Rao.
5. The Emergence, Growth & Decay of Urban Centres in North-West India in the Pre- & Post-Mauryan Period as Gleaned from the Classical Sources.

General bibliography and index. The book is available from Raju Bhatt (www.coinbooks.esmartweb.com) and presumably other sources. Price not stated.

Work in Progress

Michael Mitchiner is well advanced on his new magnum opus to be entitled *Ancient Trade and Early Coinage*. The coverage of this work will extend from Britain to Japan! More later.

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 191 (August 2003), 192 (October 2003)
2. Scott E. Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 858 272 9440; fax ++1 858 272 9441) list 127

The Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table

In 1992, a group of collectors of early Islamic coinage and the related Byzantine series got together to pool their knowledge about the enigmatic Umayyad coins of the pre-reform period. They decided to organise a symposium on the subject under the auspices of the Oriental Numismatic Society, and the first meeting at which informal papers were given took place in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum in April of that year. About twenty people attended, and the 'core' group was motivated to organise a follow-up meeting in July 1993. The third symposium was held in November 1994, and by the time of the fourth in December 1995 there had been a declaration of independence from the ONS and *The Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table* was 'born'.

Since then, symposia have been held at the British Museum in December 1996, April 1998, March 2000, and October 2001. However, the ninth symposium in November 2002 was held at the University of Birmingham and hosted by John Haldon and Eurydiké Georgiantelis and subtitled 'Coinage and History in the 7th century Near East'. This recognised what had been happening for some years - a widening of the subject matter to include the archaeology and history of 'Syria' in the seventh century AD, and a widening of the geographical boundaries to include Egypt and N Africa on the one hand and Iran and Iraq on the other.

The next meeting will be held in Oxford on 29 and 30 November 1993 and hosted by James Howard-Johnson and Luke Treadwell. For more information about this meeting please email Luke Treadwell at [redacted]@oriental-institute.oxford.ac.uk The meetings are open to all those with a genuine interest in the numismatics, history and archaeology of the Middle East.

The group as a whole has no secretariat and is quite informal. If you would like to be placed on the mailing list please contact one of the following: Marcus Phillips and Susan Tyler-Smith at [redacted]@freenet.co.uk Tony Goodwin at [redacted]@btopenworld.com or Andrew Oddy at [redacted]@ntlworld.com

Andrew Oddy

Corrigendum

In the article "Gold-fragments of the 11th century found in the citadel of Damascus" by Stefan Heidemann published in Newsletter 175, the Byzantine gold-fragment is of Romanos III Dukas (1028-1034 AD) and not of Constantine X (1059-1067 AD) as stated.

Bombay Billys - a rejoinder by Hans Herrli to the articles that appeared in the Supplement to ONS Newsletter 172 and additions in ONS 174 and 176

Between 1990 and 1995 I had the opportunity to look at 3 hoards of Malabar fanams in India. A hoard of around 300 pieces in Cochin and another one of about the same size in Bombay I studied only superficially, but I took notes of the weights of the more interesting coins. In 1995 I studied in Bombay a very large hoard of around 1500 coins. Of this hoard I bought some of the most interesting specimens and published them in an illustrated paper¹. (Hans Herrli: "1/5 Rupees or silver Fanams of the Malabar Coast" in: *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, edited by Devendra Handa, New Delhi 1996). The 3 hoards had 2 common characteristics:

1. they all contained, in different proportions, a mixture of silver fanams of the 'Ali Rajas, the French and of the British type and

2. they contained at least 1 "British" fanam of the type showing an 8 instead of the 5.

Based on my experience and my notes I believe that the paper in ONS 172 comes to far-reaching conclusions that are not entirely supported by the rather small material base.

I do not wish to enter into a long controversy here but restrict myself to a few remarks:

French Fanons:

1. According to the French sources the fanons of Mahé were not locally struck, but produced at Pondichéry.
2. It is not true that there are no Mahé fanons dated between 1738 and 1750. Fanons of 1743, 1744 and 1749 are known to me. (A fanon of 1744 is illustrated in my above-mentioned paper. Photo # 15.) The striking of these French 1/5 rupee pieces did not mainly depend on the events taking place on the Malabar Coast, but on what happened at Pondichéry.
3. There are no Mahé fanons bearing the mintname PUDUCHERY. This name occurs only on copper coins and in Tamil script. The Mahé coins show the mintname PURCHERY or as the French sources have it: Pourchery.

British-type Fanams:

1. Type 6 of the Bhandare / Stevens paper is not a fanam showing an inverted 5, but the very rare type showing an inverted 3. Such a coin is illustrated in my paper (photo # 29).
2. Up to now I have seen 5 specimens of the fanam type with the 8 and I have noted their weight. All of the coins were intermingled with other fanam types and all of them weighed between 2.23 and 2.26 g. (One piece weighing 2.23 g is illustrated in my paper.) I therefore do not believe that these coins were design trials or patterns, but a circulating, albeit rare type. We certainly have to find another and more plausible explanation for the occurrence of fanams with an 8 or an inverted 3.

1. In this paper I unfortunately repeated Pridmore's error about the Malayalam 5 without checking the forms of the Malayalam numbers; it is of course an inverted English 5.

To which Drs Stevens and Bhandare reply as follows:

We would like to thank Hans Herrli for his very helpful points. Unfortunately we were not aware of his paper until some time after the publication of ours in the ONS and therefore failed to include his observations in our analysis. His comments seem very pertinent, and we have made the following comments.

Hoard of Billys and Fanons

These two points are very interesting, although they do not make a substantive difference to our dating sequence (the major output of our analysis). We would accept that the Billys do appear to have been coined through the 1730s and 1740s at various times and that there was not a significant gap in their production as we originally concluded. This is based on further archival research that we have undertaken since the initial publication of our paper^{1,2,3,4}. We supported our original conclusion with the observation that the French also ceased production of their fanons at that time, and Herrli's information is very helpful in confirming that both the French and the British did produce coins for use in their settlements on the Malabar Coast at that time.

1. Letters from Tellicherry, vols. 1-4, 1729-1736" vol. 1, pp.24, 29 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1934):
February 19th 1730, '...The treasure Yo Hon. &c have been pleas'd to assign us ammog to 60000 rupees, 5981 of which being fanams or fifths...'
June 5th 1730, '....The fifth rupees you promised to send us after the rains will be absolutely necessary.....'
2. Letters from Tellicherry, vols. 1-4, 1729-1736" vol. 2, p57 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1934):
May 29th 1733, '....introduction of our fifths...'
3. Letters from Tellicherry, 1729-1736 vol. III, p63. Government Press, Madras, 1934. Letter from Tellicherry to Anjengo dated November 9th 1734.
'....PS. The Honble Presidt & Col are pleased to advise us of their having directed you to send hither ten thousand rupees and a quantity of fanams as the latter cannot be put off with you but for loss; if they are fifths of rupees they will be very acceptable but if

fanams [presumably tiny gold fanams] it will be entirely out of our power to disburse them'

4. Letters to Tellicherry 1738-39, vol. III, p4. Government Press, Madras, 1934. Letter from Bombay to Tellicherry dated 30th November 1738. 'We now send you one hundred thousand [rupees] including therein the fifths you desired, which are of the usual value of two and a half per cent worse than our rupee silver. Had these been made better than what hitherto sent you we judged they would have brought the others into disesteem, however if you desire a farther supply equal in value to the rupees (except the difference of coinage which will not be more than half per cent) they shall be sent you of that fineness.'

Spelling of Puduchery/Purchery/Pourchery

Again, this is not of great significance to our dating sequence. The reading of the word can go either way as two characters in the inscription - the 'r' and the 'd' - look so much the same that they are freely interchangeable. However, if French sources have it as Pourchery, then we are happy to live with Purchery. We note that Herrli chooses 'Purcheri' in his paper although he refers to 'puddu cheri' in reference 6 of the same paper.

British type fanams: inverted 5 v inverted 3

We are less inclined to accept the notion that this is an inverted 3, although we must admit the possibility. The picture in Herrli's paper could be of an inverted 3 with the cross bar missing, or an inverted 5 with the cross-bar missing. Without seeing the actual coin, we cannot be sure. The few specimens that we examined did not show the complete numeral.

Fanam type with the 8

This is a very interesting finding and we fully support his conclusions. The reason for the 8 (and possibly the 3) could, we think, only be accounted for by the fact that the relative value of these coins fluctuated and that for a short time they passed as $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee despite being the same weight as existing one-fifths, and were marked as such. It is difficult to believe that they could ever have passed as one-third rupee.

Articles

The Two-Caliph Bronze of 'Abd Al-Malik By Clive Foss

A novel type of the bronze coinage of Abd al-Malik (6850-705) was discovered in the excavations of Gerasa/Jerash and first published by John Walker in 1935.¹ The dig found two examples, both struck from the same dies. Since then, three other specimens have come to light, all struck from the same pair of dies.² These are large, heavy coins, weighing from 6-11 g and with an average diameter of 26mm.³ They bear a unique obverse type, best described in the most recent publication:⁴

"Two figures standing, facing, wearing long robes and oriental head-dress; their r. hands are placed on their swords in an attitude prescribed for the Imam at the recitation of the public sermon (*khutba*); the bands of their girdles hang down, on l.; on the top of their head-dresses, six-pointed stars; between them, on three steps, a sharp, pointed, tall standard with globe."



The obverse is uninscribed. The reverse bears a large M, with six-pointed star above and A below, with the inscription *bism illah 'abd allāh 'abd al-malik amir al-mu'minīn*. It has no mintmark.

The inscription leaves no doubt that this is an official issue of the Umayyad caliph; its size and weight inevitably associate it with the region of Scythopolis, where this aberrant heavy standard was in consistent use through the 'Arab-Byzantine' period.

The obverse type has not attracted much attention. It has been taken (e.g., by Qedar and Goodwin) as maintaining the local tradition of Scythopolis, where the twin figures of the sixth-century Byzantine rulers Justin and Sophia continued to be featured on the Arab-Byzantine coinage, evidently because coins of those rulers had seen extensive circulation there. Nor was the appearance of two figures at all unusual on this coinage. Most commonly, two standing figures were the regular obverse type of Baalbek. One rare variety of that mint portrays two standing figures holding orbs with crosses, and with a long cross on steps between them, in a configuration reminiscent of the present type. Another, even rarer, has two standing figures with the *shahāda* between. The exceedingly rare coinage of Amman had two figures, one seated and one standing. The coins of Scythopolis and Gerasa, closest in module to the present coins, portrayed two enthroned figures.⁵ Almost all of these are 'imperial' images - that is, they were modeled on the Byzantine iconography, as shown by the frequent use of crosses. Only the issue of Amman may convey a different message, in that the figures appear to be wearing Arab headdresses, and there are few if any crosses (though in illustrated specimens the staff between the two definitely bears a cross-bar).

The present type, therefore, stands apart in that it clearly portrays two caliphs. Since there was no time in the Umayyad period - let alone in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik - when two shared the caliphal power, it is natural to assume that the type had no special meaning, only continuing a local tradition. Yet consideration of the historical circumstances may suggest an alternative approach and interpretation.

When the caliph Yazid ibn Mu'awiya (of the Umayyad family) died in November 683, succession to supreme power was open to the strongest claimant. Yazid's young son Mu'awiya II had virtually no authority and died in any case after a few months. The candidate with the most widespread support was 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr, who was recognised in Arabia, the East and most of Syria. The Umayyad family, however, rallied behind Marwan ibn al-Hakam, Mu'awiya's second cousin, proclaiming him caliph at Jabiyah in southern Syria in June 684. To secure the loyalty of his supporters, he announced that Yazid's son Khalid and his own nephew Amr ibn Sa'id would succeed him in the caliphate (he was already over 60). With that backing, he proceeded to win the battle of Marj Rahit, which gave him supremacy in Syria and soon in all the western territories of the caliphate. Now that he was secure in power, Marwan reneged on his agreement with Khalid and Amr, opting instead to ensure the succession for his two sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Aziz. He did this in the year 65, which began in August 684; he died in the same year, on 10 April 685.

This succession was of great importance, since it excluded valid claimants and consolidated power in the Marwanid branch of the Umayyad family. To effect it, he summoned the Syrian leaders to his headquarters in Damascus, and obliged them to take the oath of allegiance to both his sons, appointing the two of them as his heirs. 'Abd al-Malik was to succeed Marwan, then, on his death, the supreme power would pass to 'Abd al-'Aziz. The sources make it clear that allegiance was to be sworn to both the sons together.⁶ On this occasion, then, two future caliphs were named and guaranteed the power to which the elder, 'Abd al-Malik, easily succeeded on the death of their father. He reigned alone, in his own name, and sent 'Abd al-'Aziz off to Egypt, which he governed successfully for twenty years. During that whole time, however, 'Abd al-'Aziz was recognised as the caliph's successor, despite 'Abd al-Malik's increasing desire to escape an agreement which would deprive his own sons of the succession. Fortunately for them, 'Abd al-'Aziz died before his brother, in 704, and the caliphate passed easily to 'Abd al-Malik's son al-Walid in 705.

It seems to me that this extraordinary type could be brought into association with these events. Strictly speaking, of course, there was never a joint rule of two caliphs, but there was a

moment when two brothers received the allegiance of the community as future caliphs, and a longer time when the succession was clearly established between them. A possible occasion for issue of such a type would be the accession of 'Abd al-Malik, who was in an extremely vulnerable position. His father, essentially, had seized power through civil war. 'Abd al-Malik himself had no better claim to the caliphate than did Ibn al-Zubayr, who was in fact recognised by most of the regions under Islamic control. This could have been a good time to advertise the stability that Marwanid rule would bring, since the succession was assured for a long time to come, and no further civil war need arise. In that case, this coin might be seen as an accession issue, a piece of propaganda advertising the new dynasty. Nothing about it would preclude a date early in 'Abd al-Malik's reign, especially since it bears the traditional M on the reverse, rather than the Φ on steps that characterises his Standing Caliph coinage. As for the place of issue, a related type will provide a clue.

The two-caliph obverse is associated with two other reverses of a very different nature. Both bear the traditional large M, but here accompanied not by the Arabic inscription of the caliph, but by garbled Greek legends.⁷ On one, the letters are all retrograde: IIE on the l., *gamma* below the M, and NN on the r. – O – appears in the exergue. The other has ANN l., A below, OK r., and ONK in the exergue. Both of these are from the same obverse die, which is apparently that used on the type already discussed. In other words, the same mint produced an 'official' issue naming the caliph and other types crudely derived from the Byzantine or local coinage in circulation.

This mint is normally identified as Scythopolis/Baysan, because of the size and weight of these coins. This remains a possibility, but the coins of that mint tend to be carefully engraved, with regular inscriptions on the reverse and normally a pseudo-mintmark NIKO or CON. The closely related coins of Gerasa/Jerash, on the other hand, are more sloppily designed, frequently employing retrograde letters or garbled mintmarks.⁸ On that basis, I would suggest Gerasa as the mint for these coins, though some other place in the same district could not be excluded.

Finally, this coin raises another question: how could one mint produce reverses of such contrasting design, content and quality? Conceivably, of course, the die (there seems to be only one for the obverse) might have been purloined or somehow irregularly reused. But if not, it would seem that the authorities produced a very limited number of the 'Abd al-Malik type, perhaps for a special occasion, and rather more with reverses that would fit extremely well into the local coinage. The implications of this for other 'Arab-Byzantine' issues remains to be considered.

¹ J. Walker, "A New Byzantine Mint and some early Umayyad bronze coins", *NC* 58 (1935) 119-126; cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928-1934*. *NNM* 81. New York 1938. 132f., no. 551 and J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad Coins* (London 1956) 43, nos. A5 and A6 (the coins were then in the Amman Museum), illustrated on plate IX.

² See *ANS 1998 Annual Report* 28, with an excellent illustration; the type is also discussed by George Miles in his review of Walker's catalogue, "The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage", *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959) 207-213; by Michael Bates, "The 'Arab-Byzantine' Bronze Coinage of Syria: An Innovation by 'Abd al Malik" in *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles* (ANS, New York 1976) 16-27; by Shraga Qedar, "Copper Coinage of Syria in the Seventh and Eighth Century A.D.", *INJ* 10 (1991) 27-39; and by Tony Goodwin in *SICA 1: The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford 2002) 97f.

³ Metrology analysed by Harry Bone in his (valuable but unpublished) thesis, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: the Evidence of the Copper Coins* (Princeton 2000) 123f.

⁴ N. Amitai-Preiss, A. Berman, S. Qedar, "The Coinage of Scythopolis-Baysan and Gerasa-Jerash", *INJ* 13 (1994-1999) 133-151 at 148 (type D11)

⁵ For all these, see most conveniently *SICA* 1.82f.

⁶ The main source is the voluminous tenth-century Persian historian Tabari II.574ff., available in English in *the History of al-Tabari XX: The Collapse of Sufyanid Authority and the Coming of the Marwanids*, tr. G.

R. Hawting (Albany 1989) 159f. For this event and other sources, see G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg* (Wiesbaden 1982) 164.

⁷ See Amitai-Preiss *et al.* (above, n. 4) 148, types D11 and D11a; both are apparently unique.

⁸ See the illustrations in Amitai-Preiss *et al.*, especially type C10 of Gerasa, which strongly resembles D11a. The second is illustrated in N. G. Gossous, *Umayyad Coinage of Bilad al-Sham* (Amman 1996) p.82 no. 70. It was first published by *idem*, "A Unique Arab-Byzantine Coin" in *Yarmouk Numismatics* 5 (1993) 37f.

Samarqand-Sogdian Portrait Coin / 575-625 AD

By Hans Loeschner

In the Supplement to ONS Newsletter 175 an outstanding overview of "Money circulation in early-mediaeval Sogd (6th - first half of 8th century AD)" has been provided by Michael Fedorov. In Figure 1 of this article a coin is depicted with a "badly worn-out image of a deity or ruler (facing) on the obverse and "the heraldic *tamgha* of Samarqand" on the reverse. A photo of such a coin (St. Petersburg, Eremitage, 5, 34856) was published by Eugeniy V. Zeymal in his article "Münzen von der Seidenstraße" on page 371 of the catalogue of the Jan - Apr 1996 Vienna, Austria, exhibition "Weihrach und Seide - Alte Kulturen an der Seidenstraße" (Ed. Wilfried Seipel, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 1996).

I obtained a coin of this type (from Senior Consultants, Butleigh, Glastonbury, U.K., list of summer 1999, # 233) with a remarkable portrait on the obverse. The hair style of the ¾ facing bust with moustache and pear-shaped ear drops is clearly visible.

This portrait possibly shows the Sogdian ruler of Samarqand, "Shifubi/Daishibi, son-in-law of the Turk qagan Datou (575-603)" or of "Tsiumuji, a contemporary of qagan Shehu (611-618), who in 631 sent an embassy to China" (quotes from O.I. Smirnova, "Catalogue of Sogdian Coins", Moscow, 1981, as outlined in the article by Michael Fedorov, cited above).

The art as expressed in this coin corresponds to the magnificent wall paintings and wood-cut sculptures from Afrasiyab and Penjikent (see A. M. Belnizki, "Mittelasien - Kunst der Sogden", VEB E. A. Seeman, Leipzig, 1980).

The diameter of the cast bronze coin is 23.3 ± 0.3 mm, the thickness ≤ 1.4 mm and the weight 3.75 g. Obverse and reverse are aligned vertically by $\sim 180^\circ$ (11.5°, using the definition by Robert Göbl, "Münzprägung des Kusanreiches", plate XL, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1984).



Money circulation in early-mediaeval Ustrushana, Farghana and Tokharistan (6th – first half of 8th century AD).

By Michael Fedorov

Ustrushana

Ustrushana was an early-mediaeval kingdom between Sogd and Farghana. In the north it bordered on Chach, with the Syr Darya serving as a boundary. In the south it extended to the upper reaches of the Zerafshan and Gissar mountains. In the east it bordered on Khojend. It was (as in Sogd) a confederation of principalities headed by the ruler of the strongest of them. Its capital was Bunjiket. Apart from Bunjiket there were two other large towns: Zamin and Shavkat. Chinese chronicles referred to it as Tsao (or Eastern Tsao) and Su-dui-shana (old Chinese *šuo-tuai-šana*). According to one chronicle, there was a young ruler in Ustrushana who between 618-628 AD sent an embassy to China. The Chinese monk *Hüen Tsiang* visited Ustrushana c629 AD. He called the realm Sutulisena and wrote that its circumference was 1400-1500 li (700-750 km). It was half as much again as the circumference of Chach and somewhat less than the circumference of Kan, i.e. the Samarqandian realm (Gafurov 1972, 290). Arab geographers spelled the name of the country in different ways: Ustrushana, Surūshana, Ustrūshana, Sutrūshana. A Sogdian document from mount Mugh shows that the correct name was 'strwšn' and Arab *Ustrūshana* was closest to it (Livshits 1962, 87).

The chronicles say nothing about any Hephthalite conquest so it seems that Ustrushana escaped the destiny of Sogd and retained its independence. But several decades later, Ustrushana was conquered by Turks. Advancing against Gatifar, the king of the Hephthalites, the Turk Qagan captured Chach, Farghana, Samarqand, Kesh, Nesef and defeated Gatifar near Bukhara ca 563 AD (Gafurov 1972, 217). This means that Ustrushana, being in the midst of those countries, was also conquered in the early 560s.

In 1971 Smirnova (1971, 59-64) published an article "Pervye monety iz Ustrushany" ("The first coins of Ustrushana") which laid the foundations of Ustrushanian numismatics. Some single Ustrushanian coins were known before (2 in the Samarqand museum, 1 in the Tashkent museum, 6 found at Penjikent) but they were unidentified. The situation changed when the leading Tajik archaeologist, N. Negmatov, started excavations at the twin hillforts of Kala-i Kahkaha 1 and Kala-i Kahkaha 2 situated near the modern town of Shahrīstan. This archaeological site proved to be the capital of early-mediaeval Ustrushana. At Kala-i Kahkaha 1 and 2 were found bronze coins (single finds and two hoards) which enabled the coins of the Samarqand and Tashkent museums and coins found at Penjikent to be identified as Ustrushanian. These coins were issued in the name of several Ustrushanian kings.

But first some historical data about the rulers of Ustrushana (Smirnova 1971, 60-64; 1981, 31-35, 428; Rtveldzde and Livshits 1985, 20; Bartold 1963, 269).

The Ustrushanian coins were found, according to Negmatov, in the archaeological strata dated to the end of the 6th-7th century AD. Smirnova read on them the names of kings: **črđmyš** (Sogdian name meaning "Descending from Mithra"); **stčry** (Buddhist name descending from Sanskrit *Sadačarya* i.e. *Teacher*); **ry'nč** (according to Smirnova this could derive from the Buddhist Sanskrit *arhand* i.e. *Revered*). Judging by different forms of their *tamgha*, there were two kings with the name **Satachari** and two kings with the name **Rakhanch**. Judging by their names, they were not Turks. Anyway *Hüen Tsiang* (ca 629 AD) wrote that the rulers of Ustrushana had been subjugated by the Turks, which means that they were not Turks, themselves. But later this indigenous dynasty was probably supplanted by another one.

In her Table of the rulers of Ustrushana, Smirnova (1981, 428) gave the following succession: **rđmyš**, **ry'nč**, **stčry**, **ry'nč**. (It is strange that she omitted here the second **stčry**, mentioned by her in the same book on page 34. I have the impression that the foreword and the catalogue were written at different times and were not cross-checked). According to Smirnova these kings of Ustrushana were mentioned only on the coins found in archaeological strata of the 6th-7th century AD.

ka-la-b'uk-la (old Chinese), which is Turkic **Qara Bughra** (*Black/Great Bughra*, a totemistic name: some Turk tribes had as

a totem, Arslan - a lion, others Bughra - a camel). This ruler is mentioned by Arab chronicles as Kharā Bughrā under the year 737.

Abār Akhura (Arab transcription) a theophoric, Iranian name. Mentioned by Arab chronicles for the years 738-739.

Šhīr Akhura (Arab transcription), **šiet-a-hat** (old Chinese transcription) a theophoric, Iranian name. In 752 AD he sent an embassy to China.

Khār (or **Khān**) **Akhura** (Arab transcription), a theophoric, Iranian name. Father of **Kā'ūs**. Mentioned by Arab chronicles for the years 794-795 AD.

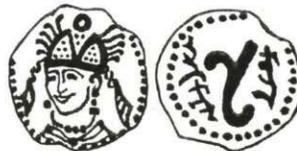
Kā'ūs (Arab transcription), an Iranian name. Mentioned by Arab chronicle ca 207/822. During excavations at Chilkhudzra (not far from Kala-i Kahkaha 1 and 2) a document was found written in the Ustrushanian form of Sogdian script. It was dated to the 30th year of the reign of **Chaus** (**Kā'ūs**). In 794-795 AD Ustrushana was ruled by **Kā'ūs**' father. Which means that **Kā'ūs**' reign continued at least till (794/795+30) 824/825. In 820 AD **Kā'ūs**' son, **Haydar**, rebelled and fled to the Arabs. Another of **Kā'ūs**' sons, **Faql**, applied to the Turk for help and brought the Turk army to Ustrushana. In 207/822 an Arab army (**Haydar** had shown the Arabs some secret road which they did not know before) attacked and defeated the Turks. **Kā'ūs** surrendered to the Arabs, accepted Islam and was left on his throne.

Haydar. Arab name. Succeeded his father in Ustrushana, but later came to Baghdād and served the Caliph. He proved to be a brilliant general and defeated the anti-Arab uprising of Bābek in Azerbaijan. The Arabs called him **Afshin** (which was the title of the rulers of Ustrushana). In 841 **Haydar** was executed by the Caliph on the charge of secretly praying to his old gods, despite having accepted Islam.

Descendants of Haydar ruled Ustrushana till 893 AD, when their dynasty was suppressed by the Sāmānids.

The early-mediaeval coins of Ustrushana differed in weight (1.2-2.3 g), size (diameter 18-22 mm) and especially appearance from the contemporary bronze coins of Sogd. No silver coins of Ustrushana are known yet. The main type of Ustrushana coins have, on their obverse, the bust of a king with head turned three-quarters to (his) right. The images were influenced by Kushano-Buddhist iconography. All the kings have a crown of the type which first appeared on the drachms of the Sasanian ruler, Khosrau II Parviz (590-628 AD). The crowns look almost the same but have some minor differences. Their front is decorated with a pair of spread wings. Between the wings there are three pearls (forming an upturned triangle) and a crescent (curve downwards) with a pearl above. Two ribbons hang down from the sides of the crown. The portraits of the kings are realistic and individualised. One can see that they are different men. The kings (with the exception of Rakhanch II, cf. Smirnova 1971, 63, table 1/6) are of Sogdian (non-Turkic) ethnic type with an oblong face, long straight nose, almond-shaped eyes. They have a moustache but no beard. In their ears there are ear-rings consisting of two pearls or precious stones (the upper one is smaller than the lower one). They have a necklace with several pearls in the middle. One type of coin, though, has the image of an elephant (Indian symbol of wisdom and the god, Ganesh) on the obverse. On the reverses of Ustrushana coins there are *tamghas* and legends. It is very interesting that one type of coin, in addition to the heraldic *tamgha*, has the image of a Nestorian cross. On the earlier coins, the images are fine and exquisite, later issues, though, show some deterioration.

črđmyš MR'Y. Afshin Chirdmish. Smirnova (1981, 34, 324) considered his coin to be the earliest. Obverse: image of Chirdmish. Reverse: heraldic *tamgha* resembling the Greek letter λ turned upside-down. On the sides of the *tamgha*: **črđmyš MR'Y**, *afshin Chirdmish*. The Sogdian word *afshin* is given by the heterogram **MR'Y** (*my Lord* in Aramaic). Weight 1.8g. Diameter 20mm.



There then follows one of Smirnova's annoying inconsistencies. In 1971 and in the foreword to her catalogue of 1981 she placed Satachari I after Chirdmish, but in the catalogue itself she placed Rakhanch after Chirdmish. By the way, in 1971 and in the foreword to the catalogue there were two Rakhanches (I and II) and two Satacharis (I and II) while in the catalogue there were Chirdmish, Rakhanch, then Satachari (type 1), then Satachary (type 2), Satachary (type 3) then Rakhanch again (Smirnova 1971, 62; 1981, 34, 324-335). It looks as if Smirnova wrote the foreword and the catalogue at different times and did not bother to cross-check them. I, though, shall follow her article of 1971 and the foreword to the 1981 catalogue.

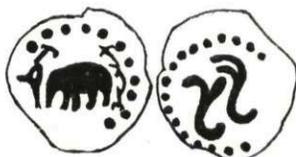
stčry MR'Y. Afshin Satachary I. Obverse: image of Satachary I. Reverse: The same *tamgha* as on the coins of Chirdmish. On the sides of the *tamgha*: **stčry MR'Y**, *afshin Satachari*. Weight 2.15, 1.4, 1.3g. Diameter 19-20 mm. (fig 3).



ry'nč MR'Y. Afshin Rakhanch I. Obverse: image of Rakhanch I. Reverse: *tamgha* of the same type as on the coins of Chirdmish. On the sides of the *tamgha*: **ry'nč MR'Y**, *afshin Rakhanch*. Weight 1.2g (second coin is chipped). Diameter 22, 18 mm.



stčry MR'Y. Afshin Satachary II. Type 1. Obverse: an elephant ambling to left. At the sides: **stčry MR'Y**, *afshin Satachari*. Reverse: two *tamghas*. The first is the upturned λ *tamgha* of the previous coins. The second *tamgha* has both (let us call them) "hands" turned to the left, one above the other (not spread V-like as with the first *tamgha*). Weight 2.3, 1.67, 1.6, 1.54, 1.5g. Diameter 19-20 mm.



stčry MR'Y. Afshin Satachary II. Type 2. Obverse: image of Satachary II. Reverse: two *tamghas* as on the coins of the first type. At the sides of the *tamghas*: **stčry MR'Y**, *afshin Satachari*. Weight 1.67, 1.61g. Diameter 20 mm.



ry'nč MR'Y. Afshin Rakhanch II. Obverse: image of Rakhanch II. Reverse: a *tamgha* like λ in normal position (not turned upside-down) but its upper part is like that of the second *tamgha* on the coins of Satachary II, i.e. with two "hands" turned to the left, one above the other. To the left of it is a Nestorian cross. At the sides of the *tamgha*: **ry'nč MR'Y**, *afshin Rakhanch*. Weight 1.4, 1.4g. Diameter 20 mm.



Coins issued by the *afshin* of Ustrushana in the 8th century AD are not known (or rather not identified). But it is hardly possible that a dynasty comprising at least four rulers, mentioned in chronicles, viz. Qara Bughra, Abār Akhura, Shir Akhura, Khār (Khān) Akhura did not issue any coins. There is a series of bronze coins which, I believe, can fill this gap. All of them are united by the *tamgha* which Smirnova (1981, 336, 348-358) described as *lyre-shaped* or *lyre-shaped with a triangular pedestal*, and (almost on all of them) the name of the god, *Farnbag*. Most of them (8 out of 11) were found (just as in the case of the earlier coins of Ustrushana united by the λ -shaped *tamgha*) in Penjikent, adjacent to Ustrushana. The provenance of 2 of the coins is unknown; 1 coin was found in Kuva (i.e. east of Ustrushana, in Farghana).

Type 1. Obverse: head of a deity (?), slightly turned to right, in a *bashliq*, resembling a Phrygian cap. Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha*. To me this one looks more like a fish (tail up, head down) with two "fins" protruding from its right side and one "fin" protruding from its left side. In fact its has a certain affinity with the *tamgha* placed on the coins of the Penjikent ruler Amukian (Chamukian), but the latter has only two "fins". At the sides of the *tamgha*: **prn βγγ...**, *Farnbag...* Weight 1.8g (one coin is chipped). Diameter 21, 20mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1472-3). Both coins were found in Penjikent.



Type 2. Obverse: head of a deity (?), facing, in a *bashliq* (?). Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha*. At the sides of the *tamgha*: ... **βγγ...**, (*Farn?*)*bag...*. The coin is chipped. Diameter 19 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1474). Found in Penjikent.



Type 3. Obverse: head of a deity (?), facing, in a *bashliq* (?). Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha*. At the sides of the *tamgha*: **prn βγγ...**, *Farnbag...*. Both coins are chipped. Diameter 18, 17 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1475, 1476). Found in Penjikent.



Type 4. Obverse: bust of a deity (?), with head slightly turned to the right, in a *bashliq* (or diadem with pendant ribbons?). Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha* with two fins (or rather pincers) extending forward from its right side so that it somewhat resembles a scorpion. In the middle of the *tamgha* is a cross (there was a cross on one coin of Ustrushana with a λ -shaped *tamgha*). At the sides of the *tamgha*: ... **βγγ...**, (*Farn?*)*bag...*. Weight 2.73, 2.58g. Diameter 23-24 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1477-1478). 1 coin was found in Penjikent, the provenance of the second coin is not known.



Type 5. Obverse: head of a deity (?), facing. Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha*. At its sides: **prn βγγ...**, *Farnbag...*. Chipped. Diameter 24 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1479). Found in Penjikent.



Type 6. Obverse: head of a deity (?), facing, in a *bashliq* (?). The left: $\beta\gamma$ (?). Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha* with two "fins" extending from its left side and one extending from its right side. At the sides of the *tamgha*: $\text{prn } \beta\gamma\gamma \delta^{\text{r}}$ or N^{r} ? *Farnbag... dar* or *nar*. Weight 3.13g. Diameter 23 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1480). Provenance is not known.



Type 7. Obverse: head of a deity (?), slightly turned to the right. Reverse: lyre-shaped *tamgha* but turned upside-down. At its sides: $\text{prn } \beta\gamma\gamma\dots$, *Farnbag...*. Chipped. Diameter 24 mm (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1434). Found in Kuva, in Farghana.



There is one more type of coin with a lyre-shaped *tamgha*. Smirnova (1981, 357-358) read on them $\text{'wr } \delta\omega \gamma\delta\delta\epsilon$ and supposed that such coins were issued in the Ordu (camp, headquarters) of the Turk *Khallach* tribe.

$\text{'wr } \delta\omega \gamma\delta\delta\epsilon$. Obverse: head of a deity (?) of Turk ethnic type. To the right: prn , *Farn*. Lyre-shaped *tamgha* (but turned upside-down) with a pair of "fins" (or pincers?) extending forward from its sides. The *tamgha* resembles a scorpion. At the sides of the *tamgha*: $\text{'wr } \delta\omega \gamma\delta\delta\epsilon$, *Ordu Khallach*. Chipped (2.3g). Diameter 24 mm (Smirnova 1981, 1481). Found in Penjikent.



The last *afshin* of Ustrushana, Sayr b. 'Abd Allāh (a Muslim), minted coins there in 279/892-3. In 280/893-4 coins in Ustrushana were already being struck by Isma'il Sāmānī (Bartold 1963, 269).

Bronze coins of Ustrushana have been found at Penjikent, which means that they were accepted and circulated there. Certainly, the reverse was also true in that *fens* of Penjikent (and Samarqand) circulated in Ustrushana. According to Smirnova (1970, 161), drachms of Bukhar Khudat type were found in Ustrushana, indicating that they circulated in Ustrushana serving the need for silver circulating coins.

Farghana

Chinese chronicles named this country Fei-han, Bo-han or Pa-han-na. In Sogdian documents from Mount Mugh it was called $\beta\gamma\gamma^{\text{n}}$, Far(a)gāna or Fragāna. Arabs called it Farghāna. The valley of Farghana is bisected by the Syr Daria and surrounded on three sides (North, East, West) by mountains. On the western edge of Farghana was Khojende. Some mediaeval authors considered it as part of Farghana, others as an independent

domain. The fertile lands of the valley were occupied by a sedentary population, while the surrounding mountains and some arid zones in the valley were populated by nomads. Farghana and Chach were the first to be subjugated by Turks in the beginning of the 560s AD. Having defeated the Hephthalites (ca 563-565 AD) the Turks became the indisputable masters of Central Asia. But almost immediately after that they started wars against Iran, then Byzantium, and then bloody, internecine wars started within the Turk qaganate. So Turks had their hands full without Central Asia and the native rulers of Central Asia remained relatively independent. They paid tribute to the Turks, were supervised by representatives of the Qagan but that was all for the most part.

Around 605 AD, there was a young king in Farghana, *Alitsi* by name, who sent an embassy to China. The circumference of his capital was 4 *li*, i.e. about 2 km (judging by its small size this must have been early-mediaeval Kasan). *Alitsi* had an army of several thousand warriors (Bichurin 1950, 274). According to Chinese chronicles, the dynasty of Farghana kings (as was also the case with Samarqand and Bukhara) was very ancient and had ruled the country for several centuries. Like other realms of Central Asia, Farghana was a confederation of principalities headed by the ruler of the strongest one. In 630 AD *Huēn Tsiang* found in Farghana "many rulers who fought one another". He noted that it had already been so for about 10 years. Thus it must have started about 620 AD. Finally, circa 630 AD, the Western Turks intervened in the strife and killed the king of Farghana, *Kibi*. After that in North Farghana (north of the Syr Daria) a Turk dynasty was established with its capital in Kasan. Its first ruler, *Shuni*, was related to the *Ashina* dynasty of Turk qagans. After his death North Farghana was ruled by his son, *Ebochji*, whose capital was also Kasan.

The native dynasty, however, retained South Farghana (south of the Syr Daria). The nephew of *Kibi* (killed by Turks), *Aliaotsan*, ruled South Farghana with his capital in *Khumyn* (not identified). *Ebochji* was still ruling North Farghana in 656 when he sent the embassy to China. In 658, the Western Turks were defeated by China, and Farghana, for some period, submitted to the Chinese. Farghana was granted the status of a Chinese province and *Aliaotsan* was appointed ruler of all Farghana with his capital in Kasan (Bartold 1965, 529; Bichurin 1950, 319; Gafurov 1972, 292-293). It appears that the native dynasty continued to reign in Farghana as vassals (or governors) of Chinese emperors till the beginning of 8th century AD. In the opinion of Livshits (1962, 85), their native title [γ] $\gamma\text{'syd}$ (*ikhshid*) attested to it. In 715, the Arab conqueror of Central Asia, Qutayba, in alliance with the Tibetans (enemies of China) attacked Farghana. The pro-Chinese king of Farghana fled to Kocho (North Turkestan), to the Chinese governor. Qutayba put on the throne of Farghana a new king, Alatār (old Chinese *a-lia-d'ut*). But when he learnt that his sworn enemy, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-99/715-717), had become caliph in Baghdad, he rebelled. Qutayba was killed by his own officers loyal to the new Caliph. The death of this brilliant general weakened the Arabs. In 715, the Chinese governor of Kucha attacked Farghana, banished Alatār and restored the pro-Chinese king of Farghana to his throne. Alatār fled to the mountains. But in 720-722 Alatār was king of Farghana again. He was killed by the Arabs in 722 (Smirnova 1970, 255-256; 1981, 429). In 726 there were two kings in Farghana: one (south of the Syr Darya with his capital in Akhsiket) was a vassal of the Arabs, the other (north of the Syr Daria with his capital in Kasan) was a vassal of the Turks (Gafurov 1972, 293).

It looks as if Alatār was a Turk, for his brother, *Nilan*, had a Turk title, *Ot Tigin*. *Nilan*'s son, *Altu Chur*, was mentioned by al-Ṭabari as the king of Farghana. Livshits (1962, 85), though, deemed that the native Farghana dynasty was not replaced by the Turk until 739 AD, when the Chinese appointed Arslan Tarkhan (old Chinese *asiet-lan d'at-kan*) as the ruler of all Farghana. This Arslan Tarkhan was mentioned by Chinese chronicles under the years 741-742. In 744 he sent an embassy to China asking to marry a Chinese princess, which was granted. He sent embassies to China in 745, 749, 751 (Smirnova 1981, 429). It is not clear who was king of Farghana at the time of caliph al-Mansūr (136-158/754-775), who sent an army against Farghana. The king of Farghana fled to Kashghar but then peace was made and he paid

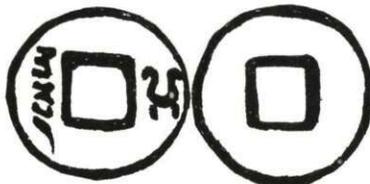
the Arabs a large tribute. Caliph al-Mahdi (158-169/775-785) also sent an army against the king of Farghana whose capital was Kasan (Bartold 1965, 530-531; Smirnova 1981, 429).

And now to the coins. These series have been attributed to Farghana because the overwhelming majority of such coins have been found in the Farghana valley.

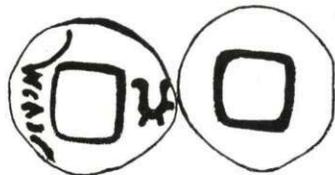
Turko-Sogdian coins of the anonymous Qagans.

These have a square hole in the middle.

Type 1. Obverse: to the left of the square hole the Sogdian legend $\gamma^{\prime}\gamma^{\prime}n$, *qagan*. To the right of the hole is a lyre-shaped *tamgha* but different from the *tamgha* of the coins citing Farnbag (which, I believe, were issued in Ustrushana). The lower part of the latter *tamgha* is shaped like a rhombus, the lower part of the anonymous qagan's *tamgha* is round and the "lyre" resembles the Greek letter *omega* turned upside-down. It resembles the upper part of the *tamgha* of Bukhara. This lyre-shaped *tamgha* is mounted on two short vertical legs. The reverse of the coin is blank (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1435-1438). All the coins have been found in the Farghana valley (Osh region and Kuva). Weight 4.36, 3.94, 2.78, 2.75, 2.24g. Diameter 29, 25, 24, 23 mm.



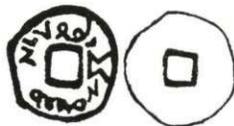
Type 1a. Like type 1. The *tamgha* differs slightly. It has a small "fin" protruding from its left side.



Type 2. Obverse: to the left of the hole is $\gamma^{\prime}\gamma^{\prime}n$, *qagan*. To the right of the hole there is a lyre-shaped *tamgha* but mounted on long legs as big as the *tamgha* itself. Reverse: to the right of the hole $\prime l \gamma^{\prime}$ *alqa*, which was the name of one of the clans of the nomadic Oghuz tribe (Smirnova 1981, 59, Nr. 1440-1443). All the coins have been found in the Farghana valley (Osh region and Kuva). Weight 3.5, 2.31, 2.3, 2.27g. Diameter 23, 22, 21, 19 mm.

Turko-Sogdian coins of the tutuks (*tutuk*, Chinese *dudu*, military governor of the province). These coins have a square hole in the middle.

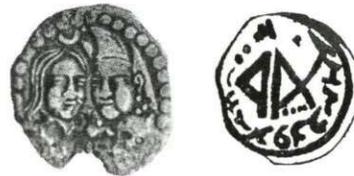
$\prime lpw \gamma^{\prime}\gamma^{\prime}n \text{ twtwy}$. Obverse: to the right of the hole the Turk runic letter *ush*. Around the other sides of the hole: $\prime lpw \gamma^{\prime}\gamma^{\prime}n \text{ twtwy}$, i.e. *tutuk of Alp Qagan* (*alp* in Turk is "hero"). Reverse blank (Smirnova 1981, 58, and Nr. 1445-1449). There was a town called Ush at the eastern end of the Farghana valley. Could the Turk runic letter *ush* refer to the name of this town? If this is so, then one might infer that Ush/Osh was a residence of the military governor who ruled that part of Farghana in the name of the Turk Qagan. Two coins have been found in Farghana (Kuva), two near Otrar (Kazakhstan), one in Varakhsha (Bukhara oasis). Weight 1.3, 1.2, 1, 1, 1g. Diameter 17, 16 mm.



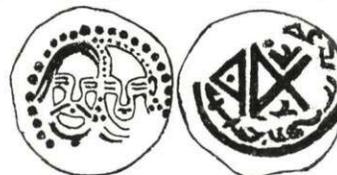
There is a series of bronze coins (without the square hole) which is united by the image of a royal couple and a monogram of Turkic runes *ush+i*. If my conjecture that *ush* was the name of the town of Ush/Osh is correct, then this series was issued in Farghana.

Type 1. Obverse: realistic and individualised bust portrayal of a royal couple. Both faces (especially that of the woman) are purely

mongoloid and slightly turned to each other. The man has plaits, a drooping moustache and no beard. It is a typical image of a Turk. The woman has a three-peaked hat. Reverse: in the field, a monogram of Turkic runes *ush+i*. Around it *MRWY βēs'* [$\gamma^{\prime}ttwn]h$, *Lady βēs' khatun* or *Lady khatun of βēs'* (*khatun* is queen in Turk). The provenance of the coins is unknown (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1482-1484). Weight 2.46, 1.54g. Diameter 24, 21 mm.



Type 2. Obverse: Stylised image of a royal couple. The faces seem more European than mongoloid but the man has plaits, a drooping moustache and no beard in the Turk manner. Reverse: in the field, a monogram of Turkic runes *ush+i*. Around it *MR'... γ'tt [wn]h*, *Lady khatun*. The provenance of three coins is unknown all the other coins were found in Penjikent (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1485-1496). Weight 2.47, 2.15, 1.73, 1.57, 1.29g (other coins are chipped). Diameter 25-20 mm.



Type 3. Obverse: a royal married couple. Reverse: in the field, monogram of Turkic runes *ush+i*. Around it, traces of a legend (illegible). The Provenance of the coin is unknown (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1497). The coin is chipped. Diameter 21 mm.



Chinese chronicles for about six centuries (the first time in the second century BC, the last time in AD 479) mentioned and praised highly Farghanian horses of a special breed, which they called the *celestial horse*. In the mountains of Farghana there are ancient petroglyphs picturing such horses. They have a wiry, well-proportioned body, strong legs, a slender neck and a shapely head (Istoriia 1984, 188). There are bronze coins with the image of such a horse and a Sogdian legend. I believe they were issued in Farghana.

Type 1. Obverse: a horse with wiry body and legs trotting right. Around it $\gamma w \beta / \text{pry } sw \delta r$ (?). Reverse: S-shaped *tamgha* placed horizontally. Above it $\prime sk \delta k$ (?). The first coin was found in Farghana, the second in Penjikent (Smirnova 1981, Nr 1450-1). Weight 3.2, 2.96g. Diameter 21, 19 mm.



Type 2. Obverse: The same as type 1. Reverse: Head of a deity or man slightly turned to the left. It is rather mongoloid. The straight hair is combed back and hanging down. The face occupies almost all the surface of the coin. Among the coins there are several with a blank reverse. It is not clear whether they were botched pieces or whether it was a special type. 1 coin weighs 1.27g, 1 coin weighs 3.28g. But the compact group is between 1.55 and 2.45g. The histogram gives four equal peaks: 1.7, 1.75, 1.85 and 2.1g. Diameter 22-20 mm. The provenance of six coins

is not known. All the other coins were found in Penjikent (Smirnova 1981, Nos 1452-1471).



According to Smirnova (1970, 269), Farghana (like Ustrushana) did not mint silver coins and used silver drachms of the Bukhar Khudat type, minted in Bukhara and Samarqand. A certain amount of Chinese bronze coins, found in Farghana, shows that they were accepted and circulated there, but they were rather scarce.

Tokharistan

The name of Tokharistan (Chinese *Tou-ho-lo*) was mentioned for the first time in 383 AD. The territory of Tokharistan comprised Southern Tajikistan, Southern Uzbekistan and Northern Afghanistan. In other words, it occupied the area of ancient Bactria. Tokharistan was invaded by Hephthalites who established a kingdom there around 350 AD. In 355 they took Balkh and made it their capital. By 415 they had taken the Kabul valley. By 425 they had subjugated Afghanistan and started the conquest of North India (Sohail Ahmad Khan 1992, 87). In the following years the Hephthalites thrice defeated the Sasanian shah, Peroz I (459-484 AD). The defeats of the Sasanians facilitated further Hephthalite expansion. Between 467-470 and 480 they subjugated Sogd and turned their attention to East Turkestan. By 510, the Hephthalites had created an empire stretching from Central Asia and East Turkestan to Afghanistan and northern India (Gafurov 1972, 200).

In the early 560s AD, the Hephthalites clashed with the Turks. Qagan Istemi, captured Farghana, Chach, Parak and came as far as the Syr Daria. The Hephthalite king, Gatifar, started to raise an army near Bukhara. Troops from Tokharistan and other places assembled there. The Sasanian ruler, Khusraw I, took advantage of this to invade Tokharistan and seize part of it. Having taken Samarqand, Kesh and Neseif, Istemi attacked Gatifar near Bukhara. The Hephthalites were defeated and Gatifar killed. Scholars date this battle to some time between 563-567, or to 563, or to 565 AD. The defeated Hephthalite army fled to Tokharistan and elected a new king, Faghonish, a Chaghanian ruler, who recognised Khusraw I as his suzerain. Soon controversy arose between the Sasanians and the Turks about the Hephthalite heritage. The Turks became allies of Byzantium, a long-standing enemy of the Sasanians. In 569 AD, the Turks attacked the Sasanians and captured some lands in Dihistan, east of the Caspian sea. They could not, however, overcome the rampart and the chain of fortresses built by Sasanians already in the 5th century to protect Iran against the Hephthalites. But some of the Turk tribes settled there and in the course of time continued their drive to the south so that later Sasanians had to build new defences against them, on the borders of Mazandaran. Peace was made in 571. The Sasanians received Kabulistan, Zabulistan, Tokharistan, Sind, and other lands. The Hephthalite ruler of Chaghanian, Faghonish, remained a vassal of the Sasanians. The Hephthalite domains north of the Amu Daria came under the control of the Turks who, by 571, had captured the North Caucasus and had come as far as Bospor (Kerch), a frontier town of Byzantium. Later, though, the Turks became allies of Iran and in 576 took Bospor. In 580 they invaded the Crimea but withdrew because internecine wars broke out within the Turk qaganate which ended by the year 603 in the creation of two Turk qaganates: Western and Eastern.

In 581 AD, "Khotan, Persia and Hephthalites" rose against the Turks. Mandelshtam wrote that these were the Hephthalites of Central Asia, because south of the Amu Daria the Hephthalites were vassals of the Sasanians. The Turks quelled the Hephthalite uprising and some Turk tribes settled in Tokharistan. In 588, a Turk army led by Qagan Save crossed the Amu Daria, invaded Iran and advanced to Herat. The Sasanian shah, Hormizd IV (579-590), sent his best warlord, Bahram Chubin, against them. In the battle, Bahram Chubin slew Save. The Turks were defeated and

fled. A son of Save tried to continue the war but without success. Eventually peace was made (Gafurov 1972, 217-221, Gumilev 1967, 47, 50; Istoria 1964, 43, 47; Istoria 1984, 231).

The Sasanian shah, Khusraw II Parviz (590-628), was put on the throne with the help of the Byzantine army and signed a disadvantageous treaty dictated by the emperor Mauricius (582-602). In 602, Khusraw II started a war to regain the territories he had lost. Strange as it may seem, he proclaimed himself the avenger of Mauricius who had been dethroned and killed. In 603, when all the Sasanian armies were concentrated on the border of Byzantium, Tokharistan (Southern) rebelled. Khusraw sent his general, Smbat Bagratuni, who defeated the "Kushans" (as the Byzantine chronicle called them). The "Kushans" (Hephthalites) asked for help from the Turks who, in 598, had become allies of Byzantium. The grandson of the ruling Qagan, Tun Jabghu, defeated the Iranians, raided Iran but withdrew because an internecine war broke out within Turk qaganate. Bagratuni again invaded Tokharistan, defeated the Hephthalites and returned with booty. But the Sasanians did not retain the province. The Turks crossed the Amu Daria and dispersed the garrisons left by the Sasanians. The last attempt to conquer Tokharistan was made by the Sasanians in 616-617. In 618, Tun Jabghu became qagan. In the early 620s he annexed Tokharistan and gave it to his son, Tardu Shad, who settled in Qunduz. Tokharistan was a confederation of realms ruled by Hephthalite or surviving pre-Hephthalite dynasties. They recognised the suzerainty of the Turks and paid them tribute. In some principalities, however, a change of power took place. Turk warlords/chiefdoms, using the military power of their tribes which they had brought to Tokharistan, suppressed the old dynasties and established dynasties of their own. So the Chinese pilgrim, *Hsien Tsiang* (ca 630), wrote that all 27 realms of Tokharistan had submitted to the Turks and that some of those 27 realms were ruled by Turks. Another Chinese pilgrim, *Hsuei Ch'ao* (726), wrote that Khuttal was ruled by a Turk king and that half the Khuttal population were Turks, speaking the Turk language (Bichurin 1950, 286; Gumilev 1967, 126-134; Kliashornyi 1964, 143; Litvinsky, Solov'ev 1985, 145).

In 630 AD, the Turk qagan, Tun Jabghu/Tun Shehu (618-630), was killed by his brother. Internecine wars broke out in the Turk qaganate. Tokharistan again rebelled against the Turks but around the year 640 was resubjugated by the Turk qagan, Yshbara Irbis. The latter was killed in 641 by Yuquq, son of the last ruler of the Eastern Turk qaganate. When his father was defeated and taken prisoner by the Chinese, Yuquq fled to the west. In 638, the Western Turks Dulu proclaimed Yuquq as Irbis Dulu qagan (Gumilev 1967, 203, 216). In 642, Yuquq Irbis Dulu qagan clashed with the Chinese but was defeated. After that the clan of Yshbara Irbis rebelled against him. Yuquq retreated to Tokharistan. It was probably on his way to Tokharistan that he sacked Samarqand and Maimurg. The capture of Tokharistan was facilitated by Turks who had settled there previously. Yuquq made Badghis his capital. He died in 653 and was succeeded by his son Czhen Czhu. In 654, Czhen Chzu attacked the qagan of the Western Turks, Yshbara qagan (651-657), attempted to seize the throne of the Qaganat, but was defeated and retreated to Tokharistan, where he was killed in 659. According to Gumilev, he was succeeded by Nizak Tarkhan who was killed in 709 by the Arabs (Gumilev 1967, 218-219, 240, 443-445). If this is true, Nizak Tarkhan will have ruled for 50 years and must have been very young when he ascended the throne. I believe there may have been someone between Czhen Chzu and him.

The Chinese travelling monk, *Hsien Tsiang* (630), left a valuable description of Tokharistan. According to him the old royal dynasty had expired many years previously and warlords had captured various provinces and created dominions of their own. There were 27 large and small dominions. The Tokharians professed Buddhism and had a script of their own comprising 25 letters (derived from the Greek alphabet). The main dominions were: Da-mi (Tirmidh), Chi-o-ian-na (Chaghanian), Shu-man (Shuman), Tsui-he-ian-na (Kabadian), Ke-do-lo (Khuttalan), Ho-sha (Wakhsh), Puat-dak-tsiang-na (Badakhshan), O-li-ni (Arkhen), Tsui-mi (Kumed), Shi-tsi-ni (Shugnan), Damositedi (Vakhan) etc. Just like Sogd and other countries, Tokharistan was a confederation of principalities led by rulers of the strongest one among them. *Hsuei Ch'ao* (visited Tokharistan in 726) wrote that

the country had been captured by Arabs and that the king of Tokharistan had fled to Badakhshan. One of the strongest principalities was Khuttalan. Its king was a Turk; Arabs called him Sabal. He ruled from the end of the 7th century AD till the early 730s. An inscription on the murals in the palace of Varkhunan, a king of Samarqand (third quarter of the 7th century) states that *Chaghan khudat* (this was the title of the Chaghanian ruler) had the Turkic name Turantash. In 719 the *Chaghan khudat* was Tish the One-eyed. *Tish* is an Iranian name but he had the Turk title *jabghu*.

In 705, Tish became an ally of the Arabs and, with the help of Qutayba, he defeated the rulers of Akharun and Shuman. In 709-710 Qutayba, with the help of Tish, quelled a rebellion by Tokharian rulers led by Nizak Tarkhan. Qutayba arrested the ruler of Tokharistan (his name, Nadunili or Pandunili, is mentioned in the Chinese chronicle) and sent him to Damascus where he was still being kept as a hostage in 715. In 718-719, the Chinese chronicle states that Di-chze of Chze-han-na (Tish of Chaghanian) was the ruler of Tokharistan. It seems that Qutayba thanked his ally by appointing him ruler of Tokharistan. The son of Nadunili survived and retained his appanage. In 727 he sent a letter to the Chinese emperor. He was probably that ruler of Tokharistan who, in 731 and 737, fought the Arabs as an ally of the Turks. S. G. Kliashornyĭ thought that Tish was the ruler of Chaghanian who, in 737 together with the Arabs, fought against the Turks and Sogdians and fell in battle. For the year 159/775-6 there is mention of one, *Chaghan Khudat*, an ally of the Arabs and enemy of Muqanna' who headed the anti-Arab uprising of 159-167/775-784 in Sogd (Gafurov 1972, 226-230; Rtveladze 1987, 224; Kliashornyĭ 1964, 146-147).

Now to the money circulation in early-mediaeval Tokharistan. *Huĕn Tsiang* wrote that the people of Tokharistan used gold and silver in trade, and that their coins differed from the coins of other countries which he had visited before Tokharistan. The money circulation and monetary system of early-mediaeval Tokharistan were strongly influenced by those of Sasanian Iran. For at least 80 years the Sasanians paid tribute to the Hephthalites and Sasanian drachms were the main coins circulating in Tokharistan. After the fall of the Hephthalites, South Tokharistan was for a period under the Sasanians and was included in the sphere of Sasanian money circulation. It comes as no surprise, then, that even after Tokharistan had freed itself from the Sasanians (only to be subjugated by the Turks) its monetary circulation continued to be based on the Sasanian monetary system and that its coins (especially silver) were minted on the pattern of Sasanian coins, copying the drachms of Peroz I (459-484) and Khusraw I (531-579). Also a lot of genuine Sasanian silver coins (mostly of Peroz I and Khusraw I) continued to circulate there.

Just as Smirnova laid down the foundations of early-mediaeval Ushushanian numismatics, so Rtveladze (1980, 53-58; 1983, 75; 1987, 218-224) laid down the foundations of the early-mediaeval numismatics of the Surkhan Daria valley. According to Rtveladze, money circulation in this area in the second half of the 5th - first half of the 6th century AD was served by the drachms of Peroz I and by the imitations of such drachms. Different types of coins circulated in different areas. Thus in Chaghanian there circulated mainly authentic drachms of Peroz I with countermarks containing a Bactrian ($\chi\delta\eta\theta$) or Sogdian ($\gamma\omega\beta$) legend or tamgha (rhombus mounted on a short horizontal line). About 150 such coins have been found. Infrequent imitations of Peroz's drachms also are found (issue Nr. 287 according to Göbl's classification) with the Bactrian countermark $\alpha\lambda\chi\omicron\nu\omicron$. Four such coins have been found to my knowledge. In the Termez region and in the valley of Sherabad Daria river were found only (?-M. F.) imitations of Peroz's drachms (issue Nr. 287 according to Göbl's classification) with countermarks containing the profile of a ruler (two types), an image of an animal or bird, or a badly worn-out Bactrian legend. The circulation of the large number of authentic drachms of Peroz I in the Chaghanian domain has been construed as evidence that Chaghanian belonged to the Sasanians, while the appearance of the countermarks indicated that the Sasanians had lost Chaghanian for a certain period. The absence in Chaghanian of drachms of Kavad (488-531) has been construed as evidence that the Sasanians lost Chaghanian. The absence in the Sherabad

Daria river basin of authentic drachms of Peroz has been taken as evidence that it did not belong to the Sasanians (Litvinsky, Solov'ev 1985, 137; Rtveladze 1983, 75). I cannot agree with this. Peroz I was defeated three times and taken prisoner twice by the Hephthalites. Twice he paid them a huge ransom and an annual tribute in addition. This is why the main bulk of silver coins which circulated in Chaghanian were authentic drachms of Peroz I. Also it is hardly possible that Chaghanian belonged to the Sasanians while the Sherabad Daria valley (so to speak "squeezed in" between the Sasanian realm proper and Chaghanian) was independent.

The difference in the composition of the coins circulating in different areas has been seen as evidence of the political separation of those adjacent areas. With this I cannot but agree. This political separation strengthened after the Hephthalites were defeated by the Turks in 563 AD

Chaghanian

According to Rtveladze, in early-mediaeval Chaghanian there were at least three dynasties which succeeded one another.

First dynasty. From the end of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century AD, Chaghanian (being part of Sogd) was under the Hephthalites and in that area circulated authentic drachms of Peroz I (459-483) and locally minted imitations of his drachms (Rtveladze 1980, 54-55, Table 1/3; 1987a, 144-145). In my opinion, the countermarks which appeared on these coins were a mark of Chaghanian's growing independence, not from the Sasanians but from the central Hephthalite power. The countermarks were placed on the plain margins (Sasanian coins then had plain margins: either the dies were smaller than the flans, or plain margins were left on the dies themselves). But sometimes it is not clear whether it is a real countermark or whether it was engraved on the original die. So on coin Nr. 44 (Rtveladze 1987a, 144-145) the twice repeated inscription which Rtveladze read as "*King of Alhons*" seems to be engraved on the die. Anyway this legend (in Bactrian script, derived from the Greek alphabet) is too big for a normal countermark. Other inscriptions: $\chi\delta\eta\theta$ (*khidev-king*, Bactrian) and $\gamma\omega\beta$ (*hwab-lord*, Sogdian) are countermarks alright. Surprisingly in Rtveladze's album "The ancient coins of Central Asia" (Tashkent, 1987) many coins are given retrograde. On a coin published in his article (1980, 55, Table 1/3) Peroz I is turned to the right (correct), on coins in the album Peroz I and Khusraw I (Rtveladze 1987a, 140-141, 144-147) are turned to the left (incorrect). The reverse of a Khusraw I drachm (p. 146) is given upside-down. About coin Nr. 42 (p. 140) Rtveladze wrote that there is a *tamgha* at "9 o'clock" but, in the picture, this *tamgha* is at 3 o'clock and so on.

Some imitations of Peroz I drachms (Rtveladze 1987a, 140-141) have three countermarks: Sogdian $\gamma\omega\beta$, Bactrian $\chi\delta\eta\theta$, and the *tamgha* of the ruling dynasty of Chaghanian: a rhombus mounted on a horizontal line. Other imitations of Peroz I drachms (Rtveladze 1987a, 142-143) have a different combination of countermarks: $\chi\delta\eta\theta$, rhombus *tamgha* and square countermark (5x5 mm) with the miniature image of a man's head turned to the right. The man has neither crown, moustache nor beard, but he has a luxuriant mane of curled hair. The ethnic type is Iranian (not Turkic).

In my opinion, the drachms of Peroz I came first, then imitations appeared, and, later, countermarks were made. If my surmise that the legend *King of Alhons* (on the margin of the coins) was not countermarked but engraved on the original die is right [Editor's note: such coins with the legend actually engraved as part of the coin design are in fact illustrated in Mitchiner *Oriental Coins and their Value, Non-Islamic States*, pp 20-21], then the sequence could have been the following: firstly, plain imitations of Peroz drachms were minted, then drachms with the legend *King of Alhons* (engraved on the die) appeared and then all the previous coins (including those with the legend *King of Alhons*) were countermarked. It is also difficult to say which of the countermarks were contemporary with each other and which were minted at different times. In some cases it has been possible to establish this where one countermark overlaps another.

The appearance of the Peroz I imitation drachms with the legend *King of Alhons* and the spread of countermarking indicates

a change in monetary policy and must have been connected with the coming to power of some new dynasty in Chaghanian. Rtveladze (1980, 54, 1987, 223) named it the "dynasty of the anonymous khidevs" of Chaghanian, dated it to the end of the 5th to the first half of the 6th century AD, and established that the *tamgha* of this dynasty was a romboïd mounted on a short horizontal line.

Livshits considered that, because of the form of the lettering, the Sogdian countermark $\gamma\omega\beta$, could not have been made later than the end of the 5th century (Rtveladze 1987, 233). So in his album, Rtveladze (1987a, 140-144) dated such coins to the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century. Was he deliberately redating the dynasty in doing this? He had previously dated this series to the end of the 5th to the first half of the 6th century. The Sogdian countermark could have been the earliest one, while the others could have been made in the first half of the 6th century. I consider the date first offered by Rtveladze to be the correct one.

Rtveladze (1987, 223) thought that the end of this dynasty was connected with the conquest of Chaghanian by Khusraw I Anushirvan (531-579). Let us examine this proposition. The conquest of at least part of Tokharistan by Khusraw I was facilitated and carried out circa 563 when the armies of Tokharistan (Chaghanian included) went north to join Gatifar preparing for the all-out battle with the Turks. But after the battle of Bukhara (563), the defeated Hephthalite army made its way back to Tokharistan where a new Hephthalite king, Faghonish (ruler of Cahdhanian) was elected. Faghonish recognised Khusraw I as his suzerain. Negotiations started between the Turks and Iran. According to the treaty of 571, the Sasanians received Kabulistan, Zabulistan, Dardistan, Tokharistan, Sind and other lands. The ruler of Chaghanian, Faghonish, remained a vassal of Khusraw. The Hephthalite domains north of the Amu Daria (with the exception of Chaghanian) came under the sway of the Turks (Gafurov 1972, 218; Gumilev 1967, 47). So Faghonish was the ruler of Chaghanian till at least 571 inclusive. There is information that Khusraw I crossed the Amu Daria, advanced to Khuttalan and killed the Hephthalite king, Akhshonvar, but this was a title rather than a name: *axšonwar* means *bearer of power, sovereign* (Gafurov 1972, 199, 218). If this was not the same campaign carried out by Khusraw in the year of the battle between the Turks and the Hephthalites, it could mean that some time after the treaty of 571 was signed (and before he died in 579) Khusraw I carried out a campaign against Tokharistan. But what for? According to the treaty, Tokharistan belonged to him. There could be two possibilities: 1) either the campaign was carried out around the year 563 and Akhshonvar was a king of Tokharistan who did not join Gatifar, or 2) Khusraw annexed Khuttalan, which was not given to him by the treaty of 571 and Akhshonvar was king of Kuttalan.

Second dynasty. One way or the other, in the second half of the 7th century AD a new series of coins appeared in Chaghanian: imitations of the drachms of Khusraw I. During the first decades of the reign of Khusraw I (531-579) tension mounted between the Hephthalites and the Sasanians; Khusraw was loathe to pay the Hephthalites the tribute which his predecessors had paid. He bided his time to overthrow the humiliating Hephthalite yoke. Relations between the Hephthalites and the Sasanians grew more and more hostile. So it is simply impossible that, during those years, the Hephthalites would start minting imitations of Khusraw Anushirvan's drachms. As far as the authentic Khusraw Anushirvan's drachms are concerned, they got to Chaghanian rather as part of a tribute he continued to pay the Hephthalites. But after the Turks had defeated the Hephthalites (ca 563), the situation changed drastically. Thus imitations of Khusraw I Anushirvan's drachms could have appeared no earlier than 563 or 565 or 571 (when, according to the treaty, Tokharistan came under the sway of Khusraw). Rtveladze's supposition that new coins (the Khusraw imitation drachms) were minted by a second dynasty, however, seems to me quite plausible. But did Faghonish belong to the old ("anonymous khidevs" with romboïd *tamgha*) dynasty or to the new dynasty? The new coins differed from the old imitations of Peroz I drachms in that there were countermarks with the names of rulers. We see here quite a different policy and a somewhat greater degree of independence than was the case

with the "anonymous khidevs". Also the romboïd *tamgha* countermark of the old dynasty disappeared from the new coins.

Rtveladze (1987, 223; 1983, 75; 1987a, 144, 146) read on the countermarks on the imitation Khusraw drachms at least three names. He considered that this new dynasty ruled Chaghanian in the second half of the 6th to the beginning of the 7th century. On some imitation Khusraw drachms there are also countermarks with the effigy of a ruler with an aquiline nose, large round slightly bulging eyes, short curly hair and large ears with ear-rings. The ethnic type is Iranian (not Turkic). Usually these countermarks are repeated three times and are so placed that, if they were linked by lines, they would form an equilateral triangle. G. A. Pugachenkova deemed that the countermarks were made on the coins after the death of Khusraw I (579) for, on some coins, they overlap Khusraw's crown, which was hardly possible in his lifetime. These three countermarks, in her opinion, proclaimed the independence of Chaghanian. Two imitation Khusraw drachms are exceptionally interesting because they have a countermark with the *tamgha* which Rtveladze (1980, 55, 1987a, 146-147) attributed to the third (the latest) dynasty of *Caghan Khudats*. It is a romboïd with two crooks protruding from its upper and lower end. They are turned in different directions so that the *tamgha* resembles a retrograde ξ .

Rtveladze (1987, 223-224) managed to read three names on the countermarks: $\sigma\theta\rho\rho$ (or $\sigma\alpha\rho\rho$) $\chi\delta\eta\theta$ i.e. *Soshro* (or *Sarsho*) *khidev*, $\xi\theta\rho\iota\nu\theta$ $\chi\delta\eta\theta$ i.e. *Zarino khidev*, and $\pi\omega\gamma\nu\rho(\theta)$ or $\pi\omega\iota\nu\omega\iota\theta$ $\chi\delta\eta\theta$ i.e. *Poghsh(o)* or *Poino khidev*. He attributed to this dynasty a ruler pictured on the square countermark. Judging by the sequence of the countermarks, Rtveladze deemed that Soshro was the earliest of them. He identified Poino with the king of Chaghanian, Faghonish, and contradicted Smirnova (1967, 39) who thought that Faghonish was Sogdian $\beta\gamma\gamma\delta\delta\zeta\eta$. The Arabs had no letter "p" so they reproduced it as an "f" which made فعلانيش . But letters gh and p are easy to mistake for one another. So originally it may have been Fa'n+ish. Fa'n/Pa'n is close to $\pi\omega\iota\nu$ Poin. It sounds plausible, but then Faghonish (and not Soshro) would be the earliest. As I have shown, the Khusraw' imitation drachms could not have been minted earlier than 563 or even 571. And this (563 and 571) was the time when Faghonish was mentioned in the written sources. The latest in this series, according to Rtveladze (1983, 75) were of Khusraw imitation drachms with the name of the Chaghanian ruler $\eta\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\delta\eta\theta$, placed on the reverse at each side of the fire-altar. The obverse is anepigraphic.

At the Budrach hillfort (the then capital of Chaghanian) a hoard (Pugachenkova 1981, 251) of Khusraw I imitation coins was found. There were two varieties of coins: type A – 59 coins, type B – 5 coins.

Type A. Weight 2.35-2.67g, diameter 27-28 mm (Pugachenkova 1981, 251-255).

Obverse: Beaded (beads lozenge-shaped) circle (diameter 17 mm). Outside the circle, plain margins 5-3 mm broad. Within the circle, bust of the shah in merloned crown (head in profile, turned to the right, shoulders facing) with beard and moustache and curly hair gathered in a bunch at his neck. He is wearing a necklace and ear-rings. From the shah's shoulders rise two fluttering ribbons. This was a fashion with the Sasanians. Thus, according to the Byzantine chronicle, Shapur II appeared before his army "in a cloud of ribbons" (Trever, Lukonin 1987, 19). There is no inscription on the obverse.

Reverse: Within the beaded circle, as on the obverse. An fire-altar (*ateshdan*): a pillar mounted on three (or two) receding slabs and topped with three (or two) overhanging slabs. Sometimes the pillar is shaped like a sand-glass. The fire on the altar is pictured as a triangle of 4 rows of dots. First row: 6 dots; second row: 4 dots; third row: 3 dots; fourth row: 1 dot. The altar is flanked by two guards or *mobeds* (full-length, facing) with bent elbow and one hand, touching the altar, and the other hand resting on a sword (or metal poker for stirring the fire?).

These 59 coins were struck from at least 7 different obverse dies.

Type B. Weight 2.65-2.67g, diameter 25-26 mm (Pugachenkova 1981, 256).

Obverse: Within the same circle as on coins of type A, bust of the shah in merloned crown (head in profile, turned to the right, shoulders facing). The crown differs slightly from the type A crown. Also, in front of it is a crescent and six-pointed star. The beard protrudes forward. The hair is cut short and there is no bunch of locks at the neck. The shah has a necklace and ear-rings. From his shoulders rise two fluttering ribbons. Above the right ribbon is an E-shaped symbol (*tamgha*?). There is no legend on the obverse.

Reverse: Within the same circle as on the obverse, a fire-altar consisting of a narrow pillar (metal tube?) mounted on two receding slabs and topped with two overhanging slabs. From the middle of the pillar rise two ribbon-shaped decorations. The fire on the altar is depicted as a triangle of 4 rows of short vertical strokes. First row: 4 strokes; second row: 3 strokes; third row: 2 strokes; fourth row: 1 stroke. The altar is flanked by two guards or *mobeds* (full-length, facing) with both hands resting on a sword (or metal poker for stirring a fire?). There are no inscriptions on the reverse.

These 5 coins were struck from at least 2 different reverse dies.

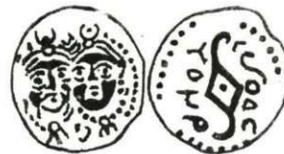
These imitations differ from authentic drachms of Khusraw I in size and standard of fineness. The imitations had far more copper than authentic Sasanian drachms. When the Budrach hoard was found, the coins were covered with a green crust of oxidized copper. They are smaller and lighter (2.35-2.67g, 25-28 mm) than authentic Sasanian drachms (3.91-3.95g, 27-32 mm). Pugachenkova (1981, 259) thought that both the Khusraw imitation drachms and the countermarks were made at the mint which was situated in the capital of Chaghanian (now the Budrach hillfort). I entirely agree with her.

Third dynasty. There are copper coins with the image of a royal couple and a *tamgha* shaped as a rhombus with two curves protruding from its upper and lower end. The upper curve is turned to the left, the lower to the right, so that the *tamgha* resembles a retrograde §. The first such coin was published in 1880. During the 1960s and 1970s, such coins were found at Kulialtepe, Khalchayyan, Turakhanbaitepe, Iakhshibaitepe, Dalverzintepe, Savrindzhantepe and Budrach (Rtveladze 1987, 218). All these archaeological sites are situated in the Surkhandaria valley (southern Uzbekistan) in the territory of mediaeval Chaghanian.

Type 1. Obverse: Bust image of a royal couple with faces slightly turned towards each other. The man has long straight hair hanging down the side of his face and a crown or diadem decorated with wings and a crescent. Under and above the crescent there is a dot. The woman has long, straight hair hanging down the side of her face. Above her head there is the same crescent with two dots (above and beneath it). Or is it a kind of hair-dress decorated with a crescent? Both the man and the woman are wearing a necklace. To the right of the image there are some worn symbols (legend?). Reverse: In the field there is a *tamgha* of the third dynasty (Rtveladze 1987, 219). Weight 2.4, 1.6, 1.4, 1.2g. Diameter 22-20 mm.



Type 2. Obverse: Within a beaded circle, the image of a king and queen with faces slightly turned towards one another. The king has a moustache. Both of them have a necklace and diadem with a crescent and two dots above and below. Reverse: Within a beaded circle, the *tamgha* of the third dynasty but with a dot inside the rhombus. To the sides of the *tamgha* there is a Bactrian legend which Rtveladze (1987, 219) read as $\alpha\eta(\omicron) \sigma\tau\iota \gamma\omicron\alpha\omicron$ or $\alpha\eta(\omicron) \sigma\tau\iota \gamma\omicron\delta\alpha/\omicron$. This, in his opinion, represents two names linked by the conjunction $\sigma\tau\iota$ "and". Livshits read it as $\tau\omicron\eta/\gamma\rho \xi\alpha\delta\omicron$ but Rtveladze rejected this reading on the grounds that there are nine, not eight letters. Weight 0.8g. Diameter 19 mm.



These coins have an affinity with the Turko-Sogdian coins with the image of a royal couple and monogram of Turkic runes *ush+i* which (if my conjecture that *ush* here was the name of the town of Ush/Osh) were issued in Farghana. Anyway one of them was found in Farghana.

The upper chronological limit for these coins was established when one of them was found together with a fals of caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi (775-785), while another such coin was found together with an ostrakon with an Arab inscription dating to the end of 7th- first half of 8th century AD. The lower chronological limit was established from the fact that the *tamgha*, resembling the retrograde §, was placed on the imitations of Khusraw's drachms. Bearing in mind that the countermark with this *tamgha* was placed on the latest, anepigraphic, imitations and that it overlapped countermarks with the image of the ruler or with a Bactrian legend, Rtveladze considered that such countermarks appeared "not earlier than the first half of the 7th century". So he dated the third dynasty to the first half of the 7th- second half of the 8th century. (Rtveladze 1980, 221-222). I totally agree with him on this point and am convinced that a change of the ruling dynasty in Chaghanian took place near the beginning of the 7th century and was connected with the infiltration of Turk tribes into Tokharistan either ca 603, when the Turks helped the native rulers of Tokharistan to free themselves from the Sasanians, or rather ca 620 when qagan Tun Jabghu (618-630) annexed Tokharistan and gave it to his son, Tardu Shad, who settled in Qunduz. The Turk warlords brought with them their tribes, the source of their military power. It was nothing unusual for a Turk warlord, having settled in some principality, to remove the native ruling dynasty and establish there a dynasty of his own. A Sogdian inscription on a mural in the palace of Samarqandian *ikhshid* Avarkhuman (the third quarter of the 7th century), states that the name of then ruler of Chaghanian was *Turantash*, which meant that he was a Turk. By the way, the fact that imitations of Sasanian drachms were countermarked with the *tamgha* of the third (Turk) dynasty of Chaghanian rulers shows that such coins continued to circulate during their time. As already mentioned above, Hiuen Tsiang (ca 630) wrote that the Tokharians used gold and silver in trade, and their coins differed from the coins of other countries. As we see, at least in the time of the third dynasty, bronze coins also were used in trade.

It is difficult to say for what reasons the countermarks were placed on the imitations of drachms of Peroz I and Khusraw I. They may have been political or economic. The countermarks with the head of a local ruler placed on the coins three times (one of them overlapping the crown of Khusraw I) were made for a political reason: they demonstrated that the Chaghanian principality had become independent from the Sasanians. The same may have been the case with the countermarks bearing the names of Chaghan Khudats. Some countermarks, though, may have been made for economic reasons, as a mild form of exploiting the currency. It may have been that, when "foreign" imitations were brought to Chaghanian, they were countermarked at the Chaghanian mint and the owner of such coins had to pay some fee to the Chaghanian mint.

Termez (and Guftan)

South of Chaghanian was situated the principality of Termez. Its rulers had the title *Termez Shah*. North-west of it was the principality of Guftan. They seem to have constituted a single money circulation area since coins with the same countermarks on the obverse, on the right-hand side (fig 1), or on the left-hand side (fig 2), were found in both of them.



I think one countermark was applied in Termez and the other in Guftan so that the coins with these two countermarks circulated freely in both principalities. According to Rtveladze (1980, 53-54; 1983, 75) in the Termez region and Sherabad Daria valley (*Guftan*) were found only (?-M. F.) imitations of Peroz's drachms (issue Nr. 287 in Göbl's classification) with countermarks containing the profile of a ruler (two types), an image of an animal or bird, or a badly worn out Bactrian legend. In 1975 at Kutlugshakhtepe (6 km south-west of Sherabad) an imitation of a Peroz I drachm was found with seven (!) countermarks. On the obverse, apart from the omnipresent countermarks (figs. 1, 2), there was an oval countermark with some effaced image (Nr. 3), one oval countermark with the head (turned to the left) of a man in a spiked helmet (Nr. 4), and another, badly effaced countermark (Nr. 5). On the reverse there was a countermark (Nr. 6) with the head of an elephant (?), and a countermark with a worn out inscription (Nr. 7). The fact that some countermarks were badly worn out shows that they were the earliest and that, after those countermarks were applied, the coins circulated for quite a long time.

According to Rtveladze (1987a, 41) in the Termez realm anepigraphic copper coins circulated with the stylised image of a ruler wearing a winged crown (obverse), and tamgha (reverse). Unfortunately he did not give a description of this tamgha. In his opinion these coins were from about the same time as the coppers of the third dynasty of Chaghanian. Some of the Termez coins were concave, others flat. I agree with Rtveladze's dating of these copper coins of Termez realm to the same time as the copper coins of Chaghanian with the §-shaped tamgha (7th- third quarter of 8th century).

It looks as if a certain amount of Sogdian bronze coins may also have circulated in the principality of Termez as, north of Termez, a Sogdian *fen* of Urk Vartramuka was found (Albaum 1960, 38).

Vakhsh valley

In the Vakhsh valley (*Ho-sha* of Chinese chronicles) circulated local bronze coins, and silver drachms (Sasanian and imitations) which circulated throughout the whole of Tokharistan. So at Chorghul tepe a hoard of 400 imitations of Peroz I drachms was found with countermarks (Sogdian legend or anepigraphic). Also a certain amount of Sogdian *fens* circulated there. *Fens* of Samarqand (Tarkhun), Penjikent (citing Goddess Nana) and Samitan have been found in the Vakhsh valley. Local cast bronze coins were of three types: anepigraphic, with a Sogdian or with a Bactrian legend (Litvinsky, Solov'ev 1985, 136-137).

Anepigraphic coins. In 1969, near Kafir Kala hillfort, a hoard of 245 coins was found. Like Sogdian *fens* they had a hole in the middle, but it was round (not square). The coins were greyish because the bronze from which they were cast contained a considerable amount of tin. On the obverse there were two varieties of tamgha:

- 1) a circle with four curves protruding from it. The curves divide the circle in four equal parts so that the tamgha resembles a swastika (oriented to the left) with a circle in the middle;
- 2) a circle with four curves protruding from it. They divide the circle in four equal parts. So as not to resemble a swastika (oriented to the right) one of the curves is turned in the opposite direction. From the upper part of the circle (between two of the curves) a vertical stroke protrudes so that the tamgha resembles a tortoise with its head extending forward. The reverse is blank. Such coins were found at the excavations of Adzhina tepe in the archaeological stratum which contained coins of Penjikent issued in the first quarter of the 8th century and Umayyad dirhems of the first half of the 8th century. Davidovich (1979, 79-80) dated such coins to the last quarter of the 7th - first quarter of the 8th century AD. Two different varieties of tamgha suggest that the coins were issued by at least two different rulers.



The metrology of such coins is as follows. The weight of the coins ranges between 0.6-3.55g, but the main bulk is between 0.6-1.8g. The peak of the histogram is 1g (40 coins,), then follow peaks of 1.1 (28), 1.2 (27), 1.3 (26) and 0.8g (19). Bearing in mind that the coins lost some weight in circulation and while being cleaned, the intended weight would have been somewhere around 1.2-1.3g. Smirnova (1981, 544-546) made 16 histograms of the contemporary Sogdian bronze *fens*. There in fact are histograms (Nr. 6, 14, 15) with their peaks at 1.3g. So in the Kafir Kala hoard there was a group of coins with intended weight about 1.2-1.3g. To this group also belong coins weighing 0.6g and 0.7g. Coins of the second group had a weight ranging from 1.4 to 1.8g. The peak is 1.5g (18). Then follow 1.4g (17), 1.6g (9), 1.8g (9) and 1.7g (7). I think the intended weight of these coins was about 1.5-1.6g. Among the weight histograms of contemporary Sogdian coins (Smirnova 1981, 544-546) there is a histogram (Nr. 11) with its peak at 1.5g and a histogram (Nr. 5) with its peak at 1.6g. So it appears that, in the Vakhsh valley, there were the same weight standards for coins as there were in the contemporary Sogdian realm. In the Kafir Kala hoard there are coins weighing between 1.9-2.4g. Among the weight histograms of contemporary Sogdian coins (Smirnova 1981, 544-546) there is a histogram (Nr. 8) with its peak at 2.2g and another (Nr. 16) with its peak at 2.3g. And finally in the Kafir Kala hoard there is a coin weighing 3.55g. Among the weight histograms of contemporary Sogdian coins (Smirnova 1981, 544-546) there is a histogram (Nr. 3) with its peak at 3.5g. The coins of the Kafir Kala hoard are closer to being oval in shape. So they have two diameters: 13-14, 13-15, 14-15, 14-16, 15-16, 16-17, 17-18, 18-19mm.

Coins with Sogdian legend (found at the excavation of Adzhina tepe).

Obverse: Sogdian inscription *wzwrk mlk' 'ršk* (Livshits' reading). Reverse: Stylised imitation of Chinese legend. Livshits thought these coins should be considered as the local issue serving domestic trade in the Vakhsh valley. But the title *wzwrk mlk'*, *great king*, could mean that they belonged to the all-Tokharistan issue. The finds of such coins, however, are not known from the neighbouring dominions, Kafirgana and Surkhan Daria valley (Litvinsky, Solov'ev 1985, 136-137).

I believe there could be two possibilities: either the "Great King" was cited as suzerain of the ruler of Vakhsh, or the nominal supreme ruler of Tokharistan was at that time ruler of the Vakhsh valley. Early-mediaeval Tokharistan (just like Sogd, Farghana and Ustrushana) was a confederation of petty kingdoms/principalities headed by the ruler of the strongest of them. His power was mostly nominal. Depending on the political situation, the title of supreme ruler could pass from one appanage ruler to another. So it was with *Chagan khudat* Tish who became supreme ruler of Tokharistan with the help of his ally, the Arab general, Qutayba. There is one more possibility. In the second half of the 12th century AD, the Qarakhānid khaqanate disintegrated into appanage principalities. The smaller a principality was the more pompous titles its ruler put on his coins. Litvinsky and Solov'ev (1985, 136-137) did not provide information about the metrology of the coins with Sogdian legend.

Kobadian (?)

Coins with Bactrian legend (found mainly in the Kobadian oasis but some coins were found also at Adzhina tepe and Kafir Kala). These coins are cast from bronze and have a round hole in the middle. Litvinsky and Solov'ev (1985, 136) did not give any metrology nor description for these coins. Mandelshtam and Pevzner (1958, 312, 318), who was the first to publish such coins (from Munchak -Tepe, in Kobadian) provided a photo (and scale). Two coins were oval: 20x19 mm. One coin



had a diameter of 18 mm. There is a legend on the obverse, while the reverse is blank. Mandelshtam and Pevzner (1958, 312) thought the alphabet of the legend was derived from Aramaean (like Sogdian). Livshits (Litvinsky, Solov'ev, 1985, 47) established that it was cursive Hephthalite-Bactrian (derived from the Greek alphabet). The legend happened to be retrograde. Livshits read it as *wzrk MLK*. It is not out of the question that such coins belonged to the local issue of the Kobadian realm.

According to Smirnova (1958, 259-260), coins were found at Munchak tepe which have a triskeles-like tamgha on the obverse and, on the reverse, a legend written in "half-cursive script... close to the script which R. Girshman named Tokharian". It is very interesting. In my article "Money circulation in early-mediaeval Sogd (6th - first half of 8th century AD.)" I established that the y-shaped tamgha/tamgha of the *ikhshids* of Samarqand was the tamgha of a ruling clan of the Chionite tribes. Coming from the East, the tribes split at some point after which part of them proceeded westwards, took Samarqand and created their kingdom there. At the same time, another part of the Chionite tribe, led by the same clan, went south and created their kingdom in some region of Tokharistan. Both in Samarqand and Tokharistan coins were issued with a y-shaped tamgha. In that same article I established that the triskeles was the tamgha of the rulers of Kesh. So history repeated itself: some tribes of the conquerors (Chionites?), led by the ruling clan with the triskeles tamgha, proceeded westwards and took Kesh, while another part of these tribes, led by the same triskeles ruling clan, went south and created their realm in Tokharistan (Kobadian).

In that same article I wrote about the manner of coining money in early-mediaeval Sogd, and about prices, or rather purchasing power of early-mediaeval Sogdian coins. They were the same in early-mediaeval Tokharistan, Ustrushana and Farghana. But there was one distinction in Tokharistan. Sogdian drachms were *nummi subaerati* and Sogdian *fens* were cast out of bronze. Imitations of Sasanian drachms of Peroz I and Khusraw I minted in Tokharistan were of solid metal though their fineness was lower than that of the authentic Sasanian drachms. Some copper coins also were minted in Tokharistan.

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List of abbreviations

EV	Epigrafika Vostoka
MIA	Materialy i issledovaniia po arkhologii SSSR
VKF AN Uz	Vestnik Karakalpakskogo Filiala AN UzSSR

Illustrations

Coins of Ustrushana and Farghana (according to O. I. Smirnova: *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pendjikent (materialy 1949-1956)*, Moskva, 1963; *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet*, Moskva, 1981) and Tokharistan (according to E. A. Davidovich, *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadzhikistana*, Moskva, 1979; E. V. Rtveladze, "Rannesrednevekovye monety Chaghaniana s parnym izobrazheniem", *Proshloe Srednei Azii*, Dushanbe, 1987; A. M. Mandel'shtam and S. B. Pevzner, "Raboty Kafiriganskogo otriada v 1952-1953 gg.", *Trudy Tadzhikskoi arkhelogicheskoi ekspeditsii, MIA*, 66, Moskva-Leningrad, 1958).

About the Mutid dynasty of Ispijab appanage rulers (10th-early 11th century)

By Michael Fedorov

In *ONS Newsletter* 171 an article was published by A. Molchanov about the Ispijab appanage rulers under the Sāmānids and early Qarākhānids. The author wrote that examination of numismatic monuments together with information taken from written sources enabled him "to point out as many as ten ruling persons from the Mutid family, holding the Ispijab throne from the early 10th till the first quarter of the 11th century" (Molchanov 2002, 4). But in point of fact he either constructed some "ruling persons" from the laqabs, kunias and titles belonging to other Mutids or attributed some names cited on the Ispijab coins to the Mutids without sufficient grounds.

Under No. 9 Molchanov (2002, 5) placed "Mu'izz al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Mut (= Ahmad III b. Naṣr?) (probably a nephew of No. 7) known only from fulūs and dirhems of Ispijab minted between 385/995-96 and 404/1013-14". But such person did not exist. The coins show quite clearly that the laqab 'Mu'izz al-Dawla' belonged not to some "Abū Naṣr Mut" but to Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Mut. Molchanov placed this ruler under No. 8: "Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad II b. Ḥusain b. Mut (a son of No. 7) mentioned on the coins of Ispijab from 385/995-96 to 400/1009-10. In 997 AD he rose against the Sāmānids, seeking the help of Naṣr b. 'Alī, the Qarākhānid ruler of Mawara'annah". By the way, before the conquest of Bukhara (the capital of the Sāmānids), in Dhū-l-Qa'da 389 / October 999, Naṣr b. 'Alī never was the ruler of Mawara'annah.

Coins of AH 396 Ispijab (Kochnev 1995, 214/162-164) cite: No. 162. Reverse: *Qutb al-Dawla* (Qarākhānid Ahmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and *Abū Manṣūr* (vassal). Obverse: *Muḥammad / Mut* (above and under Kalimah). No. 163. Reverse: *Qutb al-Dawla* and *Abū Manṣūr*. Obverse: *Mut* (only, without *Muḥammad*). No. 164. Reverse: *Qutb al-Dawla* and *Abū Manṣūr Mut*.

Thus on the coins of AH 396 Ispijab we have mention of the vassal as *Abū Manṣūr* (reverse) *Muḥammad Mut* (continuation on obverse), *Abū Manṣūr* (reverse) *Mut* (continuation on obverse) and *Abū Manṣūr Mut* (the whole on reverse). And in one instance the name *Muḥammad* is bracketed between the kunia *Abū Manṣūr* and the dynastical name *Mut*. Which proves conclusively that the kunia *Abū Manṣūr* belonged to the appanage ruler of Ispijab, Muḥammad II b. Ḥusain.

Coins of AH 39(9)-401 Ispijab (Kochnev 1995, 219/226-230) cite: No. 226. Reverse: *Ahmad b. 'Alī* (Qarākhānid, suzerain) and *Mu'izz al-Dawla Mut* (vassal). The word *Mut* is placed above the central legend, the laqab *Mu'izz al-Dawla* is placed in the last line of the central legend.

No. 229. Reverse: *Abū Mansūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut* (the word *Mut* is placed above the central legend as on coin No. 226) and his vassal *Mīrek* (the word *Mīrek* is placed under the last line of the central legend). On this dirhem, minted in AH 400 in Ispijāb, Abū Mansūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut does not mention the Qarākhānid suzerain (i.e. he posed as an independent ruler) and had a vassal of his own, Mirek.

Thus we have *Abū Mansūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut* and *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad Mut*. Which proves conclusively that the laqab *Mu'izz al-Daula* belonged not to some Abū Naṣr but to Abū Mansūr Muḥammad Mut.

Well, so much for the laqab *Mu'izz al-Daula* and kunia *Abū Mansūr*. But what about the kunia *Abū Naṣr* and the name *Aḥmad b. Naṣr*?

Like other powerful vassals of the Sāmānids, the Ispijāb rulers were waiting for an opportunity to get rid of them. When the Qarākhānid khaqanate arose on the eastern frontiers of the weakening Sāmānid state, the ruler of Ispijāb changed his political orientation. In 380/990 the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Hārūn Boghrā Khān, occupied Ispijāb without resistance (Bartold 1964, 507). But after the death of Hārūn (in 992) the ruler of Ispijāb again became a vassal of the Sāmānids. On fulūs of 385-386/995-96 Ispijāb (Kochnev 1987, 57-59) Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Mansūr and his vassal, Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain, are cited. The name *Mut* also appears on the coins. The name *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad* is in the margin after the words *mimma amara*, which shows that he possessed Ispijāb and had the prerogative of striking coins there. Certainly he was that same *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Mut Ispijābī* mentioned in the chronicles (Bartold 1963, 326).

The alliance with the Sāmānids was shortlived: in 997 *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Mut Ispijābī* mutinied against his suzerain and asked the Qarākhānid ruler of Uzgend, İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, for help. The latter, however, having come to Sāmārqand, ordered the arrest of the mutineer. It seems that İlek Naṣr considered *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad Ispijābī* capable of thwarting his plans. On 23 October 999, İlek Naṣr captured Bukhārā, annihilated the Sāmānid state and created a new Qarākhānid dominion in Mawarānnahr (Bartold 1963, 326, 329).

The dirhems of Ispijāb struck in 389/998-9 mention several names (Masson 1968, 240). On the obverse under the Kalima we find written (in letters as large as the Kalima itself) *Abū Naṣr*. Above the Kalima is the name *Muḥammad*. Under the kunia *Abū Naṣr* is the name *Mut*. Both names are written in small letters. On the reverse under the name of the caliph is cited *Amir al-Jalīl Abū Mansūr*. Bartold (1963, 336) established that the kunia *Abū Naṣr* belonged to the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Amir al-Jalīl Abū Mansūr Muḥammad Mut is the ruler of Ispijāb who became a vassal of the Qarākhānids. In this case there is a deviation from the rule concerning the placing on the coin of the name and titlage of the suzerain and those of the vassal. The suzerain should be cited after the honorific mention of the caliph. One cannot tell whether this deviation was intended or not.

So *Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain Ispijābī* not only became free after being arrested by İlek Naṣr but retained Ispijāb, though as vassal of the Qarākhānids. So the kunia *Abū Naṣr* on the coin of AH 389 Ispijāb belonged to the Qarākhānid, Aḥmad b. 'Alī.

Let me now turn to the name Aḥmad b. Naṣr. Kochnev (1995, 208, Nr. 75) published a coin of AH 389 Ispijāb which reflects another political situation. There are two names on the obverse: *Mut* above, and *Aḥmad b. Naṣr* below the Kalima. On the reverse the last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ, is cited. I supposed (Fedorov 1972, 142) that the Aḥmad b. Naṣr cited on early Qarākhānid coins was the son of İlek Naṣr. Kochnev (1987a, 158) shared my opinion. The second coin of AH 389 Ispijāb was struck from different dies (the die citing the Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ being obsolete). On the obverse of this hybrid coin *Mut* and his Qarākhānid suzerain are cited. On the reverse, the last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ is cited. This latter was put on the throne by conspiring Sāmānid generals in Şafar 389/February 999 and dethroned 14 Dhu-l-Qa'da 389/23 October 999 by İlek Naṣr, who captured Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 327, 329). Coins show that for 9 months in 999 the ruler of Ispijāb was a vassal of the Sāmānids. Then during the last one and a half months of 999 he was a vassal of two Qarākhānids: firstly of

Aḥmad b. Naṣr, then of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. As compensation for Ispijāb, which went to another Qarākhānid, Aḥmad b. Naṣr was granted Khojende (Fedorov 1972, 142), where he minted coins as a vassal of İlek Naṣr in 390/999-1000. My supposition that the Qarākhānid Aḥmad b. Naṣr was a son of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī was corroborated by a fals of AH 411 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 243/552) citing **Aḥmad b. İlek Naṣr**. So *Aḥmad b. Naṣr* cited on coins of Ispijāb was a Qarākhānid and a son of İlek Naṣr, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 999 AD.

Thus Molchanov constructed "*Mu'izz al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Mut (Aḥmad III b. Naṣr?) (probably a nephew of No. 7)*" from two Qarākhānids and one Mutid, which means that an appanage ruler of Ispijāb whom Molchanov placed under No. 9 never existed.

Under No. 10 Molchanov placed "*Naṣr b. Mut (a son of No. 9) mentioned on dirhams dated AH 410-414 (1019-24 AD) as a vassal appanage ruler of Ispijāb under Qarākhānids*". The reader having read these lines will have the impression that, yes, indeed, on the coins of AH 410-414 Ispijāb is written "**Naṣr b. Mut**". But it is nothing of the kind. Only the name "*Naṣr*" is written on the coins in question. It would appear that Molchanov promulgated the identification of this obscure "*Naṣr*" as "**Naṣr b. Mut**" without producing any substantiation. I do not know of any grounds for asserting that the *Naṣr* cited on the coins of AH 409, 410, 412 Ispijāb was "**Naṣr b. Mut**". As for the coins of AH 413-414 Ispijāb, I am not aware of any. In Kochnev's catalogue there are coins of AH 409, 410, 412 Ispijāb (Kochnev 1995, 239/501). The coins of AH 413-414 Ispijāb are absent, the earliest after AH 412 Ispijāb being the coin of AH 416 Ispijāb (Kochnev 1995, 249/655). If Molchanov knows of coins of AH 413-414 Ispijāb he ought to tell us where they are kept or published. On the obverse of the coins of 409, 410, 412 struck in Ispijāb are cited: suzerain *Arslān Khān*, i.e. the Qarākhānid, Mansūr b. 'Alī (Fedorov 2001, 21-22), vassal *Nāṣir al-Dawla Atim Tegīn*, i.e. the Qarākhānid, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (Fedorov 2001, 24), and subvassal, some obscure *Naṣr*. There is no mention of *Mut* on those coins. And there is no mention that this *Naṣr* was "a son of No. 9", i.e. of some mythical "*Mu'izz al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Mut (=Aḥmad III b. Naṣr?) (probably a nephew of No. 7)*" who never existed. If Molchanov knows the coins on which *Naṣr b. Mut* is cited he should let us know. As for *Naṣr b. Aḥmad* who, according to Molchanov was the father of *Naṣr b. Mut*, he was, as I have shown above, a Qarākhānid and not a Mutid. By the way *Naṣr b. Mut* means "Naṣr son of Mut" so that, according to Molchanov himself, he could not be *Naṣr b. Aḥmad* i.e. "Naṣr son of Aḥmad".

And so what "the examination of numismatic monuments together with information taken from written sources" actually enables us to point out is that there were not 10 but 8 "ruling persons from the Mutid family, holding the Ispijāb throne from the early 10th till the first quarter of the 11th century".

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia, Sochineniia*, tom 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1964. "Bogra-khan", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 2, Moskva.
3. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X - nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskii istochnik)", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 10.
4. Fedorov, M. N. 2001. "The Genealogy of Qarākhānids", *Supplement to ONS Newsletter* 168. Summer.
5. Kochnev, B. D. 1987. "Klad mednykh monet X - nachala XI v. iz Tashkentskogo oazisa", *Novoe v sovetskoi numizmatike i numizmaticheskome muzevedenii. Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii konferentsii k 200-letiiu Otdela Numizmatiki Ermitazha*, Leningrad.
6. Kochnev, B. D. 1987a. "Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 8. (Karakhanidy)", *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 21.
7. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropionimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
8. Masson, M. E. 1968. "Kladik dirhemov kontsa X - nachala XI v. iz goroda langi-lul Tashkentskoi oblasti", *Istoriia, arkhologiiia i etnografiia Srednei Azii*, Moskva.
9. Molchanov, A. A. 2002. "The Mutid Dynasty of Ispijāb and its coins (10th - early 11th century)", *ONS Newsletter*, 171, Spring.

The Coinage of Saḡī I – Some Additions

By Stan Goron

In the previous newsletter I published an article detailing the coinage of the Safavid ruler, Saḡī I, listing the mints, dates and types that I was aware of at the time of writing. Since then I have been able to note some additional types and dates, which are listed below.

<i>Ardabīl</i>	1048, type 2A, reverse 1
<i>Hamadān</i>	1050, type 2A, reverse 1 1050, type 2B, reverse 1
<i>Iravān</i>	1041, type 2A, reverse 1
<i>Isfahān</i>	1046, type 2A, reverse 1 1048, type 2A, reverse 1 1051, type 2B, reverse 1
<i>Qazvīn</i>	1044, type 2A, reverse 1
<i>Tiflis</i>	1046, type 2A, reverse 2
<i>Zegam</i>	1045, type 2A, reverse 1

The Coinage of the Safavid ruler, ‘Abbās II up to AH 1060

By Stan Goron

Saḡī I died in AH 1052 (1642 AD) and was succeeded by his son, ‘Abbās II. At his succession the new shah was still a young boy who had spent his life in the harem, as had become the norm with the heir apparents. During the first part of his reign, government was in the hands of powerful wazirs but it was not long before ‘Abbās gained enough experience to become the leading figure in the government and thus did he continue for the rest of his 24 year reign.

This reign was mostly peaceful. There were no wars of any significance that affected Persian territory. In AH 1058 (1648 AD), ‘Abbās mounted a successful expedition to regain the city of Qandahār, a campaign that left a rare but significant numismatic legacy. He died in AH 1077 (1666 AD), at the early age of 33, having overindulged in the normal vices of the Safavid court at that time.

The Coinage

The coinage of this reign continued to be one of silver struck in the name of the shah, with any copper coinage struck locally under the authority of the local authorities and without the shah’s name. Gold coins are extremely rare and must have been struck only for presentation purposes. This article is concerned only with the silver coinage.

During the first three years of the reign (AH 1052-4) the coinage continued the weight standard of the former reign with the ‘abbāsī weighing 7.68 g based on a *toman* of 2000 *nokhod*. The legend on these coins is similar to that on the initial coinage of his father and the same as that on the uniform coinage of the latter part of his grandfather’s reign, viz:

عباس بنده شاه ولایت

‘abbās bande-ye shāh-e velāyat

‘Abbās, servant of the king of the Velāyat

Differentiating between the coinage of ‘Abbās I and ‘Abbās II of this type is easy if the date is clear but otherwise can be difficult. There are certain stylistic differences but one useful one is the inclusion of the names of the 12 *rashidun* in the margin around the *Kalima* on the reverses of the coins of ‘Abbās I, while those of ‘Abbās II of this type have only a dotted border. On these coins of ‘Abbās I usually some part of the margin is visible. This initial type of ‘Abbās II is referred to henceforward as type 1 (KM type A).

In AH 1054 the weight standard was reduced to 7.39 g based on a *toman* of 1925 *nokhod* and a new coin type introduced with a completely different couplet on the obverse:

بگیتی سکه صاحبقرانی

زد از توفیق حو عباس ثانی

be-gīī sekke-ye šāheqerānī

zad as toufīq-e haqq ‘abbās-e thānī

In the world, ‘Abbās the second, by the favour of God, struck the Saheqerānī coin

This legend continued until the end of the reign though from the years 1067/8 onwards a larger coin, the 5 *shāhī*, replaced the ‘abbāsī. This article stops at the year 1060; later years are mostly covered satisfactorily by the KM listings. This latter type of ‘Abbās II is referred to henceforward as type 2 (KM types B and C).

The date is always on the obverse but its position varies. On coins of type 2 it is often positioned centre right for years 1054-1064, while on later coins it is usually lower left. There are, however, various exceptions to this. The style of engraving also varies with later coins tending to be struck on wider flans with more of the legend visible. There is considerable consistency in engraving styles between the various mints, which suggests that dies may have been produced centrally and sent out to the mints, or else very carefully copied from a centrally produced template. Tiflis, however, is a notable exception here as many of its coins of type 2 have a much cruder style. The same applies to the single coin of Zegam that has so far been noted.

The reverses of both types of ‘abbāsī have the Shiite formula (*Kalima*) within a dotted border. As with the coins of Saḡī I described in the previous newsletter, there are two varieties of the formula, one with *muḥammad rasūl allāh*, the other, with *muḥammad nabī allāh*. Of the first variety, there are two arrangements: one where the divider between the first two lines is formed by the elongated tail of the letter *yā* of ‘Alī. The second layout has the divider formed by an elongated version of *Muḥammad*. There is a distinctive sub-variety of the lattermost which has a mint-mark in the shape of a bud, and which occurs on the coins of a number of the mints.



Reverse 1 (‘Alī type)



Reverse 1a (‘Alī with bud mm)



Reverse 2 (Muhammad type)



Reverse 4 (Nabī type)

(note: for reverse 3 see the Khuzestan 2 *shāhī* listing)

At most mints, the ‘abbāsī was by far the most predominant denomination; one and two *shāhī* coins are very scarce to rare, especially for type 1. An exception to this is the continuing striking of 2 *shāhī* coins at the Khuzestan mints of Huwaiza, Dauraq, Dezfūl and Rāmhormuz, the last being very scarce. These coins are found with both obverse legends depending on year of striking, with the couplet in the margin around the cartouche with the mint/date information; the reverse usually has the Shiite formula starting in the margin with the central legend containing the phrase ‘alī walī allāh.

The Mints

The number of mints that struck coins during the first half of the reign of ‘Abbās II is similar to that of his father; thereafter, the number reduces so that the vast majority of the coins were struck at the mints in the north-west of the country.

Coins of type 1 are known struck at the following mints: Ardabīl, Ganja, Hamadān, Iravān, Isfahān, Mashhad, Nīmruz, Qazvīn, Rasht, Shimākhī, Tabrīz, Tiflis and a mint that has been

read as Dādiyān. Some of these are known from only a few coins and some of the mints for this type have come to light only recently.

Coins of type 2 are known struck at Ardabīl, Ganja, Hamadān, Herāt, Iravān, Isfahān, Kāshān, Mashhad, Qandahār, Qazvīn, Rasht, Shimākhī, Shūshṭar, Tabrīz, Tiflis, Urdū and Zegam. Herāt is so far reported from a single example so far, as is Zegam, while coins of Qandahār, Qazvin and Urdū are also rare.

For most of the coin types listed below, only the obverses are shown. Information is provided for each mint and year regarding the reverses so far noted.

Type 1 – Velāyat type

Ardabīl



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052	X	X		X
1053	X	X	X	X

Ganja



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052	X	X		X
1053		X		X
1054		X	X	

Hamadān



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1053	X			

Only three coins noted so far for type 1 coins of this mint

Iravān



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052	X	X		X
1053	X	X	X	X

Isfahān



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052		X		
1053	X	X		

Isfahān coins of 1052 seem to be rare; those of 1053 are scarce.

Mashhad



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052	X			
1054	X	X	X	

Only one coin of 1052 noted so far, and none for 1053. The 1054 coins are now relatively common, though, having come to light only recently.

Nīmrūz



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1054	X			

Known from one example only, in the Tübingen University collection. The last digit of the date looks more like a "6" but could be an oddly engraved "4".

Qazvin



Year	Reverse types			
	1	1a	2	4
1052	X	X		
1053	X			

Only five coins noted so far for this mint.

Rasht



A New Chinese Publication on the Currency of Tibet

Review with Notes and Comments by Wolfgang Bertsch

The following marvellous colour-illustrated book was published in China in 2002:

Xi Zang Zi Zhi Ou Qian Bi Xue Hui [Tibet autonomous region numismatic society]: *Zhong Guo Xi Zang Qian Bi* [Chinese Tibet's Money]. Main authors: Zhu Jin Zhong [Chief editor], Wang Hai Yan, Wang Dui [dbang 'dus], and Tsering Pincuo. ISBN 7-101-03360-1/Z . 449, Beijing, 2002 (491 + 6 + 8 pages + 6 maps).

Tsering Pincuo (Chinese transcription of Tibetan *Tshe-ring Phun-tshogs*), now retired, was director of the Numismatic Resarch Department of the Lhasa Branch of the People's Bank of China. Zhu Jin Zhong is a member of the same department, while Wang Hai Yan is not part of it, but is known as the author of various articles on Tibetan coins. The first two authors had previously published various articles (mainly in *China Numismatics*, *Zhong-guo Qian-bi*) and the following book: Zhu Jingzhong, Ci Ren Ping Cuo & Yan Lunzhang: *Introduction to the Tibetan Regional Currency (Yuan Xi Zhang Di Fang Qian Bi Gai Kuang)*, Institute for Financial Affairs of the People's Bank of China in Tibet, Lhasa, 1988.

Scott Semans (e-mail: ssemans@aol.com) is offering this publication for US \$ 150 plus postage. The price may seem steep, but the book is a must for every collector or student of Tibetan currency.

I hope that my comments and notes will contribute to a better understanding of the numerous plates found in this publication, since these have only captions in Chinese and often are not sufficient.

The book under review is in Chinese. Only the table of contents and the preface are translated into English. The table of contents is also given in Tibetan.

It is an important colour-illustrated volume on the coinage and paper money of Tibet. The introductory part gives a historical survey of Tibet's currency and includes chapters on the coin minting and banknote printing techniques. Apart from the plates on coins (a Jia Qin silver sho, year 2 is published for the first time in China [p. 69, nr. 1-90]; a 1½ srang pattern [p. 124, nr. 1-285], a ten tam pattern [p. 119, nr. 1-269] and a "tam srang" pattern without exact value are published for the first time) and paper money, the book includes numerous colour plates illustrating material from the former Tibetan Government Mint such as wood and metal printing blocks for paper money, coin and metal weights in srang and tola, scales, coin dies (among these a pair of dies for a 7½ srang pattern coin which is unknown [p.207, nr. 3-59 and 3-60]), photographs of a coin-press and a laminating machine. Most of this material has never been published before. Also included are photographs of former mint buildings and of several seals, not all of these related to the mint (e.g. one seal from Sakya [p.458, nr. 8-6]).

The following four forged or dubious coins are apparently illustrated as genuine specimens: 1. a silver sho of Dao Guang, year 8 (p. 72, nr. 1-96), the Tibetan word "eight" being spelt with a reversed letter "rgya". 2. A half sho of Dao Guang, dated year 1 (p. 74, nr. 1-103; could also be considered as a phantasy). 3. A silver 20 tam srang, dated 15-54 (p. 100, nr. 1-197a). 4. A copper (brass) 2 1/2 skar, dated 15-53 (p. 117, nr. 1-262).

Regarding the illustrations, it may be noted that in the first part where coins are illustrated, many images of copper coins are too dark and hardly any details can be appreciated. The selection of coins has many lacunae which could have been filled by inserting illustrations from published numismatic literature. Major varieties have hardly been considered; particularly the

Gaden tangka is only presented with very few specimens although the authors find space to illustrate three identical double tangkas on p. 82. That the authors are neglecting major coin varieties cannot be attributed to lack of space or restrictions imposed by the publisher, since they are very generous with space on the plates on which many more illustrations of coins could have been fitted without increasing the number of pages. The reason for this omission must be that the collection of Tibetan coins of the Lhasa Branch of the People's Bank of China was probably not formed in as systematic and expert a manner as would have been desirable.

The main value of the book is to be found in the illustrations of items which luckily survived in the Tibetan mint: pattern coins, coin dies, banknote printing blocks, coin and metal weights and other objects from the mint are all presented as clear colour reproductions and include numerous highly interesting items which have never been published before, thus giving a fascinating insight into 20th century coin and banknote production in Tibet.

Specific Comments and explanations

p. 5: The statement "that the weight used in Tibet was Kuping weight, showing that the Tibet mint adopted the same weight as the central government" represents only half the truth, and is typical for the biased view of many Chinese authors who write on Tibetan numismatics. The tola weights illustrated on pp. 421-427 clearly show that the Tibetan government was using weight standards of Chinese and Indian origin concurrently in the same way as it used the "srang" and "tangka" (tam) currency units which are of Chinese and Indian origin respectively.

p. 54-55: The authors do not include an illustration of the Saha coin which was the most widely used in Tibet, i.e. that of Pratap Simha (with separate petals on reverse). Only fractions of this coin are to be found on pp. 148-151.

p. 58: Rare "dza"-tangka variety with double circle on both sides similar to the specimen in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* of Vienna. Another specimen exists in the collection of Karl Gabrisch (see also comment to seal nr. 8-4, p. 457).

P. 59-60: Nr. 1-61 and 1-62 Shri Mangalam tangkas from the collection of Karl Gabrisch. Karl Gabrisch had presented his book *Geld aus Tibet*, Winterthur 1990, to Cering Pincuo during his visit to Lhasa in August 1995. It is surprising, that the compilers of the book under discussion did not include reproductions of other coins illustrated in the Gabrisch book which are apparently missing in the Chinese collections (mainly that of the People's Bank of China) which were available to them; e.g. Gabrisch nr. 48 (zho of Jia Qing, year 4), nr. 49 (zho of Jia Qing, year 5), nr. 90 (undated 10 tam pattern in the style of the first "monk" tangka), nr. 97 (one srang, dated 15-48), nr. 109, (10 tam pattern with reverse like nr. 1-269, p. 119), nrs. 142 and 143 (two zho-gang patterns) and nr. 147 (Lukuan rupee).

p. 62: 1-70 specimen of Karl Gabrisch.

p. 64: Qian Long ½ zho, dated to the 58th year is most probably a forgery or fantasy, which can be compared to the specimens illustrated on pp. 72 and 74.

p. 65: The weight of this coin which is presented as being very rare, is not given. Maybe it has ½ zho weight?

p. 69: Rare second year of Jia Qing, similar to the specimen in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes, but struck from a different pair of dies.

p. 70: 1-91 Rare zho issue of the 6th year of Jia Qing. The reverse with the Tibetan legend is struck from the same die as the

specimen from the Halpert collection (now in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes)¹.

p. 72: 1-96 Half zho of Jia Qing, most probably a forgery or fantasy. The Tibetan word "eight" is spelt with a reversed letter "brgya". While the weight of 4.80 g recorded for this coin must be incorrect, its denomination is correctly given as "5 fen" in the Chinese caption. A half zho coin, apparently struck from the same dies is known from the Halpert collection².

p. 74: Half zho forgery or fantasy coin dated to the first year of Dao Guang. A similar specimen is known from the Halpert collection³.

p. 77: 1-113 and 1-114 The authors do not seem to know the obverse variety without the group of three dots above the date, neither the reverse variety with inverted emblems.

p. 78: 1-116 to 1-118 Only one major variety of this early Gaden tangka is illustrated (lotus with three stems). 1-116 is the scarce variety with solid buds on obverse.

p. 78-79: The later Gaden tangka varieties which are illustrated are very few - major scarce varieties are missing.

p. 86: 1-144 Rare ¼ zho pattern with reverse in Gaden tangka style, published for the first time, but known from the collection of Alexander Lissanevitch and another Nepalese collection.

p. 88: Strange that the 5 skar copper coin with Norbu on reverse (1-153 to 1-154) is indicated as more common (scale 3 on the scale of rarity which goes from 1 to 10, 1 being the rarest coins) than the 7½ skar (1-150-1-152) and the 2½ skar (1-156 to -158) which are indicated as scale 2. According to my experience these coins are equally scarce, but not rare.

pp. 95-97: Coin nrs. 1-178 and 1-186 show how difficult it is to find these common coins in fine or better condition.

pp. 98-99: A reproduction of the 2½ skar (Y 16.1), dated 15-51 (1917) is missing. The coin with this date can be considered as one of the rarest Tibetan copper coins.

p. 100: 1-197a This is a Chinese forgery of the 15-54 gold coin, struck in silver⁴.

1-197b: The date is given as 1921 (= 15-55), but it seems to me that the coin is dated 15-54, although the reproduction is not very clear.

p. 101: No specimen of the 1 srang dated 15-52 is illustrated. According to my experience the date 15-52 is much scarcer than the date 15-53 for this type.

p. 102: 1-202 This five zho dated 15-52, looks as if it is made of very base silver and, as such, is not known from other sources.

p. 107: 1-221 The authors do not seem to know the rare type with "Lion looking backwards" for this type of zho-gang.

p. 109: 1-231 This zho-gang struck from metal like brass is probably a forgery, but, as such, much scarcer than the genuine coins of this date.

p. 117: 1-262 It is not mentioned that this 2½ skar coin is a modern forgery of Lhasa origin, something which compilers who spent years in Lhasa should know. The Chinese and Tibetan compilers only indicate that this coin is made from brass. It appeared in the late 1990s in the Lhasa market, mostly struck in copper, and was also sold in a metal which looks like silver.

p. 118: 1-266 Seems to be an unissued zho-gang, dated 16-1 which has the reverse legend separated by flowers, similar to the reverse of the later zho-gang illustrated on pp. 121-122. Could also be a mule between the early and the later copper zho-gang.

p. 119: 1-269 This 10 tam pattern is not known from other sources. It may be considered a mule between pattern 1-270 and another 10 tam pattern illustrated by Gabrisch, *op.cit.*, as nr. 109 (p. 93, plate 25).

p. 124 This pattern 1½ srang (srang gang zho lnga) is published for the first time, but is already known from the collection of Alexander Lissanevitch.

p. 123: Nrs. 1-296 to 1-298 The compilers illustrate three specimens of the 3 zho coins which share similar obverse and reverse dies; they seem to be unaware of the major obverse

(cloud line either ending in a small cloud or in a short horizontal line on the right end [see my figs 1 and 2]) and reverse varieties (four varieties of the conch symbol [see my figs 3 - 6])⁵.

p. 133: 1-322 This 5 zho coin seems to be an unknown variety which is missing one figure in the date of its reverse: 16-2 instead of 16-2X.

p. 136: 1-333 Seems to be a zho-gang the design of which was erased and the new value srang 2/5 (= 2½ srang) engraved. Probably issued as token by a shop or government enterprise.

p. 137: 1-336 This 50 srang pattern, dated AD 1951, struck in copper, is published for the first time.

p. 140: 1-344 This 25 srang pattern struck in copper is published for the first time.

pp. 137- 140: Nrs. 1-335 to 1-344 (for dies of the 25 and 50 srang patterns see pp. 221-222, nrs. 3-140 to 3-146).

In a Chinese article⁶ the background to the planned issue of 25 and 50 srang coins, the patterns of which are illustrated here, is given:

"After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, members of the People's Liberation Army and Communist Party officials went to Tibet. Out of consideration for Tibetan customs they brought many Yuan Shih-kai dollars with them. Since the Yuan Shih-kai dollars had a high silver content *Grva-bzhi Las-khungs* had the intention of reminting these dollars, after adding copper, as Tibetan coins in order to make a good profit. The *Grva-bzhi Las-khungs* sent the following report to the Tibetan regional government: 'Recently the Chinese soldiers (People's Liberation Army) have been bringing many Yuan Shih-kai dollars to Tibet. We could get some profit out of these. The method we propose is that we buy the Yuan Shih-kai dollars ... Presently, according to the quantity of the circulating Yuan Shih-kai dollars, we could mint two different silver coins with two coin presses, one having the weight of 7 qian (zho) and the denomination of 50 srang and another weighing 3.5 qian with the denomination of 25 srang... If the minting goes smoothly both machines could mint 500 pieces per day. There is no doubt that we could get a big profit out of this. (Authors' note: The reminting of the Yuan Shih-kai dollars could reap a profit of 200 - 300%. The market value of the Yuan Shih-kai dollars was 15 srang. Apart from mixing the silver with copper *Grva-bzhi Las-khungs* wanted to increase the face value of the new 7 qian coins to 50 srang. We can easily calculate how high the profit would have been). We are in favour of the population and traders. The monasteries and other members of the population do not want to keep the Yuan Shih-kai dollars and they prefer to exchange these into our paper currency or into 10 srang silver coins. The minting of the new coins will be favourable to the circulation of currency.' In order to go ahead with its plans, the *Grva-bzhi Las-khungs* had already taken some measures. According to the accounting books it had bought 263,427 pieces of Yuan Shih-kai dollars between 1951 and 1952 and had spent 3,951,405 srang (1 dollar = 15 srang) for them. Later on, out of fear of being criticised by the central government the plans were not realized."

For the minting and introduction into Tibet of the Yuan Shih-kai dollar in the 1950s one may refer to the following passage by Sylvain Mangeot, *The Adventure of a Manchurian. The Story of Lobsang Thondup*. Collins, London, 1974, pp. 104-105⁷:

"With truly Chinese ingenuity, the Communists devised a special currency operation to finance this formidable project [the Sichuan - Lhasa highway, built in the early 1950s]. All Tibetans, and particularly Khambas, set great store by silver in any form. The Chinese therefore methodically collected all silver sacrificial vessels and religious ornaments in China proper and in the border provinces for melting down into bullion. They set up a mint in Chengtu, on the Chinese side of the border, where faithful replicas of the popular 'Republican' dollar were turned out in large quantities. Besides supplying the currency of the high-way labour force, these heavy, picturesque coins came in useful for financing trade between Tibet and India and in buying the goodwill of selected Tibetan aristocrats, lamas and merchants."

Already in 1934 a considerable number of *dayan* silver dollars had entered Tibet with the condolence mission headed by

Huang Mu-sung:

"Finally he [Huang Mu-sung] went to each of the great monasteries around Lhasa and again distributed substantial gifts; for example, each of the roughly 20,000 monks in the Three Seats was given two Chinese silver dollars (*dayan*) as alms⁸."

For illustrations of two Yuan Shih-kai dollars, see pp. 168-69 (nrs. 1-472 and 1-473).

pp. 182-184: This group of Nepalese silver coins should be placed together with the other group of Nepalese coins illustrated on pp. 46-55.

pp. 189-195: 2-1 Shol-mint (*sde-dpal* mint) below the Potala.

2-2: Dode (*'dog-sde* or *rdo-sde*, these two spelling varieties are given by Gabrisch⁹; the proper spelling, however, is more likely *dog-bde* as can be seen on the document illustrated on p. 437)¹⁰ Valley near the Mint area.

2-3: General view of Dode Mint

2-4 to 2-6: Various buildings of the Dode Mint

p. 192: 2-7 Luo Dui (*gser-khang*) Gold-Mint

2-8: Main south entrance of Trabshi Laskhung (*grva-bshi las khungs*).

2-9: Office building of Trabshi Laskhung

2-10 and 2-11: Workshops (factory buildings) of Trabshi Laskhung

2-12: Interior door of Trabshi Laskhung

2-13 and 2-14: Machine base

2-15 Man-powered screw-press weighing 60 tons?

2-16 Metal-laminating (rolling) machine

p. 200: nrs. 3-21 and 3-22 Pair of dies for a *zho-gang* pattern which is known from western collections and illustrated by Gabrisch, p. 106, plate 38, nr. 143. One of the reverse dies was re-engraved in order to change the figure "one" of the date to "four" and the denomination "zho-gang" to "zho lnga" and is illustrated on the previous page 199 as nr. 3-20. Also one of the obverse dies had its central part re-engraved with a lion of more Tibetan style and must have been lost as there is no illustration of it in the book. The 5 *zho* patterns struck from these re-engraved dies are known from the collections of N. G. Rhodes (ex C. Valdetaro) and A. Lissanevitch and were first published by N. G. Rhodes¹¹. A third specimen is illustrated as nr. 1-271 on p. 120.

The master dies for the *zho-gang* dies nrs. 3-21 and 3-22 were probably sent from England; the reverse master die must be the one illustrated on p. 196 as nr. 3-2. The dies nrs. 3-21 and 3-22 and the reverse master die nr. 3-2 were previously illustrated by Cao Gang¹².

p. 201: Nr. 2-27: This obverse die for three *srang* silver coins looks somewhat like a pattern die. Some of the mountains in the background are hardly visible while several mountains are clearly seen on the obverses of the issued coins and on die nr. 3-28. However, the caption does not mention that nr. 2-27 is a pattern die.

Nrs. 3-30 and 3-31 Pair of dies for an unknown pattern of 1/2 *tam srang* the designs of which are inspired by the 20 *srang* gold coin. The dies illustrated as nrs. 3-2 and 3-3 on p. 196 could be the master dies for the former. The reverse die, however, is missing the denomination 0/5.

p.223: 3-147 and 3-148 These are obverse and reverse dies of an unknown pattern of 7½ *srang* dated *rab lo 927* (= AD 1953). Another reverse die of this pattern is illustrated on p. 233, nr. 3-198.

pp. 223-225: Nr. 3-149 to nr. 3-158 The fact that several obverse and reverse dies of the 5 *srang* copper coin have survived indicates that at least the coins dated *rab-lo 927* (AD 1953) were officially released for circulation. A German collector, Klaus Bronny, recently acquired a 5 *srang* coin which looks very much as if having entered circulation. The issue of this coin was probably suspended shortly after reverse dies with the date *rab-lo 928* (AD 1954) had been prepared (see nrs. 3-156 to 3-158), as no coins are known which bear the date *rab-lo 928*. The four specimens of the 5 *srang* coin illustrated on p. 140 (nrs. 1-345 to 1-348) all bear the date *rab-lo 927*; so do all the specimens which

are known from western collections and published sources.

pp. 225-231 and p. 234: A huge selection of dies for the second "monk *tangka*". Some of the dies have the inscription "rablo 927" (AD 1953) or "rablo 928" (1954) which must be the years when this *tangka* was struck. These Tibetan dates are not visible on the book's illustrations, but two dies which clearly show these dates were published previously in a Chinese article by Ciren Ping Cuo and Zhu Jinzhong who are also co-authors of the book under review¹³. The total number of *tangkas* struck from these (and maybe other) dies is 331,292 according to this article.

pp. 239-317: The banknote printing blocks (nrs. 4-1 to 4-120) have never been published before. It is surprising and fortunate that such a great number of blocks has survived.

p. 240: Nr. 4-2 The obverse printing block for the early blue or purple 50 *tam* notes confirms that the first type of the blocks dated 1659 were altered from blocks dated 1658 by replacing the Tibetan syllable "brgyad" by "dgu" (See left end of the second line of text on the block).

p. 242-243: Nrs. 4-4 and 4-5 Wood blocks for the 25 *tam* note. The obverse block nr. 4-4 is of the later type without gap after the word "dgu" at the left end of the second line of script.

p. 254: Nr. 4-17 This woodblock shows that the legend and the black seal were printed with only one block for all 50,000 notes of 100 *tam srang*. The black seal may be made of metal and may have been inserted into the woodblock. It must be the one which Snorrason and Narbeth identify as seal 3T which was exclusively used for the 100 *tam srang* notes¹⁴.

The legends and black seals of the 100 *srang* notes, starting with the *ga*-series, were printed separately. The legend was printed with a woodblock like the one shown as nr. 4-18 (later in the production period when huge numbers of notes were printed, metal blocks may have been used instead) and the black seals from metal blocks as illustrated on pp. 454-55.

pp. 270-71: Nrs. 4-40 to 4-43 Woodblocks for an unissued 10 *tam* note. The block 4-41 was probably intended for printing the background on which the main design was to be printed by the block illustrated as 4-43.

p. 316: Woodblock for the obverse of an unissued 25 *tam* note, dated T.E. 1673 (AD 1927). The face of the matching pattern note is illustrated on p. 380.

p. 317 Woodblock for the obverse of an unissued 25 *tam* note, dated T.E. 1672 (AD 1926). The text is not accompanied by the ornamental scrolls which precede and follow each of the two text lines on the block dated 1673 and illustrated on the previous page. The two blocks on pp. 316-17 show that the Tibetan government seriously considered issuing new 25 *tam* notes in the same year as the multicoloured 50 *tam* notes were issued (1926).

pp. 330-331: This is a very scarce 50 *tam* note, dated T.E. 1677 without the imprint of a second red seal.

pp. 336: Unfortunately the obverse of this 100 *tam srang* note has been printed reversed.

pp. 380-381: Unissued 25 *tam* note with the legend probably printed from the block illustrated on p. 316. One should note that the same or similar blocks for the central part of the obverse and the main design of the reverse as well as the two blocks for printing the background of red flowers were used from 1941 onwards to print the 10 *srang* notes.

pp. 410-418 These coin or precious metal weights are all dated to the Tibetan "water rat" year, which corresponds to A.D. 1948.

p. 434: These are artist's design for the second "monk *tangka*", struck in 1953/54. The upper design is very close to the actual coin. Only some of the eight Buddhist emblems on the reverse are different, particularly the southwest emblem (endless knot).

p. 435: The Tibetan text on this document reads "bde mkhar ba'i khongs" which means "Dekhar district". The literal meaning of "bde-khar" is "happy palace".

p. 447: 7-43 This is a gold ingot, similar to those described

by Rinchen Dolma Taring, *Daughter of Tibet*, Allied Publishers Private Ltd, Indian Reprint, New Delhi 1978, pp. 107-08:

"After a lot of paper currency had been printed Tsarong said that this was not good for the country and suggested that we should have a gold reserve. So every year three hundred small slabs of gold, each weighing twenty-seven *tolas*, were put away in the Potala. This gold was imported from India - along with silver and copper for the mint - because our own mining was not well developed."

The weight of 310 g given for the illustrated ingot is slightly less than 27 *tolas*.

pp. 444-445: These brass labels were probably attached to sealed coin bags (or boxes) before they left the mint. They are all inscribed with the following: *gra-bzhi/dngul par khang/zho lnga srang 2000*. Translation: "Trabzhi Mint and Printing House, 5 zho srang 2000". One can deduce from this inscription that the bags most probably contained 5 zho copper coins at the value of 2000 srang (i.e. 4000 coins).

pp. 454-455: These two seals for 100 srang notes are dated T.E. 1688 which corresponds to AD 1942, providing important evidence for the dating of the 100 srang notes. The seal S-1 is the one which Snorrason and Narbeth identify as seal type 3.1¹⁵. It is mainly characterised by the two groups of three dots which are used in the centre of the dorje design in the lower border. The earlier seals of this type have two groups of three dashes instead. According to my records, this seal was introduced during the issue of the zha-series, the note in my collection with the lowest serial number bearing this seal being zha 08588. I had tentatively dated the notes of the zha-series to 1945¹⁶. This new evidence, however, may mean that one has to date these notes to AD 1942 or 1943 at the latest.

The Tibetan inscription above the seals can be translated as "Newly made in the water horse year of the 16th cycle, year 1688, 100 note of silver tam." This also provides definite confirmation that the Tibetan Era (T.E.) years as found on Tibetan banknotes have to be converted into western years by adding 254. The only water horse year during the 16th cycle which comprises the years between AD 1927 to 1986, is AD 1942.

pp. 456-462: Although nearly all illustrated seals are accompanied by the Chinese caption "Zha Xi Ji Guan Yong Zhang" ("Tashi [standing for *grva-bzhi las khungs*] Office Seal"), most of them seem to be unrelated to the Tibetan mint or treasury. Unfortunately the authors do not attempt to read the seals and to translate their inscriptions.

The only seals which can be attributed with certainty to the Tibetan finance department are nrs. 8-9 and 8-10 (p. 459). Seal nr. 8-9 (the one below on the illustration showing both seals) has the Tibetan inscription: *dngul par las dam* which could be loosely translated as "treasury office seal", supposing that *dngul* is short for *dngul-khang* (bank or treasury), *par* for *par-khang* (printing house, banknote section) and *las* for *las-khungs* (office). The inscription of the seal imprint is in 'phags-pa (also called *hor yig*, Mongolian script) and is very similar to the legend found on the seal's shaft: *dngul par / las tham*, the word *tham*, being another form for *dam*, meaning "seal".

The seal illustrated on p. 456 (nr. 8-3) could also be related to the finance department or to some other government office. It is a stunning example of Tibetan metal work. The handle and the shaft are made from gilded iron in open-work technique. The handle is adorned with four of the eight Buddhist auspicious emblems (*bkra shis brtags brgyad*) on either side. On each of the four sides of the shaft one can see one of the four mythological animals which are considered to be the guardians of the four directions. Starting with the illustration above on the left, the following animals are represented: tiger (stag), dragon ('brug), lion (seng-ge) and garuda (khyung). It should be noted that the eight auspicious emblems are not only found as major design elements on Tibetan coins, but also on the obverse of the multicoloured 50 tam notes. On the reverse of these notes the four mythological animals just mentioned are shown (see pp.

330-31, nrs. 5-7a and 5-7b).

The three columns of 'phags-pa script on the seal's imprint can be transcribed as follows: *bsil ldan/ chos srid/ lhun 'grub*. A translation word by word is: "Cool possessing, religion and politics (wordly affairs), easy to obtain." *bsil ldan* is probably a paraphrase for Tibet which is also known as *bsil ljongs* in Tibetan, meaning "cool country". Thus a free translation of the seal inscription could be "Tibet, [country] where religion and politics [exist], [and where] everything can be obtained without effort". The expression *chos srid* refers to the dual system of the Tibetan government which is most apparent from the fact that all important government positions were held by two persons, one being a lay and the other a monk official. This expression, in the form of *chos srid gnyis ldan* (possessing both religion and politics) can also be found as part of the legends of some late Tibetan coins. See the 10 srang coins and the patterns illustrated on pp. 134-140.

Seal 8-6 (p. 458) is from Sakya (sa-skya) and its imprint is known from an illustration given by Dieter Schuh in *Grundlagen Tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufrschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, St. Augustin 1981, p. 21. Schuh's seal Nr. E13. The seal has been read by Schuh as: *sa skya pa/dbang gi/las ka* ([Official] activity of the Sa-skyapa potentate).

Seal nr. 8-4 (p. 457) has the same vartu-script character "dza" above the two columns of 'phags-pa (seal)-script as a larger seal of the second Demo-regent (1811-19), illustrated by Schuh, *op. cit.*, p. 169. The same character is repeated 8 times on both sides of the early silver tangkas illustrated on pp. 58-59 (nr. 1-58 to 1-60), which in my view could be a reason why these coins may be attributed to the period when the second Demo regent was ruling¹⁷.

The three seals illustrated on pp. 460 (nrs. 8-11 to 8-13) are undoubtedly private seals and are therefore unrelated to any government office. They are inscribed with the following Tibetan names: *lhun-grub* (having everything without effort) (nr. 8-11), *blo-bzang* (noble minded) (nr. 8-12) and *lha bio* (nr. 8-13). The last name probably represents the short form of two names which may be for example *lha dbang* (king of gods) and *blo-bzang*. Also seal nr. 8-14 (p. 461) is private, bearing the name *grub* which represents a shortened name, perhaps *dngos grub* (absolute knowledge of the truth)¹⁸. Seals nrs. 8-15 and 8-16 on the same page bear as their only inscription the syllable *sa*, while the last two, numbered 8-17 and 8-18 are anepigraphic. Seal nr. 8-18 has the design of a scorpion. According to Rockwell the king of Dege (eastern Tibet) was previously using a "scorpion seal" (Tibetan *sdig-dam*)¹⁹. Without consulting documents which bear the corresponding imprint, it is, however, impossible to attribute the seal with scorpion design to a specific person or authority.

The four seals nrs. 8-15 to 8-18 are most probably also unrelated to any Tibetan government office.

Notes:

1. Spink: Ancient, Foreign and United States Coins, New York, 11/12 December 2000, lot 97.
2. Spink: *op. cit.*, lot 109 (illustrated as nr. 110). This coin was previously in the collection of Gilbert Richardson.
3. Spink: *op. cit.*, lot 110 (illustrated as nr. 111). Ex Collection Gilbert Richardson. The late Gilbert Richardson had bought the half zho coins Jia Qing year eight and Dao Guang first year, similar to the ones illustrated on pp. 72 and 74 of the book under review, in the following auction: Money Company, Hongkong 5/6th September 1986, lots 897 and 896. They are now in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes. See also: Rhodes, Nicholas: "Some Sino-Tibetan Forgeries". In: *Numismatics International bulletin*, Vol. 20, Nr. 11, Dallas, November 1986, pp. 254-256.
4. Rhodes, Nicholas: "A Tibetan Forgery". In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 86, July/August 1978, pp. 364-365.

As the most striking feature of this forgery, Rhodes points out the elongated vertical stroke in the Tibetan letter "ma" in the syllable "mam" on the reverse of the coin. The earliest known publication

- which illustrates this forgery is Kalgan Shih: *Modern Coins of China*, Shanghai 1949 (Reprint: Shanghai 1989), illustration A10-1 (p. 9). A specimen in silver of this forgery was also in the collection of Wesley Halpert. See Spink, *op. cit.*, lot 147.
5. cf. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin". In: *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 32, Nr. 9, September 1997, pp. 225 - 231.
 6. Anonymous: (Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People's Bank of China): "Xi Zang Di Fang Zhen Fu De Zhao Bi Chang (The Mint of the Local Tibetan Government)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 22, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 29-42.
 7. See also: Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "A Communist Chinese Restrike". In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, June 1975, p. 239.
 8. Goldstein, Melvyn C.: *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951. The Demise of the Lamaist State*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1993 (originally published by California Press in 1989), p. 229.
 9. Gabrisch Karl: *Geld aus Tibet*, Ausstellung des Münzkabinetts der Stadt Winterthur, Winterthur and Rikon, 1990, p. 61.
 10. The Tibetan spelling *dog-sde*, without the initial *a chung* as suggested in one of Gabrisch's spellings, is recorded in the following publication: Wu Zhen Hua and Zhu Bian: *Xizang Diming. Bod ljons sa ming. Place names of the Xizang autonomous region*. Zhong guo zang xue chu ban she chu ban. Beijing, 1995, p. 131
 11. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Two Rare Tibetan Coins." In: *ONS Newsletter* No. 124, May-June 1990.
 12. Cao Gang: *Zhong Guo Xi Zang Di Feng Huo Bi (Chinese Tibet's Regional Currency)*, Sichuan Minzi Chubanshe, Chengdu, 1999, (206 pp. illustrated), p. 76.
 13. Ciren Ping-cuo and Zhu Jinzhong: "Xi zang di fang jin wan zhou bi de xia jan - lun bai yin wu liang tang a bi" (Article on the silver tangka valued at 5 srang). In: *China Numismatics (Zhongguo Qianbi)*, 1997, issue 1 (nr. 56), pp. 28-29 and 36.
 14. Narbeth, Colin & Snorrason, Gylfi: *Catalogue of Tibetan Paper Money*, Published by Geoffrey Flack, Vancouver, Canada, 2001, p. 28.
 15. Narbeth, Colin & Snorrason, Gylfi: *loc. cit.*
 16. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *A Study of Tibetan Paper Money. With a Critical Bibliography*. Tibetan Works and Archives. Dharamsala 1997, p. 47.
 17. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Some Difficulties In Dating An Early Tibetan Coin." In: *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No. 8 August 1990, pp. 184-185.
 18. For a list of Tibetan names and their meaning see: Losang Thonden: *Modern Tibetan Language*. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Vol II, Dharamsala, 1986, pp. 180-193.
 19. Rockwell, John: "The Labyrinth of Tibetan Seals". In: *Vajra Dhatu Sun.*, Vol. VI, Nr. 5, June/July 1985, p. 15.

Major variants of the Tibetan "3 zho" copper coins (Y 27.1)



Fig.1: Common obv. Variety with three mountains, three cloud-line segments and one cloud to the left.
 Fig.2 (below): Scarce obv. Variety with three mountains, two cloud-line segments and two clouds.





Fig. 3: Common reverse conch variety with four dots above conch.



Fig. 4: Common reverse conch variety with three dots and short dash above conch.



Fig. 5: Scarce reverse conch variety with two lines and one dot above conch.



Fig. 6: Scarce reverse conch variety with one line and one dot above conch.

Tibetan Currency Units

By Wolfgang Bertsch

Two different systems of currency units were used in Tibet during the period when coinage and paper money were produced:

- i. The older system, based on the *srang*, was introduced from China.
- ii. The later system based on the *tam* or *tangka*, most probably introduced from Nepal in the 16th century.

The *srang*, as most currency units used worldwide, originally was a unit to weigh gold and silver and was based on the Chinese *Hang* (or *tael*) which was equal to slightly more than 37 grams, varying in different periods and different areas, but officially fixed as "Kuping Tael" for payment of government taxes in the beginning of this century with the weight of 37.312 grams¹. Supposedly the *srang* as weight unit had existed in Tibet already two generations before the rule of King Srong Tsang Gampo (*srong-btsan sgam-po*), i.e. in the late 6th century AD. At that time the following subdivisions of the *srang* are said to have existed:

- 1 *srang* = 10 *qian* (or "chien": Chinese word for what in Tibet was called "zho")
- 1 *qian* = 20 *sawa*
- 1 *sawa* = 6 *qung kier* (barley grains)²

The *srang*, along with its tenth part, the *zho*, is frequently mentioned as a gold and silver weight in the *Blue Annals*³. From about the thirteenth century both units were primarily used as silver weights.

The only metal currency which circulated in Tibet before the introduction of Nepalese coins in the 16th century were most probably silver ingots from China (*sycee*) which were called *rita rmig ma*, a term that refers to their shape which was similar to a horse-shoe. According to Walsh three different sizes were used which had the following names and values: *Ta-mig-ma* (*rita rmig-ma*, horse hoof, 60-70 rupees); *Yak-mig-ma* (*gyag rmig-ma*, yak hoof, 12-14 rupees) and *Ra-mig-ma* (goat's hoof, 2-3 rupees)⁴.

The original meaning of the currency units *skar* (one tenth part of the *zho*), *zho* and *srang* are closely connected with the process of weighing. Thus S.C. Das records *skar*, *skar-ka* and *skar-kha* as meaning "weight", *skar-tshed* as meaning "measure", "scale"; *skar-ba* as "points on a steel-yard for weight or measure". In connection with *zho* he records *zho-cha* as a colloquial term for a pair of scales for weighing gold and silver. For *srang* he records the meaning "pair of scales, balance" and "weight in a general sense". He also mentions the expressions *srang la 'digs pa* or *srang la gzhal-ba* as meaning "to weigh, to balance". The term *rgya-srang* means "Chinese weight or steel-yard."⁵

Only in 1908 AD was the silver *srang* issued as a coin for the first time; till then the *srang* had only been used as a unit of account. However, its standard was reduced to 50% of its original weight, i.e. to about 18.65 grams.

The value of the *dnkul srang* in 1919 AD is given as 1 rupee and 11 annas approximately which in weight is equal to 19.683 grams.

The next coins issued in *srang* were silver coins of 3 *srang* which were first minted in 1933 AD and weighed the same as the Indian rupee, i.e. about 11.66 grams. Hence the *srang*'s standard was further reduced to one third of an Indian rupee; in fact its value was even slightly less than that. This must have been the approximate standard of the silver *srang* when the first 100 *tam srang* notes were issued in 1937 AD.

Between 1953 and 1954 AD a coin in the style of the earlier "Gaden Tangkas" was minted in good silver, had a weight of about 5 grams and was reportedly given the value of 5 *srang*, which shows that the standard of the silver *srang* was again considerably reduced, reaching less than 1/37th part of its

original weight standard.

The expressions "dnkul srang" and "tam srang" were used concurrently. I am not aware that there existed any difference in value between the two. Thus one reads "tam srang" on the first 100 *Srang* bank notes, whereas the 25 *srang* notes mention "shog dngul srang" ("paper silver srang") in the last line of the obverse legend.

The silver *srang* (*dnkul srang*) had the following subdivisions:

- 1 *dnkul srang* (*srang-gang*) = 10 *zho* (*sho*) = 6 *tangka* + 1 *zho*
- 1 *zho* (*zho-gang*) = 10 *skar* = 4 *kha*
- 1 *kha* (*kha-gang*) = 2½ *skar*

The *rdo-tshad* which equals 50 *dnkul srang* was only used as a unit of account. Furthermore one *skar* was divided into 10 'on; however, this smallest unit was never minted.

When referring to one unit the syllable "gang" (e.g. "zho-gang") is added to the name of the currency unit while the syllable "do" (e.g. "zho-do") is added when referring to two units. For three or more units the singular form is used as can be seen on the copper coins of three and five *zho*, of 2½ 5 and 7½ *skar* and on the silver coins of 3 and 10 *srang*.

The *tam*, *tangka*, *tanka* or *tamga*⁶ was introduced into Tibet from Nepal and originally was equivalent to about 10.5 grams of silver. In about 1640 AD the Nepalese Malla kingdoms replaced this heavy standard by a lighter one of roughly 5.6 grams. The coins struck to this standard in Nepal were called *mohurs* (*mohars*) and were exported to Tibet in large numbers. After the Tibet-Nepal war of 1792, Nepal was deprived of its privilege of minting coins for Tibet and from then onwards the "zho" and the "tangka" were the main currency units which were struck in Tibet. Even in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the first banknotes were introduced, the "sring" had not yet been firmly established as a currency unit among the Tibetan population, since the coins struck in this denomination in 1908 were few and, being of good silver, were mostly hoarded. This explains why the first Tibetan paper notes were issued in *tam* rather than in *sring*. According to Wesley E. Needham in 1914, when the early *Tam* notes circulated, the value of 1 *Tam* was equivalent to US\$0.12.¹⁰

According to R. C. Temple *tangka* is "a word of ancient Indian origin and usage for a weight and coin". It has the following alternative forms: *tank*, *dank*, *dangh* and the Burmese form *dingā*. Also *taka* (surviving as the currency unit in present day Bangladesh) and *tic[k]al* (a Burmese weight unit) may be variant forms of *tangka*¹¹. It also survives in the Russian word for "money", "dengi". The word *tanka* may have reached Tibet already before the introduction of Nepalese coins, either directly from India or via Nepal or some other bordering state.

The following subdivisions of the "sring" and "tanka" existed, showing how the "new" unit "tangka" was fitted into the already existing system based on the "sring":

- 1 *tangka* = 1.5 *zho* = 15 *skar* = 6 *kha*
- 1 *sring* = 10 *zho* = 100 *skar*
- 1 *sring* = 6½ *tangka*
- 1 *tangka* = 0.15 *sring*
- 1 *zhogang* = 10 *skar* = 4 *kha*
- ½ *tangka* = 1 *phyad brgyad* = 7½ *skar*
- ½ *tangka* = 1 *skarman gna* = 5 *skar*
- 1/6 *tangka* = 1 *khakang* = 2½ *skar*
- 1 *kha-chag* = 6 *kha* = 12½ *skar*

In Chinese literature occasionally the following expressions are used for the units based on the *sring* (*Hang*). The expressions given in brackets are those used in older western literature on China.

Tibetan equivalents

1 Hang (tael) = 10 qian [or "chien"] (mace)
1 qian (mace) = 10 fen (candareens)
1 fen (candareen) = 10 li (cash)

1 srang = 10 zho
1 zho = 10 skar
1 skar = 10 'on

The value of the early Tibetan tam banknotes expressed in the srang system are as follows:

5 tam = 7 zho + 5 skar (= $7\frac{1}{2}$ zho = $\frac{3}{4}$ srang)
10 tam = 1 srang + 5 zho (= $1\frac{1}{2}$ srang)
15 tam = 2 srang + 2 zho + 5 skar (= $2\frac{1}{4}$ srang)
25 tam = 3 srang + 7 zho + 5 skar (= $3\frac{3}{4}$ srang)
50 tam = 7 srang + 5 zho (= $7\frac{1}{2}$ srang).

For the Tibetan banknotes issued from 1939 AD onwards the unit "srang" was used.

Popular Tibetan names for coins and their fractions circulating in Tibet

As mentioned above, the *tangka* of Nepalese origin was called "mahendramalli" (or mandermal) in the 18th century as recorded by Italian missionaries like da Fano for 1713 and by Turner for 1783 who gives the variant spelling "indermillee"¹². This was the term used in Nepal which was imported into Tibet along with the coin which was also called "bal-tam" or "bal tang" by the Tibetans who referred to Nepal as "bal-yul" (wool-country). There also existed special terms for some of the Nepalese coins used in Tibet: The Malla coins were also called *nag-tam* or *nak-tam*¹³, "black tam", particularly the mohars of Ranjit Malla of Bhatgaon which turned black owing to their low silver content. The mohar of Bhupatindra Malla of Bhaktapur was called *Ang-tuk* (ang-drug; "number six") from the last figure of its date 816 N.S. (Nepal Samvat). The Malla coins circulating in Tibet were also called "Pa-nying tangka", (*bal rnying tang-ka*, "old Nepalese coins") or *Dung-tang*, "spear tang-ka" or *Dung-tse* (*bdung-rtse*, "spear point"). The latter names are derived from the tridents or swords which appear on many specimens¹⁴.

The Nepalese tangkas, particularly those of the Saha period struck by Pratap Singh, were also called *gcod-tang*, "tangka for cutting", as they were frequently cut in order to obtain the following fractions (fig. 1, below):

kha-gang = $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a tangka (this fraction is not encountered; see note 16)
skar-ma-nga = 5 skar = $\frac{1}{2}$ of a tangka
phyad rgyad = $7\frac{1}{2}$ skar = $\frac{1}{2}$ tangka
one zho = $\frac{2}{3}$ tangka

From about 1840 a type of silver tangka was struck at Lhasa which later became known in the west as "gaden tangka". Rockhill was perhaps the first to use this western name which is derived from the first two syllables of the legend found on this coin¹⁵. The common term used in Tibet for this coin was "tangka dkar-po" which could be contracted to "tang-dkar" ("white tangka"; see note 9).

Rockhill reports that the "gaden tangkas" were cut in eastern Tibet and he illustrates examples of these fractions, giving them the same names¹⁶. But in eastern Tibet the fractions were obtained by cutting the whole coin like a pie. According to Walsh this mode of cutting was only practised in northern and eastern Tibet and the gaden tangkas thus cut were called *Pongo mig pa* (bong-gu-rmig-pa; "donkey's hoof"). Walsh, who stayed in Lhasa in 1904, did not encounter any gaden tangkas cut in this nor in any other manner¹⁷. The only Gaden tangka fraction which appears to be the result of old cuts for the purpose of small change, is a piece with four lotus leaves representing the unit "phyed rgyad" ($7\frac{1}{2}$ skar) from a private Nepalese collection (fig. 2)¹⁸.

Surviving fractions of Nepalese tangkas show that the coins were originally always cut with a straight line, producing fractions with three petals for the *skar-ma-nga*, fractions with four petals for the *phyed rgyad* and fractions with five petals for the *zho-gang*¹⁹. I have not seen a fraction representing a *kha-gang* although some authors report their existence²⁰.

The so called Sino-Tibetan coinage of the eras Qian Long, Jia Qing and Dao Guang was first minted for general circulation in four different denominations dated Qian Long 58th year, i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ zho, $\frac{1}{2}$ tangka, 1 zho, 1 tangka, but so far I have found only one source mentioning how these coins were called popularly: "chanja paulung"²¹, an expression which may be based on the coins in the name of Jia Qing but may have served to refer to any Sino-Tibetan coin struck in Lhasa in the late 18th and early 19th century. Present-day antique dealers from Lhasa usually refer to the Sino-Tibetan coins as "pao tsang" following part of their Tibetan legend. From Qian Long 59th year onwards only coins of zho-weight were struck for circulation, but these coins had the same value as the Nepalese tangkas and the Kong-par tangkas which were struck since 1791. It was prohibited to cut the Sino-Tibetan coins in order to obtain small units for change, a prohibition which everybody seemed to have respected as fractions are not met with, excepting some examples which seem to be modern fragments from silversmith workshops²². Also fractions of Kong-par tangkas are very rarely met with, the only published reference being a *skar-ma-nga* illustrated by Walsh²³.

The *Kong-par tangkas*²⁴ which were first struck in 1791, took their popular names from the figures seen on their obverses which represent the Tibetan dates:

Kong-par tangka dated:
13-45 bcu gsum bzhi nga
13-46 bcu gsum bzhi dgu
13-47 bcu gsum bzhi gdun
15-24 bco [or bcu] lnga nyer [or gnyis] bzhi
15-25 bco [or bcu] lnga nyer [or gnyis] lnga²⁵

It should be noted that the term *tangka* or its shorter form *tam* is occasionally used to refer to the *srang*. As early as 1713 Da Fano writes that the Tibetans have a currency unit called *tangh* which is equivalent to $6\frac{2}{3}$ *petanh* (*bal-tam*, i.e. Nepalese mohar). The word "tangh" in this case clearly refers to the (dngul) *srang*²⁶.

In the twentieth century Tibetans referred to the 20 *srang* gold coin as "gser tam" (gold tam). This may have led some western specialists to argue that a tangka struck in gold must have existed in Tibet. However, so far only an early Shri Mangalam tamga of the 18th century, struck in gold and clearly of Tibetan origin, has been discovered²⁷. There exist very few Gaden tangkas struck in gold, including the so-called "monk tamga" or "Kelsang (skal-bzang) Tamga" of 1909; it is believed, however, that these coins were either struck unofficially in Nepal for religious purposes or are modern phantasies. In the expression *gser tam* "tangka" or "tam" takes the wider meaning "coin". Baber notes for eastern Tibet: "A coin is called in Tibetan tchranka."²⁸

The Indian rupee which circulated in Tibet was popularly called *phi-ling sgor-mo* or *chhi-ling gor-mo*. ("foreign round coin")²⁹. Baber records the expression "Peiling-tchranka" and also reports that, in Eastern Tibet, special words for different types of Indian rupees were used: Georgian rupees were called

p'o-tu (male head) and Victorian rupees *mo-tu* (female head). The rupees showing Victoria with crown "are named Lama tob-du or 'vagabond Lama', the crown having been mistaken for the head-gear of a religious mendicant."³⁰

Sichuan rupees were simply called *sgor-mo* (round coin) or *rgya-sgor* (Chinese Coin) and *rgya-mgo* (Chinese head).³¹

Modern Tibetan coinage (1908-1954)

All modern Tibetan coins are inscribed with their denomination, excepting the "Gaden tangkas". Apart from the official name indicated on the coins, some of them had their popular names. However, I am not sure in every case whether the terms which I record for the modern coinage are those which were used at the time when the corresponding coins circulated or whether they are modern expressions used by coin and antique dealers in the Lhasa market from whom I was given many of the expressions mentioned below.

The one srang is called *srang-gang sgor-mo* or short

*srang-sgor*³². The one srang coins (Y12, A18 and A18.1) are inscribed with "tam srang-gang" (one tam srang).

The Gaden tangka of double weight which western collectors normally call "double tangka" (Y15) was locally referred to as *zho gsum*, "three zho" according to Charles Bell.³³

The "Kalsang tangka" (early monk tangka; Y14) was also called "tubshi (gru bzhi) tangka", "tangka with four corners" (according to information given by a Nepalese collector to the late Karl Gabrisch).

The large 5 skar coin (Y17) was called *skar-chen* (large skar), while the much smaller, later issue (Y19) was referred to as *skar chung* (small skar). The flower shaped 2½ skar (Y A19) was called *khagang zur bzhi* (with four corners).

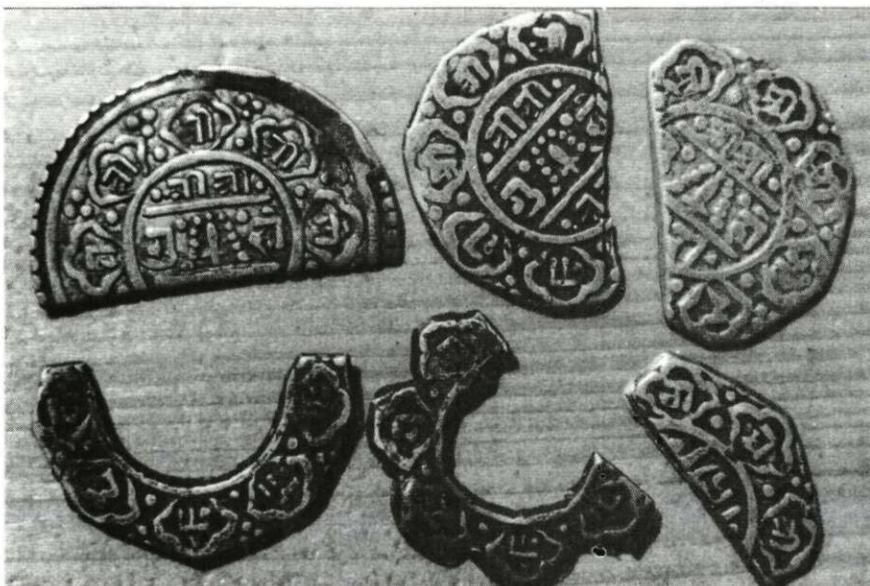
The 3 srang coins (Y25 and 26) are referred to as *srang gsum sgor-mo* (round coin of three srang) and the 10 srang coins as *bcu-sgor* (round coin of ten) (Y29 and 30). The last Tibetan silver tangka, which was minted in 1953/54, is called *tangka dkarpo sarpa* (new white tangka) (Y31).

Nr. 1 - 3



Nr. 4 - 6

Nr. 1a - 3a



Nr 4a - 6a

Fig. 1: Examples of cut pieces obtained from tangkas (nohurs) struck for Tibet by Pratap Simha. Nr. 1 and 1a: piece with five fleurons (petals) representing the unit *zho-gang*. The pieces nr. 2, 3, 4 and 5 (sa. 3a, 4a and 5a) represent the same unit, although more silver has been cut away to a greater or lesser degree. The coin fragment nor. 6 and 6a, showing three fleurons, represents the unit *skar-ma lnga* (five skar). Illustrations are enlarged approximately x 3.

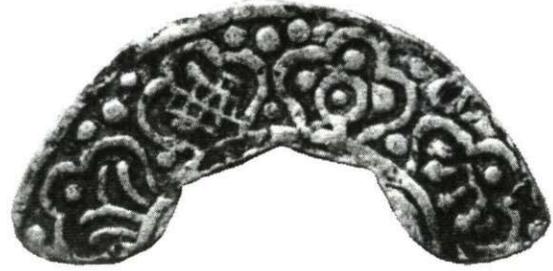


Fig.2

Rare fragment of gaden tangka showing four petals, representing the unit *phyed brgyad* (seven and a half skar). Photographed by Karl Gabrisch in Nepal

Notes

1. cf. Morse, Hosea Ballou: *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*. Bombay and Calcutta 1908. pp. 119 sqq.
2. Zhu Jingzhong, Ci-ren Ping-cuo and Yan Lunzhang: *Yuan-Xi-Zang-Di-Fang-Qian-Bi-Gai-Kuang [A General Introduction to the Tibetan Local Currency]* Finance Department of the Tibetan Autonomous Region Branch of the People's Bank of China, Lhasa 1988.
3. Roerich, George: *The Blue Annals*. Reprint New Delhi, 1976 (first published in Calcutta, 1949). For references to the gold srang see e.g pp. 112, 927, 1026 and 1027. For a reference to the silver srang, see p. 1064. The Blue Annals were written between A.D. 1476 and A.D. 1481.
4. Walsh, E.H.C.: "The Coinage of Tibet." In: *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. II, No.2, Calcutta 1907, pp. 11-23.
5. Das, Sarat Chandra: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit Synonyms*. Revised by Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde. Reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi 2000, pp. 86, 1076 and 1286-87.
6. Bell, Charles: *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*. Reprint: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1978 (first edition 1905), p. 118. Bell gives the value of the *dngrul srang* as one rupee eleven annas approximately.
7. For the calculations of the weight standard of the srang, I treat the silver coins issued in Tibet in the srang denomination as having a "theoretical" fineness of 100% silver although the actual fineness was only just above 80% for the coins which were minted in srang denomination.
8. The Indian Rupee found wide circulation in Tibet after its introduction within the uniform coin system established in British India in 1835. Its weight had been fixed in that year at 180 grains (1 grain = 0.0648 gram) which is equal to 11.664 grams. Cf. Chakravarty, D.: *Nineteenth & Twentieth Century Coins of India*. Calcutta, 1979, p. 19.
9. E.H.C. Walsh gives the following three spellings for the word "tangka": 1. (tamka; with a small circle [Sanskrit: "anusvara"] above the letter "ta") 2. (tang-ka) and 3. (trang-ka). The Sanskrit sound "ta" is rendered with inverted Tibetan "ta" in order to indicate that the "ta" is pronounced as a retroflex sound (with the tip of the tongue curled back). This pronunciation can also be indicated in Tibetan by subscribing the sound "r" (rata) to "ta" as seen in the third example.
cf. Walsh, E.H. C.: *op. cit.* (footnote 4)
W. Surkhang mentions the additional spelling "Tarn dkar" which represents a contraction of "tang-ka dkar-po" (white tangka) and originally may only have referred to coins of good silver which looked "white", cf. Surkhang, Wangchen: Tax Measurement and Lag'don Tax. In: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. III, Nr. 1, Gangtok, February 1966, pp. 15-28.
The forms "tang-ka" and "trang-ka" in which the letter "ma" has changed to "nga" probably owe their existence to the assimilation of the sound "ma" to the following sound "ka".
The historical use of the word "tanka" and similar forms in Russia and Asia is demonstrated with numerous references by: Temple, Richard Carnac: "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese." In: *The Indian Antiquary*. A Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXVI, Bombay, September 1897, pp. 235-244.

10. Unpublished letter of Wesley E. Needham to Joseph J. Woodburn Jr., dated April 4, 1951. My thanks go to N.G. Rhodes for having made a copy of this letter available to me.
11. *op. cit.* (see footnote 4)
12. Turner, Samuel: *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*. London 1800 (Reprint: Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series I, Vol. 4, Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971), p. 372. (While the term "mahendramalli" is clearly derived from the name of the Nepalese ruler Mahendra Malla, Turner's "indermillee" seems to have been derived from the name of king Indra Malla. The alternative spelling "Mehnder-Mulie" is given by Kirkpatrick, Colonel: *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. Being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793*, London 1811 (reprinted by Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 1986), p. 217.
Cammann reports the additional variants "mahndra-mailli" (Bogle) and Mehnder-mulli (Duncan).
Cammann, Schuyler: *Trade Through the Himalayas. The Early British Attempts to Open Tibet*. Greenwood Press, Publishers, Westport, Connecticut 1970 (Originally published 1951), p. 108, note 37.
Markham, Clements: *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London 1876, p. 129, note 1.
Kirkpatrick, Colonel: *op. cit.* p. 339.
13. Montgomerie, T.G. Captain: "Report of a Route-Survey made by Pundit *** from Nepal to Lhasa, and thence through the Upper Valley of the Bramapoutra to its source". In: *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 173.
14. Wood, Howland: "The Coinage of Tibet". In: *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XLVI, no. 4, New York, October 1912, pp. 164-167 and plate 25.
15. Rockhill, William Woodville: *The Land of the Lamas. Notes of a Journey Through China Mongolia and Tibet*. Longmans, Green, and Co., London 1891 (Reprint: Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988), pp. 207-08.
16. Rockhill. *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08. Rockhill illustrates a small fraction of a gaden tangka which he identifies as "K'A-GANG" (p. 207) along with three other fractions which he identifies as "DJO-GANG", "CHI-CHYÉ" and "KARMA-NGA". H. Wood illustrates a similar small fraction which he also identifies as "Kha-kang" (sixth part of a tangka). Actually Wood may reproduce the reverse of the piece, the obverse (script side) of which is illustrated by Rockhill. I presume that Rockhill donated his Tibetan coins to the museum of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and that they were subsequently photographed for H. Wood. Rockhill and Wood are the only authors I am aware of who mention the "kha-gang" as a result of cutting tangkas.
Wood; Howland: *op. cit.*, plate 25, nr. 6.
17. Walsh, E.H.C.: *op. cit.* (footnote 4), p. 14
18. The illustration of fig. 2 is based on a photograph taken by the late Karl Gabrisch.
19. That the value of the fractions was identified by counting the number of petals is clearly stated by Hue and Gabet who stayed in Lhasa in early 1846.
Hue, Régis-Evariste and Gabet, Joseph: *Travels in Tartary Thibet and China 1844-6*. Broadway Travellers, Volume II, p. 180.
This is confirmed by Milloué, L. de: *Bod-Youl ou Tibet (le Paradis des Moines)*, Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études, tome douzième, Paris 1906, pp. 136-137.
The French travellers record the name for the 1/2 tangka fraction as

- "Tche-Ptche" which the editor Paul Pelliot interprets as "kha-phyed", pronounced "khapche". However, "Tche-Ptche" must be the French transcription for "phyed-brgyad", which means "half eight", i.e. 7½ skar. The meaning of "kha-phyed" is most probably "half kha", i.e. 1¼ skar, a fraction which exists only as a unit of account.
- E. Kawaguchi uses a similar word "kabchi" as meaning five kha (or 20 Japanese sen), i.e. 12½ skar, which also represents a unit of account. Cf. Kawaguchi, Ekei: *Three Years in Tibet*. Biblioteca Himalayica, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1979 (Originally published in 1909), p. 461. Note, however, that Charles Bell gives a different word for the unit of account consisting of five kha: *kha-chag*. cf. Bell, Charles: *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*. Biblioteca Himalayica, Series II, Vol. 15, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Katmandu, 1978 (first edition: 1905), p. 118.
20. Filchner, Wilhelm: *Kumbum Dschamba Ling. Das Kloster der Hunderttausend Bilder Maitreyas*, Leipzig 1933, p. 398. Filchner also gives the spelling *phyed gced* (which he transcribes as "Dshedtschad" and which he takes from G.C. Cybikov: *Buddhist palomnik i swiatyn Tibeta [A Buddhist Pilgrim at the holy places of Tibet]*, Petrograd, 1919, pp. 166-68) instead of *phyed brgyad*. The literal meaning of *phyed gced* is "half cut", *gced* being the past form of *gcod* (to cut). This form may represent a popular re-interpretation or a simple misunderstanding, as the pronunciation of both forms is indeed very similar in Tibetan. However, the Tibetan 7½ copper coins which were struck in the 20th century all have the inscription "phyed brgyad" to indicate their denomination.
21. Rawat, I.S.: *Indian Explorers of The Nineteenth Century*, 1973, p. 92. The explorer Kishen Singh mentioned that there were two types of Tibetan silver coins in circulation, the "chanja paulung" (clearly the Sino-Tibetan coins) struck in fine silver, and the other coins "distinguished by the names of the rulers who issued them" (presumably referring to the old Nepalese coins) with alloy. (N.G.Rhodes)
22. Three fractions of silver zho issues in the name of Qian Long and Jia Qing were published recently in China: Zhu Jin Zhong [Chief editor], Wang Hai Yan, Wang Dui [dbang 'dus] and Tsering Pincuo: *Zhong Guo Xi Zang Qian Bi [Chinese Tibet's Money] Xi Zang Zi Zhi Ou Qian Bi Xue Hui [Tibet autonomous region numismatic society]*, Beijing, 2002, p. 152, nrs. 1-411 to 1-413. The appearance of these pieces leaves no doubt that they -were not intended to circulate as fractional currency.
23. Walsh, H.C.: "The Coinage of Tibet", *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. II, nr. 2, Calcutta, 1907, p. 12 illustrates a Kong-par tangka fraction which he identifies as a 1/6 tangka, but the present owner of this piece, N. G. Rhodes, identified it as a 1/2 tangka. cf. Rhodes, Nicholas G., Gabrisch, Karl and Valdetarro Pontecorvo della Rocchetta, Carlo: *The Coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911*. Royal Numismatic Society. Special Publication No. 21, London 1989, p. 208. I only know of two more 1/2 tangka fractions obtained by cutting a kong-par tangka, one in the collection of Klaus Bronny and one in my own collection.
24. Walsh, H.C. *op. cit.*, was probably the first author to use the term "Kong-par tangka" for these Tibetan silver coins which were first minted in 1791. Rhodes mentions that "Rockhill, in *Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, p. 259, called them *Bo-gi gyalpa-gi tanka* (The King of Tibet's tangka) in his diary entry for 27. 9. 1892. Presumably these coins were still, at the end of the nineteenth century, associated with the Chilung Tulku who was regent in 1791 and popularly known as the «King of Tibet»." Rockhill, William Woodville: *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1894, p. 259. Rhodes, N.G.: "The First Coins Struck in Tibet". In: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XV, no. 4, Dharamsala Winter, 1990, p. 126, footnote 23.
25. Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xizang Difeng Huobishi [The Regional Tibetan Currency]*, Beijing 1987, chapter 3. I give the Tibetan expressions re-transliterated from Xiao Huaiyuan's Chinese transliteration of the Tibetan original spelling.
26. Petech, Luciano: *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal. I Capuccini Marchanti*, part III, vol. II, Rome 1953, p. 13. The original reference reads as follows: "Li buttiani da queste monete imprese fuori dal loro regno ne formano una propria, ma idealmente, e la chiamano tangh, che consta di 6 petanh e due terzi, [...]". See also Part IM p. 236 and Part III, p. 324, footnote 45.
27. I saw this gold coin with a Newari dealer in Nepal in 2001.
28. Baber, E.G.: "On the Chinese tea-trade with Tibet". In: *Geographical Society Supplementary Papers*, Vol. 1, part I, London 1882, p. 198.
29. Rockhill, William Woodville, *op. cit.* (footnote 16), p. 208, footnote 1. Walsh, H.C. *op. cit.* (footnote 4), p. 22. Both words are most probably Tibetan *spyi-gling*, *spyi* meaning "outside", "foreign" and *gling* "continent".
30. Baber, E.G.: *op.cit.* p. 198.
31. Oral information obtained from Tibetan antique dealers in Lhasa in the 1990s.
32. Thwing, E. W.: "Tibet, New or Recent Issues". In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 45, No. 7, July 1932, p. 452.
33. Unpublished Diary of Sir Charles Bell, entry dated 26.8.1920. This entry gives brief explanations to a photograph of Tibetan coins -which Bell later published in the following book: *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, Collins, London 1946, photograph XIX. opposite p. 161.

An Early Western Report on the Currency of Tibet

By Wolfgang Bertsch

In the first third of the 18th century, Lhasa did not yet have its fame as the "forbidden city" which it gained in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Numerous Italian missionaries were active in Lhasa. The only trace left nowadays of the missions which existed in Lhasa is a bell that can be admired at the ceiling of the main entrance porch of the Jokhang, Tibet's most important Buddhist temple. Fortunately, however, many missionary reports have survived and many were collected and made available in the following Italian publication:

Petech, Luciano: *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*. Il Nuovo Ramusio II, Raccolta di Viaggi, Testi e Documenti Relativi ai Rapporti fra L'Europa e l'Oriente a Cura dell'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. (7 volumes), Rome, 1952-1956.

In part III (Vol II) of the same work (Rome, 1953), the "Breve Relazione del P. Domenico da Fano (1713)" [Short account by Father Domenico da Fano] is published (pp. 3-37). This account contains one of the earliest and most detailed western descriptions of Tibet's currency (pp. 13-15) (notes 45-48 are those of the editor, Luciano Petech).

It is noteworthy that Domenico da Fano does not mention two items which are normally discussed in relation to Tibet when traditional currency is dealt with: cowries (*cypraea moneta*) and

tea bricks. Apparently cowries were not any more in use as small change in the early 18th century, although even nowadays they are sold in markets of Lhasa where they are popularly used as game counters along with demonetised 1 sho and 5 sho copper coins. Either tea compressed into bricks was not yet known in the early 18th century, or tea bricks were already used, but may not have achieved their status as widely used currency which they obtained in the 19th century.¹

The Nepalese coins "mandermal" to which Da Fano refers in the beginning of the passage were, among others, of the type of two of the three mohurs which are illustrated as Tibetan coins in the following 18th century classic on China: P.J.B. Duhalde, de la Compagnie de Jésus: *Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise. Enrichie de Cartes Générales & Particulières de ces Pays, de la Carte Générale et des Cartes Particulières du Thibet, & de la Corée, & ornée d'un grand nombre de Figures de Vignettes gravées en Taille-douce*. A Paris chez P.G. Lemercier, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Saint Jacques, au Livre d'Or, 1735 (four volumes). The coin plate which I reproduce below is taken from the english edition, published in 1736, volume II, p.290.

The illustrated coins were probably sent by missionaries

residing in Lhasa to their colleagues in China where they were obtained for the illustration in Duhalde's work. The coin shown in

Fig. 2 was minted after Da Fano had written his report.

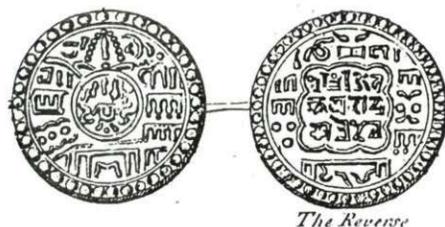


Fig. 1
Silver mohar of Bhupatindra Malla, King of Bhadgaon,
dated Nepal Samvat 816 (1696 AD), RGV 539

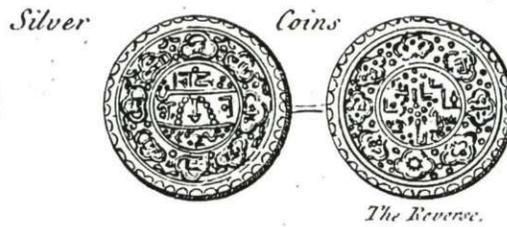


Fig. 2
Silver mohar of Mahindra Simha, King of Kathmandu,
dated Nepal Samvat 835 (1715 AD), RGV 303

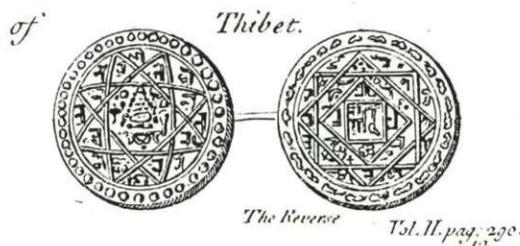


Fig. 3
Silver mohar of Yoga Narendra Malla, King of Patan,
Dated Nepal Samvat 805 (1685 AD), RGV 393²

Italian text with notes by the editor, Luciano Petech

Il denaro che corre in Lassa e per tutto il regno è una moneta che viene da Nèkpal, chiamata in quel regno mandermaal [mahendramalli], e i Butiani la chiamano petanh [bal-tam]. Questa è una moneta rotonda, come sarebbero due paoli o un cavalotto di Bologna; sono impresse in esse alcune letter col nome del Re, regno e anno che sono state fatte. Li buttiani da queste monete impresse fuori dal lor regno ne formano una propria, ma idealmente, e la chiamano tangh, che consta di 6 petanh e due terzi, che sarebbero alla nostra usanza tredici paoli e un terzo. Sopra questa moneta ideale hanno alcune bilancie accomodate a tanga per tanga, a mezza per mezza, a petanh per petanh, a due terzi, a un terzo e mezzo terzo. E quando uno no ha di queste monete, basta que abbia dell'oro o dell'argento; questo si pesa con detta bilancia e corre ugualmente a proporzione. È ben vero che quando la somma è gradne, bisogna defalcare il cambio dell'argento in moneta, et in tal caso sopra l'argento non monetato vi si perde dieci per cento.⁴⁵

Per le cose poi minute si servono d'una certa commutazione; per esempio ho bisogno d'un poco di latte, d'erbe, sale ecc.; prendo un poco di thè o di tabacco o di butiro ecc., e con queste cose averò il mio bisogno. Se poi il prezzo della cosa che vogliono comprare arriva alla sesta parte de un petanh, non è necessario che li dia l'argento, ma vi sono alcuni fazzoletti de seta, che corrono per questo prezzo, purchè siano almeno quadri; se poi sono più lunghi que quadri, sono como trabocanti, e così corrono senza misurarsi.⁴⁶ Hanno l'uso ancora di un'altra moneta, con la quale dividono questo fazzoletto sino alla 20^a parte, e questi sono alcuni frutti che vengano dall'Industano. Questi frutti al di dentro sono como noci moscate, ma non hanno odore, e la figura non è totalmente consimile; e sono chiamati nel Butant Cuiù [go-yu]. E li fazzoletti di seta che vengano della China e servono del Butant per moneta, si chiamano Mansè o Mancìa [man-tsi].⁴⁷

Quando poi si fa viaggio, bisogna portarsi seco varie cose, como mansè, thè, sale, butiro, tabacco per fumare di quello della China, una certa tela che chiamano Samsò [zam-zo] che si spende parimente per fazzoletti, kat [had], cuiù ecc.,⁴⁸ perchè quando si giunge all'abitato e si addimanda un poco di cianh [c'an] o orzata per bere, un poco di paglia per le bestie, un poco di sterco d'animale per fare il fuoco ecc., non sono obbligati a prendere alcuna cosa determinata, ma addimandano quello che hanno bisogno, e se uno no l'ha, quando ti vedessero crepare non te lo daranno. Non voglio dir per questo che l'argento non corra per tutto; ma se si vuol pagare con l'argento, il viandante non troverà il suo conto. Et anco mi sono trovato aver bisogno d'un poco di farina d'orzo per mangiare, et un'altra volta un pugno de riso, dico un pugno, e con l'argento non lo potei avere, quantunque per così dire mi morissi di fame per aver camminato tutto il giorno antecedente, et avendo trovato quantità di neve su le montagne, non la potei passare quel giorno; le provisioni erano finite e bisognò dormire, o per dir meglio passar quella notte, tra la neve; ed il giorno seguente trovai uno che me diede un pugno di granturco per un poco de tabacco.

⁴⁵ Sulle monete correnti nel Tibet e Nepal nella prima metà del sec. XVIII vedi Parte IV, Appendice I. Qui basterà ricordare che il tangh qui menzionato non è il tam-k'a, ma il dnul-sran.

⁴⁶ I k'a-btags, i fazzoletti che accompagnano qualsiasi dono o missiva e che vengono presentati o scambiati durante ogni visita di riguardo, servono anche da moneta. Ciò è il caso soprattutto per le due qualità migliori, di seta, chiamate nan-mdsos ed a-sé; TUCCI, Lhasa, p.65

⁴⁷ Go-yu è la noce d'areca, *Areca Catechu*; LAUFER, p. 457 n. 51. Non ho notizie sull'uso di questo frutto como moneta spicciola, ma va osservato che nel distretto di Ba-t'an le noci adempiono allo stesso ufficio; ROCKHILL, *Ethnology*, p. 719. Man-tsi è il cinese man-tzu; LAUFER, p. 522 n. 280. È fatto di seta gialla con puntini di vari colori. Vedi sopra, n. 46.

