

# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## NEWSLETTER

## No. 178

Winter 2004

### ONS News

#### Our Printers

It was in 1986 that Paul and Bente Withers of Galata Print took over the task of printing the ONS Newsletter. The first issue they produced was number 102. From then onwards they printed the next 75 issues – I will leave it to members to calculate how many pages that involved – up to and including the previous issue, number 177. Their equipment, however, has now grown old and is, in part, no longer supported by the suppliers. They have, therefore, decided to discontinue their printing service. We owe a lot to Paul and Bente for all the work they put in for the Society during all those years and, on behalf of the Council and membership, I would like to take this opportunity to thank them for that work and all the assistance they have given me as Editor. Paul (with Bente's help) will continue to act as Membership Secretary.

#### 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

We regret to report the death of Dr M S Jazzar of Amman, Jordan. He was a keen student of Islamic numismatics. We send our sincere condolences to his family and friends.

#### New and Recent Publications

Hartill, David: *Qing Cash*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication no. 37, 2003. Pp. 316 + 172 plates. Price: £60. ISBN 0 901 405 73 6

"During the Chinese Qing dynasty (1644-1911), millions of square-holed 'cash' coins were produced each year. The use of individual mint names and privy marks for sub-mints on the coins, and ever-changing economic conditions led to great variety in the coin types issued by the dynasty. The conquest of Xinjiang, and the Taiping rebellion also contributed to the variety of coins. This book is the first to deal with the coins of the dynasty as a whole,

and to address many problems of chronology and attribution that have not hitherto been considered.

The introductory chapters discuss the general historical background and the manufacture and use of cash. This leads into a methodology for dating cash more precisely than has previously been attempted. A detailed catalogue of the coins follows this. Coins of the rebels and pretenders not bearing a mint name are considered first; then issues with a mint name are discussed and listed province by province. The history and production of each mint are illustrated by quotations from contemporary documents. Lastly, coin-like amulets and presentation pieces not intended for general circulation are illustrated. Overall, some 2,100 different coins are listed. A number of appendices guide those not familiar with Chinese through the differences between the Pinyin and Wade romanisations."

A new book by S.K. Bose and Nick Rhodes, entitled *The Coinage of Assam - Vol. I (Pre-Ahom Period)* is expected to appear from the press around 30<sup>th</sup> November. The book will contain about 140 pages and 11 plates (colour and B/W), maps and diagrams. The book's ISBN No. is 01-901867-2-8. Apart from a general historical survey, the book will cover the post-Gupta gold coinage of Samatata, the copper coins struck by the kings of the Salasthamba Dynasty of Kamarupa in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD, and coins of the Sultans of Bengal that are relevant to the study of the history of Assam.

Price \$21. Usual rebate @ 33 1/3% for book dealers. The above price covers postage by sea mail; for air mail, 50% of the actual cost will be charged.

Vol. 25-26 of the Numismatic Digest has just been published by the IIRNS at Nasik, India. As usual, this publication contains a range of articles on various series of Indian numismatics.

*Sikh Coinage - Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty*, by Surinder Singh. Hard bound (19x25 cms), 283 pages, 12 plates.

*Naissance et déclin d'une qasba: Chanderi du X<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol 1, by G Fussman, D Matringe, E Ollivier and F Pirot, published by the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Paris, 2003, has an interesting appendix (3) on some coins found at Chanderi with jewellers and collectors. These include a hitherto unpublished half tanka of Muhammad I, dated 840, as well as some square half tankas of Muhammad II (including one dated 923), Ibrahim Lodi and Rana Sangram. There are also some comments on the heart-shaped symbols found on various coins and their relevance or otherwise to Chanderi.

*History and Coin Finds in Georgia, Sasanian Coin Finds and Hoards*, by M. Tsotselia, Moneta 30, 2003, 96 pages, 16 plates, €50.

The 7 volumes in Moneta's Armenian series, consisting of a total of 1264 pages and 116 plates, are available at the special price of €300 from Moneta, Hoenderstraat 22, 9230 Wetteren, Belgium; fax ++32 93 69 59 25; www.cultura-net.com/moneta

*Ocherki po Numizmatike Mongol'skikh Gosudarstv XIII-XIV Bekov (A Survey of Numismatics of the Mongol States (13th - 14th centuries))* by Pavel N Petrov, Nizhny Novgorod, 2003. Format A4, 142 pp. + 33 b/w and 4 color photo plates. Text in Russian. More on this in the next newsletter.

#### 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) list 193 (November 2003),
2. A. Poinson Numismatique (4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, 67000 Strasbourg, France; tel ++33 388 321050; fax ++33 388 750114; numismatique.poinson@wanadoo.fr) fixed

price list 48 (Nov. 2003) includes some 700 items of oriental interest.

3. Galerie Antiker Kunst (Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244; simonian@hamburg.de) list of Islamic and oriental coins, November 2003.

#### Other News

The American Numismatic Society announces:

"The Heritage of the High Caliphate: Dinars, Dirhams and Coppers of the Late Umayyad and Early 'Abbasid Periods, ca. 700-950 CE" at The American Numismatic Society in New York, 96 Fulton Street and 140 William Street. Thursday and Friday, June 24-25, 2004

Late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid dinars, dirhams and coppers were not only the first distinctly Muslim coins but formed for many years a vast monetary system stretching from North Africa to Central Asia. The all-epigraphic Arabic coins introduced by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik presented a symbolic statement of the essential principles of Islam and its caliphs. They also proved to be an unrivaled engine for commerce. They were minted in prodigious quantities replacing previous Sasanian and Byzantine style coinages, and circulated extensively throughout most of Europe, the Near East and Asia, reaching as far as Scandinavia and China. Today, the coins constitute documents for political, economic, and social life at a time of great cultural efflorescence as well as social and political change.

The conference invites papers treating any aspect of coins of the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods as artifacts of civilization and culture. The topics of papers may be numismatic, historical or art-historical. They may examine problems in the reading and interpretation of the Arabic legends or the iconography, the representation of Islam and sovereignty, or the production, use and regulation of these coinages. This includes problems in the introduction of these coins and later transition from one series to another.

The conference will also feature a workshop in reading the Arabic legends on these coins and a round-table for the discussion of issues of common interest, and of coins if anyone wishes to bring them along.

Queries and abstracts should be sent by e-mail to Dr. Stuart D. Sears, 263 Concord Road, Longmeadow, MA 01106 (508 636-8235, sdsears@localnet.com), or to Dr. Michael L. Bates at the Society (212 234-3130 x 222, bates@amnumsoc.org). Communications by E-mail are preferred. Abstracts should be submitted by March 5, 2004, but time permitting, late submissions will be fitted in where possible.

*Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique* (CD-ROM), new issue (published on 27th november 2003): Nos. 4 and 5 : *Inscriptions From Egypt* (nearly 9300 inscriptions on architectural monuments, tombstones and objets d'art).

In the same issue also, updated where necessary,:

- No. 1 : Inscriptions from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya ;
- No. 2 : Inscriptions from the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain) ;
- No. 3 : Inscriptions (Arabic, Persian and Turkish) from Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan). Altogether about 15 000 inscriptions !

The *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique* is designed and compiled under the direction of Ludvik Kalus, Professor at the University of Paris-Sorbonne and Director of Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris. Carried out by Frédérique Soudan, Chargée de recherche de la Fondation Max van Berchem, it is developed under the patronage of this Foundation (Geneva).

The goal of the *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique* is to bring together all of the inscriptions in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (as well as in other languages) from the Muslim world up to the year 1000 of the Hegira.

"The *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique* is a vital resource for historians, art historians and other specialists of the region. Operating under both Macintosh and Windows, the CD-ROM makes it possible to perform searches quickly and easily by various criteria such as date, current location, kind of inscription, site, type of support, material and more. By doing a word search of the Arabic text, it is possible to locate every inscription containing a particular word in seconds (on Macintosh for the moment)."

Next issue (beginning of 2005) nos. 6 and 7 : Indian world (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives).

The price of each CD-Rom is 100 Euros only. If You subscribe, you pay 100 euros for the first CD-Rom, then 20 euros for the others (even the double issues!). You can pay by cheque made payable and sent to the Max van Berchem Foundation, by wire transfer (please contact the Max van Berchem Foundation) or by credit card.

*Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique* can be ordered at Fondation Max Van Berchem, 5, avenue de Miremont, CH 1206 GENEVA, Switzerland. Tel. and fax : (+41 22) 347 88 91

@-mail : FMVBERCHEM@swissonline.ch

For epigraphical and technical questions, please contact epigraphie.islamique@noos.fr (Ludvik Kalus and Frederique Soudan).

## Reviews

*Ancient Indian Coins from the Chand Collection* by Vikram Chand and Joe Cribb, hard-bound, 67 pages, published by Rarities International Private Ltd, for the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. ISBN: 981-04-9280-4 Price not stated.

This new book has been released as a catalogue of an exhibit on loan to the Asian Civilisations Museum, which enjoys the status of a National Museum in Singapore. It has excellent publication qualities and is profusely illustrated in full colour.

Of the authors, Joe does not need an introduction to enthusiasts of Indian coins! Now the Keeper of the department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, his knowledge of ancient Indian coins, particularly of the Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian and Kushan series is almost unparalleled. Joe is also involved in research on applications of numismatics - on themes such as chronology, art history and iconography - and in painting a broad canvas with his numismatic expertise, on subjects such as origins and development of the Indian Coinage tradition.

Vikram Chand is known to many of his contemporaries as one of the most enthusiastic collector of Indian coins. Of Indian descent, he was born in Japan and educated in India, Japan and Britain. He now lives in Singapore where he runs a successful global family business. He is also known to a good number of people as someone who actively supports numismatic and philatelic research. Institutions that have benefited from his generous benefactions include the British Library and the Royal Numismatic Society. He has established the 'Chand A & Z Research Fund for Indian Numismatics' through which many grants have been awarded in the past few years, supporting research on Indian coins.

The book is divided into four sections, the first of which is an introductory one. The second sets the stage for the presentation of the coins, i. e. their context, which, in the case of this exhibition, is essentially about the role of coins as a source of historical and art-historical evidence. The third section deals with royal imagery on ancient Indian coins, while the fourth describes religious imagery on them. This is by far the longest and most illustrated section, describing iconic Indo-Iranian transformations from the Kushana-Gupta period and also divinities representing other faiths and pantheons, such as the Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Shaiva (Karttikeya) and Vaishnava. The descriptive sections are followed by a glossary, which is a remarkably useful tool when using the book as an exhibition catalogue. There is also an appendix giving a broad chronological outline for coins illustrated.

While describing coins, the use of jargon has been avoided and commendably so. Words like 'front' and 'back' substitute 'obverse' and 'reverse'. The illustrations are of a high standard (except the copper Buddha coins!) and the coins themselves are in a remarkable state of preservation thanks to Mr. Chand's connoisseurship. It is a visual treat to turn the pages of this small book and, as a companion to the exhibition, it serves its purpose extremely well.

Dr Shailendra Bhandare

## *Catalogue of the exhibition 'De l'Indus à l'Oxus - Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale' (ISBN 2-9516679-2-2)*

This year an exhibition, organised by Osmund Bopearachchi, Christian Landes and Christine Sachs, took place at the archaeological museum of Lattes near Montpellier in Southern France. Its title "De l'Indus à l'Oxus - Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale" describes the scope of the exhibition of which the accompanying catalogue has now been published: the history and the archaeological remains of ancient Bactria from the earliest times until the Islamic invasion in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The book is written in French, A-4 size, 419 pages, profusely illustrated with more than 300 photos all in full colour and of high quality, with all coin photos enlarged. Besides the merits of having organised such a fantastic exhibition, Osmund Bopearachchi has to be congratulated for having brought together such a number of qualified authors for the catalogue elucidating the diverse facets of the archaeology, the art history and the numismatic history of ancient Bactria. Osmund Bopearachchi, himself, discusses the coinages of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and those of the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians. Among the other authors, Henri-Paul Francfort writes about the civilisation of Central Asia during the bronze and iron ages, Dominique Gerin about the Greek coins issued at the frontiers of the Persian Empire, Paul Bernard and Claude Rapin about Ai-Khanoum, Gérard Fussmann about the Kushan Empire and about Iranian and Indian inscriptions and manuscripts from Afghanistan, and P.Callieri about the cities of NW India from the Indo-Greeks to the Kushans. Anna-Maria Quagliotti refers to the life of Buddha, Francine Tissot's article is devoted to Buddhism in Afghanistan, Richard Salomon speaks about Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhara and Philippe Gignoux about christianity at Herat. Christelle Desbordes and Claude Rapin write together about Begram-Kapisi, commercial crossroads of the Kushan Empire, and Laure Dussubieux and Bernard Gratuze discuss glass objects from Begram and Bara. Claude Rapin illuminates Greek epigraphy in Afghanistan, Rika Gyselen's contribution is about the Sasanian Empire and its coins, and Michael Alam presents the coinage of the 'Iranian Huns'.

The range of beautiful coins, all of them carefully described and illustrated, extends from popular, common types to unique, recent discoveries. The numismatic panorama is opened by Dominique Gerin with a survey of the coinages of the Persian Empire. It is true that Achaemenid silver sigloi and gold darics circulated within the whole Empire but before Alexander they all seem to have been struck at western mints such as Sardes, and only after Alexander's conquests were mints also established in the east. Among the coins described and illustrated by Dominique Gerin are also some unusual, rare coins from a hoard which surfaced in 1973 in Iraq and which seems to have been buried shortly after the death of Mazaios, Alexander's Persian satrap of Babylon, in 328 BC. Among some other types, this hoard contained lion-type coins of Mazaios but also some of the famous 'Poros dekadrachms' and also double shekels of standing archer type with elephant reverse; a most unusual double shekel type depicting an archer with an attendant in a quadriga on the obverse and two riders on a war-elephant on the reverse was completely unknown before this hoard. Other, better known coins illustrated by Dominique Gerin comprise eastern specimens of Alexander's 'imperial' tetradrachms, eastern gold darics and double darics and

a number of eastern Seleucid coins. Seleucid coin types are known from mints as far east as Bactria from 305 BC onwards until the reign of Antiochos II (261-246 BC) when Seleucid rule in Bactria came to an end following a revolt by the Bactrian satrap, Diodotos.

The history and the coinages of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and the local coins of Bactria before the advent of the Greeks in the region are discussed and illustrated by Osmund Bopearachchi. Among the latter are some of the famous 5<sup>th</sup> /4<sup>th</sup> century local Kabul coins from the Tchaman-i Hazouri hoard, some 'bent-bars' and representative specimens of the Athenian imitation coins which can be dated immediately after the arrival of Alexander. Of special importance is a Sophytes cock-type coin from the Ikuo Hirayama collection originating from a hoard found in northern Afghanistan. The exceptional thing about this coin is its denomination, which is a tetradrachm of 17.20 grams weight. The beautiful gallery of Graeco-Bactrian coins vividly illustrates the history of its issuers: the transition of power from the house of Diodotos to that of Euthydemus I and the conquests of lands south of the Hindu-Kush by Demetrios I, son of Euthydemus I. Euthydemus II, most probably another son of Euthydemus I, was immediately followed by Agathokles and Pantaleon, rulers of southern Bactria. Antimachos I, Apollodotos I, Antimachos II and Demetrios II were Graeco-Bactrian kings who seem to have ruled more or less contemporaneously during the decade from 174 BC to 165 BC. In 171 BC, Eukratides I came to power, a usurper who overthrew his legitimate sovereign, Demetrios II. Eukratides' rule ended in 145 BC when he was murdered by his own son, Heliokles I. At about the same time a nomadic invasion destroyed the Greek city of Ai-Khanoum and, from then on, northern Bactria was lost to the Yue-Chi invaders. Greek rule under Heliokles I, Eukratides II and Plato was restricted to southern parts of Bactria until around 130 BC when the whole of Bactria including its south fell before the nomadic assaults. Among the many Graeco-Bactrian coins presented in this catalogue is also one of the most fascinating pieces within the whole series: the famous 20 stater gold coin of Eukratides I. With a weight of 169.2 grams this is the largest gold denomination of antiquity ever struck. Of the same extreme rarity and of the same outstanding artistic merits is also the gold octadrachm of Euthydemus I, the only such gold denomination ever found. According to Bopearachchi this special issue can best be regarded as a victory coin celebrating Bactria's final independence after the siege of Bactria by the Seleucid king, Antiochos III, during the years 208-206 BC.

The history and the coins of the 'Indo-Greeks' and their successors, the 'Indo-Scythians' and 'Indo-Parthians' are also discussed by Osmund Bopearachchi. The Indo-Greek kings continued to rule Indian territories when lands north of the Hindu-Kush had already fallen to the Yue-Chi. Menander was certainly the most famous and important Greek king in India. According to Plutarch, he died on the battlefield. This seems to have happened at about 130 BC, a time when his son, Straton I, was still a boy, so that Agathokleia, Straton's mother and Menander's wife, had to exercise rule for some years until Straton was old enough to ascend the throne. From the death of Menander in 130 BC until the final extinction of Greek rule in Northern India in the first years of the Christian era, a considerable number of Indo-Greek kings ruled and the names of most of them are only known from their numismatic testimony. Some of them reigned for only a very short span of time and most probably many of them ruled simultaneously over sometimes quite restricted territories. Though their chronological order is still less clear than in the case of the Graeco-Bactrian kings, hoard analysis, study of overstrikes, iconography and monogram distribution have helped to answer many questions up to the present day. Among the more important kings who followed Straton I were Lysias, Antialkidas, Heliokles II, Philoxenos, Archebios and Hermaios, whereas such names as Peucolaos, Amyntas, Artemidoros, Zoilos I, Epander, Theophilos, Nikias or Thrason belong to more ephemeral kings.

The last Greek king to have ruled in the Kabul region seems to have been Hermaios (90-70 BC). The nomadic tribes who occupied the territories south of the Hindu-Kush after the death of Hermaios imitated his coin types from 70 BC onwards, at first in good silver, later progressively debased in metal and style. The issue of such posthumous Hermaios type coins lasted until about the first years of the Christian era. According to Bopearachchi, the later imitations can be placed as contemporary with the debased later issues struck in the name of Azes. The Taxila region was lost to the Scythian king, Maues, during the reign of Archebios (90-80 BC), reconquered by Apollodotos II in about 70 BC and, under the rule of Hippostratos, finally lost to Azes in about 55 BC. From now on only a Greek enclave in the eastern Punjab between the Chenab and Ravi rivers was ruled by the Greek kings Dionysios, Zoilos II and Apollophanes until, during the reign of Straton II and his son, the history of the Greek kingdoms in India found its end in around 10 AD, when this region fell to the Scythian, Rajuvula. The history of these Indo-Greek kingdoms, outlined compactly and precisely by Bopearachchi, is illustrated by an impressive series of coins, among them some of the rare Attic-weight tetradrachms of Menander, Lysias, Antialkidas, Philoxenos and Archebios. These Attic-weight tetradrachms were struck in such heavily hellenized regions as the Paropamisades and Arachosia. According to Bopearachchi they were struck either for commercial exchange with the nomadic rulers of Bactria or as a tribute payment to them.

Among the Indo-Scythian kings Maues (90-70 BC) is represented by one of his very rare tetradrachms inscribed in his own name but also in the name of Machene who was most probably his wife. But also more commonly encountered types of the Indo-Scythians, Vonones with Spalahores, Spalirises, Azes and Azilises can be found in the catalogue. Together with these specimens one coin is listed which deserves special attention. It is a unique gold coin of 2.2g weight struck in the name of Azes and depicting his well-known type showing the mounted king on obverse and Zeus Nikephoros on reverse. This unusual piece from the Mir Zakah II hoard is considered by Bopearachchi as having been struck by using two common Azes silver drachms and it is assumed to have been issued sometime between 30 BC and 20 AD. Another important coin originates from a private collection. It is only the second known specimen of the famous Pushkalavati gold type with a Kharoshti legend in addition to the Greek word 'tauros' depicting a bull on the obverse and a female deity on the reverse. This piece shows an iconographical link to a very similar copper coin of Azes. But if it really is an issue of Azes, one would certainly expect to see the name of King Azes on this gold piece, but this is not the case. So this rather seems to be a coin that was struck after the reign of Azes but which took its iconographical inspiration from a copper type of Azes. Such a chronological placement is further supported by the results of the metal analysis cited by Christine Sachs. This analysis shows this gold piece to have around the same metal composition as the Kushan gold coins.

The Parthians who ruled large parts of Northern India as successors of the late Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians and as contemporaries of the early Kushan are known under the name 'Indo-Parthians'. The beginning of the reign of Gondophares I, the founder of this dynasty, is still a matter of controversy but most scholars, including Bopearachchi, place it at about 20 AD. The main line of the Indo-Parthian rulers comprises the names of Gondophares I, Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pakores and Gondophares II. However, a number of additional kings have to be interpolated, some of them ruling only parts of the Indo-Parthian realm. Among them we find Sases, Sorpedonos, Sanabares, Ubouzanos and Abdagases II. It is interesting to observe that, according to the respective local coin tradition, one and the same Indo-Parthian ruler issued iconographically and metrologically very different coinages for different geographical zones of the Indo-Parthian kingdom. Thus we find copper coins of the Nike type following directly the posthumous Hermaios copper tetradrachms in

Arachosia whereas the Parthian-style silver drachms are characteristic of Drangiana. In Gandhara, the Indo-Parthian base silver coins of the mounted king type followed the late billon coins struck in the name of Azes. And in the eastern Punjab the small copper drachms with Athena Alkidemos replaced the coinage of the Indo-Scythian satrap, Rajuvula. Among the Indo-Parthian coins illustrated in the catalogue one piece is of special importance. It is a 6.2 g gold coin originating from Chilas in Pakistan, now in the Hirayama collection. It depicts the royal portrait to left wearing a tiara and holding an arrow. The Parthian legend refers to 'Abdagases the king of the kings'. The reverse has a large 'Gondopharid' symbol in a dotted border. Osmund Bopearachchi and Frantz Grenet have attributed this coin to Abdagases II, king of Arachosia-Seistan, late 1st or early 2nd century AD. Being only the second known specimen of its type, this coin can be regarded as an important chronological link to the Kushan gold coins. Another recently surfaced rarity from the Mir Zakah II hoard, now also in the possession of Ikuo Hirayama, is presented and discussed by the same two authors. It is the tetradrachm in the name of a ruler called Nasten, son of (Xs)atran. The obverse shows the helmeted portrait of this sovereign in Greek style and the reverse depicts a horse-rider with Greek legend above and below. Nasten's name suggests an Iranian descent and the omission of a royal title seems to indicate that he was a ruler without royal power, placed by Bopearachchi and Grenet in the middle of the 1st century AD.

The Kushans and their coins are convincingly presented by Gérard Fussmann. Literary sources describe how the Yue-chi, nomadic horse-riders from the steppes of north-western China, left their homelands at around 175 BC. We know that, at the latest in 145 AD, they had arrived in northern Bactria. In the first century BC one of the five clans of the Yue-chi, the Kushan clan, achieved supremacy under its leader, Kujula Kadphises, and extended its influence further south. Under Kujula the whole of Bactria and the North-West of India was in Kushan hands. His successors continued the series of conquests and at the end of the first century AD the Kushan Empire stretched as far as Bengal in the east and the Narmada valley in the south. Kujula is mentioned as the first of the Kushan kings in the recently discovered Rabatak inscription, followed by Wima Tak(tu), who is identified by a number of scholars with Soter Megas, and by Wima Kadphises. All three are direct predecessors of Kanishka. There has always been a great deal of disagreement when it comes to the dating of Kanishka. Though the extremes have meanwhile come closer, dates between 78 AD and 127 AD are still discussed for the first year of Kanishka's reign. Though many details are still unclear concerning the exact chronology, the number of homonymous kings and the existence of contemporaneously ruling Kushan kings, inscriptions and coins have helped to propose the following sequence of Kushan kings after Kanishka: Huvishka, Vasudeva I, Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III, Vasudeva II, Shaka, Kipunadha. During the reign of Vasudeva, the Kushans seem to have lost the Ganges valley and Central India, and from its foundation in 224 AD the Sasanian Empire turned out to be a bitter rival who, in the course of time, removed what was left from former Kushan glory.

A most important numismatic innovation was introduced by Wima Kadphises in replacing the prevailing bimetalism copper-silver by the new Kushan bimetalism copper-gold. By replacing the highly debased silver coinages of Northern India with an abundant gold coinage of high purity, Wima made Kushan coins a generally accepted, trustworthy currency all along the Central Asian traderoutes and at all commercial centres from Bactria and Begram in Afghanistan via Peshawar in Pakistan to Mathura in India. The extension of the traderoutes and their safety favoured the exchange and amalgamation of arts, crafts, ideas and religious professions. Along with other Indian cults, Buddhism spread northwards and started its triumphal procession over the Asian world. Religious tolerance within the Kushan Empire, not only towards Buddhism, but towards the worship of a multitude of

Iranian, Greek, Roman and Indian deities, is reflected in the breathtaking collection of Kushan coins illustrated and thoroughly discussed in this catalogue. Of the gold coins of Kanishka two depict the standing Buddha: a quarter stater from the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, and a full stater from a private collection, London. Among the quarter stater coins only depictions of Buddha, Pharro, Miuro or Nana are known. Thus it is an important novelty to see a quarter stater of Kanishka depicting the goddess, Ardoxsho, in this catalogue. Huvishka's gold coins are represented by a number of superb, rare specimens. An extremely rare stater depicts Oanindo, the winged goddess of victory, a deity exclusively to be found on Huvishka's coinage. There is a stater depicting Skanda and Bizago and another one depicting Skanda, Bizago and Mahasena. Most unusual is also the occurrence of Oesho (Siva) together with his wife Ommo (Uma) on a stater of Huvishka. And finally there is an anepigraphic gold coin of 1.02 grams weight which comes from a private collection in London. It has the crowned, bearded portrait of a long-haired sovereign to left holding a branch in his raised hand. The reverse shows a large, early Kushan tamgha. The piece is unique and of the utmost interest. However, an attribution and identification of the depicted ruler, which would be more precise than just a Kushan or Kushan vassal, seems impossible at the moment.

The Sasanian Empire (224-651 AD), its coinages and its conflicts with the different waves of Hun people is the subject treated by Rika Gyselen. Michael Alram's contribution links closely to that of Rika Gyselen in describing the history and coinages of the 'Iranian Huns'. As far as the transition of power from the Kushans to the Sasanians is concerned, a good part of our knowledge depends on numismatic evidence. Scholars like Göbl, Bivar, Mitchiner and, recently, Cribb have helped to make things clearer. According to recent findings by Joe Cribb, based mainly on hoard evidence, analysis of overstrikes and comparisons of linked coin series, the following picture emerges: during the reign of Ardashir I (AD 224-241), Bactria, until then part of the Kushan realm, was conquered by the Sasanian army and subsequently ruled by regional kings. These Kushano-Sasanian kings called themselves Kushanshahs on their coins. Under Shapur I (AD 242-272) Kushan lands south of Bactria up to the river Indus were also taken away from the Kushan Empire and incorporated into the Kushano-Sasanian kingdom. East of the Indus the Kushan continued their rule until about AD 360 under their last king Kipanada, neighbour of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta. Under Shapur II (AD 309-379) the Kushano-Sasanian lands were threatened and successively occupied by the Kidarites. We have literary and inscriptional evidence that Shapur II undertook military campaigns in the Kushano-Sasanian territories in AD 356/357 and in AD 367/368 in order to repel the nomadic invaders, with the last campaign ending in his final defeat. From this date onwards, Kidarites and other Huns were able to consolidate and enlarge their power in former Kushano-Sasanian territories in Gandhara and the Kabul region. It is not surprising to find the first prototypes of Kidarite coin types among the Sasanian and Kushano-Sasanian coinages. In an analogous way, the Alchons, another Hun tribe, took the inspiration for their coins from the drachms of Shapur II and Shapur III. In a later stage, the imitative types were abandoned, giving way to the peculiar portraits which so characteristically show the artificially deformed skull of the king. Beautiful examples of such specimens are included in the catalogue among a good number of additional Hun coins, Sasanian coins and their imitations.

Other nomadic Hun groups seemed to have already lived in these regions before the arrival of the Kidarites. We know for example of Huns who had served as mercenaries in the army of Shapur II. Some years after the arrival of the Kidarites in eastern Iran, the Alchons, under the leadership of Khingila, invaded the Kabul valley and Gandhara and replaced the Kidarites. Successors of Khingila pushed forward deeply into India but were beaten in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, an event that forced the Alchons to return to Afghanistan. In the Kabul and Ghazni region of Afghanistan

another Hun tribe, the Nezaks, had meanwhile settled, which caused conflicts with the returning Alchons. Possible evidence of this historical event is an overstrike of an Alchon coin over a Nezak coin originating from a hoard near Kabul. This interesting overstrike is also illustrated in the catalogue. Probably the most important threat for the Sasanians were the Hephthalites, the 'White Huns', who succeeded in arresting the Sasanian King of Kings, Peroz (AD 459-484), in taking his son hostage and in enforcing the payment of a heavy ransom, an immense treasure of Peroz silver drachms. These Peroz drachms were widely distributed and imitated in different Central Asian territories. Only under Khuro I (AD 531-579) was a strong alliance of Sasanians and Central Asian Turks, who had meanwhile settled in the region, able to defeat the Hephthalites. The Turks and Sasanians divided up the former Hephthalite territories. From now on, Sasanian, Turk and diverse Hun rulers tried to maintain control over their respective dominions until, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Arabs arrived in the region bringing to an end the independence of the local rulers of Central Asia.

It is fascinating to read this outline of historical events, political revolutions, the coming and going of so many completely different dynasties in such a relatively compact geographical region. And it is a pleasure to look at the accompanying photo plates which bring to life the stories of the past. Though my survey is more or less restricted to the numismatic parts of the catalogue there is much more to read, to be looked at and to be discovered within this fine book and I think it is really worth having a copy of it. It can be ordered from the archaeological museum of Lattes in France for 40 Euros plus postage. Fax: 0467997721/ e-mail: musee.lattes@free.fr

Wilfried Pieper

***An Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coin hoard from Bara (Pakistan)*** by Osmund Bopearachchi (ISBN 0-615-12175-6)

An exhaustive study about the recently surfaced 'Bara hoard' has been carried out by Osmund Bopearachchi. It was published by Amir Nawaz Khan as a catalogue in 2003, comprising 104 pages, a large number of beautiful drawings by Francois Ory and a photo section of 31 plates with black and white photos of 370 coins. The cataloguing has been done in a careful and exhaustive way listing all relevant technical details such as weights, dimensions, bibliographic references, die-axes, die-links, legends etc.

The 370 coins of this hoard came to light in 1998 at Bara, a remote village situated on the Bara stream, near modern Peshawar. The hoard was complete and unpicked, consisting of mostly Indo-Scythian tetradrachms but including also five Indo-Greek pieces, two Zoilos II drachms and three posthumous Hermaeus tetradrachms. As for the classification of the Indo-Scythian coins, Bopearachchi follows the main lines of Jenkins' relevant study of 1955. Maues is shown to have ruled at Taxila before Apollodotos II, Azes I (characteristic coinage depicting mounted king holding spear) is separated from Azes II (characteristic coinage depicting mounted king holding whip) and Azilises is placed inbetween. Strato II & III are considered as the last Indo-Greek kings of the eastern Punjab territories and Hippostratos as the last Indo-Greek king of the western Punjab territories (Taxila-Pushkalavati). Hippostratos was dethroned by Azes I who was followed by Azilises who was followed by Azes II. Among the Indo-Scythian coins 46 are attributed to Azes I, one coin to Azes I or II, 29 to Azilises and 289 to Azes II. The exceptional quality of the coins favoured a detailed study and analysis with a special emphasis on the iconography of the Indo-Scythian king on horseback who characteristically wears heavy-scale armour, the so-called cataphractus.

The most ancient coin in the hoard is a tetradrachm of Azes I of the type mounted king holding spear/ Athena Alkidemos. It is the only such type in the hoard, highly worn from prolonged circulation, with a low weight of only 6.88g against a theoretical

weight of 9.6g for a fresh specimen. The occurrence of Zoilos II drachms may be geographically unexpected because this king has been attributed to the group of eastern Punjab Indo-Greeks. The western findspot can, however, be explained by taking into account the tendency of silver coins to travel sometimes far from their place of origin. Chronologically it fits well into the scheme proposed by Bopearachchi, which places Zoilos II between 55-35 BC as a contemporary of Azes I. The same applies to the three posthumous Hermaeus coins which belong to the fourth and fifth group of Bopearachchi's classification of posthumous Hermaeus issues dated about 55-25 BC and 25-10 BC respectively. The results of a non-destructive metal analysis carried out on selected specimens of the hoard supported the close chronological relationship. The degree of debasement of the analysed Zoilos II drachm with its 55.8% silver content corresponds nearly exactly to that of the analysed posthumous Hermaeus coins with 51% silver content. The Azes II coins had on average the lowest silver content of all the hoard coins with a gradual debasement from 48 % to about 40% silver content. Furthermore, the Azes II coins were significantly heavier than those of Azes I and Azilises, probably evidence of a shorter period of circulation. In conclusion, the Azes II coins have been catalogued as the tail-end of the hoard.

Discussing literary and archaeological evidence for the presence of the cataphractus, Bopearachchi shows that this kind of armour is attested at least from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and that it had, for example, been used by the ancient cavalries of the Seleucids, the Parthians and also as far as China. The mail, protecting the horse-rider, was composed of a great number of single metal elements flexibly joined together. The author introduces his observations concerning the Indo-Scythian cataphractus with a discussion of three recent archaeological discoveries: the cataphractus found during the excavations at Ai Khanoum, the frieze from the Kushan palace of Khalchayan in Uzbekistan and the bone plates from Orlat in Uzbekistan. The cataphractus from Ai Khanoum consists of four pieces of armour made of iron. It reveals interesting details of the single elements of the cataphractus and how they had been joined together by strings and leather straps. The frieze depicts a number of scenes. The most important in this context is the scene showing the king seated on a bench surrounded by the warriors of a clan headed by a leader whose facial features resemble those of Heraios as known from his coins. He is holding as a trophy a high-collared cataphractus removed from an enemy. Another part of the frieze shows a group of four cavalymen. Three of them are dressed in Kushan cloth, the fourth, a spearholding rider, wears a cataphractus. The identification of the fourth person as a Scythian warrior would neatly correspond to the confrontations between the Yue-chi and Scythians in Central Asia as delivered from ancient Chinese accounts. The most interesting of the five bone plates from Orlat depicts a battle scene with the warriors all wearing a cataphractus. The engravings are highly detailed, adding to our knowledge of the nature of the ancient cataphractus.

Having discussed these relevant archaeological findings Bopearachchi turns to special aspects of the iconography of the coins from the Bara hoard. The fine artistic drawings done by Francois Ory clearly show the mounted Scythian king wearing a cataphractus, which is composed of four major elements: a scale breastplate with a high stand-up collar, arm protectors, a scale-like skirt protecting the thighs and a helmet. The helmet is sometimes depicted like a Graeco-Bactrian helmet, sometimes like a bonnet with a knot on the top. These observations are followed by a detailed discussion of the rider's armament and its use: spear, whip, and bow and arrow. The innocent-looking whip, for example, turned into a terrific weapon on the battlefield. To cite Bopearachchi: "As I have discussed earlier, the whip made of a leather strap fastened to a stiff handle was a formidable arm 'nagaika' of the peoples of the steppes capable of decapitating an enemy." A number of other details concerning the Scythian rider and his horse's harness are described, among them the interesting

observation about the Scythian custom of braiding the horse's tail, a detail also to be found on the coins of Heraios and on the unique coin of Nasten.

As for the engraving of the Bara hoard coins, Boparachchi observed that Azes II coins with a corrupt legend nevertheless show a correct Kharoshthi legend and generally a style as good as the specimens with good Greek legend. He also found that obverse and reverse types of two different hoard coins had certainly been engraved by the same hand but, curiously enough, they showed different Greek legends, one correct, the other corrupt. In addition, the obverses of both coins have different Kharoshthi aksharas. Similar observations on other specimens made Boparachchi propose the hypothesis that the form of the akshara on the obverse might represent the person who engraved the legend. Another aspect would be that the legend "cannot be the only criterion to categorise coins into two distinctive groups, one lifetime and the other posthumous."

Coming to the complex question of the meaning of the different monograms, Boparachchi follows Bivar in assuming that groups of monograms with similarly shaped monograms within each group were issued by the same mint. Boparachchi thinks that the variants within each group may represent the signs adopted by different officinae attached to the same mint. Die-studies show, however, that exceptions to this scheme exist and that sometimes also monograms without any resemblance seem to have originated from one and the same mint. Altogether, Boparachchi thinks that only three or four mint-workshops existed in the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms. As for the Indo-Greek kingdoms, it seems that the majority of the monograms were quite shortlived and created only for urgent needs. Only some monograms seem to have been used over long periods of time. Stylistic features of deterioration combined with monograms that do not fit into this pattern could be regarded as a criterion for identifying posthumous issues. Altogether, however, our view about the monograms is still incomplete and preliminary and this holds especially true for the large number of monograms and aksharas appearing on Indo-Scythian coins. Boparachchi sees the main reason for this handicap as the lack of an exhaustive die-study. His die-study on the 370 Bara hoard coins is a promising start revealing a number of interesting results.

Wilfried Pieper

## Articles

### Money Circulation in Early-Mediaeval Semirech'e (Jety Su)

By Michael Fedorov

#### History

Mediaeval Jety Su (Seven rivers or Semirech'e) comprised modern South-Eastern Kazakhstan and North-Western Kirghizstan (in the Russian empire – the Semirechenskaja oblast' of the General-governorship of Turkestan). The history of early-mediaeval Semirech'e was linked inseparably with the history of three Turk nomad states: the Turk (mainly Western Turk) qaganate (552-704 AD), the Tiurgesh qaganate (704-766) and the Qarluq qaganate (766-ca 940).

The founder of the historical and archaeological study of Semirech'e was the outstanding scholar, V. V. Bartold. It was at the request of the *Semirechenskii oblastnoi statisticheskii komitet* (Statistics committee of Semirechenskaja oblast') that Bartold wrote his fundamental study 'Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia (Outline of the history of Semirech'e)', which has not lost its importance even nowadays. This work was published in Vernyi (Alma Ata) in 1898 in the "Pamiatnaia knizhka Semirechenskogo oblastnogo statisticheskogo komiteta" (Bartold 1963a, 23-106).

Chinese chronicles mentioned the ethnonym *Turk* for the first time under the year 542 AD. By that time, the Turks were vassals of the strong confederation of Juan-Juan nomad tribes. In 546 the leader of the Turks, Bumyn, in carrying out his vassal duty, defeated the nomadic Tele tribes, who had advanced against the Juan-Juan. The defeated Tele recognised his authority. The Tele tribes comprised 50,000 *kibitkas* (*kibitka* – nomad tent or covered

wagon) i.e. about 250,000-300,000 nomads. Once they had increased their strength, the Turks decided to cast off the yoke of the Juan-Juan. In 552 they defeated the Juan-Juan. The Qagan of the Juan-Juan committed suicide. Thus, a new state, the Turk qaganate, sprang up in Northern Mongolia. Bumyn accepted the title of qagan. He died in 553 and was succeeded by his son, Qara Issik. This latter ruled 6 months, defeated the Juan-Juan again, died under suspicious circumstances and was succeeded by his brother, Mugan (Muhan) qagan (553-572). Under Mugan, the Turk qaganate held sway over the nomad steppes from Northern Mongolia to Semirech'e. Already in the time of Bumyn, his junior brother, Istemi, had become independent in the western part of the qaganate and proclaimed himself qagan of the *on ok budun* (the people of ten arrows), a confederation of ten Turk nomad tribes. Five of the tribes (the Eastern wing) called *dulu* lived east of the river Chu. The other Five tribes (the Western wing) called *nushibi* lived west of the Chu. So, originally, Istemi ruled Semirech'e. It was he who headed Turk expansion to the west. In 555 the Turks reached the "Western Sea" (Aral or Caspian) which means that Kazakhstan and Khwarizm were subjugated by Istemi. In 558 the Turks advanced to the Volga driving before them defeated, native, nomad tribes. Then Istemi started his advance to the south (to Central Asia). There he confronted the Hephthalites. The First clashes took place at the end of the 550s (Bartold 1963a, 31-32; Gafurov 1972, 215; Gumilev 1967, 35; Mokrynin 1984, 222-226).

The Sasanian shah of Iran, Khusru I Anushirvan (531-579), used this to his advantage and refused to pay the Hephthalites the tribute which the Sasanians had been paying since the 480s. He started negotiations with the Turks in order to conclude an alliance with them against the Hephthalites. The Hephthalite king, Gatifar, in an attempt to prevent this, massacred the Turk envoys as they were crossing his territory. Outraged, Istemi raised an army and advanced against the Hephthalites. He took Chach, Parak (Chirchik valley), Farghana and advanced to the Syr Daria. At the same time, Gatifar was raising an army near Bukhara. He summoned troops from Shugnan, Balkh, Khuttalan, Vashgird, Amul, Tirmidh, and other places. Khusru I took advantage of this to invade the Hephthalite realm from the south and capture some lands. Having taken Samarqand, Kesh and Nesef, Istemi defeated the Hephthalites near Bukhara. Gatifar was killed. Scholars date the battle to between 563-567, or 563, or 565, or ca 560. Mandelstam (Istoria 1964, 43) thought that it was 563 because, in 564 after a long interval, Sogd resumed diplomatic relations with China (Bichurin 1950, 261). He considered this as evidence that Sogd became independent. The Hephthalites fled south and elected a new king, Faganish, the ruler of Chaghanian, who recognised Khusru I as his suzerain. But soon controversy started between the allies about the Hephthalite heritage and the Turks established friendly relations with the eternal enemy of the Sasanians, Byzantium.

In 568, the Turks sent an embassy there headed by a Sogdian merchant named Maniach. This was reciprocated in August 568 by the Byzantine embassy headed by Zemarch. In 569 the Turks advanced against the Sasanians. Having advanced as far as the Sasanian frontier, Istemi demanded that Iran should pay him the tribute which had been paid to the Hephthalites. Khusru I refused, whereupon the Turks captured and plundered the Sasanian lands east of the Caspian sea. As a result, Khusru agreed to pay the tribute. Peace was made in 571. The Sasanians were given the Hephthalite lands south of the Amu Daria. The Hephthalite ruler of Chaghanian, Faganish, remained a vassal of the Sasanians. The Hephthalite lands north of the Amu Daria went to the Turks, who, by 571, had captured the northern Caucasus and advanced as far as Bospor (Kerch), a frontier fortress of Byzantium. Later, the Turks acted as allies of Iran and, in 576, captured Bospor. In 580 they invaded the Crimea but internecine wars within the qaganate (which ended by the year 603 with the creation of the Western and Eastern Qaganates) stopped their advance (Gafurov 1972, 217-221; Gumilev 1967, 47, 50, 126-134).

Mugan qagan died in 572 and was succeeded by his brother, Tobo/Taspar (572-581). The Turk qaganate was considered to be the property of the whole ruling dynasty of Ashina. Senior (after the great qagan) and most influential members of the dynasty

were given appanages. By 568 there were 6 appanages, by 576 already 8 appanages. Tobo was still able to curb any wayward appanage qagans. But after his death in 581 internecine wars broke out. Four pretenders fought for the throne of the great qagan. The two strongest of them were Tardu Boke Qagan, the son and successor of Istemi (in 576-587 he ruled the western part of the Turk qaganate, including Semirech'e) and the successor of Tobo qagan, Shabolio (581-587), son of Qara Issik qagan. The strife ended when, of the four pretenders, only one remained alive. One of the pretenders, Abo-khan (also called Toremen and Abrui) was killed in 587. To dispose of him Shabolio and Tardu qagan agreed an armistice and sent their combined army against him. Shabolio died in that same year, 587. His brother, Chulo-hou (=Shehu-kə han = Mohə -kə han = Cholligh jaghu-khan = Baga-khan) also in 587 attacked Tardu qagan but was defeated and killed. According to Mokrynin (1984, 226) the lucky survivor, Tardu Boke (i.e. Qara Churin) proclaimed himself qagan (587-603) of the Eastern Turks. On the other hand, Gumilev (1967, 119) wrote: "The strife ended only when three of the four participants had died. The new khan, Yun Yolygh (=Dulan-khan = Yunlüi - M. F.) was "weak and timid" and Qara Churin, deprived of the possibility of becoming the lawful khan became the actual master of the empire". It is difficult to know whom to believe as neither author explains his reasoning.

When there was time over from the internecine wars, the Turks indulged themselves with raids on their neighbours. So in 588 the Turk army, led by the son of Tardu Boke/Qara Churin, Save (also Shiri Keshvar, Yang-soukh, Yansu-tegin), crossed the Amu Daria, took Tokharistan and advanced to Herat. The Sasanian king, Hormizd IV (579-590), sent his best warlord, Bahram Chubin, against them. He also sent the pick of his army: mounted, mailed archers who had been taught archery from their childhood and had improved their skills throughout their life. In a battle, Bahram Chubin shot Save dead, whereupon the Turks were defeated. Save's son tried to continue the war but lost it. Nevertheless, internal strife continued within the qaganate until 593, when peace was at last made between the Eastern and Western Turks. The Turk qaganate was reunified (Gafurov 1972, 217-221, Gumilev 1967, 47, 50, 110-117, 126-134, 439-440, 487; Istoria 1964, 43, 47).

For some time, Tardu (Qara Churin) was able to maintain at least some semblance of unity within the Qaganate but in 603 ten *tele* tribes rebelled against him. He fled in 604 to Togon. After that, the Turk qaganate split into two separate states: the Western and Eastern Turk qaganates. The first qagan of the Eastern qaganate was Jangar = Jangan = Kimi-khan. The first qagan of the Western qaganate was Taman = Nigü Chulo-khan = Gesana = Daman (Gumilev 1967, 440-441, 482, 485).

Here I would like to stress that the names of Turk (and other) qagans pose a considerable problem. One and the same qagan has been given different names in different works. Almost every scholar referred to one and the same qagan in whatever way he liked depending mainly on the written source used. Take for instance Shabolio (this, by the way, was a nickname given to him by the Chinese and meant "bandit, robber"). In Chinese chronicles he was called *Shetu/Nietu*, *Datou/Etou Erfu khan/shad*, *Shabolio*, *Ili-güülü shə Mohe Shabolo kə han*. In Turk it is *Er-beg shad*, *Il-külüg shad*, *Baga Yshbara-khan* (Gumilev, 1967, 464). So Mokrynin (1984, 226) called him Yshbara-qagan. Gumilev, on the other hand, did not call him Yshbara-khan, but instead called him either Shabolio (p. 23, 54, 110-111, 117, 119, 439) or Shetu (p. 104-105, 110, 460). On p. 110 he once called him Shabolio and, once, Shety. One and the same ruler was called by Gumilev either Abo-khan (p. 110) or Toremen, while Gafurof (1972, 223, 260, 298, 300, 633) called him either Abrui or Abrezi. The qagan, whom Mokrynin (1984, 226) called Tardu (as he was called in a Byzantine chronicle), Gumilev (1967, 117) called Qara Churin, and, to crown it all, Gafurov (1972, 248) called him Datoi qagan!

Anyway, from the year 604 AD, the history of Semirech'e was connected with the Western Turk qaganate. The term "Western qaganate" appeared in Russian and West-European orientalist literature at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Western Turks called themselves "*on oq budun*" (people of ten arrows) and their state "*on oq eli*" (state of ten arrows). The rulers of this state from the *Ashina* dynasty were

titled *Qagan of the people of ten arrows* or *Turk Jabghu*. The Western qaganate comprised the Turfan oasis, Altai, Jungaria, Semirech'e, Central Tien Shan, the basin of the Syr Daria, Khwarezm, and Middle Asia. It stretched from Turfan in the east to Khwarizm in the west; from Altai in the north to the Amu Daria in the south. But its borders were not stable. Sometimes its territory shranked, sometimes it broadened. Sometimes in some territories the authority of the Western Turk qagan was only nominal. Its centre was Semirech'e. Its capital was Suyab (now the hillfort of Aq Beshim, about 60 km east of Bishkek).

The division of the Turk qaganate did not change matters. The wars between the Eastern and Western Turks continued sporadically. Internecine wars within the Western Turk qaganate made Tarman Chora-qagan (600-610) divide his land into three parts. His *ordu* (headquarters, camp) was in Semirech'e. The eastern and western lands he gave to *small qagans* (sub-qagans). The *Ordu* of the western sub-qagan was by the river Yulduz, north of Chach. The eastern sub-qagan ruled the lands east of Semirech'e. All this only served to exacerbate the decentralisation of the state (Mokrynin 1984, 227). According to Gumilev (1967, 441, 485) this qagan was called Taman = Gesana = Daman = Nigü Chulohan, Chulo-khan and ruled from 604 to 611 (as one can see, there is no mention of Tarman here!). Then the western sub-qagan, Jegui (610-618), instigated by the Chinese, attacked Chora-qagan and usurped the throne (Mokrynin 1984, 227). According to Gumilev (1967, 441, 461, 487) he was called Shegui and ruled in 611-618. Shegui was the uncle of Taman, the son of Save (killed near Balkh) and the grandson of Qara Churin = Tardu-qagan. He died in 618 and was succeeded by his junior brother, Ton Jabgu = Jembuhu = Ton shehu qagan.

The reign of Ton Jaghu/Shehu qagan (618-630) was the heyday of the Western Turk qaganate. He carried out reforms and strengthened his power in conquered lands. His officials in Central Asia supervised the native rulers and controlled the collection of tribute they paid to the qagan. His wars were victorious. His armies conquered Afghanistan and went as far as northern India. As the ally of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius I (610-641), he attacked Transcaucasia, then in the possession of the Sasanians. The Turks captured and sacked Partav, Derbent, and Tbilisi. The qagan's victorious wars enriched the ruling house of Ashina and the tribal aristocracy but were burdensome to the common nomads. The Western Turk qaganate comprised ten hegemonic tribes. East of the Chu river were the five Dulu tribes, west of the Chu were the five Nushibi tribes. The chiefs of the Dulu tribes had the title *chur*. The chiefs of the Nushibi tribes had the title *irkin*. There was constant rivalry between the Dulu and Nushibi to put their own candidate on the throne in order to secure for themselves a privileged position in the Western qaganate. Tun shehu was brought to power by the Nushibi. According to the Chinese chronicle, Tun shehu "was not kind to his subjects" (most probably the Dulu were meant). Finally, the Dulu united around Mohodo-hou, an uncle of Tun shehu. He killed Tun shehu and was put on the throne as Kulugh Sibir qagan (630-631). Now the Nushibi rebelled and put on the throne Irbis Bolun Jabghu = Ibi Sahbolo sy-shehu qagan (631-633). Kulugh Sibir was killed. Irbis tried to strengthen his power and curb the wayward nomad aristocracy, which duly mutinied. Irbis fled to Tokharistan. He tried to capture Balkh but died mysteriously during the siege. Rebels put on the throne Nishu = Tungalyp Irbis = Dulu qagan (633-634). He tried to "be kind" to both the Nushibi and the Dulu and died peacefully. His brother, Tong-shad = Yshbara Tolis-shad = Shabolo Telishi etc. qagan (634-639), or, according to Mokrynin (1984, 229), Yshbara El-terish Shir qagan, succeeded him. In order to appease his turbulent subjects he carried out a reform. He divided the qaganate into ten *aimaqs* and charged ten chiefs of the Dulu and Nushibi tribes with governing those *aimaqs*, having granted every chieftain the high title of *shad*. The policy of appeasing the *begs* (nomad aristocracy), however, did not help much. In 638, Tun tudun and other conspirators attacked the *ordu* of Yshbara Tolis-shad who barely escaped with his life and fled (he died in 639 in exile). Tun tudun wanted to put on the throne Yuquq-shad, 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. But then the conspirators quarreled and Tun tudun was killed. In 639 the Nushibi put on the throne Il Kulugh-shad Irbis qagan, who died in

640. Irbis Yshbara jabghu qagan was enthroned. Around the year 640 he resubjugated Tokharistan. The supremacy of the Nushibi did not suit the Dulu. In 638, the Dulu proclaimed Yuquq as Irbis Dulu qagan. In 641, this latter killed Irbis Yshbara qagan and ascended the throne. In 642 Yuquq Irbis Dulu qagan clashed with the Chinese but was defeated. *Nushibi* proclaimed Irbis Shegui as qagan and mutinied. In 643 Irbis Dulu qagan fled to Tokharistan. The capture of Tokharistan was helped by Turks who had settled there previously. Yuquq made Badghis his capital. Irbis Shegui became qagan. In 651 Ashina Khallygh killed Irbis Shegui and ascended the throne as Yshbara qagan (651-657). Yuquq Irbis Dulu died in Tokharistan in 653. His son, Czhen Czhu, succeeded him. Striving to seize the throne, Czhen Chzu attacked Yshbara qagan in 654, was defeated and fled to Tokharistan. He was killed in 659. The Western qaganate was weakened by internecine wars which gave China the chance to start expanding westwards. In 651 Yshbara qagan attacked the Chinese and retrieved lost territories. In 652 China sent against him a 70,000-strong army. The success of the Chinese was due to the fact that Yshbara qagan had to quell a mutiny by Czhen Czhu. In 655 Yshbara qagan stopped the advance of the Chinese near the Ili river. In 656 a reinforced Chinese army resumed the offensive. Yshbara attacked the Chinese but was defeated. In 657 Turks and Chinese clashed again in the Chu valley. Yshbara was defeated. He and his son fled to Chach, but there they were arrested and given up to pursuers. Yshbara was brought to China in chains. He was pardoned but soon died there "from melancholy", which was not uncommon with Turks (Gumilev 1967, 203, 210-216, 444, 480-487; Mokrynin 1984, 229-238; Baratova 1999, 269).

After the collapse of the Western qaganate (the last centre of resistance was crushed in 658) its territory was annexed by China. Effectively, the authority of the Chinese was recognised in the agricultural oases and in a strip of land along the Great Silk Road inhabited by sedentary Sogdian colonists. In the vast nomad steppes and mountains the authority of China was nominal. The nomad territories were proclaimed governorships of China, but, judging by the fact that the territories of those governorships coincided with the habitats of this or that Turk nomad tribe, and that the governors of those governorships were chieftains of those tribes, nothing much changed there. The confederations of those tribes were "ruled" by puppet qagans from the Ashina dynasty appointed by China. These qagans were mostly engaged in internecine conflicts. Sometimes, though, an anti-Chinese uprising by one or other Turk tribes took place but these uprisings were usually crushed soon enough. The last qagan from the *Ashina* dynasty was killed in 704 at Kulan (now the small town of Lugovaya in Kazakhstan) by the chief of the Tiurgesh tribes, who proclaimed himself qagan.

And now a small interlude. While the Turk nomads had the time of their life busily engaged either in plundering wars outside the Western qaganate, or in internecine wars within it, there were people in Semirech'e who worked laboriously, building towns and villages, digging channels, cultivating land, developing commerce and industry. They were Sogdian colonists. The Chinese itinerant monk, Hiuen Tsiang (ca 629-645), described Sogd as a country extending from the Chu river to the Iron Gate, a ravine in the Baisuntau ridge connecting Tokharistan and Soghd (Gafurov 1972, 247). But this is a misunderstanding. What he probably meant was that he met Sogdians living in all this vast territory. In fact there were Sogdian colonies which sprang up around the 5<sup>th</sup> century as emporia on the Great Silk Road and which, by his time, had developed into fullblooded towns, centres of Sogdian commerce, industry and culture, with small adjacent agricultural areas populated by Sogdian peasants. Those Sogdian oases were surrounded by the vast expanse of steppes and mountains populated by nomad Turk tribes. The rulers of the Sogdian colonies were vassals of the Turk qagans and paid them tribute, thus buying their protection against the arbitrariness and harassment of unruly nomads, who regarded plundering raids on their industrious neighbours as the best sport imaginable. During periods of anarchy, the Sogdian colonies were forced to form confederations in order to protect themselves against the nomads. But, in fact, Sogd proper comprised the fertile valleys of the Kashka Daria and Zerafshan, with the most important towns being Samarqand, Bukhara, Kesh and Nesef. It was the Sogdians who introduced the cash economy and issued coins in Semirech'e. The

most important Sogdian towns of Semirech'e were Suyab (in the Chu valley) and Taraz (in the Talas valey). When the Western Turk qaganate was created, its qagans made Suyab their capital.

So the new nomad state, the Tiurgesh qaganate (704-766), was created in Semirech'e. The neighbours continued to call it the *ten arrows people state*. The Tiurgesh were one of the five tribes of the eastern, i.e. the Dulu confederation (living between the Chu and Ili rivers). They are first mentioned in the time of Yshbara qagan (651-657). The Tiurgesh tribes were subdivided into the Yellow and Black Tiurgesh. As usually happened with the Turks, there was a feud between them. The Tiurgesh gained in strength during the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century when none of the ten tribes recognised the authority of the Ashina puppet khans and their Chinese masters. Starting in 679, there were clashes between the Tiurgesh and the Chinese. The Tiurgesh state was created by Uch Eligh (699-706). Nominally he was a subject of the puppet qagan, Hesulo/Khusru, unpopular because of his cruelty. Uch Eligh united all Khusru's enemies and became much stronger. In 699 he expelled Khusru from Semirech'e, with the result that the latter, with 60,000 adherents, went to China. Uch Eligh took Suyab and made it his capital. His summer pasturelands (and summer *ordu*) were in *Küngüt* on the Ili river. His sway spread over the whole Western qaganate territory, from Chach to Beshbalyq and Turfan. In 704 the last *Ashina* qagan tried to retrieve his state but was killed by Uch Eligh. The Tiurgesh state comprised lands from Irtysh to the Syr Daria but its political and economic centre was Semirech'e. Uch Eligh was succeeded by his son Saqal Qagan (706-711). There was a rebellion against him by the tribal aristocracy, instigated by the Chinese. Saqal defeated the rebels and the Chinese troops helping them. But he had to fight on two fronts for the Arabs had invaded Central Asia. The Sogdians asked Saqal for help and he sent his army several times to help the Sogdians against the Arabs (Istochnikovedenie 1966, 92-95; Mokrynin 1984, 238-240).

Then on the eastern border of the Tiurgesh qaganate a new, formidable force appeared. Successful anti-Chinese uprisings by the Eastern Turks resulted in the resurrection of the Eastern Turk qaganate, headed by the leader of the insurgents, Qutluq Chor, of the *Ashina* dynasty. He was enthroned as Ilterish Qagan (682-691). His brother, Kapagan Qagan (691-716), succeeded him. Kapagan raised a large army. In 693-716 he crossed the Huan He river seven times and devastated the northern provinces of China. As result of his wars, the Eastern Turk qaganate was restored within its former borders. But now its western neighbour was the Tiurgesh qaganate. Kapagan perished in 716 and was succeeded by Bilge Qagan (716-734), son of Ilterish qagan. But the actual rulers of the Eastern Turk qaganate were his brother, Kul Tegin, and old, wise warlord, Toniquq. In 709-710 Chinese emissaries formed an anti-Turk coalition of Kyrgyz, Tiurgesh and China. The war against the Eastern Turks must have started in the summer of 710. Saqal Qagan joined the coalition because his junior brother rebelled against him and asked Kapagan Qagan for help. Kapagan Qagan took drastic measures. He managed to make peace with China and, in the middle of winter, defeated the unsuspecting Kyrgyz. Then, in 711, he defeated the Tiurgesh and executed both Saqal Qagan and his mutinous brother. Tiurgesh *bek* Chabysh Chor with his warriors fled to Tokharistan. During the years 711-715 the Tiurgesh qaganate did not exist. In 711-713 the Eastern Turks were engaged in the wars of the Sogdians against the Arabs. In 712 the Tiurgesh rebelled in Semirech'e. Some of the Eastern Turks returned to Semirech'e and quelled the uprising. In 716 Kapagan was ambushed and killed. His death triggered the usual struggle of pretenders to the throne. In the end, Kapagan's nephew, Bilga, was enthroned. The conflicts between the Eastern Turks facilitated the resurgence of the Tiurgesh qaganate. It was now the turn of the Black Tiurgesh to prevail and they put their leader, Chabysh Chor Suluq (716-738) on the throne. In 717 he, in alliance with the Arabs and Tibetans, attacked China. But in 718 he became an ally of China and was awarded the high title of *van*. This, however, did not prevent him from attacking Kucha (726, 727), the capital of the Chinese westernmost governorship, when China tried to restrict his sway over East Turkestan. But his main enemy after 718 were the Arabs (Gumilev 1967, 356; Kliashornyi 1966, 92-95; Mokrynin 1984, 241-245).

Here I ought to stress again that various scholars called the same Turk and other qagans by different names. So, Mokrynin (1984, 241-245) called the head of the Tiurgesh, Kapagan Qagan while Gumilev (1967, 274, 283, 297, 333,) called him Mochjo or Mochur then Kapagan (p. 286, 288, 297, 311, 314-316, 323, 325, 333, 335), then Mochur once again (p. 448, 449, 450). On pages 297, 333 he on one occasion mentions Kapagan and on another he mentions Mochur.

The Tiurgesh spent the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century in wars with the Arabs. In 720 an anti-Arab uprising broke out in Sogd. When the Sogdians asked for help, Suluq sent them an army commanded by Kul Chor (the Arabs called Suluq *Sulu* and Kul Chor *Qursul*). The allies besieged the Arabs in Samarqand with the result that the Arabs surrendered the town having obtained a promise of safe conduct. With this, almost the whole of Sogd was freed from the Arabs. But the Arabs then raised a big army and started a punitive expedition. The Sogdian aristocrats, headed by Ghurek, the king of Eastern Sogd, asked the Arabs for pardon and were pardoned. Another part of the Sogdian aristocracy chose to migrate to Farghana. At Khojend the fugitives were overtaken and exterminated by the Arabs. In 724 Suluq led his army against the Arabs who had invaded Farghana. The Arabs retreated and the Tiurgesh defeated their rearguard. On the bank of the Syr Daria the allied forces of Tiurgesh, Farghana and Chach defeated the Arabs and chased them all the way to Samarqand. In 726 Suluq defeated Arabs who had invaded Tokharistan. In 728 a new uprising broke out in Sogd so that the Arabs retained only Samarqand and Dabusiya. A large Arab army crossed the Amu Daria and came to Bukhara. Near Bukhara, it was met by the allied armies of Tiurgesh, Farghana and Chach, lead by Suluq. After several indecisive battles, the Arab governor of Khorasan, Ashras b. 'Abd Allāh, and his army were besieged in the fortress of Kemerja (about 42 km from Samarqand). Ghurek, who was cut off from the Arabs, joined the Tiurgesh but then returned to the Arabs. He was with them in Kemerja. His son, Mukhtār, however, stayed with the Tiurgesh. In the end, the Arabs surrendered Kemerja having obtained the promise of a safe conduct. In 729 the caliph dismissed Ashras and appointed a new governor of Khorasan, Junaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. In 730 Junaid advanced on Mawarānnahr (the name given by Arabs to the lands north of the Amu Daria). On the bank of the Amu Daria, Arabs were confronted by Suluq. The Tiurgesh lost the day and retreated to Semirech'e. But in the summer of 731 they again besieged the Arabs in Samarqand. Junaid marched to assist them. In a battle near Samarqand he lost the day. Having then received reinforcements, he attacked the Tiurgesh and the Sogdian insurgents, who were obliged to raise the siege and retreat from Samarqand. But the heavy losses incurred made Junaid retreat also. The result was that all of Sogd except Bukhara and Samarqand was free of the Arabs. In the following year, the Arabs managed to defeat the Tiurgesh, who went to Semirech'e. Strange as it may seem, not only the Sogdians, but also some Arab contingents mutinied. Their uprising, however, was directed against the Umayyads. The Arab general, Hārith b. Suraj, and his adherents accused the caliph of not following the commandments of the Qur'an and Sunna. He defeated the government troops but was, in turn, defeated by the newly-appointed Arab governor of Khorasan, Asad b. 'Abd Allāh (735-738). In 737, Asad attacked the ruler of Khuttalan, an ally of Hārith. Suluq led his army to Khuttalan and defeated Asad. Urged on by Hārith, Suluq invaded Khorasan but was defeated by the Arabs. Suluq retreated to the Chu valley taking Hārith with him. In 738 he gave Hārith 5000 Tiurgesh warriors and sent him to Sogd. Suluq's defeat displeased the Tiurgesh aristocracy. In 738 the ailing Suluq was killed by one of his generals, Baga Tarkhan. The Arab chronicler, Ṭabarī (Bartold 1963, 249), called the murderer of Suluq *Qursul*, which is a distorted form of *Kül chur*. The 20 year period of internecine wars between the Black and Yellow Tiurgesh had started. In 738 Naṣr b. Sayyār (738-748) was made governor of Khorāsān. This brilliant general and diplomat quelled the uprising in Sogd. In 739 he concluded a treaty with the rulers of Ustrushana, Chach, and Farghana, and sent his governors (or, rather, his representatives) there. At Naṣr's request, the ruler of Chach expelled the fugitive Hārith from Cach to Farab. In 745 Hārith was pardoned, returned to Khorasan but was killed soon after that (Bartold 1963, 247-251; 1965, 526; 1968, 308-310).

Meanwhile the internecine wars raged in Semirech'e. The Yellow Tiurgesh were led by Baga Tarkhan (Qursul), the Black Tiurgesh by *Dumochji*, who put on the throne a son of Suluq (Gumilev called him *Tuhosian Guchjo*, Mokrynin - *Tukhvarsen*). Tuhosian was supported by the Tiurgesh of the Chu valley and by the ruler of Taraz, Jivey Khan, the Black Tiurgesh. The Chinese, striving to weaken the Tiurgesh, interfered in the war. They sent an army and ordered their vassals, the rulers of Chach and Farghana, to join it. The Chinese helped Baga Tarkhan. In 739 near the river Chu, Suluq's son was defeated, taken prisoner and sent to China. The Chinese awarded the ruler of Chach, Mohedu tutun, for his services with the title *Shun-i-van*. Baga Tarkhan became qagan of the Tiurgesh with title *Kül chur Baga Tarkhan* (739-744). Like his predecessors, he waged wars against the Arabs. In 744 he was taken prisoner by the Arabs and killed. After his death, the internecine war flared up with renewed force within the Tiurgesh qaganate. Qagans followed one after the other. These wars had weakened the Tiurgesh qaganate and, in due course, it was conquered by the Qarluqs (Gumilev 1967, 358-59; Mokrynin 1984, 249-50; Istocnikovedenie 1966, 92-95; Smirnova 1970, 235).

#### *The Qarluq Qaganate (766 – ca 940 AD).*

*Qarluq bodun* (People of Qarluq), *Uch Qarluq* (Three Qarluq tribes) mentioned in Turc runic inscriptions were nomadic Turk tribes inhabiting the lands between the northern part of the Mongol Altai ridge and the eastern shore of Lake Balkhash, on both sides of the Tarbagatai ridge. In the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, the Qarluq confederation comprised three tribes: *Moulo*, *Pofu* or *Tashili* and *Chjisi* (i.e. *Bulaq*, *Chigil*, *Tashliq*). Some time during the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, some of the Qarluq tribe participating in the conquest of Tokharistan by the Turk qaganate settled there. Qarluq chieftains had the title of *elteber*. When the Eastern Turk qaganate collapsed in 630, the Qarluq became independent. After its resurrection in 682, the Eastern Turk qaganate had to resubjugate them. In the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Bilge Qagan and Kul Tegin carried out at least three campaigns against the Qarluqs. After the death of Bilge Qagan (744), poisoned by conspirators, the inevitable internal conflicts broke out. They weakened the Eastern Turk qaganate, which was crushed by the tribes of *Basmil*, *Uighur* and *Qarluq*. Immediately a conflict broke out among the victors. The chieftain of the Basmils proclaimed himself qagan but the Uighurs and Qarluqs attacked the Basmils and defeated them. Now the Uighur chieftain proclaimed himself qagan. The Qarluq chieftain was granted the high title of *Jaghbu*. Thus a new nomad state, the Uighur qaganate, came into existence. Soon conflicts erupted between the Qarluqs and Uighurs. In 746 the Qarluqs were forced to migrate to Semirech'e. The Tiurgesh, weakened by internal strife, could not resist them. The Chinese had also taken advantage of the situation and interfered in the conflicts between the Yellow and Black Tiurgesh. In 748 they invaded the Chu valley, captured and devastated Suyab, the capital of the Tiurgesh qaganate. The new masters of Central Asia, the Arabs, would not let the Chinese to get away with this. The Arab governor of Khorasan, Abū Muslim, sent an army against them. In July 751 two hostile armies met on the banks of the Talas River near the town of Atlakh. For four days they faced each other watching skirmishers clashing. Neither the Chinese nor the Arabs dared to cross the river with their full force. On the fifth day, the Qarluqs suddenly attacked the Chinese from the rear. The Chinese were defeated and lost 50,000 soldiers. The Arabs, though, failed to retain Semirech'e and returned to Mawarānnahr (Mokrynin 1984, 250-254).

Having, with the Arabs, defeated the Chinese army, the Qarluqs obtained a large booty, many weapons and slaves. This strengthened them economically and politically. But they were still far from a dominant position in the Chu valley. First of all they tried to weaken their main enemy, the Uighurs. They formed an anti-Uighur coalition together with the Eastern Turk and Kirghiz tribes. But the Uighur qagan, Baian Chor, forestalled the enemy and defeated them one at a time before they could unite. In 752 the Qarluqs, Basmils and Tiurgesh invaded the Uighur qaganate. The Uighurs defeated the Basmils in the forests of Otuken. Then they routed the Qarluqs and Tiurgesh. The fact that the Qarluqs

and Tiurgesh had formed a coalition shows that the hostilities between those tribes were not constant. Then the Qarluqs started a struggle with the Oghuz tribes, who also inhabited Semirech'e, and won it. The Oghuz left Semirech'e and settled in the Kazakh steppes along the Syr Daria. In 756 a bloody war broke out between the Yellow and Black Tiurgesh. Each of them strove to put their own candidate on the throne. It was agony for the Tiurgesh qaganate. In 766 the Qarluqs captured Suyab, the Tiurgesh capital, and Taraz, the main city of the Talas valley. Some of the Tiurgesh tribes submitted to the Qarluqs. Others went to the territory of the Uighur qaganate and submitted to the Uighurs. Thus was the new nomad state, the Qarluq qaganate, created (Gumilev 1967, 371; Mokrynin 1984, 252-255). In my opinion, however, this state should be called the Qarluq jabghbuate, because, originally, the ruler of the Qarluq state had the title of *Jaghbu*. Only after the fall of the Uighur qaganate, in 840, did the Qarluq rulers begin to call themselves qagans/khaqans (Fedorov 2001b, 16). Apart from the Qarluqs themselves, the main role in that state was played by the kindred tribes of the *Chigil* and *Yaghma*.

The last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Qarluqs spent mainly in wars against the Uighur qaganate. In 791 the Qarluqs formed a coalition with the Turks of Chach and the Tibetans. At first they were successful and cleared Jungaria of Uighurs but, some time later, they were defeated. In 812 the Uighurs defeated the Qarluqs and Tibetans and chased them as far as Farghana where, by that time, some Qarluq tribes had settled. The ruler of the Qarluqs was forced to become a vassal of the Uighur qagan (Mokrynin 1984, 256).

In the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Arabs carried out several successful raids on Farghana. Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785) demanded that the rulers of Farghana and the Qarluq Jaghbu recognise him as suzerain. In preparing for the war against the Uighurs, the Qarluq Jaghbu complied with this demand so that the Arabs would not attack him from the rear. But in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Qarluqs started to harass the Arabs. They supported the anti-Caliphate uprising of Ya'qub b. Laith in Sogd in 806-809. Having learnt that the Uighurs had defeated the Qarluqs, the Arabs attacked the Qarluqs. In 812 at Otrar they defeated the Qarluq Jaghbu and captured his wives and sons. The Jaghbu fled north to the Kimaks (Mokrynin 1984, 256). In 840 after 20 years of struggle, the Qirghiz crushed the Uighur qaganate. They did not stay there but returned to Enisei. The one who profited most from it was the Qarluq Jaghbu. Pritsak (1953, 24) and Kliashtornyi (1970, 84) wrote that the Jaghbu of the Qarluqs, Bilgä Kül, who, in 840, after the Uighur qaganate was defeated by the Qirghiz, proclaimed himself Qadir Khän, was the progenitor of the Qarakhänids. I believe this to be correct.

Bilgä Kül had two sons. According to Pritsak (1953, 25) his elder son, Bazir Arslän Khän, was the khaqan of the Qarluqs with his capital in Baläsaghün and his second son, Oghulchaq Qadir Khän, possessed Taraz. After the events of 280/893 when the Samanid, Isma'il, captured Taraz, Oghulchaq transferred his capital to Kāshghar (Pritsak 1953, 25). There is one weak point in Pritsak's theory. The Muslim chronicles relate that the ruler of Taraz, taken prisoner by Isma'il b. Ahmad in 280/893, converted to Islam. But Oghulchaq Qadir Khän, the ruler of Kāshghar was an infidel. His nephew, Satuq Boghrā Khän, the son of Bazir Arslän Khän, clandestinely converted to Islam, fled from Kāshghar to Atbāsh and there raised an army with the help of Muslim ghāzi s. He defeated his uncle under the banner of a sacred war against infidels. Having captured Kāshghar, he created the Qarakhänid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks in Central Asia. But that is another story which has already been told in these pages.

### The Coinage.

The nature of coin finds in Semirech'e is somewhat different from the other areas of Central Asia for this period. In Sogd proper, bronze coins of Chach, Ustrushana, and Farghana circulated and have been found; in Tokharistan, Ustrushana, Farghana, and Chach, Sogdian coins have been found. In Semirech'e bronze coins of those countries have not been found as far as I know. It seems that they did not penetrate and circulate there. But while, in Soghd proper, Farghana, Chach and the other countries of Central Asia, Chinese coins are quite rare, in

Semirech'e they are met with more frequently. On the other hand, coins of Semirech'e (Tiurgesh type coins) have been found in the broad territory from Sogd to East Turkestan. Silver coins of the Sasanians as well as silver coins of Tokharistan and Sogd, to my knowledge, have not been found in Semirech'e so far. But a certain amount of such coins certainly did circulate there. Such coins have been found in East Turkestan and China, and, on the way there, they must have passed through Semirech'e. Coin finds in Semirech'e consist mainly of coins of Tiurgesh type. Smirnova (1981, Nr. 1589-1624) and Nastich (1989, 97-118) published 168 coins of Tiurgesh and "Tükhüs" type. Of these, 108 (64%, about two thirds) are the coins of Tiurgesh type. A special feature of the coinage of Semirech'e was the issue of small (diameter 7-10 mm, weight 0.3-0.4g and even less) bronze coins without inscriptions and images (Smirnova 1981, 412; Nastich 1989, 119).

Coins of "Tükhüs" type are about half as numerous as Tiurgesh coins. According to Smirnova (1981, 60), coins of "Tükhüs" type were more frequent at Aq Beshim hillfort (Suyab) and less frequent at Krasnaya Rechka hillfort (Chu valley, the mediaeval town of Naviket). But I believe it depended on what archaeological objects were mostly excavated at Krasnaya Rechka (later ones) and Aq Beshim (earlier ones). In Taraz all coins found were of Tiurgesh type.

Smirnova wrote: "we know almost nothing about the people of Tükhüs" (she meant the early-mediaeval time) but in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Tükhüs were known as one of the richest tribes populating the Chu valley. At some period the Tükhüs possessed such towns as Suyab and Biglig (the latter, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, was a residence of the 'Son of the Heaven', i.e. the Turk Qagan. Smirnova concluded by stating that the first written evidence about this people comes from its coins, dated by archaeologists to the 7-8<sup>th</sup> centuries." (Smirnova 1981, 60-61). She added that, judging by the archaeological data, the "Tükhüs" started to issue their coins earlier than the Tiurgesh. Here I must stress that both the coins of "Tükhüs" and Tiurgesh type were issued not by the nomadic Turk tribes, but by the Sogdian colonies, who were vassals of those tribes (or rather of their rulers). The cash economy existed mostly in sedentary Sogdian colonies and not in the steppe and mountains of the Turk nomads.

The first Soviet archaeologist to dedicate a special article to the coins of the Tiurgesh and to offer a typology of such coins was A. N. Bernshtam (1940, 105-111). He distinguished six types of coin.

Type 1. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole, an arch-shaped tamgha. *Reverse*: Uighur legend: **türgäš qayan bai baγa**. Weight 5.5-5.1g; diameter 24 mm.

Type 2. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole, an arch-shaped tamgha; on the other side of it, a Turk runic letter "r" and the word **mlk**. *Reverse*: Uighur legend: **türgäš qayan bai baγa**. Weight 10.77g; diameter 24 mm.

Type 3. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole, an arch-shaped tamgha; on the other side of it, a Turk runic letter "r" and and word **kür** or **kak**. *Reverse*: Uighur legend: **kuz boš ordun** (Bernshtam read it as "[coin of the] free Kuz Ordu").

Type 4. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole, an arch-shaped tamgha; on the other side of it, a Turk runic letter "r" and the word **bek**. *Reverse*: Uighur legend, effaced and illegible. Weight 1.68-2.56g, diameter 20 mm.

Type 5. This type is close to type 4. *Obverse*: badly effaced. *Reverse*: Uighur legend which Bernshtam failed to read. Weight 1.6g; diameter 18 mm.

Type 6. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole, an arch-shaped tamgha; on the other side of it a Turk runic letter "r". *Reverse*: Uighur legend which Bernshtam failed to read.

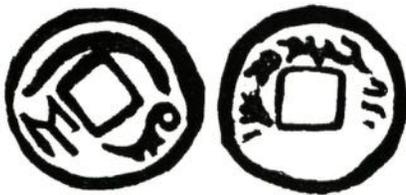
About a quarter of a century elapsed until Smirnova (1963, 123) established that the legends on the Tiurgesh coins were Sogdian, not Uighur. She read the main legend as **βγ twrkyš γγn pny**, "fen (of) the divine Tiurgesh Qagan". Now the reading given by Smirnova is accepted by everyone. But why did Bernshtam consider that the legends were written in Uighur? In fact the Uighur alphabet is derived from the Sogdian alphabet. So it was easy to mistake one alphabet for another.

Smirnova (1981, 397-405) offered another typology for these coins.

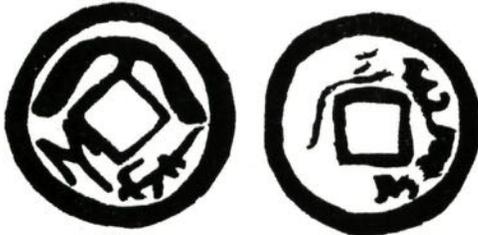
Type 1. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole is the Tiurgesh tamgha “shaped like a stylised Turk runic (letter) ‘āt’ with a square *corpus* (body?) and an arch-shaped upper part”. On the other sides of the hole, the Turk runic letter “r” and the Chinese character “yuan”. *Reverse*: Sogdian legend, badly effaced and illegible. Weight 2.5g; diameter 23 mm (Smirnova 1981, 397/1585). Fig 1.



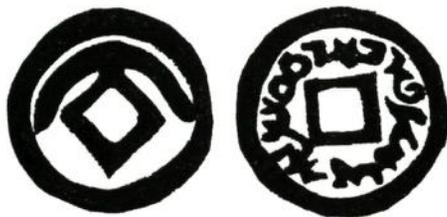
Type 2. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole is the Tiurgesh tamgha; on the other sides of the hole, the Turk runic letter “r” and Sogdian legend **prn** or **nkw**. *Reverse*: Sogdian legend: **βγγ twrkyš ʕʕn pny**. Weight 4.12, 3.44g; diameter 23, 22 mm (Smirnova 1981, 398-399/1586-1587). Fig 2.



Type 3. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole is the Tiurgesh tamgha; on the other sides of the hole, the Turk runic letter “r” and Sogdian legend **mnγ** or **mʕ**. *Reverse*: Sogdian legend: **βγγ twrkyš ʕʕn pny**. Weight 10.77g; diameter 28mm (Smirnova 1981, 399-400/1588). Fig 3.



Type 4. *Obverse*: on one side of the square hole is the Tiurgesh tamgha. *Reverse*: Sogdian legend: **βγγ twrkyš ʕʕn pny**. Weight 0.63-7.09g; diameter 21-25 mm (Smirnova 1981, 400-405/1589-1624). Fig 4.



It is comparatively easy to date and localise the Tiurgesh coins. The Tiurgesh qaganate existed during the period 704-766 AD. So these coins were minted between those years. Smirnova thought it possible to give a more exact date. She dated the appearance of Tiurgesh coins to not earlier than the 730s. In her opinion, the Sogdian expression **βγγ ʕʕn** (divine qagan) was the loan-translation of the Turk *tengri qagan* (celestial qagan) which title (as applied to a Turk qagan) was not met with before the 730s either in Turk or Chinese sources. She added that “the first Tiurgesh bearing such a title ... was Tengri Qagan, the younger brother of Inchi. Actually this title is found in Turk written sources already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century but there it was applied to the Chinese emperor” (Smirnova 1981, 61). It is clear that Tiurgesh coins circulated for a considerably longer time, up to and including, at least, the 9<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. for about a century after the Tiurgesh qaganate ceased to exist. At the excavations in

Semirech'e they were found in archaeological strata dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. There is nothing unusual in coins circulating in Central Asia for lengthy periods after they were struck; there are examples from various areas and periods which have been given in these pages in previous articles that I have written.

As for the location of Tiurgesh coins, the topography of the coin finds has provided important and unequivocal information. Smirnova (1981, 400-405/1589-1624) and Nastich (1989, 97-118) published 104 coins of type 4 (Smirnova's typology), i.e. without the Turk runic letter “r” on the obverse. Of these, 92 coins (89%) were found in the Chu valley, the provenance of 7 coins is unknown (at least some of them could also have been found in the Chu valley), 1 coin was found in Taraz, 4 coins were found in Penjikent. On the other hand, all the coins with the Turk runic letter “r” on the obverse published by Smirnova (1981, 397-400/1585-1588) were found in Taraz.

Thus coins of type 4 (Smirnova's typology), i.e. without the Turk runic letter “r” on the obverse were issued and circulated in the Chu valley, where the capital of the Tiurgesh qaganate, Suyab, was situated. Certainly the majority of such coins were issued at Suyab. Archaeologists have identified the hillfort of Aq-Beshim with the town of Suyab. It was founded in the Chu valley in the 5<sup>th</sup> century by Sogdian colonists as an emporium on the Great Silk Road. When, in 603, the Turk qaganate split into the Western and Eastern qaganates, Suyab became the capital of the Western qaganate. By its walls, the *Ordu* (headquarters, camp) of the qagan was set up. It was very probably about this time that Suyab got its second name “Ordukend” (“Town of the Ordu”). By the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, it was already a well developed town. The Chinese monk, Hiuen Tsiang (c. 629-645), described Suyab as a flourishing town where Sogdians dwelt. Merchants from all countries came to the annual Suyab fair (Fedorov 2001, 434-436). It was Sogdian colonists who introduced coinage into Semirech'e and issued the first coins there. But since the rulers of those Sogdian town-colonies were vassals of the Turk (Tiurgesh, Qarluq) qagan they cited the title of the suzerain on their coins. It is also not out of the question that, apart from Suyab, such coins were issued in other towns of Semirech'e (e.g. Navikat). An early-mediaeval Sogdian mint (or rather foundry) was a very primitive affair and quite easy to establish. All that was needed is a crucible, forge, bronze ingot and *ganch* (alabaster/gypsum) or clay to make a mould by the very simple expedient of making impressions of a coin in an unbaked clay or *ganch* slab and linking the impressions by channels through which the molten bronze would flow. Of course, to start with it was necessary to create a bronze punch to make the impressions of the coins in the *ganch* (or clay). Or to cut in stone an original mould for the original coins. But this would not have been much of a problem either.

The coins with the Turk runic letter “r” on the obverse were issued in the Talas valley, most probably in the town of Taraz, the capital of the the Talas valley. But it is not out of the question that they were also issued in other Sogdian town-colonies in the Talas valley (e.g. Atlakh).

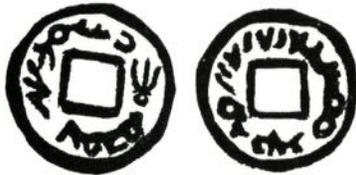
The bronze coins, with a square hole, of Semirech'e were made by Sogdian colonists on the pattern of Sogdian coins (with a square hole) issued in their homeland. Such coins of Sogd proper were made on the pattern of the Chinese “*Kai Yuan Tong Bao*” coins, i.e. “Cash (of the period) Kai-Yuan”. This period started in 621 AD, so these Sogdian imitations of Chinese coins could not have been issued before that date. Most probably the first tentative issues took place at the very beginning of the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This would mean that the bronze coins (with square hole) of Semirech'e would not have appeared earlier than the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (Of course, I do not mean the coins of **βγγ twrkyš ʕʕn pny** type, which could not have appeared earlier than 704 AD, but there are also some other types of coins with a square hole, issued in Semirech'e).

#### *Coins of “Tikhū” type.*

In Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 405-412/1625-1658) there are 34 coins in the “Tikhū” group.

Type 1. *Obverse*: around the square hole, the Sogdian legend **βγγ twrkyš ʕʕn pny**, “fen (of) the divine Tiurgesh qagan”.

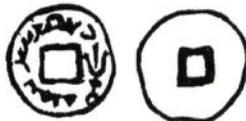
*Reverse:* around the hole, a Sogdian legend which Smirnova read as **ṭṭwsš ṭṭβw** "Tukhusian lord". Between the two ends of the legend is a "Tūkhūs" tamgha. It is trident-shaped though quite distinct from the trident-shaped tamgha of Chach. The trident of the "Tūkhūs" tamgha is shaped as a half-oval and has diverging side-prongs with a somewhat longer central prong. According to Smirnova (1981, 406/1625, 542/111) the trident is mounted on a pedestal of two short parallel horizontal lines. According to Nastich (1989, 103) the trident is mounted on a pedestal of two dots. Another coin of the same type 1 has, according to Smirnova (1981, 407/1634, 542/112), a somewhat different variant of the tamgha: here the trident is mounted on an arch-shaped pedestal. But as matter of fact, because of the poor state of preservation of the coins at her disposal, Smirnova failed to notice that there were two different tamghas instead of just one. Nastich (1989, 99, 119, Nr. 4, 34, 35(?), 215), who was able to study better preserved coins, described two miniature tamghas placed side by side: A "Tukhus" tamgha (shaped like a trident and mounted on a tiny shaft crossed by a tiny horizontal line) and a Tiurgesh tamgha (arch-shaped with a rhomboid in the middle). Here, however, because of the miniature size of the tamgha, the rhomboid was described as a point. The "Tukhus" and Tiurgesh tamghas are placed back to back to each other. I am sure Nastich is correct. Anyway, since on these coins both the Tiurgesh qagan and "Tukhus" lord are cited, one should expect the tamghas of both rulers to be placed on the coins. Weight 2.52, 1.67, 1.45, 1.11, 1.1, 1.01, 0.89, 0.89, 0.88, 0.7, 0.63g (other coins are chipped or fragments); diameter 20-16 mm (Smirnova 1981, 405-409/1625-1649). Fig 5.



Nastich (1989, 98) instead of **ṭṭwsš ṭṭβw** read **wṭtm'/nš**, or **w'ṭwm'š**, or **ṭṭ'wmš ṭṭβw**.

These coins cite **βṭṭ twrkyš ṭṭ'ṭn**, the supreme suzerain, and **ṭṭwsš(?) ṭṭβw**, the immediate suzerain, of some Sogdian town-colony. They could not have been issued earlier than 704 (when the Tiurgesh qaganate came into existence) or rather, as Smirnova opined, earlier than the 730s when the title **βṭṭ ṭṭ'ṭn** was for the first time applied to the Tiurgesh qagan.

Type 2. *Obverse:* around the hole is the Sogdian legend **ṭṭws'n'k (?) ṭṭβw** "Tukhusian(?) lord". Between the start and finish of the legend is a "Tūkhūs" tamgha. This variant of the "Tūkhūs" tamgha (Smirnova 1981, 542/113) has a trident as on the type 1 coins but it is mounted on a hoof-shaped pedestal and resembles a dancing man with lifted hands and legs spread apart. *Reverse:* Blank (no inscriptions or images). Weight 0.83, 0.61, 0.47g (other coins chipped); diameter 12-11 mm (Smirnova 1981, 405-409/1650-1658). Fig 6.



Nastich (1989, 98), following Livshits, instead of **ṭṭwsš ṭṭβw** read **ṭṭws'nk tkyn**. *Tegin* is a Turk title equal to Prince. Livshits thought the Sogdian **ṭṭβw** and Turk *Tegin* were very close and even identical in meaning. These coins cite **ṭṭws'n'k (?) ṭṭβw** as suzerain of some Sogdian town-colony and do not cite the Tiurgesh qagan. They must have been issued before 704, the date the Tiurgesh qaganate came into existence and the Tūkhūs became vassals of the Tiurgesh.

Type 3. There are no legends or images on either the obverse or reverse. The coins are blank. But strangely, Smirnova (1981, 412/1655-1658) attributed them to the "Tūkhūs" group of coins. Weight 0.44, 0.33, 0.33, 0.3g; diameter 11-10 mm.

After Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 88-422/1-1685) was published, new coins were found in Semirech'e, and new readings

were offered for the legends on coins published by her. Nastich (1989, 98, note 6) doubted the reading **ṭṭws**. He wrote that, for the initial letter of the word in question, the reading **w** or **p** was preferable, and that letter in the middle of the word is distinctly an **m**. He read the legend as **wṭtm'/nš**, **w'ṭwm'š**, or **ṭṭ'wmš ṭṭβw**, i.e. "**Vakhatm[an] / Vakhatm[.n]ian, Vakhumian or T.khomian lord**". "although I use the terms 'tukhus' or 'tukhusian' here", Nastich wrote, "I do so with the proviso that, if these terms are based on the reading of the coins' legends, these terms are not unequivocal, they are actually uncertain, require additional analysis and, clearly, some new interpretation" (Nastich 1989, 98-99).

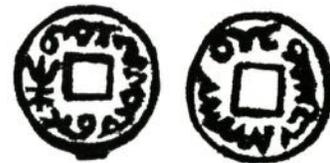
a) *Obverse:* around the hole, **βṭṭ twrkyš ṭṭ'ṭn pny**. *Reverse:* around the hole. **wṭtm'/nš**, or **w'ṭwm'š**, or **ṭṭ'wmš ṭṭβw**. Between the beginning end and end of the legend there are two miniature tamghas: one of the Tiurgesh qagan another of his vassal. Weight 0.99, 0.96, 0.77g; diameter 15-16, 16-21, 16 mm. (Nastich 1989, 98-99, Nr. 4, 34, 35(?), 215). This is Smirnova's type 1.

b) *Obverse:* around the hole, **ṭṭws'nk(?) tkyn**. Between the beginning and end of the legend there is a tamgha of type 2 (according Smirnova's typology). Weight 1.06, 0.6, 0.61, 0.46, 0.44, 0.39g; diameter 11-13 mm. (Nastich 1989, Nr. 5, 64(?), 71(?), 78, 107, 108, 128, 129, 216). But there are also coins (Nr. 78) on which he read title **ṭṭβw**. So there were coins of two subtypes: with the title **ṭṭβw** and **tkyn**. Coin Nr. 107, according to Nastich, clearly has **wṭtm'nk** "V.kh(a)t.mian", not **ṭṭws'nk**. *Reverse* blank. This is Smirnova's type 2.

c) *Obverse:* coin Nr. 127 (in the best state of preservation), according to Nastich clearly reads **wṭtm'/nš** "V.khatm.[n]ian", not **ṭṭws'nk**. But there is only one tamgha, the so-called "Tukhusian" one. The Tiurgeshian tamgha is absent. Weight 2.56, 1.99, 1.62, 1.33, 1.24; diameter 17-20 mm. (Nastich 1989, Nr. 37, 96, 97, 101, 127, 140, 174, 217). This is Smirnova's type 1, subtype with only one tamgha, which she called "tukhusian" (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1625-1633).

There is one more type which is absent from Smirnova's catalogue. It resembles Smirnova's type 1, the subtype with only the so-called "Tukhusian" tamgha, but with some differences.

d) *Obverse:* the legend written clockwise: **βṭṭ twrkyš ṭṭ'ṭn pny** "Fen (of) Tiurgesh qagan", or, as Nastich read it: "Tiurgesh qagan. Fan". *Reverse:* the legend written clockwise: **p'tm'š(?) ṭṭβw pny** "Bat.m.[sh]ian lord. Fan". To the left (not to the right as on Smirnova's type 1) of the square hole is one more variant of the so-called "Tukhusian" tamgha. It has the usual half-oval, trident-shaped upper part of the tamgha, but differs in the lower part of the tamgha: this is a short shaft crossed by two short horizontal and parallel lines. Weight 1.34, 1.22g; diameter 16-17.5 mm. (Nastich 1989, Nr. 44, 47). Fig 7.

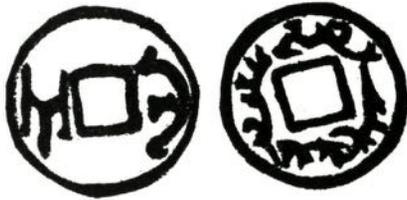


Smirnova (1981, 412/1659) published a coin which she attributed to the "unknown khagan". Nastich (1989, 162/32) published one more such coin and established that it was issued by *Arslan Bilge Qagan*. He singled out these coins as a special group which he called "Arslanid coins" and published one more coin (of another type) also belonging to this group.

*Obverse:* around the hole, a Sogdian legend written anticlockwise **βṭṭ 'rsl'n pylk' ṭṭ'ṭn pny** "Lord Arslan Bylga Qagan. Fan". Smirnova (1981, 412) read this legend as **βṭṭ'ny βṭṭ(?) pylk' ṭṭ'ṭn pny(?)** "Fen (of) the God of Gods(?) [or rather Lord of Lords] Bilga Khakan". I accept Nastich's reading. *Reverse:* on the four sides of the square hole, four, according to Smirnova (412, 542, Nr. 114), "imitations of Chinese characters", a trapezium-shaped sign with an equilateral cross within. According to Nastich (1989, 32) reverse had traces of three radial lines and several unclear signs. Weight 2.5, 2.35, 1.22g; diameter 20, 22, 16-17.5 mm. Fig 8.



*Obverse:* around the hole, a Sogdian legend written anticlockwise 'rsl'n kwyl 'yrkyn "Arslan Kül Irkin". *Reverse:* to the left of the hole is the Turkic letter "r". To the right of the hole is an arch-shaped tamgha, but of different type from the Tiurgesh tamgha which Smirnova considered to be the Turkic letter "ät" with "rhomboid corpus (body?)". On this coin the arch has, in the middle, a short horizontal line slightly broadening (or bifurcating) at the end. Weight 5.56g; diameter 25 mm (Nastich 1989, 219). Fig. 9.



Without any doubt, these coins were issued at the time of the Qarluq qaganate. **Arslan** (Lion) was a totem of one of the tribes of the Qarluq federation. Titles with the **Arslan** component (Arslan Khān, Arslan Qarākhān, Arslan Khāqān, Arslan Qarākhāqān, Arslan Īlek, Arslan Tegī n) were among the most widespread titles of the Qarākhānids, the descendants of the Qarluq qagans (Fedorov 2001, 34).

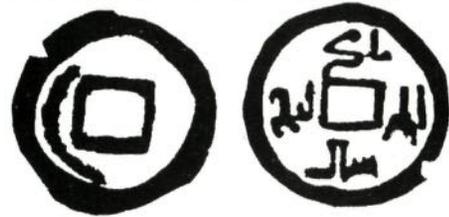
The colophon of the Turkic-Manichaean manuscript "*iki jūltiz nom*" states that the book was written in the beginning of the reign of **Chigil Arslan El Tegrhūk Alp Barghuchan Alp Tarkhan Beg**, ruler of Argu-Talas (i.e. Taraz), Chigilkent, Qashu and Ordu. Elsewhere, **Ordu** was mentioned as the town where a Manichaean cloister existed. Different scholars have dated the manuscript in various ways ranging from "739" to "the middle of the IX century" (Istocnikovedenie 1996, 103-104, 236-238). It is established that Ordukend or Ordu was the second name of Suyab (Fedorov 2001c, 435). So the date "739" is out of the question because, until 766, Suyab was the capital of the Tiurgesh qaganate.

Another inscription (Istocnikovedenie 1996, 105), dated to 899, mentions **Alp Arslan Kutlugh Kül Bilge Tengri Khan** under whose sway were lands extending from the borders of China to Chach (or rather to the borders of Chach, since Chach at that time officially belonged to the Arab caliphate and actually to the Sāmānid state). So we know at least four rulers from the dynasty which Nastich named the "Arslanids": **Arslan Bylga Qagan, Arslan Kül Irkin, Chigil Arslan El Tegrhūk Alp Barghuchan Alp Tarkhan Beg, Alp Arslan Kutlugh Kül Bilge Tengri Khan**. At least two of them issued coins, or rather were cited as suzerains on the coins issued in the Sogdian colonies of Semirech'e.

So the *terminus post quem* for the coins of Arslan Bylga Qagan and Arslan Kül Irkin is 766, when the Tiurgesh qaganate ceased to exist and Suyab/Ordukend was captured by the Qarluq confederation of tribes. It is also possible to localise the mint (or rather foundry) where the coins of Arslan Kül Irkin were issued: they have on the reverse the Turkic letter "r" which is a distinctive sign of at least three types of Tiurgeshian coins, found in Taraz. On the other hand, this letter was not placed on the coins found in the Chu valley.

There are bronze coins with a square hole, made in the style of the Tiurgesh coins, but with Arabic inscriptions. The first such coin was found by Senigova (1972, 104) at Zholpak-Tepe hillfort in the region of Taraz. She, however, described this coin as "Chinese with four characters". Later five more such coins were found at the excavations of the hillforts of Talgar and Krasnaya Rechka. Nastich (1987, 52-53) established that these coins had Arabic inscriptions (with mistakes and distortions).

*Obverse:* above the square hole - ملك, right of the hole - ارم, below the hole - ينالى, the word to the left of the hole Nastich failed to read. I wonder, could it be the name ليح? The reverse is badly effaced. It looks as if there was an arch-shaped tamgha of some sort. Weight, not given; diameter 24 mm. Fig 10.



Goriacheva (1988, 97) called these coins "the first Qarakhanid coins". She wrote: "The first Qarakhanid coins were cast in the style of Tiurgeshian coins - the same bronze circlet with rim, the same (?-M. F.) tamgha on the obverse, but instead of a Sogdian legend on the reverse there are Kufic Arabic inscriptions". Nastich (1987, 52), however, cautiously called these coins "proto-Qarakhanid". Baratova (1999, 238-239), following him, called them "Protokarakhanidische Münzen". I am sure they are right. These coins reflect the gradual process of Islamisation of Semirech'e prior to the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks in Central Asia. These coins show that, on the eve of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the Muslim population of the towns of Semirech'e was considerable enough to warrant the issue of coins with Arabic inscriptions (Fedorov 2001, 3).

Nastich (1989, 115) published an interesting and rare anepigraphic coin with the image of a Turk ruler, found at Krasnaya Rechka in 1980. To my knowledge, it is the only coin-type of Semirech'e known so far with the image of a ruler. It also differs from all the other coins of early-mediaeval Semirech'e in that it does not have square hole in the middle.

*Obverse:* face (and nothing else) of a ruler. The outline of the face is delineated by the edges of the coin. The face has straight, long, bushy eyebrows; a rather short, straight, thin nose; large eyes, one round, the other almond-shaped; a long, slightly drooping moustache and a goatee beard. *Reverse:* a lattice-shaped pattern of four almost rectangular cells, with some half-erased squiggles at its sides. Weight 1.66g; diameter 12-14 mm (Nastich 1989, 115). Fig 11.



Nastich (1989, 115, note 21) thought this face showed some affinity to the face on the Sogdian coin of Samarqand and to the man's face on the Turko-Sogdian coins with an image of some royal couple (Smirnova 1981, 99/Nr. 37, 362/Nr. 1485, ff.). I believe these coins are the earliest in Semirech'e, are connected with the Sogdian colonies of Semirech'e and were issued during the period around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. before the coins with square hole in the middle spread throughout Samarqandian Sogd (in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) having supplanted the coins without the hole.

Now some comments about the metrology of Semirechian bronze coins (silver coins were not minted in Semirech'e in the early-medieval period).

At first glance, the weight of Semirechian bronze coins appears rather chaotic. But it is possible to trace some system there. To begin with, there was such a thing as the **Intended Average Weight - IAW**. Like Sogdian coins the coins of Semirech'e were issued *al marco*, i.e. from a certain amount of bronze a certain amount of coins were cast. When, for instance, from 250g of bronze 100 or 200 coins were cast, the **IAW** of the coins was determined/decreed as 2.5 or 1.25g, i.e. there was a **Main Monetary Unit (MU)** and its multiple (or fractional). The coins with the **IAW**, or close to it, should be more frequent than those showing large plus or minus deviations.

The weight of Semirechian bronze coins ranged from 0.4 to 10.77g. The weight histogram of the coins resembles a mountain ridge with many different peaks. Without any doubts the monetary system of Sogdian colonies in Semirech'e was the same as in the fatherland of the Sogdian colonists, Sogd proper, (maybe with minor, insignificant variations).

Smirnova (1981, 63-65, 544-546) wrote that Sogdian bronze coins were issued *al marco*. She made 16 weight histograms and drew the following conclusions. 1) There is a considerable variation in the weight fluctuations within the same series of coins. 2) The histograms, with the exception of only one type (imitations of Ghurek's coins), do not give a triangle with a single peak, they give several peaks. 3) The coins show that their weight was gradually reduced over time. According to Smirnova (1981, 65) in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, 400-500 coins were cast from 1kg of bronze; in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, 965 coins were cast from 1kg of bronze. 4) Several peaks on each histogram in her opinion attested either to the fact that there was a gradual debasement of the coins (by reducing their weight) or that there were coins of several denominations within each series. I, myself, consider the latter to have been the case.

Smirnova (1981, 65) wrote that in contemporary China bronze coins of 50, 40, 30, 20 and 10 *chzhu* were issued. In other words, there was a main unit and its fractions: 4/5, 3/5, 2/5 and 1/5. Having borrowed the coin-type from China, the Sogdians must also have borrowed their monetary system. Moreover, as has been noted elsewhere in these pages, bronze coins in China also circulated in the form of strings containing a certain amount of coins of a certain weight.

The heaviest Sogdian coins weighed around 6g. Following the Chinese example, one would expect that, apart from the **MU** (main unit=about 6g), there were its fractions: **4/5 MU=4.8g**, **3/5 MU=3.6g**, **2/5 MU=2.4g**, **1/5 MU=1.2g**. On the histograms that Smirnova created (1981, 544-546) there are peaks of **1.3g** (histograms Nr. 7, 14, 15), **2.1g** (Nr. 4), **2.2g** (Nr. 8,11), **2.3g** (Nr.16), **2.5g** (Nr.12). These coins must have been **2/5 MU** and **1/5 MU**. On histograms Nr. 3 and 9 there are peaks of **3.6** and **3.5g**, which would correspond to **3/5 MU**. On histogram Nr. 2 the highest peak is **4.1g**, next to it is a peak of **5g**, which is **4/5 MU**. Bearing in mind that coins were cast *al marco* one should not expect 100% coincidence. Only histogram Nr. 10 gives a triangle pattern with a single peak of **1.5g**. On histogram Nr. 16 the peak of **1.5g** is next only to the peak of **2.3g**. On histogram Nr. 5 the highest peak is **1.6g**. On histogram Nr. 15 the peak of **1.6g** is next only to the peak of **1.3g**. The peak of **1.3g** may suggest the main unit's weight of (1.3x5) 6.5g. But the heaviest bronze coins of Sogd weighed between 5-6g. There were several coins of 6g and one coin of 6.79g but the latter was said to be due to defective casting, i.e. drops of extra metal were on the coin or the hole in the middle of the coin was partly filled with bronze (Smirnova 1981, 103, 227). And all this relates to more than 1400 Sogdian bronze coins published by Smirnova (1981, 88-323/1-1418). So I believe that an **IAW** of **1.2g** for the smallest denomination of this series is more plausible.

Standing apart from the above series are coins with an **IAW** of **1.5-1.6g**. I believe this was an indigenous Central-Asian weight unit, because coins of such weight are met with in Khwarezm, Sogd, Tokharistan, Ustrushana, Chach as well as in Semirech'e.

Well, let us see what we have in Semirech'e. The data are not sufficient to give a clear, exhaustive picture. But it is enough to determine a trend. In the weight histogram of the coins of Semirech'e there is a compact group (20 coins) between 0.8-1.3g with peak of 1.1g (7 coins). It corresponds to coins with an **IAW** of **1.2-1.3g** in Sogd proper. There is a small compact group (5 coins) between 1.4-1.6g with a peak of 1.5g (3 coins). There is a compact group between 1.8-2.6g (16 coins) with four equal peaks (3 coins each) of 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.5g, which group has parallels in Sogd proper. There is a compact group of 2.6-3.3g (9 coins) which is most probably an **IAW** of **1.5-1.6g** doubled. There is a compact group of 3.4-3.9g (8 coins). This corresponds to Sogdian coins of **3/5 MU** (1.2x3=3.6, 1.3x3= 3.9g). There is compact group of coins between 4.3-5.5g (16 coins). This corresponds to Sogdian coins of **4/5 MU** (1.2x4=4.8, 1.3x4=5.2g). There is compact group of coins between 5.8-6.3g (11 coins). This corresponds to Sogdian coins of **MU** (1.2x5=6, 1.3x5=6.5g).

Bearing in mind that coins were cast *al marco* and will have lost some weight in circulation one can hardly expect 100% coincidence.

In Semirech'e there were also coins heavier than **MU** and lighter than **1/5 MU**. In Semirech'e there is a compact group of coins between 6.5-7.1g (6 coins). This is **6/5 MU** (1.2x6=7.2g). There is also one coin of Taraz weighing 10.77g which is, of course, **2 MU** (6x2=12g). In Semirech'e there were also tiny coins of 0.65-0.7g and 0.3-0.4g. They were probably 1/2 and 1/3 of the **IAW** of **1.2-1.3g**.

#### Coin diameters (D).

The smallest coin **D** 7mm. One coin, oval, 7-8mm. The biggest coin **D** 28.5mm. 2 coins **D** 26mm. 2 coins **D** 15mm. 3 coins **D** 12mm. 4 coins **D** 13mm. Compact group **D** 16-25mm. Peak of the histogram 24mm (22 c, 21.2%), next to it peak of 25mm (16 c, 15%), next to it peak of 16mm (11 c, 10.3%), next to it peak of 21mm (10 c, 9.35%). Coins with **D** 24 plus/minus 1mm give ca 45% of all coins. There could be linear measure unit of **24mm**. Then **16mm** would be **2/3** of that linear measure unit.

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#### List of abbreviations

- AMIT* Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.  
*ONS Newsletter* Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter.  
*ONU* Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane.

SE *Sovetskaia Etnografiia.*  
 ST *Sovetskaia Tiurkologiia*  
 TOVE *Trudy Otdela Vostoka Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.*

Illustrations from: O. Smirnova, *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet. Bronza*, 1981, Moskva; V. Nastich, "Monetnye nakhodki s

gorodishcha Krasnaia Rechka (1978-1983 gg.)", *Krasnaia Rechka i Burana*, 1989, Frunze; L. Baratova, "Altürkische Münzen Mittelasiens aus dem 6.-10. Jh. n. Chr.", *AMIT*, b. 31, 1999, Berlin. (The author would like to thank Dr. L. Baratova for the pictures she kindly sent).

APPENDIX

**The Western Turk Qagans**

1. *Istemi Jabghu Qagan*. Qagan of the ten tribes (i.e. of Western Turks). 558(?)–575 AD.
2. *Tardu Bëkë Qagan*. Qagan of the ten tribes. 576–587. Qagan of the whole Qaganate. 587–603.
3. *Nili Qagan*. Qagan of the ten tribes. 587–? (died before 600).
4. *Tarman Chura Qagan*. Qagan of the ten tribes. ? (before 600)–603. Western qaganate. 603–610.
5. *Jegui (Shegui) Qagan*. Western qaganate. 610–618.
6. *Ton Jabghu Qagan*. Western qaganate. 618–630.
7. *Kül El Bilge Qagan*. Western qaganate. 630–631(?).
8. *El Bilge Yshbara Jabghu Qagan*. Western qaganate. 630–631 (or 632?).
9. *Ton Alp Elber Turk Qagan*. Western qaganate. ?–634.
10. *Yshbara Elterish Shir Qagan*. Western qaganate. 634–639.
11. *El Kül Shir El Bilge Qagan*. Western qaganate. 639–640.
12. *El Bilge Turk Qagan*. Western qaganate. 638–642.
13. *El Bilge Yshbara Jabghu Qagan*. Western qaganate. 640–641.
14. *El Bilge Jegui (Shegui) II Qagan*. Western qaganate. 642–651.
15. *Yshbara Qagan*. Western qaganate. 651–657.

**The Tiurgesh Qagans**

1. *Uch Eligh Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 699–706.
2. *Saqal Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 706–711.
3. *Suluq Chabysh Chor Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 716–738.
4. *Tukhvarsen Qut Chor Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 738–739.
5. *Kül Chor Bagha Tarkhan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 739–744.
6. *Eletmish Qutlugh Bilge Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 744–749.
7. *Jypar Qutkugh Bilge Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 749–753.
8. *Tengride Bolmysh*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 753–756.
9. *Ata Bojla*. Tiurgesh qaganate. 759–?
10. *Qut Oghlan Qagan*. Tiurgesh qaganate. ?–766.

**Tribal affiliation of Tiurgesh qagans**

Yellow Tiurgeshes

1. *Uch Eligh Qagan*
2. *Saqal Qagan* (son of *Uch Eligh*)
5. *Kül Chor Bagha*
6. *Eletmish Qagan*
9. *Ata Bojla*

Black Tiurgeshes

3. *Suluq Chabysh Chor Qagan*
4. *Tukhvarsen Qagan* (son of *Suluq*)
7. *Jypar Qagan*
8. *Tengride Bolmysh Qagan*
10. *Qut Oghlan Qagan*

(according to: Kliashtorny, S. G. 1985. "Genealogiia i chronologiia zapadnotiurkskikh i tiurgeshskikh kaganov VI-VIII vv.", *Iz istorii dorevoliutsionnogo Kirgizstana*, Frunze, pp. 166, 168).

**A New Variety of a Gold Coin from Nepal**

By Nicholas Rhodes & Alexander Lissanevitch

The gold coins of the grandfather of the present king of Nepal, King Tribhuvan Vir Vikram, are relatively common and are well listed in Krause & Mishler. It was a surprise, therefore, when the second-named author noticed that, on one example of the Tola denomination dated 1976ś offered to him for sale in Nepal, the legend and design in the centre of the reverse differed slightly from the normal. The new variety of KM.703 is illustrated below as Fig.1, with the normal type of the same date for comparison, as Fig.2.



Fig.1(\* 1.5)

Fig.2

The main difference is in the centre of the reverse, where the legend reads *Śrī Bhavānī*, instead of *Śrī 3 Bhavānī*, and instead of a moon and sun by the *Śrī 3* on the top line, there are three dots each side of the letter *Śrī*. Bhavani is another name for Parvati, the wife of Shiva, and is the goddess of abundance. Her name appears on most coins of the present dynasty, the Shah Dynasty, but the degree of honorific given to her does vary over the years. She first appears as *Śrī Śrī Bhavānī* on the coins of Prithvi Narayan dated 1671-1696 (=1749-74 AD), but consistently appears as *Śrī 3 Bhavānī* on the silver and gold mohars of Rana Bahadur onwards. On smaller denominations *Śrī Śrī Bhavānī* is used, and very occasionally *Śrī Bhavānī* (eg RGV.724, 826 & 953). On copper coins of Prithvi Vir Vikram, *Śrī 5 Bhavānī* is used. More recent coins have the single honorific, commencing with the silver rupee and minor denominations of King Tribhuvan dated 1989 vs (KM.723). The conclusion has to be that the degree of honorific accorded to the goddess Bhavani was left to the whim of the mint, and was not regarded as a very important element of the design of the coin. At present, we do not know whether this particular piece should be regarded as a mint error, serious enough to warrant withdrawal and destruction of the die, or whether it was just a "one-off" aberration or experiment. Now the variety has been noted, perhaps other collectors could look at their collections and let us know which variety they possess. So far, among the four examples we happen to have examined of this date, only this single example of this new variety has been noted, but it would be interesting to see whether other collectors can find other examples, even perhaps on other dates.

It should be noted that the obverse die also differs slightly, with the stalk of the flower on the left side of the obverse kinking to the left, rather than to the right. Also the "sun" on the right of the obverse top panel is more like a dot than a star, but this feature is normal for the first few dates of the series. So far we have never seen the gold mohar denomination (Wt.5.6g) for this date, only the gold tola (Wt.12.4g).

### An Armenian in Lhasa in the 1680s

By Nick Rhodes

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1966, contains an overview of the contents of a most interesting ledger written by an Armenian trader, Hovhannes Joughayetsi (HJ)<sup>1</sup>. The journal covers the period from December 1683, when HJ received capital of 250 *tumans* and set off from Isfahan via Bandar Abbas, for India, until December 1693, when he arrived at Calcutta after returning from Lhasa. The article mentions that a full publication of the ledger is being prepared in the Mashtots Matenadaran in Yerevan, but if such a publication has been made, I have not located it. The summary published in the *JAS* does, however, throw some interesting light on the coinage of Iran, India, Nepal and Tibet, and the activities of the community of Armenian traders during these years. The purpose of this article is to highlight the information on the monetary situation in Tibet, as described by HJ, and since he spent five continuous years in Lhasa, the information is quite interesting<sup>2</sup>. It may be observed that HJ was only the third western visitor to Lhasa to have left any record of his visit, and the first to have mentioned the currency<sup>3</sup>.

When he arrived in Lhasa on 30 September 1686, HJ admitted that he knew neither the local language, nor the customs and measures. However, he was able to learn quickly from the

Armenian merchants already residing in Lhasa, and particularly their Tibetan employees. During his five-year stay (he finally left on 21 June 1692), HJ had commercial dealings with many merchants, including Armenians, Tibetans, Kashmiris and Newars, and the overview lists the names of thirty-six such business contacts. While he himself did not venture from Lhasa during his five-year stay, several of the other Armenian merchants went to Slink (Xi-Ning) in China. HJ sold to these merchants goods, such as silver (at the rate of 7 *tanks* of silver for one of gold to be paid on their return after one year) and amber.

While in Tibet, HJ computes sums of money in *lanks*, which must be silver *srang* in Tibetan, or *Liang* or *Tael* in Chinese, apparently a weight of 37.79g. Interestingly, on several occasions he mentions that he was paid in debased silver. For example, when the Tibetan Government repaid 748 *lanks* in taxes, previously levied on account, he 'lost' 121 *lanks* on account of debasement. This implies that the silver received was only 83.8% fine, assuming that he had originally paid the taxes in fine silver. According to HJ, the state bodies 'forced people to take debased metal, but when receiving they exacted silver of the highest standard'. It was noted that, on one occasion, in order to repay a debt to a government establishment for the hiring of pack animals of 7 *lanks* and 2 *miskalis*, 'I gave them high-standard silver; they made it red-hot three times and melted it twice; 6 *miskalis* were lost'. This implies that the Tibetans discovered 8% alloy in even apparently fine silver.

In another diary entry, HJ notes that 'officials of the same *sarkar* in Lhasa give the silver less, but require more'. He explains this as 'two types of weights are used in the *sarkar*; when receiving the heavier, weights are placed on the scales; when giving, the lighter ones'.

When dealing with trades in Nepal, amounts are apparently mentioned in small *melli*, and 2 *melli* were equal to one rupee of the plains. The author also mentions that there was a copper coin, called *dam*, in circulation in Nepal, of which 119 make one small *melli*. This passage is instructive, in that it shows that the author, or rather the translator of the ledger, had little or no knowledge of Nepalese coins, and made some wrong assumptions. For example, the *dam* referred to is, of course, made of silver, although it is indeed a very small coin, weighing only 0.04g. Interestingly the exchange rate compares closely with the 120 *dams* = 1 mohar quoted by the Italian missionary, Giuseppe di Ascoli in 1707<sup>4</sup>, and is rather lower than the apparently theoretical exchange rate of 128, implying that whoever dispensed the small coins, took a fee of around 6%.

In considering HJ's dealings in Tibet, the assumption made by the translator seems to be that no coins were in circulation in Tibet, and all transactions took place in silver ingots. However, this seems unlikely, as we know that by the 1680's, silver coins from Nepal had almost certainly entered circulation in Tibet, brought there by Nepalese and other traders<sup>5</sup>. It is thus very likely that some transactions in Lhasa were effected with coin, while others may have been effected using Chinese silver ingots (or *sycee*). In this case it is very likely that HJ would have kept his books in a common 'money of account', the *lank*, perhaps valued at 6.66 coins = 1 *lank*<sup>6</sup>. In this case the coins tended to be lighter than their theoretical weight, and also contained some alloy<sup>7</sup>. In this way, some of the 'losses' (perhaps better described as hidden taxes) might have been incurred by our trader in the course of converting silver coin into bullion, particularly if the Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> 'The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi', by Levon Khachikian, *JAS*, Vol.VIII, No.3, 1966, pp.153-86.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that this work has never, to my knowledge, been analysed by anyone familiar with Tibetan coins, and it does not appear in the extensive numismatic bibliography recently published by Wolfgang Bertsch (The Currency of Tibet, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 2002), cf the review of this book in ONS Newsletter 177.

<sup>3</sup> The first two were Friar Oderic in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and Grueber and d'Orville in the 1650's, but neither left very detailed records of their experiences.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The Coinage of Nepal*, by Rhodes, Gabrisch & Valdetaro, 1989, p.60.

<sup>5</sup> It was probably only after 1720 that the Tibetan Government specifically sent silver ingots to Nepal to be struck into coin.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Rhodes, Gabrisch & Valdetaro, *op.cit.* pp. 204ff. That implied that a coin should weigh 5.67g, whereas the actual average weight was nearer 5.4g, or about 5% lighter.

<sup>7</sup> Between 1% and 4%, according to analyses published in *op.cit.* p.230. After c1735 A.D., the proportion of alloy increased dramatically, initially to c33%, and later to over 50%.

Government offices insisted on paying out sums of money in coin. However, it seems very likely that the Tibetan Government insisted that they receive, at least from the Armenian traders, fine silver bullion, and that on occasion they actually refined the silver received, to ensure that they received pure silver of good weight.

The question that answered by the summary article, and possibly not answered by the ledgers themselves, is the proportion of currency in circulation represented by Nepalese coins, and the proportion represented by silver ingots, and whether these were all Chinese or not.

Interestingly, seventeenth century Chinese ingots seem scarce, judging by publications in English, and this may not be coincidence. Joe Cribb's *A Catalogue of the Sycee in the British Museum, c1750-1933*<sup>8</sup> limits the date range discussed because, of the 1300 ingots listed, not a single one could be dated earlier than the mid-eighteenth century. Of the fineness of the BM ingots, most fell in the range 98.5-99.5% fine silver. Ingots from Yunnan tended to be slightly less fine, at 96-97.5% fine, with a single outsider only 93.2% fine<sup>9</sup>. Also, there seemed to be no material lightness of weight, compared to the standard. The fineness of these ingots seems to be much higher than the debasement implied by the losses incurred by our Armenian trader.

It seems likely, therefore, that the ingots circulating in Tibet in the 1680's were rather more debased than those that were being produced by the mid-nineteenth century. Maybe the earlier ingots were withdrawn from circulation because of this debasement, which would explain why they are rarely found today<sup>10</sup>?

Furthermore, it is clear that the Tibetan officials were very aware of how they could make money out of the traders, but how much was made on their personal accounts, and how much accrued to Government is less clear. However, the assumption usually made when considering the monetary relationship between the Newar traders of Nepal and the Tibetan Government, that the Tibetans were naïve, is almost certainly incorrect. It seems that the Tibetan officials knew exactly what was happening, and made sure that the Tibetan Government did not lose out, though the Tibetan people in the market places were probably naïve and must have incurred a cost. When Prithvi Narayan tried to resolve the coinage issues that had arisen after 1768 AD, the Tibetan Government claimed that they had been tricked when debased coins were exchanged for fine silver bullion, and demanded that the new regime in Nepal exchange the old debased coins, for new fine silver coins 'at par'. After the experience of the Armenian trader in the 1680's, it is difficult to accept that the Tibetan Government was as naïve as it claimed.

Not all the information regarding money is immediately discernible from the text of the ledger, but additional information can apparently be found in two other contemporary works, *Manual for Trade*, by K. Joughayetsi, and *A Useful Book on Measures, Weights, Figures and Monetary Units*, by G.H. Vanandetsi, based on the same Manual, and published in Amsterdam in 1699. I have not managed to locate either of these works, so my information is drawn entirely from the comments in the JAS article.

Apart from the coinage of Tibet, I will add a few notes on the coinage of Iran and India, as recorded in the ledger and in the above seventeenth century sources. The basic monetary unit of Iran was the *Abbasi* which contained 9.5 *danks* or 7.48g of silver. The smallest unit was the *dian*, or the 1/200<sup>th</sup> part of the *Abbasi*, or 0.037g of silver. The *Tuman* = 50 *Abbasi*, was equivalent to 373.9g of silver. As regards the practical use of this money, it was noted that when HJ arrived at Bandar Abbas, on his way to India, the money he "brought from Shiraz comprised *Abbasis* and *Mahmudis* (2 *Mahmudis* = 1 *Abbasi*), to the value of 5.5 *Tumans*.

<sup>8</sup> British Museum Press, 1992

<sup>9</sup> op.cit pp.315-8, Appendix III on Metallurgy by Mike Cowell.

<sup>10</sup> It was only during the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) that taxes were officially payable in silver, rather than in brass coins or in kind. (cf Cribb, p.13, quoting R.Huang, *Taxation and Government Finance in Sixteenth Century Ming China*, London 1974, pp.79-81 & 93.

The chief of the port would not take the money. I gave the sum, incurring a loss of 600 *Dians* per *Toman*" (or 6%).

In India, most of the transactions were recorded in *Shahijahanis*, which clearly refers to rupees of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan. This rupee was equivalent to 11.33g. On other occasions other rupees are mentioned, namely the *Bazari Shahi* (10.54g), *Ovrankshahi* (11.12g), *Chalni* (11.10-11.16g) and the *Ilayi* (10.85-10.92g). Readers may like to suggest exactly which coins are being referred to by the names, although unfortunately the summary details given in the JAS article do not mention in exactly which city these substandard rupees circulated.

Apart from the numismatic data, the ledger is a veritable mine of information on prices of commodities, on articles traded across the Himalayas, on taxes levied on the transit of goods, and even on the legal procedures for settling disputes. A full analysis of the contents will surely yield much more information than has been given in this short note, and I hope that some reader may feel encouraged to follow up on these and on other Armenian documents that may exist.

### Two rare pre-Kushan coins

By Osmund Bopearachchi (C.N.R.S. Paris)

The two bronze coins discussed here are not unique, but known so far through one specimen for each series in a bad state of preservation. The first is of Indo-Greek Menander I and the second of Indo-Scythian Maues.

**1. Menander I.** Bronze. 27 x 26 mm; 19.65 g. Provenance: Charsadda.



**Obv.** Double-humped Bactrian camel moving to left.  
Legend in Greek. Left: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top:  
MENANΔΡΟΥ, right: ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

**Rev.** Head of bull to front:  
Legend in Kharoshthi. Right: *maharajasa*, top:  
*tratarasa*, left: *Menamdrasa*.

Monograms: to left Θ, and to right . (See fig. no. 1 A and drawing no. 1 A)

The first specimen of this series, belonging to the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal preserved in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, has been known to us since its first drawings produced by Alexander Cunningham (1884, p. 250, no. 13, pl. XII, fig. 8). In spite of the very bad condition of the coin, Cunningham gave an accurate description of the types. The monogram shown on his drawing: , however, does not correspond to the one referred

in the text as no. 58: . Furthermore, he did not pay much attention to the unusual disposition of the legend. Unlike on many other series of Menander I, here the name of the king is followed by the epithet 'soter', in other words instead of the usual ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, we read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. These two errors committed by Cunningham from the very beginning were repeated by many of his successors. Percy Gardner (1886, p. 169, no. 4; pl. XXXI, no. 10) in the British Museum catalogue of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, reproduced the drawings by Cunningham without correcting the monogram or the legend arrangement. V.A. Smith (1906, p. 27, no. 96; pl. V, no. 11), reproducing for the first time the photographs of this coin in his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, gave the correct legend arrangement, but did not read the Greek letter 'theta' to the left. R.B. Whitehead (1914, p. 63, XIV) mentioned the coin referring to Gardner and Smith, without further comments. A.N. Lahiri (1965, p. 159, pl. XXVI, no. 5) in his corpus of Indo-Greek coins, committed two mistakes, firstly he

read, with a question mark, the 'theta' as , and secondly proposed the disposition: 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. This incorrect disposition of the Greek legend was repeated by M. Mitchiner (1975, series 234) and by the present author (BN, series 30). Further to this Mitchiner repeated the incorrect monogram:  shown on the first drawing by Cunningham. This confusion was caused by the extremely bad condition of the coin.

The present coin, though still uncleaned, but almost in mint condition, enables us to propose an accurate description of this exceptional series. As we know, Menander was no doubt the most important Greek king that ever ruled in the Indian territories. He is superior to all the Greek kings who ruled before and after him in India, not only by the number of coins, but also by the number of different series both silver and bronze.

Apart from this series, now known through two specimens, the double-humped camel, popularly known as the Bactrian camel, is not so far attested on any of the Indo-Greek coin types. However, in ancient times they were clearly distinguished from the so-called Arabian camels which had only one hump. Among the different delegations depicted on the facades of the stairways of the Apadana at Persepolis, the Bactrians are represented with a double-humped camel (see E.F. Schmidt, 1953, pl. 41). We learn from the Greek historian Herodotus (III, 90-95, and VII, 62-8) of the fifth century BC that the Bactrians were in his time, paying tribute to the Persian kings or supplying troops to serve in their armies. Aristotle, in his *Historia Animalium*, clearly states that the Bactrian camels have two humps compared to Arabian camels, which have only one (Loeb, 498b, 8). The Greek critic and grammarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium (257-180 BC) who became the chief librarian of the Museum of Alexandria in Egypt at the age of sixty, made the same observation (*Aristophanis historiae animalium sub junctis Aeliani Timo*, Ch. 2, section 447, line 1). Furthermore, the same author (section 459, line 1) says the Bactrian camel lives for a hundred years while the others only fifty.

The Indo-Scythian Azes was the next, after Menander I, to depict the double-humped camel on rare series of his coinage. On Azes's coins, a double-humped Bactrian camel is shown mounted by the king holding an axe (see R.C. Senior, 2001, 81.10 - 81.30; O. Bopearachchi, 2003, p. 19-20 and O. Bopearachchi and C. Sachs, 2003).

The next striking feature of this rare series of Menander I is the disposition of the Greek legend. This legend arrangement is unusual compared to many of Menander's later series where the name of the king is placed to the right. Menander I on the present series followed a similar arrangement adopted by one of his predecessors, Apollodotus I (cf. BN, series 3-6). One may also observe that the early bronze issues of Menander I (cf. BN, series

17-22) go through an experimental phase before adopting the legend arrangement which became conventional for Indo-Greek bronze coinage. Perhaps it would make sense to consider this series as an early issue of Menander I. Although it is difficult to interpret the exact meaning of the letter 'theta' on the reverse which also stands for the numeral 9, the weight of the two coins (one in IMC 19.64 g, the present coin 19.65) may correspond to an octuple of the Indo-Greek standard unit of 2.45 g, in other words  $2.45 \times 8 = 19.60$  g. This weight standard was used by Menander I for his first group of coins. With a second group of square copper coins, Menander made an attempt to introduce a new standard for the issues of this metal (see O. Bopearachchi, 1990, p. 52-4).

**2. Maues. Bronze. 27.5 x 25 mm; 11. 21 g. Provenance: Pandayale.**



**Obv.** Zeus enthroned and half turned to left, holding sceptre in left hand, and on outstretched right hand a small figure of Nike who holds a wreath in her right hand. The forepart of an elephant with upraised trunk to right at the foot of the throne. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ/ΣΙΑΕΩΝ ΜΕ/ΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

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

Legend in Kharoshthi: *rajatiraja/sa mahata/sa Moasa.*

Monograms: to left . (See fig. no. 1 B and drawing no. 1 B)

This coin series of Indo-Scythian Maues is known through a coin published by R.C. Senior (2001, 10. 1) now in the Ashmolean Museum. Once again the new coin published here is in better condition. Apart from a minor mistake committed in his drawing (vol. III, p. 2, 10.1) where the name of the king in Kharoshthi is

drawn as *ma*: , but not as *mo*:  the description and drawings by Senior of his coin are accurate.

The find spot of this coin is also important in many aspects. Pandayale, a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area, brought to light many Indo-Greek bronze coins and overstrikes. They were mentioned in two articles published by the present author. The first overstrike (see O. Bopearachchi, 2001) is a bronze issue of Heliocles II (BN, series 7) overstruck on a lifetime coin of Hermaios (BN, series 9), and the second (see O. Bopearachchi, 2002) is a coin of Agathocleia (BN, series 3) overstruck on a coin of Diomedes (BN, series 10). Six more overstrikes from the same area are now grouped in a forthcoming article (O. Bopearachchi, 2004):

- Agathocleia (BN, series 3) over Menander I (BN, series 36);
- Strato I (BN, series 30) over Diomedes (BN, series 10);
- two bronze coins of Heliocles II (BN, series 7) over Agathocleia (BN, series 3);

— two bronze coins of Heliocles II (BN, series 7) over Strato I (BN, series 29).

Maues, who seemed to have come to power in the heart of Indo-Greek territories, adopted many coin types of his Indo-Greek predecessors. The enthroned Zeus holding Nike on his outstretched right hand with the forepart of the elephant at the foot of the throne is a true copy of the Indo-Greek Antialcidas's reverse type par excellence (see for example, BN, series 1-4). On the reverse of this series, Maues depicts naked Herakles standing facing, crowning himself, a type inaugurated by Demetrios I (see BN, series 1-3) and reproduced by Lysias (see BN, series 1-7). No doubt, the inspiration would have come from the coinage of Lysias who was a close contemporary of Antialcidas. Like any form of art, monetary types, too, are a means of communication. The choice of the double-humped Bactrian camel by Menander I, and Zeus and Herakles faithfully copied from the types of the two close Indo-Greek contemporaries by Maues is not a pure coincidence.

Drawings by François Ory.

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### Over-struck and Double-struck

By Osmund Bopearachchi & Wilfried Pieper

The Triton mail bid sale (August 2001, no. 849) published a silver tetradrachm of Graeco-Bactrian Euthydemos I with excellent photographs. Although the types were not exceptional for Euthydemos I coinage, we were struck by one feature which appeared to us as some traces of an overstrike. Later this coin was acquired by Wilfried Pieper, and we could examine it carefully. We were puzzled by this coin and asked ourselves many questions: is it over-struck, double-struck or both over and double-struck? Here is the description of the coin:

AR. Attic-standard tetradrachm (16.47 g)

**Obv.** Diademed head of young king to right.

**Rev.** Herakles, seated on a rock, holds in right hand club which rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom.

Legend in Greek : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monogram to right : ↑ . Dies adjusted ↓ . (cf. O. Bopearachchi & W. Pieper, *ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, Turnhout, 1998, pl. 32, no. 16).



On the reverse there are no traces of an undertype; on the contrary, the double-striking can be seen over the head and the hand of seated Herakles and in some part of the Greek legend. The obverse also has some traces of double-striking at the level of the king's nose. Amazingly, beyond the first outline, there is a very clear contour of a head, starting from the forehead going up to the neck. On close examination, it becomes clear that this outline does not correspond to the features of Euthydemos as depicted on the coin. This difference is quite clear from the outline of the forelock, lips, chin and neck. If the first contour corresponds to a double-striking, where does the second outline come from? Is it from an overstrike? When examining the possibilities of an overstrike, we realised that Diodotos, Euthydemos' predecessor could be a good candidate. The contour of the face is more that of an old man with double chin and fleshy lips. Curiously enough, these features tally with those of the old portrait of Diodotos (cf. O. Bopearachchi, *SNG*, Part 9, New York, 1998, no. 77).

We learn from Polybius (XI, 39), about the circumstances in which Euthydemos acceded to the throne. According to his testimony, Euthydemos seized the Bactrian throne by doing away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family. In this context, it is always plausible to find a coin of Euthydemos overstruck on a coin of Diodotos. If it is the case, then we have to accept that it was both overstruck and double-struck. If not, we have to look upon it as triple-struck. We know that double-striking is usually more visible on the reverse than on the obverse, simply because, when striking a coin, the punch (with the reverse die) held in the hand, which receives the blow from the hammer, is less stable than the obverse die fixed into an anvil set on the floor. This is the reason why double-striking is more detectable on the reverse (see for example, O. Bopearachchi, BN, 1991, pl. 14, no. 1; pl. 23, nos 15 & 16; pl. 39, no. 2). When all these arguments are taken into consideration, we are tempted to consider, with caution, this coin as double and over-struck.

Drawings by François Ory

### An Inscribed Abhisheka Lakshmi Coin from Sri Lanka

By Osmund Bopearachchi & Kavan Ratnatunga

The lead coin subjected to discussion in this short article was found in Tissamaharama, where locally issued, inscribed coins began to surface during the last ten years (see O. Bopearachchi et al. 2000). On the basis of the palaeography, these coins can be fixed without much of a risk between the second century BC and the second century AD. All these coins, including the present

specimen, were found in Tissamaharama in the villages of Akurugoda, Minigodana and Tikirigodana. Although coins depicting Gaja Lakshmi, popularly known as Lakshmi plaques, are attested in large quantities in Sri Lanka, this is the first coin with the same iconography ever to be discovered with a Brahmi inscription (See fig. no. 3 A and drawings no. 3 A).



**Obv.** In a dotted border, geometrical design with a central dot and eight radial spokes, surrounded by a circle of four divided quadrants with a tortoise in each in a clockwise orientation. A fifth smaller sector has an unidentified symbol.

**Rev.** Goddess Lakshmi standing holding, with her hands, two stalks, usually springing from either side of her feet and ending about the level of the shoulders in a small blossom, upon each of which stands a small elephant holding a water-pot in its upturned trunk. A Brahmi inscription along the periphery reads : *gahapati-samanasa putasa daga...* Of Daga ..., the son of the householder Samana.

The title *ghapati* (householder) is attested in two of the inscribed coins already published from the same provenance (see O. Bopearachchi et al. 2000, nos 7 & 8). Samana or Shamana as a personal name is already attested in an early Brahmi inscription from Abhayagiri area in Anuradhapura (see S. Paranavitana, 1970, p. 7, no. 94). The reading of his son's name is not certain. The first letter 'da' is clear, the second could be 'ga', but the next two *aksharas* remain unclear. Daga is one possibility, although such a personal name is not attested in a Sri Lankan or Indian context. It could also be Datala or Datila, quite common in ancient India. For the time being, we prefer to leave the question open.

As emphasised earlier, the most striking feature of this inscribed coin is the depiction of Abhisheka Lakshmi. This type becomes popular in Indian iconography from the third century BC. Seated Gaja Lakshmi is depicted on one of the rare Ujjain copper coinages which can be dated to circa 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (see O. Bopearachchi & W. Pieper, 1998, p. 91, class 3, nos 6-9). The Indo-Scythian Azilises ruling in Gandhara in the first century BC issued an extremely rare silver series with standing Gaja Lakshmi (see R.C. Senior, 200, 33.1, also the drawing below).

Rajuvula, the satrap of Mathura issued a lead series at the very beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, depicting Gaja Lakshmi quite similar to the Sri Lankan type (see R.C. Senior, 200, 154. 1-2). Large quantities of legendless Lakshmi plaques were recovered from the Cultural Triangle excavations at the Jetavanarama and Abhayagiri viharas, and the Sri Lanka Japanese and Sri Lanka British excavations at the Citadel of Anuradhapura. H.W. Codrington stressed their wide distribution, and reported that they were found in most of the major monuments within Anuradhapura, including Thuparama and Kiribat Vihara, and also



at Chilaw on the west coast, and Kantarodai and Vellipuram in the Jaffna peninsula. The southern coast of the island also yielded a good number of these coins, especially as a result of the Sri Lanka French Archaeological Mission at Ridiyagama and the Sri Lanka German excavations at Akurugoda, Tissamaharama. Parker called such plaques "oblong copper coins" and reported their discovery in Mullettivu and Tissamaharama, as well as in Anuradhapura. (for a summary of these discoveries, see O. Bopearachchi et al. 1999, p. 28-9). Furthermore, the same type of coins, certainly struck in Sri Lanka, have been found in the coastal regions of South India. Significantly a Lakshmi plaque of Sri Lanka was recovered from the river bed of Amaravathi, near Karur, a city situated inland, far away from the west of Kaveripatinam on the way to Chera country. It is evident that behind the choice of this iconography made by the householder who issued the present coin, there were certain cultural and economic implications.

Drawings by François Ory.

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### Sher Shah Sur: Prince of Moneyers—The Numismatic Tiger and Founder of the Everlasting *Rupia*

By Rear Admiral Sohail A. Khan, HI (M), S Bt. (Rtd)

The early life of FARID KHAN SUR, who became SHER SHAH SULTAN, is very poorly described in disjointed stories. There is confusion in names of contemporary Afghan nobles of those days, and even more confusing and erroneous dates of important events of his life, in books of history viz. *Tarikh-i-Afaghina* (Hasan Ali), *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afghani* (Nimat Allah), *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (Abbas Sarwani), *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (Rizquallah Mushtaqi), *Afsana-i-Shahan* (Kabir), *Tarikh-i-Salateen-i-Afghania* (Ahmad Yadgar), *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiyat* (Jauhar), and *Lataif-i-Quddusi*. Recent commentaries and research by Elliot & Dawson and comments on it by Prof. Hodiwala, books by Dr. Qanungo, Dr. Ishwari Parshad, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar and Prof. Iqtidar Siddiqi also devote scores of pages and notes to unimportant events, and instead of being selective, narrate all possible versions of events found spread in various books. Who was Sher Shah? How did he become Sultan of India removing the three powerful Sultanates of Bengal, Delhi and southern Bihar? It really depended on which book one reads. It has taken me many years to investigate and put the accounts in order of truthful merit.

I therefore endeavour to present an account of the life of Farid Khan and his rise to power to become Sher Shah Sultan, in a simple essay for the benefit of numismatists, keen on the historical background of kings who made numismatic history—Sher Shah for one, who introduced one of the most famous coins of the world, the *Rupia*. I sincerely hope that I have lifted the fog.

Farid Khan's (Sher Shah's) grandfather, Ibrahim Sur, came along with his son Hasan Sur to India in AD 1452, when Sultan Bahlol Lodi extended an invitation to his fellow Afghans from Roh (an area west of Dera Ismail Khan in present-day Pakistan) to help him against his formidable rival, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur. Ibrahim Sur entered the service of Mahabat Khan Sur, who was also one of his distant relations and in the service of a high-ranking Afghan noble, Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani. Ibrahim Sur was given a few villages in *iqta* in the Hisar Firuza area and moved there with his growing son, Hasan Sur. (During the Lodi and Sur periods, the term *iqta* was equivalent to *jagir* of later Mughal days. It meant a territorial assignment of revenue to the nobles in lieu of cash salaries, for their military and civil services. The *Muqta* was the administrative head, the *Subedar* or governor). As for the birth of Farid Khan, the year 1486 is nearer to reality; keeping in view that he would be 59 at the time of his accidental death at Kalinjar in 1545. All other dates seem to be hypothetical; e.g. 1473 or 1478 would make him 67 or 72 years old at the battle-front in 1545.

In 1485, Sher Shah's father, Hasan Sur, had grown up and joined the service of Khan-i-Azam Umar Khan Sarwani, who fought valiantly under prince Nizam Khan (later Sultan Sikandar Lodi) to destroy the rebels beyond the river Sutlej. Farid is said to have visited the court of Khan-i-Azam Umar Khan in childhood. On his father Ibrahim's death towards the close of Bahlol Lodi's reign, Hasan Sur joined the service of Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, who had been assigned the *iqta* of Jaunpur vilayet in AD 1500, with the title of Khan-i-Azam and a rank of 12,000 *sawars*. He took all his loyal servants with him to his new *iqta*, and Hasan Sur was one of these. When prince Nizam Khan became Sultan Sikandar Lodi, he raised Jamal Khan's son, Khan-i-Azam Ahmad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani (Naseeb Khan), to the rank of 20,000 *sawars*. Ahmad Khan Lodi in turn raised his servant, Hasan Sur, to the position of Amir with a rank of 500 *sawars*, the grant of a banner, and the assignment of the pargana of Sahasram and Khwaspur in *iqta*. These *iqtas* were being granted to consolidate the Afghan authority in the newly acquired eastern territories of the Lodi Empire after the expulsion of Jaunpur's Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi from Bahraich, Gorakhpur, Champaran and Bihar.

Hasan Sur's further distribution of management of his *iqta* amongst his sons, giving favour and preference to younger step brothers, caused some bitterness with his eldest son Farid, who decided to leave his father and went to study in Jaunpur for a few years on a generous stipend from Khan-i-Azam Ahmad Khan Lodi. In 1512 Farid was a mature person and, on Khan-i-Azam's instructions, Hasan Sur took Farid as *shiqdar* (manager) in his *iqta* in Sahasram.

The excellent way in which Farid Khan administered the revenue of the parganas of Sahasram and Khwaspur Tanda has attracted the attention of scholars of agrarian and revenue systems of medieval India. In those times *iqtas* of large territories like Vilayets and Sarkars were held by *Muqtas*, who were high ranking nobles of the ruling clan. Then came the smaller holdings and their supervisory officers like *Wajhdars* for parganas, followed by petty officers like *Muqaddams*, *Choudhrys*, and village *Patwaris*, who worked as intermediaries between the state representatives and the peasantry. While collecting revenue, each of these officers extracted an additional little (or not so little) extra for himself. In that way the peasants were squeezed to the limits. Farid was not going to tolerate this because it was the root cause of a producer not bothering to produce any surplus, for he would only lose it. [For similar reasons, 200 years later in north-western India there was a famous saying that "what you can consume is yours, what is surplus, goes to Akali or Abdali (meaning the predatory Sikhs or Afghans)"].

For decades, probably for a hundred years or even more, the senior nobles had not looked at the misdeeds of those below them nor did they examine the validity of age-old revenue rates and levels of tax for years. Farid had the energy and dynamism to take remedial action. He raised a strong force of levies and marched

personally at the head of it, encouraging peasants to produce more and be prosperous, guaranteeing their protection. He terrified the habitual highhanded officials, cutting them down whenever they resorted to force and resisted. He ordered and made sure that the produce of land under cultivation was measured every year by the physical inspection of crops; the revenue was first correctly estimated in terms of produce and then converted into cash value on the basis of the current and prevailing market prices of commodities grown by the peasants. These steps seem so logical now! He also fixed generous allowances for the officials to prevent the need for collecting extras. Any official or *zamindar* (landlord) who did not follow the process or who cruelly extracted extra from the poor, was severely punished by Farid. A clean up was achieved within a couple of years.

It will not be out of place to mention here that, years later when Farid Khan became Sher Shah Sultan, he carried out the remaining of his administrative reform plan. He knew that whenever lower denominations of currency were not available to the public, crude estimation of values prevailed in barter-like conditions. The currency of Bengal was silver tankas, and cowries (a type of sea shell) took the place of lower denomination copper coins like Falus or Jitals. On the other hand, the Dehli Sultanate issued no silver coins and relied on billon (silver mixed with copper) coins, whose intrinsic value to a common man was nothing but the king's threat if the coin was not accepted. The credit for issuing silver and copper coins in sufficient quantities for trade and for the common man goes to Sher Shah. The silver rupia and the copper paisa coins (later called dams), became the basis of sale and purchase for the whole of India. In the years to follow, the revenues of the Mughals were also estimated in dams. Every man in India knew (and knows even today) that the phrase "What are the dams of this thing ..." – meant "what is the price of this thing in current coins". The corrupt officials had profited from the absence of lower denominations in currency and collected extras in larger units. Before Farid, somehow the Lodis could not find enough silver and copper for currency (money in circulation) and some of the historians also endorse this absence and lack of metals, but there is evidence that the Lodi nobles were hoarding huge quantities of silver and gold as uncoined metal. Billon coins were the norm of the day and the poor peasant could not tell how much silver was present as intrinsic value in a billon coin. When Sher Shah took the reins, suddenly there were pure silver rupias and heavy copper paisas everywhere in the kingdom! Today we still find remnants of the prolific issues of good-looking silver and copper currency coins by Sher Shah and his successors. (More about the monetary reforms at the end of this article).

The results of Farid's campaigns and administrative reforms soon became exemplary and everyone was amazed at them. Unfortunately, his father Hasan's favourite second wife (an ex-dancing girl), mother of Farid's half brother Sulaiman, grew jealous of Farid's popularity amongst the people of the area. She compelled her husband to transfer the control of revenues to her son Sulaiman. Hasan Sur gave in, and Farid had to leave in disgust. This was probably the result of a successful revolt against Farid by the corrupt officials who might have also primed and bribed Farid's step mother.

Farid was searching for another profession. He left for Agra peacefully without doing injury to his father's feelings. That was sometime in the beginning of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's reign. Farid joined ranks under the service of his old family patron, Masnad-i-Aali Ibrahim Khan Sarwani (son of Khan-i-Azam Umar Khan Sarwani) of *iqta* Kara in the Doab. Unfortunately that noble was killed fighting against Rana Sanga in AD 1520. Farid then entered the service of another high ranking noble, Daulat Khan Nuhani (Naib). On Farid's father Hasan Sur's death, Daulat Khan Naib received a royal farman in favour of Farid, granting the *iqta* of Sahasram and Khwaspur Tanda and the rank of 500 *sawars*. Farid wasted no time in taking over the charge of his *iqta* from his half-brother, Sulaiman.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had come to the throne in 1517 and started his attempts to bring a structural change in the nature of the Afghan Sultanate, from a tribal oligarchy, which the *Umra* (the nobles) were unwilling to concede. A very powerful noble, Masnad-i-Aali Darya Khan Nuhani, declared his independence from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's last days of despotic rule in 1526 (932 AH). His son, Bahar Khan Nuhani, consolidated the NUHANI (or LOHANI) kingdom in southern Bihar in defiance of the authority of the Dehli Sultanate and assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad, Sadar-i-Hind. He died sometime in 1529 (AH 935) and his minor son, Jalal Khan, assumed authority under the regency of his mother, Queen Dudu.

A more serious revolt than the declaration of independence by the Nuhani (or Lohani) in Bihar, was that in the Punjab by Daulat Khan Lodi, who invited Kabul's Mughal king, Babur, to attack India. Daulat Khan Lodi was suspicious that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi wanted to get him (Daulat Khan) and his son Dilawar Khan killed as part of a clean up of undesirable nobles. Daulat Khan Lodi was also to be brought before the sultan as he was required to pay to Dehli a large sum of arrears of revenue of a large province like the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodi saw a saviour in Babur and invited Giti Sitani Zaheeruddin Muhammad Babur Padshah to help him out of that situation. An army was raised and sent by Sultan Ibrahim but Babur defeated them and occupied Lahore and Dipalpur in 1524 (AH 930).

The fall of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat against Babur on 20 April 1526, and the confusion that arose after that, started a wide-spread anarchy in the whole of the Afghan Empire. The nobles of the Punjab, Dehli, Agra and the Doab (modern UP) quickly submitted to Babur. The governors of Qanauj, Kara and Manikpur had been driven away by the governor of Awadh, Mian Mustafa Farmuli (nephew, son-in-law and successor to Mian Muhammad Farmuli Kalapahar), an ally of the Mughals, to southern Bihar, where they had joined Bahar Khan Nuhani and declared him SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH NUHANI in May 1526. Mustafa Farmuli soon died a natural death. His younger brother, Bayazid Farmuli, took over the command of his army. In another tragedy, the young governor of Jaunpur, Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, had fallen in the battle of Panipat and he was succeeded by Firuz Khan Sarang Khani. When prince Humayun marched to Awadh and Jaunpur in August 1526, both these nobles decided to pay allegiance to Babur. There was, however, a large group of Afghan nobles who were left leaderless and had taken refuge in eastern Bihar after the fall of the Lodi king at Panipat. Looking for a leader, they joined Sultan Muhammad Nuhani's army, holding the eastern and southern Bihar regions bordering Jaunpur. Among those who joined were two Sur chieftains, Muhammad Khan Sur and Farid Khan Sur. On one occasion, Sultan Muhammad Shah Nuhani sent Farid Khan to chastise some strong opponents. Impressed by Farid's daring action, the Nuhani Sultan gave him the title SHER KHAN (the TIGER).

There was yet another group of Afghans supporting the rival claimant prince MAHMUD LODI, younger brother of the late Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Muhammad Khan Sur was jealous of Sher Khan's elevation and new title. He created a suspicion in the mind of the Nuhani Sultan that Sher Khan was secretly helping the cause of Mahmud Lodi and thus should lose the *iqta* of Sahasram in favour of his old rival, his step-brother Sulaiman. Sultan Muhammad Nuhani was clever enough to let Muhammad Khan Sur do the job between the two Sur step-brothers. When asked to hand over the Khwaspur part of the pargana, Sher Khan refused and directed his slave Sukha to hold out against the attack of Muhammad Khan Sur's slave, Shadi Ghulam. Sukha fought back heroically and laid down his life on carrying out Sher Khan's orders. Sher Khan never forgot the loyalty of Sukha, whose sons were later raised by Sher Shah to be the highest nobles—Khawas Khan, the elder, and Khawas Khan, the younger. Losing a part of his *jagir* to the conspiracy of his own kin, Sher Khan decided to seek help from the Mughal governor of Jaunpur, Junaid Barlas.

His alliance with Junaid Barlas enabled him not only to recover his lost *iqta* but also to occupy a few more parganas. This close contact with the Mughals distanced Sher Khan from other Afghan leaders. Sher Khan was now an independent, third Afghan leader; the other two being the claimant Afghan kings—the Nuhani Sultan and Mahmud Lodi. That is how fortune threw up Sher Khan as a contender to lead an Afghan group also claiming the lost Afghan rule. On the departure of the assisting Mughal auxiliary force, Sher Khan started a dialogue with his two competitors and opponents, while he was backed and protected by the Mughals.

Sher Khan is reported to have remained on the side of the Mughals till 1528, taking part in the siege of Chanderi. Because of what the Nuhani Sultan had done to him, Sher Khan stayed away from him. Soon afterwards, Sher Khan saw the rival Sultan Mahmud Lodi gain the support of a lot of nobles and thus started showing an outward sympathy towards the cause of the Lodis. The Lodi Afghans started besieging Jaunpur, Kara and the eastern parts of Qanauj. Babur then moved to break the Afghan coalition in 1529 and relieved all areas up to Jaunpur. Babur knew the contact Sher Khan had with Junaid Barlas and he left Sher Khan untouched in his *iqta*, considering him a useful ally on the eastern borders. Around that time, Sultan Muhammad Nuhani had died and his widow, Queen Dudu, considered Sher Khan Sur to be the only capable Afghan leader left to help her run the government of Bihar as the tutor (*Ataleeq*) of her minor son, Prince Jalal Khan Nuhani. Sher Khan was showered with riches by Queen Dudu. Dudu also died soon after, paving the way for Sher Khan to become the undisputed master of Bihar. There was, however, no peace. The Nuhani Afghan nobles were not happy with Sher Khan and they took young Prince Jalal Khan Nuhani with them to Bengal in 1530 and sought protection from Sultan Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah (the son of 'Ala al-Din Husain Shah) who promised support in wresting Bihar from the control of Sher Khan. For Sher Khan, the flight of the nominal Nuhani ruler Prince Jalal Khan and his supporting nobles was a welcome move. It made him the undisputed but yet uncrowned ruler of Bihar. Sher Khan had already raised an effective military force for the administrative control of Bihar.

At that time, it was the visibly improved position of Sher Khan that attracted two young and extremely wealthy widows to seek the protection of Sher Khan by the ties of marriage. Lad Malka was the young wife of Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, the young *muqta* of Jaunpur vilayet (a nephew of Taj Khan) who was killed at Panipat. Taj Khan (son of the famous noble, Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani) married her but his eldest son (from an older wife) killed him. Lad Malka feared molestation and married Sher Khan. As a result of that marriage, Sher Khan got hold over the impregnable fort of Chunar with all its parganas and, in addition, he obtained wealth—150 valuable diamonds, 7 *mans* of pearls, 150 *mans* of gold and a huge amount of silver. Soon afterwards, Sher Khan had another windfall by his marriage to Hargusain (or Gauhar Kasain), widow of another established noble, Nasir Khan Nuhani. This time he obtained 300 *mans* of gold and lots of silver!

Then came very good news for Sher Khan in 1530—the death of Babur. The disappointed and dispersed Afghans living in despair gathered courage and looked to Sher Khan to recover the lost Empire. However, the rival leader, Mahmud Lodi (brother of Ibrahim Lodi, the last Afghan king of Dehli), also appeared in Bihar with an army and Sher Khan unwillingly marched with him to Jaunpur. Mahmud Lodi's supporting nobles were claiming that Mahmud Lodi, being a brother of the late Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, was the rightful claimant to be the Afghan ruler of northern India. Sher Khan secretly entered into alliance with the Mughals through the new Mughal governor of Jaunpur, Hindu Beg. When the battle took place, Sher Khan stood aloof. The Afghans were routed and Mahmud Lodi fled, not to be seen again. To the disappointment of Sher Khan, Humayun was in a dominating position and was clever enough to demand the surrender of Chunar fort from Sher Khan.

Sher Khan refused and Humayun advanced in person to besiege the fort in 1531. Sher Khan left his son, Jalal Khan, to resist the Mughals and slipped away to the eastern territories. Soon Humayun was in trouble himself. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had taken an aggressive position and Humayun's own relatives, Zaman Mirza and Maha Mirza, had rebelled. Sher Khan was also collecting a large army for an assault. Humayun was constrained to agree to a peace proposal offered by Sher Khan and returned to Agra in December 1531.

Sher Khan was looking for time to consolidate his military strength in Bihar but the Nuhani Afghans, supporting Prince Jalal Khan Nuhani, were constantly persuading Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal to destroy Sher Khan before he gathered dangerous strength. An unprovoked attack with a large force came in AD 1532 under Qutb Khan, Sultan Nusrat Shah's *muqta* (governor) of Monghir. Sher Khan avoided frontal, pitched battle and adopted hit and run tactics. Finally he suddenly fell on Qutb Khan, who was killed in the surprise attack. Sher Khan's victory over Qutb Khan raised his prestige considerably in Bihar and also gave him 200,000 gold coins in loot.

In AD 1531 (938 AH), Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal was assassinated in his capital Gaur leaving two minor sons. He had nominated his younger brother Mahmud as heir. The elder son was put on the throne by a powerful faction of the nobles, but Mahmud had that child killed. The nobles then supported the younger son, but he was also deposed by Mahmud, who ascended the throne in 1532 (939 AH) with the title of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah. Meanwhile, in Bihar, Sher Khan had found another very rich but lonely and worried woman and offered protection to Fath Malka, the extremely rich widow of the famous Lodi noble, Mian Mustafa Farmuli. Sher Khan wasted no time in obtaining her wealth. In the following year, 1534, Sher Khan faced a second invasion by the Bengal army under Ibrahim Khan, the son of Qutb Khan. Ibrahim was entrapped and fell fighting valiantly in the famous battle of Pun Pun River. The treasures, war elephants and the entire park of artillery fell into Sher Khan's hands. Humayun's preoccupation in war with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat from 1533 to 1535 had left Sher Khan free from the Mughal danger. He had collected a large force of 70,000 *sawars*, to whom he had to pay a very large sum of money and the solution lay in getting the kingdom of Bengal and driving the Mughals out of India.

Sher Khan could not afford to fight both Humayun and Mahmud Shah of Bengal at the same time. Before opening up hostilities with Humayun, it was essential for Sher Khan to break the smaller military power of Bengal, whose two invasions he had successfully thwarted. Sher Khan had to make another critical decision: whether he should attack Bengal posing as the vassal of Humayun or as an independent ruler. Two valuable coins, one reported to be in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, and the other in the collection of Mr. G.S. Farid of Calcutta, make it clear that Sher Khan decided to become an independent ruler, assumed the titles of SULTAN and SHAH, and began to strike coins in that capacity in 1535 AD (942 AH). These coins establish the fact that Sher Shah had called himself a king in 1535, two years before the occupation of Gaur in April 1537, and also long before his victory over Humayun at Chausa in 1539 (946 AH)<sup>1</sup>.

After the defeat and destruction of the invading Bengal army under Ibrahim Khan, Sher Shah had sent a large force under Khawas Khan (the elder son of his deceased slave, Sukha) in 1536 and captured the fort of Suraj Garh on the border of the Bengal kingdom. Immediately afterwards, Sher Shah occupied Monghir, a necessary step for the advance on the capital of Bengal, Gaur. Having crossed the river Ganges, he took a few days' provisions

and marched on Gaur through an untraversed hilly route and reached there like a hurricane, to the surprise of Sultan Mahmud Shah, who at once sued for peace. The peace treaty, agreed sometime in 1536, acknowledged Sher Shah as SHER SHAH SULTAN and an annual tribute of 900,000 tankas from the Sultan of Bengal.

These successes brought Sher Shah in direct conflict with the Mughal Emperor, Humayun, who hurriedly returned from Mandu to Agra in August 1536. The rebel relatives of Humayun, Sultan Mirza and his sons, were driven into Bihar by Humayun's brother, Mirza Hindal, only to be granted refuge by Sher Shah. After the death of Junaid Barlas (an acquaintance of Sher Shah) Amir Hindu Beg had been appointed Mughal *muqta* (governor) of Jaunpur. Sher Shah tried to establish good relations with him by writing "I am one of the servants of the Emperor. The fort of Chunar may be left with me on a permanent basis; for that I shall send an annual tribute". But Hindu Beg would not buy that and informed Sher Shah that "The Emperor of Delhi is supposed to be the lord of Hindustan".

In late AD 1536 (943 AH), Sultan Mahmud Shah of Bengal provided Sher Shah with an excuse and opportunity to attack Bengal. Mahmud Shah had violated the treaty by refusing to pay the promised tribute money and also turned out the envoy of Sher Shah with humiliation. Sher Shah's son, Prince Jalal Khan, and a brave noble, Khawas Khan (the elder), led the second invasion of Gaur. Sher Shah received the sad news that his best general, Khawas Khan, the elder, was drowned in the ditch of Gaur while assaulting the ramparts. Sher Shah at once summoned Shihab Khan, the younger brother (the younger son of his loyal slave Sukha) of the drowned general, conferred upon him the same title of Khawas Khan and sent him to take the place of his brother. Khawas Khan conquered Gaur the very day he reached there in April 1538, despite a disagreement with Prince Jalal Khan and other nobles, who wanted to rest and postpone the assault for a few days. Sultan Mahmud's clever Portuguese allies were holding the strategic fort and pass of Teliagarhi, a formidable obstacle before Gaur, but Sher Shah's forces had cleverly bypassed it and the Portuguese failed to help the Bengal sultan. The Husaini Dynasty of Bengal collapsed and Prince Jalal Khan Sur and the younger Khawas Khan overran the Bengal kingdom. Mahmud Shah fled and took refuge at the court of the Mughal Emperor, Humayun. The impregnable fort of Rohtas, in southern Bihar, was also taken by Sher Shah to compensate for the impending loss of Chunar, to accommodate the Afghan families in a safe place.

The loss of Bengal was enough to arouse Humayun to move for the destruction of Sher Shah (or his own!). Humayun's first point of attack was Chunar, to which he laid siege in October 1537. The Afghan garrison could not hold out and surrendered under extreme pressure in March 1538. Humayun reached Banaras and started proper preparations for his grand expedition to Bengal. The ousted Sultan Mahmud of Bengal had arrived with serious injuries and visited Humayun, requesting the Emperor to continue towards Gaur. An advance Mughal force under Jahangir Quli Beg was defeated by Prince Jalal Khan at the fort of Garhi. Meanwhile, Sher Shah got the opportunity to shift his treasures and movable wealth from Gaur to safety in Rohtas fort, more to the south. Prince Jalal Khan then evacuated Garhi according to the plan and the Mughals rode to Gaur in triumph in June 1538 – unfortunately just as the monsoon season started. When Humayun came to Gaur "he found the place to be a paradise full of luxuries and fairy-faced girls and handsome maids. He found exhilarating gardens and soothing tanks to pass his time."

While Humayun was merry-making in Gaur, Sher Shah started plundering the eastern territories that were under the Mughals. Banaras was captured, the forts of Chunar and Jaunpur were placed under siege, Bharach and Gorakhpur were cleaned out and revenue was collected from territories as far as Lucknow and Qanauj. Humayun was annoyed and convinced about the gravity of the situation; he decided to return to Agra, where his brother, Hindal, had already succeeded in proclaiming his

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: while it is not impossible for Sher Shah to have struck coins in AH 942, I remain to be convinced that these two coins are not simply coins of year 946 with the 6 engraved backwards, as happened quite often on Sultanate coins. If coins were struck in 942, then one would expect to find coins dated 943 and 944. No such coins have been reported.

independence. Mirza Askari, leading the returning Mughal troops, found that all the routes leading to Agra and Dehli were blocked by men of Sher Shah, who was himself safe and away in Rohtas with the larger portion of his army in reserve. Experienced nobles advised Humayun to keep proceeding along the northern banks of the Ganges and collect armies while traveling in a direction towards Jaunpur, but he accepted the advice of Mu'id Beg to cross south of the Ganges at Monghir. Mu'id Beg was probably right in advising taking the route below the river Ganges in the monsoon season, because if the army marched along the northern bank of the Ganges, it would need to cross four major monsoon-swollen tributaries of the Ganges, and a predator like Sher Shah would have the upper hand. Sher Shah knew the plight of the Mughal army caused by the unhealthy climate and suffering under monsoon rains, and wanted the battle to take place somewhere in Bihar, thus not letting the Mughals reach Jaunpur and Qanauj. As expected, Sher Shah weakened the Mughal army by making surprise attacks from the rear and the Afghan army was seen moving behind the Mughals throughout the four-day return march after crossing the Ganges. There was complete disorder and an acute shortage of horses and mules in the Mughal army. Sher Shah quickly reached Chausa and blocked the Mughal march. The two armies continued to face each other for about two months, with skirmishes taking place daily. Finally, Khawas Khan made a daring dawn attack on the Mughal army on 7 June 1539 and put the Mughals to flight even before the main Afghan force under Sher Shah reached the scene of the battle. Humayun escaped across the river with the help of a water carrier, Nizam Saqqa (whom he rewarded with a day as king on the throne upon regaining Hindustan in 1555).

Upon this victory over Humayun at Chausa, Sher Shah seems to have been enthroned a second time with all the ceremonies and rejoicing by the Afghans. The morale of the Afghan soldiers was raised. They were filled with chivalrous spirits to settle their scores with the Mughals, still aliens in Hindustan. The indomitable courage of the generals and *sawars*, combined with Sher Shah's own military strategy of letting Humayun go deep into Gaur, entrap him there in the monsoon season, and then the daring attacks on the weary returning army, brought about the fall of the Mughals.

A year later, on 17 May 1540 (947 AH) the battle of Qanauj took place. Humayun was encamped on the western bank of the Ganges near the village of Bhojpur, about 30 miles to the north of Qanauj. Sher Shah remained on the eastern bank and waited. Humayun was conscious that his men were deserting and if he crossed the river, desertions would no longer be possible. He got a bridge of boats built to cross the Ganges, and Sher Shah let him do so. Four days later, Sher Shah's favourite, brave and loyal general, Khawas Khan, came and joined him and Sher Shah decided to give battle to the Mughals. Humayun was defeated and the dispute over the throne of Hindustan between Humayun and Sher Shah was settled – in favour of SHER SHAH SULTAN. He assumed the title (laqab) of SULTAN-i-ADIL and based his administration on the firm foundation of justice and equity. He declared that the welfare and interest of the citizens (*rayyet*) and the well-being of all his subjects was his prime motive. He was a strict disciplinarian. One of his relatives is said to have misappropriated 1000 rupias and also killed a Hindu who had an argument with his son. The culprit noble was called to the court by Sher Shah and executed. I find this to be the first mention of the name of the coin "rupia" in a contemporary history written only three years after the death of Sher Shah, and that it was, therefore, not Abu'l Fazal who was the first to mention the name of Sher Shah's coin, calling it a rupia.

To complete the story; the battle of Qanauj cleared the way to Agra for the Afghans. Sher Shah's general, Barmazid Kur, pursued the Mughals towards Agra. He occupied the city and invited Sher Shah to come there in AD 1541 (948 AH). Khawas Khan and Barmazid Kur were sent to continue the pursuit of the Mughals, with orders from Sher Shah not to give a fight to

Humayun but to drive the Mughals beyond the borders of the kingdom. Khawas Khan then subdued the pro-Mughal rebellious Gakkhar chief, Sarang Khan, who was a trouble maker in the western Punjab. A strong fort was constructed at Rohtas (near Jehlum) to keep the Gakkhars under control. Construction of this important fort was supervised by Sher Shah's trusted Hindu noble, Tadar Mal Khatri (later Raja Todar Mal, the revenue and finance minister of Emperor Akbar, and one of the 9 famous PEARLS—*Nau Ratans*—of the Mughal court). In 1543 (950 AH) Sher Shah conquered Jodhpur in Marwar. The Rajputs displayed unprecedented chivalry by their fierce charges but Sher Shah was lucky to have Khawas Khan, a soldier in millions. Next to fall were Ajmer, Nagaur, and the forts of central India. In one of the greatest tragedies of that age, Sher Shah died either in an explosion when he was inspecting a mine dug for blowing up the ramparts of Kalinjar fort, or when a rocket-like device exploded as it was being launched to fall inside Kalinjar fort. He is buried in a mausoleum in Sahasram.

Sher Shah had then more than doubled the Lodi Empire by his conquests from Bengal to the western Punjab. He deserves credit for having carried on the excellent administrative system of the Sultanate by organising the *vilayets* of Bengal, Bihar, Awadh, Jaunpur, Doab, Malwa, Rajputana and Rajasthan, Multan and Lahore; and establishing identical, efficient, administrative machinery throughout the Sultanate. The well-aligned Grand Trunk Road from Bengal to Taxila stands witness to the marvels left by Sher Shah.

### Sher Shah's Coinage

Sher Shah found that there was an urgent need to issue a set of new respectable coins. One of the main reasons was the announcement of his becoming the sovereign of northern India. Those were the days when men wrote with quill pens and inkpots. They did not print, nor was there media like radio or television. The town criers cried themselves hoarse, but only in the capital. The "*Khutba*", the Friday sermon in the mosques, was read aloud and was directed mainly to the ruling clan to refrain from mischief and rebellions. Coins or "*Sikka*" bearing the monarch's name and titles were the most clever and effective manifestations, promulgation, and proclamation that human ingenuity could devise in those days. The new monarch's titles were thus paraded on the new coins to serve the announcement to the general public that they had passed under a new sovereign. So, one announcement, the *Khutba*, was for the specific audience, and the *Sikka* coins for the public at large. That was the reason that the two sovereign rights—to read the name in the *Khutba* and to issue the *Sikka*—were the highly prized prerogatives of the ruler on the throne and these were jealously guarded by every Muslim king. Coins of silver and copper were ready money for princes, nobles, and peasants alike. This was the scripture for the rulers and that is why a famous numismatist Edward Thomas called his book "The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli".



Square rupee of AH 948, Agra/Gwalior type

There were several other reasons for Sher Shah to embark upon issuing the silver rupia and the copper pasia. There were many internal and external callings. It appears that Sher Shah was against any coin that was an alloy of silver and copper. He wanted to make lasting administrative and monetary reforms and get rid of the "Tanka-i-Siah" (the Black Tanka) and billon coins, and introduce coins of pure metal. Mixed metal coins had led to great corruption and abuse in mixing the prescribed proportions of

metals of greatly unequal value. There was careless administration of workmen and there were seldom honest mint officials. A common man did not know what the coin was that was presented to him. The local traders accepted such coins with a pinch of salt and fear of the king's men. But the foreign trader bringing goods from Persia, Central Asia, or other places, would not take it because it would be a useless piece of metal abroad. A pure silver coin was in great demand. Historians do not talk about the details as to how the Lodi soldiers of such large armies were paid, but it is certain that they must have been overjoyed when Sher Shah paid them in his army in shining silver rupias. Indian noblemen habitually kept their soldiers and servants in arrears of pay because this was the best way of ensuring their continuity of service, allegiance, and hopefully, loyalty also. Sher Shah paid his soldiers' dues promptly in pure silver rupias—this being a more powerful attraction.



Rupee of Chunar, AH 949

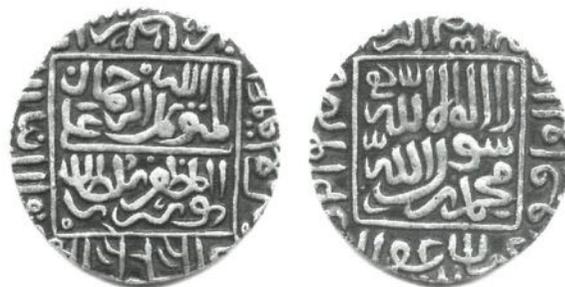
Another demand from the population at large was for pure metal coins for making jewellery. If pure silver was not available, the loss connected with the recovery of silver from billon was too much. Coins were mounted in jewellery and ornaments and a requirement was to have a clear, tradable, intrinsic value for a rainy day. So, there was a popular demand for something other than the Lodi tankas. The cry was for pure silver coins because gold was out of the reach of the majority. The practice of mounting coins in jewelry has been in use from Central Asia and Afghanistan to Bengal and Sri Lanka and it was the women's most cherished way of saving for that rainy day. That, too, was what the robbers and thieves were looking for—not the imperial treasury.



Rupee of Dehli, AH 949

The names of the newly introduced coins also suggest that there was an element of nationalistic pride also. In the tussle between the Afghans of India (and the Indianised Turks) and the Mughals, a prominent difference was that every single, recently arrived Mughal person present in India in 1530s, was born outside India, having come with Babur less than 10 years previously. The hostility between the settled ones and the newcomers was not new in nature. One can recall that in the Deccan Sultanates "Mulki versus Ghair Mulki" (local versus foreigner) was a constant cause of serious rift. There were wholesale massacres of the opposing parties—both Muslims—one local born and the other recent arrivals from Persia and Central Asia. Similar friction was seen between the Irani and Turani (from Transoxonia) groups from the legendary days of Rustum and Sohrab—and very markedly during the days of the later Mughal emperors, Farrukhsiyar and his successors. The tanka was a foreign name and at that time the name of a coin which Sher Shah did not want to see survive. His new coin would not be named Tanka, New Tanka, White Tanka,

or what one may have. The chosen name Rupia is traced to Rupa, Rupaka, or Rupahli, meaning silver in Sanskrit, from the base Rup (pronounced Roop) depicting "Fair and of beautiful form", an indigenous name for a fairer and shining silver coin. Sher Shah also put his name in Devanagari on these coins to show the "Mulki" element.



Rupee of Qila' Shergarh, AH 951

Before Sher Shah, the denomination *Tanka* was indiscriminately applied to the issue of coins in all the three common metals, gold, silver and copper<sup>2</sup>. Sher Shah's introduction of Rupia and Paisa put an end to the terminological confusion prevailing for centuries. Abul Fazal mentions that the *Rupia* was first introduced by Sher Shah (he calls him Sher Khan!) and that Akbar's "*Dam*" was formerly called "*Paisa*". The first coin to bear the denomination "*Rupia*" engraved on its surface is that of Mughal emperor, Akbar<sup>3</sup>. A specimen is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Relying on Abul Fazal's statement, it is generally believed by numismatists that the name of this silver coin *Rupia* was first mentioned by Abul Fazal. I find that to be incorrect. The earliest known history of Sher Shah is *Twarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi or Tarikh-i-Afaghina* (by Hasan Ali Khan), completed in 955 AH/AD 1548, just three years after Sher Shah's death and it mentions that "Once a complaint was brought that one of his (Sher Shah's) cousins had misappropriated a sum of one thousand *Rupias*.... Sher Shah had the culprit executed". Another history, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afghani* (by Nimat Allah), completed in 1020 AH/AD 1612, only sixty years after the death of Sher Shah, also explains the difficulty of obtaining material for construction of the Rohtas fort, near Jhelum in the Punjab, that "...Todar Mal paid for each stone of Sher Shah's fort of Rohtas first an *Ashrafi*, then falling to a *Rupia* and then ten *Tanka*, till the price of a stone reached a *Bahloli*". By the time Akbar came to the throne, the Rupia was a very popular coin and Abul Fazal's remark only indicates that its originator was the ruler before Akbar, i.e. Sher Shah.



Rupee of Ujjain, AH 949

There were calls from foreign trade also to introduce the new pure silver rupia coin. Since antiquity India had had a remarkable record of productivity and export economy, maintaining a favourable balance of trade payment. Spices, dyes, precious stones, cotton and silk cloth in millions of yards, and leather

<sup>2</sup> Editor's note: the denomination of tanka certainly seems to have been used for gold, silver and billon coins, and for a while during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, also to fiduciary copper coins. It is very doubtful if the term was used indiscriminately for copper coins.

<sup>3</sup> Editor's note: these coins were struck in Agra in Ilahi year 47, during the months of Khurdad and Tir.

goods were exported. The inflow of silver in payment for goods exported rose very high in the 1500s, especially towards the end of the century as the Portuguese brought in the New World silver. They were later followed by the British, French and the Dutch trading Companies. When silver was offered (coined or otherwise) as payment by the foreign companies, it was difficult for the Indian trader to measure its quantity to a mutual satisfaction. Presenting stamped and coined silver gave a reasonable assurance of quality, but not the quantity. The Indian traders did not know grams, grains, ounces (Troy or Avoirdupois), pounds or kilograms. Their measure for precious metals was the "tola, masha, and ratti"; 8 ratti seeds made a masha, and 12 mashas made a tola of 96 rattis. The ratti seed (from the plant *Abrus precatorius*) is a beautiful blood red and black spotted ovalish round seed which looks like the British "ladybird". One wonders which weights were used or what count was satisfying to both the parties. Sher Shah moved towards a coin of one tola weight to put every body at ease<sup>4</sup>. The incoming silver was melted and coined into rupias of one tola weight and simply counted. This satisfied the local traders. However, the foreigners found that the ratti, the base measure of the tola, varied widely in weight from 1.5 grains to 1.97 grains. So, the tola also varied from 144 to 189.45 grains. Some authorities say that soon a good average of 1.875 grain for the ratti was arrived at to give the later rupee tola of 180 grains. This 180 grain rupee was the British Company practice. I observe that the experts had actually worked backwards to find some non-fractional figures. This Standard ratti (imaginary!) Seed of 1.875 grain gave them an exact 15 grains masha (8x1.875) and also gave them an exact 180 grains tola rupee (96x1.875). Very clever but very satisfying work indeed. The resulting relationship of gram=15.432 grains gives us a tola of 180 grains=11.664 grams—a relationship universally used even today throughout India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. So, after years of confusion, Sher Shah's measures sorted out the trade payments also. The Mughal Emperor, Akbar, inherited Sher Shah's man, Raja Todar Mal, and continued the rupee as his main silver coin.



Copper paisa of AH 950

Sher Shah's administrative and the monetary reform introducing the currency names of Rupia and Paisa are still being used, and are probably destined to stay forever, not only in India and Pakistan, but in many countries in the East to which these names were exported by the European mercantile nations.

#### Hardwar: A New Mint for Akbar's Copper Coinage

By Shailendra Bhandare

Hardwar (29° 58'N, 78°09'E) is an extremely well known pilgrimage centre located on the banks of the river Ganges in the modern Indian state of Uttaranchal. The town lies en route to two significant shrines, namely Badrinath and Kedarnath, situated in the Himalayas. It has no antiquarian remains associated with it, but mythology has it that it is the site where Bhagirath, the prince

of the Solar Lineage, performed a penance to release the river Ganges from the locks of Shiva so that the souls of his ancestors could be freed from a curse, which had prevented them from achieving salvation. Another story has it that the waters of the Ganges at Hardwar have the 'Elixir of Life' mixed in them – it emerged in an urn when the gods and the demons churned the primordial ocean, and a few drops were spilled out of the urn into the Ganges at Hardwar in the fracas that ensued over its ownership! A dip in the river at Hardwar is therefore thought to bring forth immortality and salvation. This quality is enhanced every twelfth year in association with certain stellar occurrences, when millions of devotees gather to participate in the great festival of the 'Kumbh'.

Given its religious importance and as a venue for the 'Kumbh', it could be well imagined that Hardwar must have been a centre of considerable commercial importance. This fact, however, is not numismatically well reflected – a mint for silver coins was opened at Hardwar only in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (1788 – c.1806), and it is evident that it did not function with any regularity as its issues are generally scarce. Copper coins, contemporary to these silver issues are known in the heavy takka and the light paisa denominations; they, too, are scarce and sporadically struck. This paucity of locally struck specie at Hardwar may be attributed to the fact that the town is located in close proximity of several productive mints – in particular Najibabad and Saharanpur – and, as such, the currency demands might have been satisfied to a large extent by the produce of these mints. From a political viewpoint, the area was in turmoil due to the Maratha-Rohilla wars and this may also have contributed to some extent to its sporadic functioning. Both the Marathas and the Rohillas struck coins at Hardwar, but the Rohillas soon lost their sway to the Marathas and it is the Maratha issues that predominate. The mint was closed in all probability soon after the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon in 1803, when the British took over from the Marathas. The Farrukhabad rupee was introduced as the sole legal tender in the region in 1807.

The only other reference of numismatic activity at Hardwar is to be found in the 'Ain-e-Akbari of Abu'l Fazal Allami. This well-known descriptive treatise on statecraft under the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (1556-1605 AD), has its 10<sup>th</sup> chapter devoted to 'The coins of this Glorious Empire'. Gold, silver and copper coins are described in sections A, B and C respectively and the descriptions of the gold issues are by far the most detailed. After the description of copper coins, a list of mints is given depending on the specie that was struck there. Thus, four mints (located at 'Seat of the Governemnt', Bengal, Ahmedabad and Kabul) struck only gold; fourteen mints (the four mentioned for gold and Iahabas, Agra, Ujain, Surat, Dihli, Patna, Kashmir, Lahore, Multan, Tanda) struck silver as well as copper, and twenty-eight mints were responsible for striking exclusively copper. These were situated at Ajmir, Awadh, Atak, Alwar, Budaon, Banaras, Bhakkar, Bahirah [Bahraich?], Patan, Jaunpur, Jalandhar, **Hardwar**, Hisar, Firuza, Kalpi, Gwalior, Gorakhpur, Kalanur, Lakhnau, Mandu, Nagor, Sarhind, Sialkot, Sironj, Saharanpur, Sarangpur, Sambal, Qanauj and Rantambhor.

Not all the mints listed by Abu'l Fazal are known from coins and not all mints known from coins are represented in his description. Amongst those responsible exclusively for striking copper coins, issues of Nagor, Sialkot and Sarangpur have not yet surfaced. Hardwar also shared their fate, until my friend Mr. Keshav Khambadkone of Mumbai acquired this unique fulus. With his kind permission I publish the coin here:



<sup>4</sup> Editor's note: Abu'l Fazl in his *A'in-i-Akbari* states that, in Akbar's time, the tola consisted of 12 mashas, while the rupee weighed only 11 1/2 mashas, i.e. it was less than a tola. Whether this was also the case in the reign of Sher Shah we do not know so one needs to be careful in making any assertion one way or the other.

Metal: copper; weight: 20.8 gm

Obverse: legend in two lines: *Fulūs Zarb Hardwār*. The letter *sīn* of 'Fulūs' forms the divider. The mint's name is partially truncated, but may be satisfactorily restored as 'Hardwār'.

Reverse: legend in two lines: *Māh Tīr 37 Ilahī*. The 'ye' of 'Ilahī' forms the divider.

### Coinage of the Habshi Rulers of Janjira

By Shailendra Bhandare

#### *Historical outline:*

Janjira was a small princely state with an area of 377 sq. miles, located on the Western coast of India (Konkan), about 50 miles to the south of Bombay. Presently it lies in the Raigarh district of Maharashtra State. Its principal towns were Murud, Srivardhan and Rajpuri (also called Danda-Rajpuri) and it derived its name from an impregnable island fortress called 'Janjira'. This fort was the historical centre of trading and political activities in the region. The geographical location of the fort is worth noting – it stands about a mile out to sea on a rocky bed, at the mouth of a Y-shaped creek called the Dighi creek. It is therefore surrounded by turbulent waters most of the time which makes the access to the fort rather treacherous. Even today the journey to the fort can be undertaken only by wind-powered craft like small sailing boats equipped with outriggers. Such formidable isolation gave the fort remarkable natural defences and made it practically invincible against any attack. The architecture of the fort is also impressive; it has fifty-four bastions and extensive ramparts, parts of which are held together by molten lead! There are over eighty cannons still to be found in the fort, and three of these are of gigantic proportions.

The rulers of Janjira were equally unique – they were Ethiopians by descent. They addressed themselves by the pan-North African honorific 'Sidi', which later became a part of their royal titlature. In addition they held the title of 'Nawab'. Locally they were identified as 'Habshi' (from the Arabic *al-Habash* = Ethiopia) and their territory as 'Habsaan'. The dynasty was established on the western coast in medieval times (16<sup>th</sup> century). The founder of the dynasty was Sidi Yaqut, a close confidant of Malik Ahmed (1490-1508), the first Nizam Shahi Sultan of Ahmednagar. The fort of Janjira was brought under Sidi control during his reign and made into a Habshi stronghold. It was named 'Jazira-i-Mahrubah', meaning the 'Island Crescent' and conceivably the first word, meaning 'island' in Arabic, became corrupted in the local language, i.e. Marathi, as 'Janjira'. The Sidis managed to survive the next four centuries by accepting the nominal suzerainty of an Islamic overlord. After the fall of the Nizam Shahi Sultanate, they transferred their loyalties nominally to the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur, and when the Mughals under Aurangzeb sank that Sultanate, the Sidis became 'admirals' of his fleet by accepting Mughal overlordship. In this role they undertook to safeguard the passage of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and created outposts in important Mughal ports like Surat. The Sidis continued to outsmart the attempts of all political powers to overrun their domains, until the British 'declared' their rule over Janjira in 1834 AD, as the result of the mismanagement of affairs by the ruling Sidi. The state, however, did not pay any tribute to its imperial masters. It acceded to the Indian Union in 1948.

The rule of succession to the throne amongst the Habshis was not by primogeniture. There existed a 'council of elders' of Sidi courtiers and barons, who voted for the ruler amongst various contenders. He could rule only on their behalf and also under their watchful eye. This system allowed room for a good number of intrigues to bubble in the Sidi court but they never proved detrimental to their ultimate unity.

Geopolitical situations in the Deccan and on the Western coast in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries brought the Sidis into direct conflict with the Marathas. They managed to outwit no less than seven Maratha attempts to subjugate them. Considering that the Marathas were far superior in military might, the Habshi

resistance seems truly remarkable. But the mainstay of Habshi power was a swift naval fleet notorious for its depredations along the coast. This naval prowess, combined with the impregnability of Janjira fort, gave the Sidis the upper hand on their rivals. As early as 1678 AD, Shivaji, the great Maratha statesman, remarked in exasperation that, for the nuisance they caused, the Sidis were like 'rats in the manor'. The Habshi-Maratha antipathy was primarily rooted in religion, but it was founded on a family feud as well. The forerunner of the pre-eminent Maratha Peshwa family was Balaji Vishwanath. He lived in Srivardhan, a village in the Sidi domains, before he moved to Pune and rose to the high office of prime minister. His father and elder brother worked as administrative officers under the Sidis. They were accused of corruption by the ruling Sidi and drowned in the sea without trial.

The Sidis were a fiercely independent bunch but, apart from independence, aggression and opportunism were also characteristics of the Sidi polity. In 1684, the British at Bombay refused permission for the Sidi armada to shelter in Bombay harbour during the monsoons. The Sidi backlash was terrible. They raided Bombay Island and threatened its inhabitants by killing a few in a most gruesome manner at Mazagon. The relations between the Sidis and the British always fluctuated, depending on triangular political alignments between the two and the Marathas.

Amongst the innumerable intrigues the Sidis had with other political powers on the western coast, two are worth mentioning because they actually contributed to increase the Sidi tracts much further away from Janjira and its adjoining territory. One of them was an outcome of local politics at Surat, where the Sidis retained a presence in the court of the Nawab as 'admirals' of the Mughal fleet. A succession dispute ensued at Surat in the aftermath of the death of Nawab Teghbakht Khan in 1746 AD. The Sidi emissary, named Sidi Mas'ud, supported one of the contenders while the British espoused the claims of another. Skirmishes led to the flight of the British protégé to Bombay. Squabbles continued for another ten years and ultimately a compromise between various factions in the Nawab's court was reached, effectively establishing British control over the port and the fleet. As part of the deal, the British gave the district of Ja'afarabad on the Kathiawar coast (south peninsular Gujarat) to the Sidis of Janjira and they retained it till their ultimate merger with the Indian Union in 1948. The port town had a flourishing maritime trade, second only to the Portuguese enclave of Diu situated nearby. The Janjira rulers appointed an official entitled 'Mamlatdar' in Ja'afarabad, who had judicial and revenue authority.

The second instance relates to an episode that resulted in the creation of another Sidi state, namely Sachin. The roots of this episode lay in the succession practice at Janjira, which often resulted in claims and counterclaims. In 1784, one, Sidi Jawhar, usurped the Habshi throne and the rightful claimant, named Sidi Abdul Karim alias Balu Mian, fled to the Peshwa's court in Pune seeking his ouster. Maratha affairs at the time rested in the hands of the shrewd minister, Nana Phadnavees, who at once saw this as an opportunity to realise the Maratha dream of winning over Janjira. He offered to reinstate Balu Mian if the latter would hand over the fort to the Marathas and agree to rule from the coastal town of Rajpuri. Balu Mian agreed but in a swift political move, Sidi Jawhar involved the British in the dispute. They had no intention of letting the Marathas digest the fort of Janjira so easily. They sent a naval contingent to Sidi Jawhar's aid. Ultimately the Maratha plan fizzled away but Balu Mian had to be rewarded for his conciliatory gesture, so Nana Phadnavees granted him a tract of land near Surat that yielded 75000 Rupees as annual revenue. Balu Mian received the title of Nawab under nominal Mughal suzerainty and this new Sidi territory became the princely state of Sachin. Balu Mian's descendents ruled the state independently of Janjira till 1835, when financial mismanagement led to British intervention. Subsequent Nawabs ruled as pension-holders with minimal political power until the merger of the state in the Indian Union in 1948.

### Coinage of Janjira

The earliest reference to the coins of Janjira appears in the Indian Museum Catalogue (IMC), vol. IV - Native States, ed. John Allan, pp. 177-178, (Oxford, 1928). The coin listed is a silver rupee and is illustrated on pl. X, no.5. The section in which the coin is listed was prepared by William Valentine, the noted collector of Indian coins. Soon after this mention, R. G. Gyani published a note on copper coins of Janjira in Numismatic Supplement, vol. XLV, pp. 71-73 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 30 (new series), 1934. He illustrated a few coins from the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and also from the collection of one Mr. Gadgil, presumably from Bombay. Several years later, Prashant Kulkarni published a gold Mohur in 'Studies in South Indian Coins', vol. 3, pp. 123-126. The piece illustrated was from the collection of Dr. T. Devendra Rao (USA).

Amongst coins that remain hitherto unpublished, mention should be made of silver rupees and fractions in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York and the British Museum, London. Those in the British Museum were acquired from the collection of Kenneth Wiggins after his death in 2001. A large hoard of Janjira silver coins, numbering around 300 pieces turned up in the Indian market in 1998 and was dispersed mainly in the collector community of Bombay. It included coins similar to those illustrated by Valentine and also a few other varieties, which will be described further.

### Silver Coinage of Janjira

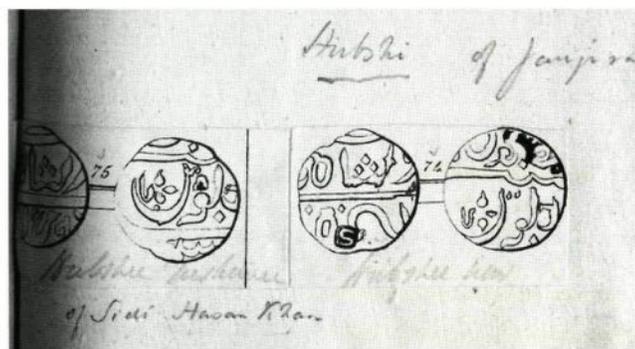
The coin listed by Valentine belongs to a class of Maratha rupees known as 'Ankushi' rupees (variants of this name include 'Ankosi', 'Ankoosee', 'Ankoosey' etc.). They are known as such after the chief distinguishing mark they bear, namely the 'Ankush' or elephant-goad, one of the attributes of the god, Ganesha. These rupees were issued principally in Pune in the late 18<sup>th</sup> - early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and also from a number of other places in the Deccan and Konkan like Alibag, Bhatodi, Wai, Belapur etc. A few mints like Phulgaon, Kamalgarh, Tembhurni and Maindargi also struck these rupees, albeit much more transiently, during the last years of Maratha rule (1802-1817) when the government was virtually falling apart. Most of these mints were farmed under a license either by the Peshwa or by one of his barons - as these licensors were Brahmins and ardent followers of the Ganesha cult, the presence of one of his attributes as a differentiating mark on their coins is well justified. They also have some other characteristics like the mention of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II by his pre-accession name 'Shah Ali Gauhar' and a blundered mint name that resembles 'Surat'. The 'Ankushi' rupees were one of the kinds of currency which the Peshwa's government accepted readily in settlement of revenue claims. They were therefore widely accepted in circulation in the Deccan.

The coin illustrated by Valentine conforms to all the general attributes of the 'Ankushi' rupees, but bears a small circular countermark consisting of the Devanagari letter 'Ja' on the reverse. Valentine commented that 'Ja' stood for Janjira and quoted James Prinsep as the source of his attribution. According to Valentine, "the coins principally used in Janjira were the 'Ankosi' mentioned by Prinsep, countermarked with 'J' for Janjira and termed 'Habshi'". He further ascribed the coin to Nawab Sidi Ibrahim Khan III (1848-1875).

In the article published by Gyani, the author made certain comments on Valentine's attribution. He opined that 'Ja' could well have been a mintmark of the Marathas and doubted the entire attributional exercise of Valentine. But he refrained from offering an alternative explanation and said, "As long as no other evidence is brought to light, this theory of 'Ja' has to be allowed to continue to mark the Janjira coins in case of silver issues". However, it seems that subsequent research did not give room for the theory to continue, because the attribution of these coins to Janjira was forgotten altogether. Apart from a small note by A. N. Lahiri while outlining the numismatography of Princely India (JNSI, vol. XLIX, 1987, p. 191), there is no subsequent record of

the silver coins of Janjira. The Krause-Mishler volumes of The Standard Catalogue of World Coins (SCWC) as well as the Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money make no mention of the Janjira rupees.

Incontrovertible evidence attributing the 'Ja'-countermarked coins to Janjira comes from two sources, one of which is the hoard that turned up in 1998. Its contents prove that Valentine's attribution was certainly correct. The second source is very much the one that Valentine based his comment upon. When Valentine mentioned the name 'Prinsep', Gyani assumed his attribution was based upon data contained in Prinsep's compendium on Indian coins named 'Useful Tables'. The key words Valentine uses to link the Janjira coin to Prinsep's mention are 'Habshi rupee', which he quotes from Prinsep. But the 'Useful Tables' make no mention of a 'Habshi' rupee. Valentine reveals the source elsewhere in the catalogue - and Gyani missed this reference - it is a 'manuscript book' of James Prinsep, which he says was in the possession of Dr. Oliver Codrington. The same book now rests in the archives of the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where it was received as part of the bequest of the late Hugh de S. Shortt's collection. The relevant details which led to Valentine's conclusion are reproduced here - they are two etchings illustrating 'Ankushi' rupees, one of which is clearly countermarked 'Ja'.



They are listed under a pencilled comment 'Habshi of Janjira' and a postscript 'of Sidi Hasan Khan'. These comments are in the hand of Dr. Codrington as evident from a comparative study of other details in the manuscript. However, below each etching, there exist more pencilled remarks, which are ostensibly by another hand, probably that of Prinsep. For the etching on the left the remark reads 'Hubshee Nishanee' and for the one countermarked 'Ja' it reads 'Hubshee New'. The 'Hubshee Nishanee' rupee looks very similar to the Pune 'Ankushi' rupee, but just above the knot of the 'lū' in the word 'Julūs' on the reverse there appears to be some sort of distinguishing symbol. Unfortunately it is not clear - it could well be just another 'Ja' countermark. If it is, it may well be an ordinary 'Ankushi' rupee countermarked in the Sidi state. If it is not, this illustration may indicate that the Sidis were striking a copy of the 'Ankushi' rupee. Whichever way one looks at it, it does indicate that two varieties of the Janjira silver rupee were known to the person who annotated the etchings. The word 'Nishanee' appears in many historical documents and it is often appended to a variety of coins, chiefly gold pagodas. It seems to be a general term meaning 'distinct' or 'marked' in the Shroff jargon - so the 'Hubshee Nishanee' would mean 'distinctly Hubshee' or 'marked by the Hubshees' without any particular reference to the mark even though it is conceivable that these coins must have possessed some such attribute to render their identity 'distinct'. The remark 'Hubshee New' and its concordance to the etching bearing the 'Ja'-countermarked rupee is a significant piece of numismatic evidence - it indicates a chronology within the Janjira issues, wherein the 'Nishanee' rupees seem to have preceded those with the obvious 'Ja' countermark, because the latter are distinguished from the former as 'New'.

A word of caution must be said before attributing the 'Ja'-countermarked 'Ankushi' rupees to Janjira. Most 'Ankushi'

rupees bear shroff-marks as the practice of getting coins attested for their purity whilst in circulation was rife in 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Deccan. These shroff-marks come in a wide range of varieties – sometimes they are as simple as a pockmark or a drilled hole, and sometimes they are small marks having quite unique characteristics. It is not unusual to find Devanagari characters as shroff-marks and there are instances when the same character 'Ja' has been seen marked on 'Ankushi' rupees. It is imperative to distinguish between an ordinary shroff-mark 'Ja' which would not have any attributional significance and the 'Ja' seen on the Janjira rupees where it serves as a definite identifying mark. The key to determining this is the shape of the countermark – in the case of the Janjira countermark, the character is set within a distinctly circular border and has a typical execution (see illustration). Anything dissimilar to it must be regarded as an ordinary shroff mark. In most cases, 'Ja' as a shroff-mark is executed as a square punch and thus can be distinguished easily.

It is certain from evidence offered by Prinsep's manuscripts that the 'Hubshee Nishanee' were the earliest Janjira silver coins. From the manuscript details we cannot ascertain whether they were countermarked coins or not – if they were not, it would transpire that the Sidis struck a variant 'Ankushi' rupee of their own; if they were, the question would be whether they were Maratha 'Ankushi' rupees that found their way into the Sidi territory where they were countermarked to allow for 'naturalisation' of incoming specie.

When the archival evidence is compared with coins that turned up in the 1998 Bombay hoard, the picture becomes much clearer. A good number of the coins in the Bombay hoard appeared to be ordinary 'Ankushi' rupees struck with the 'Ja' countermark that is distinct for Janjira and not an ordinary shroff-mark. Judging by the number of these coins, we have to conclude that 'Hubshee Nishanee' was indeed a countermarked variety – the countermark was struck on incoming specie and allowed for their 'naturalisation'. The coin illustrated by Valentine is of this category.



but the study of other countermarked rupees in the hoard also brings forth another interesting feature - it indicates that a number of 'host coins' differ in execution from ordinary 'Ankushi' rupees, especially when it comes to parts of the legend that were truncated most of the times while the coins were struck by hand. From the numerous specimens seen in the Bombay hoard, the obverse and reverse dies for coins used as 'hosts' by the Sidis can be constructed and when they are compared with those for the Maratha 'Ankushi' rupees, the difference is seen at once. The most telling example is the Rupee from the ANS collection,



where the top line on the obverse shows a mirrored image of the bottom line. Had it been a Maratha 'Ankushi' rupee, one would expect the name of Shah Ali Gauhar to appear as the top line. It is quite clear, therefore, that these coins were struck afresh and countermarked at the mint before they were released into circulation. Their countermarked appearance is therefore an

intentional creation of the mint. They may well be identified as 'Hubshee New' and this would fit in with the evolutionary course as offered by the manuscript details.

One would wonder why the mint would have taken such a measure. The answer probably lies in the circulatory practices. Countermarking incoming rupees would have meant that 'host coins' for Janjira could have been various kinds of 'Ankushi' rupees, as there was more than one mint striking them in different grades of purity. It is understandable that such a practice would have given enough opportunity to the shroffs to make a quick profit whether or not the Sidis had 'naturalised' the inbound specie with their mark. This would prove detrimental especially in a tight money market that survived on a frugal monetary economy, like the one existing in a small state like Janjira. Mere 'naturalisation' of incoming specie would therefore not be an adequate measure to maintain the requisite standard of purity and minimise the discounts charged by the shroffs. The Sidis obviously did not see a connection between sovereignty and coinage at this juncture - this is quite evident from the fact that they chose a coin ostensibly of their rivals, the Marathas, i.e. the 'Ankushi' rupee, as a 'host coin'. The fact that it was the most widely accepted coin in the region seems to have loomed large in this choice. The countermarking therefore did not serve a political purpose; the practice was entirely of an economic nature. For achieving and maintaining the standard, one would need a host coin that is consistent in purity. The practice of striking the 'host coin' beforehand must have given the government an undertype of controlled purity and facilitated greater control over fluctuation in contents and discounts charged thereof. Countermarking would give the coins an appearance similar to those already in circulation. Thus the entire phenomenon can be viewed as an attempt of the Sidi government to exert greater control over shroff practices and minimise the discounts being charged. However, this practice seems to be limited to rupees only, no special 'host coins' seem to be struck specially when it came to fractional issues. All known fractions bearing the 'Ja' countermark are Maratha 'Ankushi' fractions. They are of half and quarter rupee denominations.



It is possible that the practice of countermarking inbound specie was continued in the case of fractions because, compared to rupees, their circulation was restricted. Also the rates of shroff discounts would be considerably lower and the resultant loss in value must have been relatively sustainable.

Most Janjira rupees have the 'Ja' countermark on the reverse. However a few instances of it being applied on the obverse are



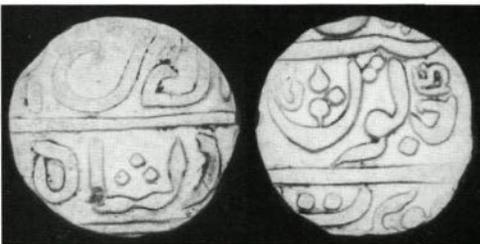
also known.

A small number of coins bear it on both sides. Many silver coins in the Bombay hoard have a few additional countermarks on them.

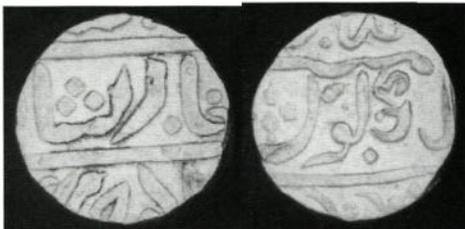


Chiefly seen are two more Devanagari characters, namely 'Sri' and 'Ma' and another resembling the Persian inscription 'Mo' or 'Mu'. These seem to be shroff-marks applied in the course of general circulation. Another noteworthy aspect of the 'Ja' countermark is a small dot, which is seen just below the curve of the character. The presence or absence of this dot may have signified a small change in silver purity. This was a common practice in contemporary Deccani coinages. Its significance is reflected in the contemporary nomenclature of coins, wherein words like 'yekboondki' ('single-dotted') or 'do-boondki' ('double-dotted') are seen used to identify them as such, thereby enabling an easy assessment of their intrinsic worth.

A couple of varieties of Janjira silver rupees dissimilar to what has been described so far turned up in the Bombay hoard of 1998. The character 'Ja' in their case is incorporated into the die and, therefore, appears as part of the coin design rather than as a countermark.



It is positioned just above the letter 'Jim' of the word 'Julūs' on the reverse and it is seen placed in a horizontal upside-down fashion. On coins of the second variety the 'Ja' occurs skewed to the right, with the top horizontal stroke at an angle with the Persian inscription below it.



It is interesting to note that all those coins where 'Ja' occurs horizontally have a dot placed near its curve. Those with the skewed 'Ja', however, do not have the dot. This may indicate a further change in the silver content. Fractions of both varieties with the 'Ja' incorporated into the design are known, however only one – that with the horizontal 'Ja' – is illustrated here.



Ken Wiggins and K. K. Maheshwari published one rupee with the 'Ja' askew in their monograph on Maratha coins (*Maratha Mints and Coinage*, Nasik, 1989, p.24, T9) but they failed to attribute it correctly. This specimen was in the Wiggins collection and has subsequently been acquired by the British Museum.



It is a very debased coin and the poorness of its silver content prompted the authors to remark that it may have been an issue of the Maindargi mint because secondary sources available to them indicated that 'Ankushi' rupees struck at Maindargi were so debased that they were worth only 4 annas – in other words they had suffered a massive 75% debasement.

It is possible to suggest a chronology for the silver issues of Janjira based on the discussion so far. We have seen that, of the two varieties illustrated in Prinsep's manuscripts, the 'Hubshee Nishanee' were 'Ankushi' rupees entering circulation in the state and countermarked 'Ja', while the 'Hubshee New' were a variety created by the local Sidi mint imitating the appearance of the former. Of the two, the 'Hubshee Nishanee' was most certainly the earliest Janjira coin. As indicated by Prinsep's remarks, the 'Hubshee New' followed these. The coins where the character was included in the design seem to follow those having the countermarked character. Of the two varieties that have the character incorporated in the design, coins of the one with the skewed character exhibit a rapid fall in their silver content. It should, therefore, be dated after the one where the character is horizontal. The extreme debasement in coins of this type is evident from the specimen in the Wiggins collection. Gyani quotes important information from the 'Bombay Gazetteer' as regards this fall in the purity of Janjira rupees. It says the mint at Janjira 'issued a debased coinage' and was closed in 1834 by the British when they took over the affairs of the state. The reference to debased coinage is noteworthy but Gyani did not see it in its context of a silver coinage. He went on to say that the date of closure as mentioned in the Gazetteer should be 'safely substituted' by a later date, which is borne by copper coins (discussed further). If we are to imagine that the piece in the Wiggins collection actually entered circulation, British intervention in the state and the subsequent closure of the mint seem well justified!

If the mint for silver rupees was indeed abolished in 1834, it infers that Valentine's attribution of the Janjira 'Ankushi' rupees to Sidi Ibrahim Khan III is obviously incorrect, because he only began his rule in 1848 AD. As the silver coins were struck prior to this date, they should be attributed to the previous rulers, namely Sidi Muhammad Khan (1825–1848) and Sidi Ibrahim Khan II (two terms of office: 1789–1794 and 1803–1825). Ibrahim Khan II is the likely contender for initiating an independent silver coinage at Janjira. The first term of his office was marred by a feud between him and his minister, Sidi Jamrood. In fact, the latter managed to depose him and usurp the throne in the intervening period till 1803, when Ibrahim was reinstated. It is quite unlikely that any attempt at an independent coinage would have been initiated in such turbulent times. However, it is conceivable that countermarking incoming 'Ankushi' coins may well have taken place during this time, or indeed during Sidi Jamrood's rule. The Maratha 'Ankushi' rupee was itself a product of the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, so the coinage practices at Janjira cannot be pushed back much beyond 1790. It is worth reverting to the etchings in Prinsep's manuscript at this juncture

and giving a thought to one of the pencilled remarks. It is in the hand of Codrington and attributes one or both the coins illustrated to 'Sidi Hasan Khan'. But this ruler ruled much earlier (first term 1732-34 and second term 1740-46). It is entirely unlikely that he struck these coins, for the simple reason that the prototype for Janjira coins was itself not struck in those years. The mention of Hasan Khan as the progenitor of the Janjira coinage therefore needs to be disregarded.

Taking the numismatic evolution presented above into account, it seems quite certain that the countermarking of incoming 'Ankushi' rupees at Janjira must have begun under Sidi Ibrahim II's reign. The 'Hubshee Nishanee' rupees should therefore be dated to the period 1790-1803, covering the first reign of Sidi Ibrahim II and that of Sidi Jamrood. Obviously, in the absence of any distinguishing device, we cannot ascribe the coins to these two rulers individually. Janjira rupees betraying the appearance of the countermarked 'Ankushi' rupees but having a locally struck 'host coin' (the 'Hubshee New' of Prinsep's manuscript) should be regarded as the first independent issues of the state. It is plausible that they were struck mainly during the second reign of Sidi Ibrahim Khan II (1803-1825). The advent of the subsequent variety of Janjira 'Ankushi' rupees, namely those with the differentiating character incorporated in the coin design must have happened later in the second reign of Sidi Ibrahim II, may be towards 1820-1825. Coins with the character placed horizontally could be dated to this period. As the coins with the skewed character follow these and, considering they constitute the variety that was minted immediately before the closure of the mint in 1834, it would be appropriate to attribute them to the reign of the successor of Sidi Ibrahim II, namely Sidi Muhammad Khan (1825-1848).

#### Copper Coinage of Janjira

The copper coins of Janjira are better known in comparison to the silver issues. They conform to a weight standard of 6 to 8 g, but exhibit a lot of weight variation. Gyani's paper was the first comprehensive study of the copper coins of Janjira. To summarise his research: he reconstructed the corrupt legends seen on these coins by studying 50-odd specimens. He further attributed the coins to three rulers of Janjira, namely Sidi Ibrahim Khan II, Sidi Muhammad Khan and Sidi Ibrahim Khan III. The coins attributed by Gyani to Ibrahim Khan II bear the legends '*Sidī Ibrāhīm Fidwī*' on the obverse and '*Alamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī*' on the reverse; the legend in its entirety stands for 'Sidi Ibrahim, the servant of Emperor Alamgir, the Warrior'. These coins do not have distinguishing features like a date, so in theory they could be issues of either Ibrahim II or Ibrahim III. Gyani chose to attribute them to Sidi Ibrahim II on the following basis:

1. He took the reference to 'Alamgir' as being of the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II. As Sidi Ibrahim II was chronologically closer to Alamgir II than Sidi Ibrahim III, Gyani thought this militated in favour of Ibrahim II.

2. These coins matched closely in weight, size and type those attributed to the successor of Ibrahim II, namely Muhammad Khan. His coins bear exactly the same legends but his name appears instead of Ibrahim's in much the same fashion as '*Sidī Muḥammad Khān Fidwī*' on the obverse and '*Alamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī*' on the reverse. Thus, as a numismatic sequence, Gyani envisaged the 'Ibrahim' coins as predecessors to those of Muhammad Khan and attributed them to Ibrahim II.

3. Sidi Ibrahim III's coins are distinguished by a date and a legend that clearly mentioned his father's name. Gyani reconstructed it (see below) and argued that Ibrahim III must have chosen to indicate his father's name in order to differentiate his own coins from those of his homonymous grandfather. Thus, the coins with the 'Alamgir/Ibrahim' legend must have been issued by Ibrahim II.

There are several criticisms that one may offer on Gyani's reconstructions of these legends and his attributions. But firstly it should be admitted that Gyani's was a maiden attempt to study the

Janjira coins and, as such, his contribution retains significant, numismatic merit. But it transpires from analysing the evidence at his disposal and adducing more to it from recent finds that he was incorrect in much of what he concluded.

At the outset, the discovery of a dated coin from the type Gyani ascribes to Sidi Ibrahim II makes it certain that these coins, too, were struck in the reign of Sidi Ibrahim III. This date is 1272 AH and is seen clearly on a specimen illustrated in the Krause-Mishler SCWC volume.



Gyani's contention that Sidi Ibrahim II was the first ruler to strike copper coins must, therefore, be overruled. The earliest copper coins of Janjira would, thus, have to be those struck under the reign of Sidi Muhammad Khan. They are correctly described by Gyani - they all have the legend *Sidī Muḥammad Khān Fidwī* on the obverse and '*Alamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī*' on the reverse.



عالم کرے  
بادشاہ اعاز  
محمد  
خان فدو

Further, a re-examination of illustrations supplied by Gyani and a comparative study using specimens from other collections makes it clear that the legends on these coins are not as straightforward as he made them out to be. He missed a portion of the legend to the left of the name of the ruler, which quite clearly reads 'Khān'. Then there is one additional word in the obverse legend, which is 'Sikka'.



There are a few coins where the word 'Sidī' is present.



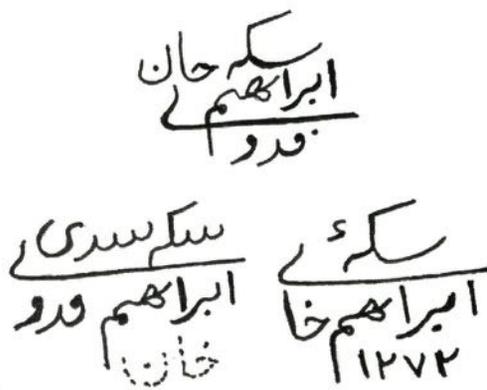
On some coins the word 'Fidwī' is dropped and substituted by a date.



On most coins, a horizontal stroke passes either above or below the ruler's name. On a coin illustrated by Gyani,



it is below the ruler's name and is clearly the 'ye' of 'Fidwī' in its *majhool* form – but on many other coins, where a date replaces 'Fidwī' the stroke still appears and passes above the ruler's name, as seen on the coin in picture 10. In these cases it obviously cannot be part of the word 'Fidwī' and therefore needs to be explained in other ways. One of them would be to read the legend as '*Sikka Ibrāhīm Khānī*', wherein the stroke would represent the final 'ye' in 'Khānī' in its *majhool* form, followed by the date. However in the absence of specimens showing the full extent of the legend this remains a conjecture. But all these variations have a common reverse legend, which is to be read in conjunction with them, and it reads '*Alamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī*' as pointed out by Gyani. A summary of variations on the obverse legend may be illustrated as follows:



Gyani opined that the reverse legend on one of his coins had the name of Shāh 'Alam (II). The coin he illustrates does not substantiate this reading satisfactorily – however, one coin from the Wiggins collection



quite clearly bears bits of 'Shāh Alam'. Unfortunately it is a double-struck specimen with blundered legends as a result, so they cannot be made out with any accuracy. The only extant portions are those of the name 'Ibrāhīm' and his overlord 'Shāh Alam'. Stylistically the coin is similar to the others described and illustrated above, hence its attribution.

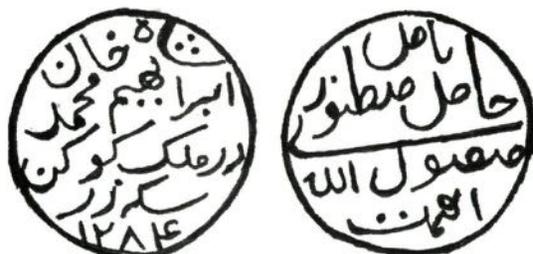
The coins of Sidi Ibrahim Khan III where the legends were rendered readable through Gyani's attempt belong to a completely new type. According to him, they had the inscription '*Sikka zad dar Mulk Kokan Shāh Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Khān*' (Shah Ibrahim Muhammad Khan struck coin in the country of Konkan) on the obverse and '*Ba'amr-i-Muṣṭafa ba'aun Allah al-Samad*' on the reverse. He translated the reverse legend to stand for 'By the order of the Chosen One (i.e. the Prophet) and the help of the Eternal One (i.e. the God)'. He noted the presence of small decorative marks like a crescent and a few stars and a date 1285 AH. A few coins of bearing the date 1284 AH are also known. The only type of gold coin struck at Janjira, which seems to be ceremonial (discussed below), was also struck around this time as they bear the date 1283 AH.

The most important aspect of these coins was the introduction of a hemistich on the obverse. What prompted Sidi Ibrahim III to adopt such a legend is not clear. The Janjira court was in fact embroiled in a feud during these very years. Sidi Ibrahim III faced hostility from his courtiers and the lawlessness that prevailed prompted the Government of Bombay to constitute an independent court to settle important judicial matters. A few years later, Sidi Ibrahim III was deprived entirely of his judicial powers. It is possible that striking coins with a new design as well as initiating a ceremonial gold coinage were measures that Sidi Ibrahim III took to assert his position firmly. The mention of Konkan as a geopolitical entity on these coins is indeed interesting, so is the inclusion of 'Shāh' and the dropping of the word 'Fidwī' which means 'subservient of'. All these observations tend to support the suggestion made above about Ibrahim III's attempts to assert himself in the middle of a fractious Sidi court. This, however, remains mere conjecture and cannot be verified from other sources.

Gyani's rendering of the reverse legend (*Ba'amr-i-Muṣṭafa ba'aun Allah al-Samad*) however, leaves much to be desired. When a number of specimens (e.g. the one illustrated here)



of this type are studied, it becomes quite evident that he has missed it by a long shot. The portion he reads as 'Ba'amr' actually begins with a character in the 'Jim' group, i.e. 'Jim', 'Khe', 'Che' or 'He', and is followed by an 'Alif' added to it. The full obverse and reverse legends for this type, reconstructed after studying a number of specimens, are as follows:



Unfortunately it has not been possible to render the reverse legend fully readable. There is not point in detailing the portions of the legend Gyani misread or missed entirely – suffice it to say that the words below the divider seem to stand for '*Maqbūl Rahamat Allah*', meaning 'the Receiver of the favours of God'; the word read as 'Muṣṭafa' by Gyani is most probably *Manzūrī*, with the connotation of 'agreement'. The deciphering of the rest of the legend, including what Gyani thought was the first word

'Ba'amr', remains very much elusive. But it is very likely that it rhymes with the hemistich on the obverse and that should prove a pointer for future attempts to decipher it.

A detailed study of many more coins bearing the hemistich with Ibrahim III's name makes us aware of one more fact – there are two broad varieties of these coins and Gyani seems to be unaware of the second, as he only describes one. The placement of the Hegira date is different for these two varieties – coins of the first variety, which has been just described have it on the obverse, below the hemistich. Coins of the second variety,



which will be described shortly, have it on the reverse. This change in the placement of dates is noted in Krause-Mishler SCWC volume where such coins are listed as two varieties. A few specimens, however, are known with dates on both sides, i.e. resulting from a coupling of obverse and reverse dies of the two varieties just mentioned. As both were struck in the same year, this is perfectly explicable.

The other aspect that distinguished the two varieties is the reverse legend. Unfortunately the second variety of the reverse legend also remains to be satisfactorily read, like that on the first one. It is in fact cruder than the first variety. Its reconstruction from available specimens is as follows:



It is quite clear that the portion below the divider reads 'Shāh Dīn' followed by the date. It is also plausible that the first word above the divider is the same as that seen on coins of the other variety, it is only badly engraved. But what appears where the word 'Manzūrī' stands in the legend arrangement of the first variety is far from clear on any coins. The divider itself cannot be read with any satisfaction. Given the fact that both these varieties were issued in the same year probably as a result of political unrest, one can assume that the inscriptions would be complimentary in their meaning. This, along with the suggestion that the inscription on the second variety could also rhyme with that on the obverse, would prove as pointers in subsequent attempts to read both these legends.

To sum up, it is quite certain that the copper coinage of Janjira was initiated under the rule of Sidi Muhammad Khan. We have seen that Gyani's attribution of certain coins to his predecessor Sidi Ibrahim II must be ignored and those coins reattributed to Sidi Ibrahim III on the basis of new evidence, including clearly dated coins. When the bulk of Janjira copper coins are examined, it becomes evident that they contain an enormous number of coins having more corrupt legends. Although these conform largely to a definite weight standard, the workmanship is definitely of an inferior quality and, as such, they could be regarded as secondary emissions deriving from superior prototypes. Coins bearing retrograde images of the legends are quite common. It is difficult to ascertain whether these coins were official issues given that we know next to nothing about the actual

coining practices within the state, but it is quite likely that they were 'gimcrack' creations of small-time entrepreneurs who may have taken advantage of the deteriorating political situation in the state. The designs for these coins are derived from two prototypes – they are both coins of Ibrahim Khan III. One of them is the 'earlier' variety struck in the name of 'Alamgir' but a large number of these coins are modelled on the coins in the name of Ibrahim Khan III's where the date appears on the reverse and the legend reads 'Shāh Dīn'. We do not know how long this practice continued. The last date seen on one of these imitative copper coins is 1288 AH which corresponds to 1872–73 AD. Given the fact that towards the end of Ibrahim III's reign the political situation in the state had broken down considerably, it must at least have continued till his death in 1879 AD and for some time into the reign of his successor, Sidi Ahmed Khan. This latter ruler was a minor when he ascended the Habshi throne and government rested in the hands of the British Resident. It is unlikely that such practices could have continued much longer under British administration and the Janjira copper coinage must have been terminated soon after 1880.

### Gold Coins of Janjira

Until recently, the gold coins of Janjira were unknown. The first was published by Prashant Kulkarni. It is a mohur struck during the reign of Sidi Ibrahim Khan III, weighing about 11 g, having crudely engraved Persian legends on both sides and bearing the date 1283 AH.



While discussing it, Kulkarni made references to Gyani's study of Janjira copper coins but missed some of the readings provided by him, which in turn affected the accuracy of his description of the mohur as well. He also seems to have misread the date as 1282 AH, but the illustrated specimen quite clearly shows it to be 1283 AH. Subsequently another specimen, most probably from the same dies, appeared in a Baldwin's Auctions sale in London.

The most noticeable aspect of the Janjira gold coins is the legend on the reverse which copies the couplet on the coins of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb – 'Sikka zad dar jahān chū badr munūr, Shāh Aurangzīb 'Alamgīr'. Kulkarni quite rightly pointed out that the portion 'chū badr munūr' has been engraved in a peculiar manner so that it looks like a date 1209! What prompted Sidi Ibrahim III to invoke his Mughal connections after nearly two hundred years is not known. But most likely it had its roots in the political unrest that we have already discussed – the Sidi probably attempted to display the legitimacy of his rule by indicating that the Mughals granted it. Indeed, it was during Aurangzeb's reign that the Sidis established a connection with an imperial household for the first time and it was the emperor's charter that confirmed Sidi rule on Janjira and its adjoining territories. It was also by the same charter that the Sidis were officially appointed the Admirals of the Mughal fleet. The Sidis thus shared a strong historical bond with Aurangzeb. The mention of Aurangzeb's name on coins is therefore well justified considering the advantage Sidi Ibrahim III might have gained by it, especially in murky political waters.

The legend on the obverse was read by Kulkarni as 'Shāh Ibrāhīm Khān dar Mulk Kokan Angrez 1282'. Admittedly, he saw some of the words engraved in a corrupt fashion and he says, "Kokan looks like Garh Min. Angrez is only ngrez". He further comments, "The mention of 'Mulk Angrez' is very appropriate as Bombay is only 44 (sic) miles away and the British would always welcome the mention of their company or that of their Her Majesty (sic)". A close scrutiny of the illustration, however,

reveals that Kulkarni leaves a stroke to the left of what he reads as 'ngrez' unaccounted for. Secondly the Janjira chiefs had no obvious reason to acknowledge British suzerainty because they had no treaty obligations to indicate the status as such, nor did they pay any tribute to the British. When all these facts are taken into account, it becomes quite clear that the legend in fact is virtually the same that Gyani encountered on the copper coins of Ibrahim III – *Sikka zad dar Mulk Kokan Shāh Ibrāhīm Khān*. What Kulkarni read as 'ngrez' is in fact 'Sikka' and 'zad' follows immediately after. The divider is 'Mulk' as rightly mentioned by him. The legend has certain features not seen in its variant on the copper coins – the word 'Kokan' is written as 'Koh kan', with the clear inclusion of an 'H' following the vowel sign of 'o' after 'Ko'. This is an inscriptional peculiarity, and it is also seen on certain other coins. A good example of this would be coins of the Mughal Emperors Shah 'Alam Bahadur and Farrukhsiyar struck at 'Azamnagar Gokak, where the mint name appears as 'Goh kak' rather than 'Gokak'. The other noticeable difference is the absence of the name of Muhammad Khan. In essence, however, the legend means the same as it does on the copper coins.

### Coins of Ja'afarabad

No discussion on coins of the Habshis would be complete without referring to some strange base metal pieces frequently described as 'koris' of Ja'afarabad. We have seen in the introductory part of this paper that Ja'afarabad was a small Sidi enclave on the South Gujarat coast, which came into their possession as part of a political deal. A good number of Janjira copper coins are found in and around Ja'afarabad, so one would assume that there were monetary connections between these two Sidi territories, which must have been facilitated by maritime trade networks.

The coins of Ja'afarabad are listed in the SCWC as two series – the first



has extremely crude Persian inscription on the obverse and the second



has an incused design that vaguely looks like a coat-of-arms composed of a palm-tree flanked by two flags. Coins of both the series have a nondescript reverse design, composed entirely of vertical lines. Coins of the second series also have vertical serrations on the edge, resembling milling. The silver content of coins of both series is very low, almost billon.

There is no reason to presume these were Sidi issues of Ja'afarabad, indeed there is no other evidence indicating so, either from the coins themselves or from any other source. It is known that the official in-charge of Ja'afarabad (the 'Mamlatdar') had judicial and revenue authority but it is not known whether he had any coining rights or powers to delegate such rights. Coins of the first series made their appearance in the market in the 1970's, whereas coins of the second series turned up in the late 1980's. The attribution of these pieces to Ja'afarabad is based entirely on information provided by people who sourced and offered them for sale, first in Bombay and then in London. Whether these pieces are coins at all is worth asking because they do not conform to any strict weight-standard – their identification as 'Koris' and fractions is again based on the fact that this was the denomination prevalent in the area they were supposed to have been sourced from, namely the Kathiawar peninsula. A few pieces may have conformed to the 'kori' weight standard – there are coins listed as 3/4 Koris, which are certainly anomalous in the denominational scheme and most likely to be underweight specimens, if we

assume that they were indeed struck on the 'Kori' standard. The state of Janjira never had a coat-of-arms composed of a palm-tree and flags – it showed two Sidi warriors flanking a crest with dynastic emblems.



There were other states in the region like Mangrol and Balasinor that could have struck 'koris', but they also did not have coats-of-arms similar to that seen on these coins. The appearance of the coins is not quite right; they look like modern fantasies struck to lure collectors. Taking into account all these aspects, the attribution of these pieces to Ja'afarabad must be considered highly doubtful until such time as more reliable evidence may become available.

### Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Faeza Jasanwalla, granddaughter of Nawab Sidi Shah Muhammad Khan, the last Nawab of Janjira, for historical details she kindly provided and to Sanjay Gosalia, Mumbai for supplying the illustration of the crest of Janjira State.

### The Coinage of the Safavid ruler, 'Abbās II up to AH 1060 – Part 2

By Stan Goron

This part deals with the coins of type 2, introduced in AH 1054 at the lower weight standard of 7.39 g, and the coins of the Khuzestan mints. General information about this issue can be found in the previous newsletter. Here I will just remind readers of the obverse couplet and the reverse types:

بگیتی سکه صاحبقرانی  
زد از توفیق حق عباس ثانی

*be-gūtī sekke-ye šāheḡqerānī*

*zad as toufīq-e ḡaqq 'abbās-e thānī*

*In the world, 'Abbās the second, by the favour of God, struck the Šaheḡqerānī coin*

The reverses of both types of 'abbāsī have the Shiite formula (*Kalima*) within a dotted border. As with the coins of Safī I described in the previous newsletter, there are two varieties of the formula, one with *muḡammad rasūl allāh*, the other, with *muḡammad 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 *Muḡammad*. The distinctive sub-variety of the lattermost with a mint-mark in the shape of a bud occurs on far fewer coins of this type. In AH 1058 in Tabrīz, and 1059 in Irvān, a fifth type of reverse was introduced with the 12 *rashidun* in the margin. This became the standard reverse for the later issues.

Please note that in newsletter 177 the wrong illustration was inserted for Reverse 2.



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, and for reverse 5 in the listings under Irvān and Tabrīz)

**Ardabil**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X		X		
1055	X		X		
1056	X				
1057	X				
1059			X		

No coins have yet been noted for 1058 or 1060.

**Ganja**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X		X		
1055	X		X		
1056	X	X			
1057	X		X		
1058	X		X		
1059			X	X	
1060			X		

The type 4 reverse for this type is rare.

**Hamadān**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X		X		
1056	X				

The type 2 reverse for this type is rare.

**Herāt**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1060			X		

Only one coin has so far been reported for this mint. It was probably struck as a result of the successful campaign to recapture Qandahar.

**Irvān**



Type 5 reverse

Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X		X		
1055	X		X		
1056	X		X	X	
1057	X				
1058	X		X		
1059			X		X
1060					X

From 1058, the flans are often slightly broader and the dies a little more compact so that parts of a beaded border can often be seen.

**Isfahān**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X				
1055	X				
1057	X		X		
1058	X		X		

Coins of 1057 have the date in the bottom line to the left; most coins of 1058 have the date in the usual position – upper part of the middle line, but some coins of this year have the date in the lower part of the middle line. The type 2 reverses of this mint have unusually fine lettering.

**Kāshān**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054			X		
1055	X				
1056	X				
1060			X		

Coins of Kashan are scarce. Those of 1054 have the date right at the bottom of the obverse below the mint-name.

**Mashhad**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X				
1056	X				
1058	X				
1059	X		X		

The coins of Mashhad are fairly scarce. Those of 1058 have the date in the bottom line to the left, while those of 1059 have the date right at the bottom below the mint-name.

**Qandahār**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1059			X		

During the reign of ‘Abbas II, the Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan undertook a disastrous campaign into Central Asia. This failure led to the revival of a plan by the Iranians to reconquer Qandahār. In the autumn of 1058/1643 the shah moved troops and artillery into Afghanistan and succeeded in capturing the city. This very rare issue must have been struck to mark the success of the venture. It is also likely that the issues of Herāt 1060 (above) and Urdū 1058, 1059 (below) are connected with that campaign as may also have been the 1059 issue of Mashhad which shares certain stylistic features with these coins.

**Qazvīn**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1055	X				
1056	X				
1060					X

The coins of Qazvīn are rare, less than half a dozen being noted.

**Rasht**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1056	X				
1057	X				

The coins of Rasht are very scarce.

**Shimākht**



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054		X		X	
1055	X				
1057	X				

### Shūshtar



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1056	X				

The coins of Shūshtar are scarce with those of 1056 being the ones of this reign usually met with. The later issues are beyond the scope of this article.

### Tabrīz



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X	X	X		
1055	X	X	X	X	
1056	X		X		
1057	X				
1058	X		X		X
1059					X
1060					X

Tabrīz is by far the commonest mint for the type B issues. Only two coins with the type 4 reverse, however, have so far been noted. The reverse with the twelve *rashidun* in the margin was introduced in 1058. There are some minor layout variations in the obverse legend but these are not detailed here.

### Tiflis



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1054	X				
1055	X				
1056	X				
1058	X				
1059	X		X		
1060			X		

The style of the Tiflis coins varies considerably, some being much cruder than others. There are two sub-varieties of the 1055 issue: some coins have the date in the middle line, while others have it in the bottom line to the left. The type 5 reverse was not used at Tiflis until around 1069.

### Urdū



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
1058			X		
1059			X		X

The coins of Urdū mint are rare and were probably struck in connection with the campaign to reconquer Qandahār (see above). A single coin dated 1058 has been noted and only one with the type 5 reverse.

### Zegam



Year	Reverse types				
	1	1a	2	4	5
ND	X				

A single coin from this rare mint has been noted. No date is visible on it but as the coin was found with others of this period it is very likely that it belongs here.

The vast majority of these coins are 'abbāsīs. Very few one and two shāhī coins have been noted. KM lists one shāhī coins of Isfahān 1057, Tabrīz 1057, 1059, Mashhad 1060; and 2 shāhī coins of Ardabīl 1059, Iravān 1058, Kāshān 1056, to which I can add 2 shāhīs of Isfahān 1055, Shimākhi 1055, Shūshtar 1056 and Tiflis 1054.

### The Khuzestan Mints

The Khuzestan mints are Dawraq, Dezful, Hūwayza and Rāmhurmuz. During this reign, these mints struck 2 shāhī coins, which are also known as *Mahmūdīs*. Coins with the *shah-e velayat* legends were struck at all four mints while those with the couplet were struck at all but Dezful. Hūwayza is by far the

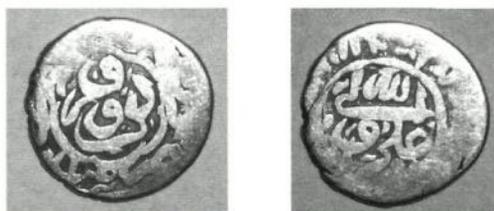
commonest mint, while Rāmhornuz is very scarce. These coins are characterised by having the mint-name in a central cartouche on the obverse while the reverse has 'alī walī allāh in a central cartouche with the remainder of the Shahāda around in the margin. The shape of the cartouches is usually circular but varieties occur where one or both cartouches is in the shape of a scalloped circle. Many of these coins are undated. Undated coins with the *shāh-e velāyat* legend that have the reverse type described above are ascribed to 'Abbas II, while similar, undated coins with the full Shahāda in the centre field are ascribed to 'Abbas I. This may not be altogether accurate but can serve as a useful rule of thumb. These coins weigh around 3.5 to 3.8 g; it is quite possible that there was a slight reduction in weight in 1054 as happened at the other mints but, as these 2 shāhī coins are often quite worn, one cannot be certain without weighing more specimens showing similar states of wear (or preferably with minimal wear).

*Shāh-e Velāyat types*

**Dawraq**



Circular cartouches on both sides. Some coins have a double-lined circle. All Dawraq coins of *shāh-e velāyat* type are undated.



Obverse cartouche in the shape of a scalloped circle.



Reverse cartouche in the shape of a scalloped circle.

**Dezfūl**



Circular cartouches on both sides. The obverse circle includes not only the mintname but all the ruler's name. The marginal legend includes *khallada allāh mulkahu wa salṭanahu*. The Dezfūl coins are undated.

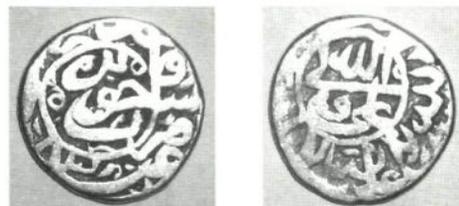


Obverse cartouche in the form of a scalloped circle with ruler's name and mintname.



Obverse cartouche in the shape of an scalloped circle, containing only the mint-name. Shorter legend in margin.

**Huwayza**



Circular cartouches on both sides. Coins known dated 1053 and 1054.



Reverse cartouche in scalloped circle. Some coins have a double-lined scalloped circle. No dated examples noted.



Obverse cartouche in scalloped circle. No dated examples noted. Some coins show part of a legend in an outer margin. Perhaps these are late issues of 'Abbās I.



Cartouches on both sides in the form of a scalloped circle, the reverse one with a double-line outline. Outer obverse margin visible. Again, perhaps a late issue of 'Abbās I.

#### Rāmhurmuz



Circular cartouches on both sides. No date visible. Illustration courtesy of Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen University Collection.

#### Be-gitī couplet types

Coins of Dawraq 1061 and Rāmhurmuz 1056 listed in KM but no illustrations available.

#### Huwayza



Circular cartouches on both sides. Dates listed in KM: 1063, 1064, 1066, 1067, 1072, 1076, 1077.

#### Coins of Vidarbha Janapada

By Prashant P. Kulkarni

#### History and Introduction:

Modern Vidarbha consists of the eastern parts of the Mahārāṣṭra State covering the districts of Nāgpur, Chandrapur, Bhaṇḍārā, Wardhā, Gondīā Gadchiroli, Amrāvati, Yavatmāl, Bulḍāṇa, Akolā and Waśim. The early history of Vidarbha goes back to the Vedic period and is supported by the abundance of Megalithic sites and other archaeological evidence.

The existence of the Vidarbha janapada is known through the jātakas and the ancient literature. The first inscriptional evidence of Vidarbha is found in the Nāśik cave inscription of the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Vasiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi<sup>1</sup>. This will be a reference for the early second century BC, but we have dependable literary evidence pointing to the existence of Vidarbha in the sixth to fourth centuries BC. The Vedabhha Jātaka describes the journey of Bodhisattva with a *Vaidarbhi brāhmana* to Chedi rāṣṭra<sup>2</sup>. According to *Kumbhakarna jātaka*, Karaṇḍu the king of Kaliṅga was contemporary to Nimi, Nagnajit, and Bhīma, the rulers of Videha, Gāndhara and Vidarbha respectively<sup>3</sup>. This means that there was a king named Bhīma who ruled the country of Vidarbha during the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. One of the jātakas says that the king named Daṇḍaka (of Daṇḍakāraṇya) had subordinate kings named Bhīmraṭh, Kaliṅga and Aṭṭhaka. These can be identified with the Bhīma of Vidarbha, and the rulers of Kaliṅga and Aśmaka<sup>4</sup>. Even the Purāṇas say *Vidarbha Daṇḍakaiḥ saha*, meaning Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka were together. They also mention that the people of this place were the dwellers of the Deccan along with the Pulindas, Daṇḍakās, Vindhyas and others.

The *Daśakumāracaritam*, mentions that, "In the Vidarbha country lived one, Puṇyavarmā, the jewel of the Bhoja royal family, who was a partial incarnation of virtue. He was powerful,

truthful, self-disciplined, glorious, lofty and vigorous in mind and body"<sup>5</sup>. The *Jaiminīya Brāhmana* mentions that Vidarbha had a kind of dog called Machāl who could also kill a tiger<sup>6</sup>. Even today such a breed of dog supposedly exists in the Yavatmal area. We have references to Vidarbha in the Ṛig-Veda, *Mahābhārata*, *Jātakas*, *Purānas*, *Brihatkathakośa*, *Yoginītantra*, *Pātānjali's Mahābhāṣya*, *Harivamśa* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. All need not be cited here but it is enough to know that the antiquity of Vidarbha goes back to the Vedic period.

Vidarbha was always divided into two portions by the river Wardhā. The river Wardhā or ancient Varadā flows from north to south. It divides Vidarbha into eastern and western portions. During the early period the western region was called Bhojakaṭa and the eastern, Bhennākaṭa. We have an interesting reference in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* about this division. Although it was written by Kālidāsa in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, it pertains to at least the first-second centuries BC. The plot of the drama as given by Kālidāsa refers to Yajñasena, a king of Vidarbha who was in conflict with Agnimitra who was ruling at Vidishā as the Śuṅga crown prince. Yajñasena had imprisoned his cousin Mādhavasena and refused to set him free unless Agnimitra released his own brother-in-law, who was a minister under the Mauryas and was imprisoned by Puśyamitra Śunga. Malavikā, the sister of Yajñasena got close to Agnimitra who, in turn, invaded Vidarbha, defeated the opponent and released Mādhavasena. Agnimitra ordered the division of Vidarbha into two portions to be ruled by Yajñasena and Mādhavasena separately<sup>7</sup>. In the third-second centuries BC we find that the eastern portion was called Asika janapada and the western region was known as Supratīṣṭha Āhāra. During Vākāṭaka times, the two regions were ruled by the eastern Nandivardhana branch and the western Vatsagulma branch. Later, during the British period, these divisions persisted and were known as the Central provinces and Berar respectively.

The importance of the division is mentioned here at length because it can establish the existence of a smaller janapada named Asika within Vidarbha. The reference to Asikanagar is known from the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela<sup>8</sup>. It is mentioned in the inscription that the armies of Khāravela landed at the banks of the river Kanhabēṇā without caring for Śātakarṇi and scared the people of the Kanhabanagara. The Nāśik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi also mentions Asika as a region won by Śātakarṇi. But a seal showing the clear name Asika Janapada has come to light from a place called Aḍam in eastern Vidarbha<sup>9</sup>. This was found in stratified excavation and establishes beyond doubt that such a janapada existed during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. The question whether it existed before that period cannot be answered as there is no evidence forthcoming in favor or against that. The only thing that we can conclude with certainty is that the coins published in this paper and found at Pavanār, Māndhal, Bhaṇḍārā, Gondīā and Dhāpewārā, belong to the eastern part of Vidarbha janapada, which later on came to be known as Bhennākaṭa and/or Asika janapada.

#### Coins found in Western Mahārāṣṭra

The silver punch-marked coins of sixteen mahājanapadas have been published in the past in various numismatic journals and books but those of Vidarbha janapada have not come to light. Several attempts have been made to attribute those to the individual mahājanapadas with the help of their marks and find-places. The recent study by Rajgor is noteworthy in this respect<sup>10</sup>. I have made an attempt to separate a particular series of small punch-marked coins into the central and South Indian janapadas and have tried to attribute them to the Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Chedi janapadas.

Just as most of the North Indian janapadas issued coins weighing generally in the range of one to eleven grams,<sup>11</sup> the southern ones were made on a lighter standard, of less than two grams, with the exception of Kuntala coins of nearly seven grams. The series of the South Indian janapada coins has predominantly

four marks, the standard mark being the elephant and the other three marks varying from region to region. By South India I mean the states located south of the Narbadā river. Rajgor grouped them into the Āndhra, Āsmaka and Kālīṅga janapadas.

We know that there were sixteen mahājanapadas in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, but there were more than one hundred janapadas, some of which were independent and some of which were included in the bigger mahājanapadas. Each mahājanapada consisted of many janapadas. For example the Vidarbha janapada was included in the Chedi or Cheti mahājanapada for some period.<sup>12</sup> If we study the four symbol elephant-type coins of South and Central India we find that there are variations in the coins of different areas. The objective of this paper is to bring to light the similarities in the series in general and the regional variations in particular. The coins in question are found all along the Godāvārī river areas including those of Mahārāṣṭra and Talaṅgāṇā. The riverine societies developed around the water sources and the coins spread around the rivers Godāvārī in Mahārāṣṭra, Vainagaṅgā in Vidarbha and Mahānadi in Orissa.

A series of coins weighing 1.5-1.8 gram has been found at Nāśik<sup>13</sup> and Siddhanāth<sup>14</sup> along the Godāvārī river, by the Karandu river near Nānded<sup>15</sup>, and at various places in the Vainagaṅgā basin in Vidarbha.

There appears to be consensus between Rajgor, Mangalam and Patil in attributing these coinages to the Āsmaka janapada. Mangalam has done it with a word of caution. The coins, however, need to be isolated from those of Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kālīṅga janapadas. The separation can be done on the basis of a combination of marks and weight standard. We have to go cautiously with examining each type.

While doing the attribution, Rajgor put Singavaram and Sonepur hoards into Āndhra janapada<sup>16</sup>. The village of Sonepur is located in Orissa near the Mahānadi river. Hence all Sonepur finds must be removed from Āndhra attribution. He also put the Sonepur hoard into the Kālīṅga janapada<sup>17</sup>. The coins published under the Āsmaka series include two specimens found in Vidarbha.<sup>18</sup> These need to be excluded from the list of Āsmaka coins and attributed to the Vidarbha janapada.

Making a closer inspection of coins attributed to the Āsmaka janapada by Rajgor, we find that he has listed types from # 464 to 497. Type numbers 464 - 468, 472, 473, 476-478, 480-491, and 493 can be certainly attributed to the Āsmakas. The rest of the coins are discussed below. Rajgor has carefully sorted several coins from published sources but unless we are sure that they were found in Western Mahārāṣṭra, there is no point in forcing the attribution onto the Āsmakas. Coin type 466 is mentioned by him<sup>19</sup> as 'Gupta 1996, pl. I, no.13. This coin is illustrated by P.L. Gupta and described as Āndhra punchmark<sup>20</sup>. Coin type 471 is illustrated by Mitchiner as belonging to the Kālīṅga janapada<sup>21</sup>. Mitchiner has also listed similar coins at no. 4148-51 but Rajgor has attributed them to the Āndhra. Coin types 469,470,474,475 are either in trade or in personal collections. The find-spots of these are not mentioned. Coin 487 is again published by P.L. Gupta<sup>22</sup> but here he mentions it as an Āsmaka coin. Coin types 492 and 496 are found in Malwa<sup>23</sup>. These belong to a different weight standard. While most of the Western Mahārāṣṭra coins weigh in the range of 1.46 - 1.73 g these weigh only 1 g and 0.7 g. Coin no. 4 (492 of Rajgor) is made of copper coated with silver according to Gupta and that should explain the lower weight. The Coin types 479 and 494 have been found in Vidarbha<sup>24</sup> whereas the find-spot of type 495 is not mentioned.

All these coins are either found at different places than those located in Western Mahārāṣṭra or their find-spot is unknown. Earlier authors have arbitrarily attributed them to the Āndhra, Kālīṅga or Āsmaka janapadas. These must be kept separately as unattributed coins and studied in the future after their source has been investigated.

### The Weight Standard

The weights in the chart given by Rajgor vary in the range of 1.46 g to 1.73 g with three exceptions. These are No. 478, 486 and 493. No. 486 is described as broken and that explains the loss of weight to 0.8g. No.493 has a copper core and hence weighs 0.8 g. Coin no. 478 weighs 1.2 g. This weight needs to be explained. I feel that, on physical examination of the coin, we will know whether it has a copper core or is broken or too worn. With this exception the weight standard of the Āsmaka coins should be taken as 1.73 g or a half *Kāṣṭhāna* of nearly 3.7 g. On the other hand, the Vidarbha series weighs 0.9 to 1.21 g only and is a different series altogether.

Two janapada coins published by Rajgor are found in Vidarbha. We have eight more found in Akolā, Bhaṅḍārā, Pavanār, Māṅḍhal and Yavatmāl. In addition to this, a larger number of coins have been found and published. But this was ignored or not studied carefully. These were ninety-two silver punch-marked coins found in 1893 at Dhāpewārā near Bālāghāṭ<sup>25</sup>. Twenty-one out of them are in the Nagpur Museum and two are illustrated in the Bālāghāṭ District Gazetteer. Gupta and Jain examined the Nagpur Museum coins and gave their weights. The most interesting thing is that they weigh considerably less than the Western Mahārāṣṭra finds of Āsmaka coins. Out of twenty-one specimens, fourteen coins weigh in the range of 15.82 to 18.17 grains, whereas two weigh 9.01 and 10.61 grains. Four others are blank and one is a Mauryan coin. This means that the weight range is 1.025 gram to 1.177 gram with the halves at 0.583 to 0.687. Rajgor's coin # 479 also weighs 1.2 g and is also found in Vidarbha. On the other hand, the Āsmaka series with very similar marks and fabric weigh from 1.5 to 1.8 g. The two series are distinct and belong to two different issuing authorities and perhaps to more than one janapada, i.e. the Āsmaka (weighing 1.46-1.8 g) and the Vidarbha (weighing 0.9 -1.21g). This weight range of the Vidarbha series is closer to the *Quarter Vimsatikā* standard of 1.16 g. Coin no. 8 described below and found at Māṅḍhal weighs 2.23 g which could be the half *Vimsatikā*. The evidence however is so scanty that it is better to call these coins a unit and double unit for the time being. Their attribution to the *Vimsatikā*, *Sāna* or *Kāṣṭhāna* can be discussed on discovery of more data. A large number of similar coins are also found in Orissa. These are discussed in subsequent pages. The coins found in Vidarbha belonging to a lighter weight standard are discussed hereafter.

### The Vidarbha Janapada Coins

No coins have been attributed to the Vidarbha janapada before. This is because practically very few coins were known and only two examples were included by Rajgor among the Āsmaka coins. These are nos. 479 and 494. The first weighs 1.2 g and the second one, with a copper core weighs 0.9 g only. Coin no. 479 was seen by me with a private collector and I can confirm that it hailed from Vidarbha. More coins of this weight and marks have been found in Akolā, Bhaṅḍārā, Pavanār, Māṅḍhal and Yavatmāl in Vidarbha. These are from the collections of Avināsh Rāmteke, Gopāl Zavar and Naresh Chamedīā. I am thankful to them for allowing them to be photographed for publication in this paper.

**Coin 1:** 1.21 g, 14 x 14.5 mm, Bhaṅḍārā find.



Obverse: Four punches of three different symbols. The punch showing an elephant walking to left is at the top. The one with the tree is at the bottom and a geometrical symbol consisting of two

taurins, one crescent and a dot is repeated twice on the left and right portions of the coin. Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 2:** 0.9 g, 15 x 16 mm. Yavatmāl find, broken and 30% piece missing; original weight must be around 1.2 g.



Obverse: Elephant to left, floral symbol and a geometric symbol.  
Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 3:** 0.85g, 15.5 x 11 mm, Yavatmāl find, broken and 35% piece missing; original weight must be around 1.2 g.



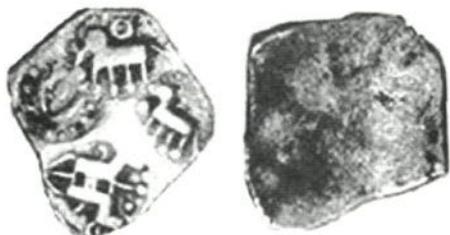
Obverse: Elephant to left, composite taurine symbol. Two other marks missing.  
Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 4:** A broken piece of 0.45 g, 9 x 9 mm. Yavatmāl find.



Obverse: Only one of the four punches visible. Shows two bulls tied to a plough.  
Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 5:** 0.95g, 14 x 15 mm. Akolā find.



Obverse: Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: bull to left, 3: two bulls yoked to a plough, 4: an oval symbol surrounded by dots.  
Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 6:** 0.6 g, 14 x 15 mm. Akolā find. Broken specimen.  
Obverse and reverse as coin 5.



**Coin 7:** 1.19 g, 13 x 15 mm. Pavanār find.



Obverse: Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: a geometric symbol repeated twice and 3. representation of a tree.  
Reverse: Blank.

**Coin 8:** 2.23 g, 20 x 23 mm. Māndhal find. This is a double unit coin of 2.4 g standard and has been restruck on an earlier Vidarbha janapada coin.



Obverse: Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: a geometric symbol repeated twice and 3. two bulls yoked to a plough.  
Reverse: Traces of undertype: Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: a different geometric symbol repeated twice and 3. two bulls yoked to a plough.

#### **The Dhāpewārā hoard**

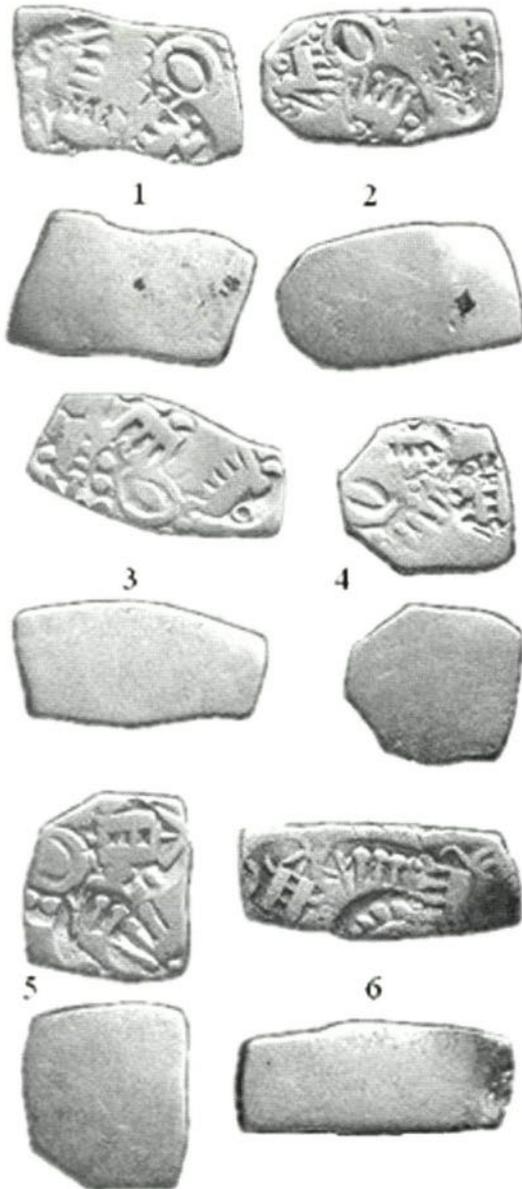
This hoard of 92 silver punch-marked coins found at this place in 1893 is very interesting. Two of them are illustrated in the Bālāghāt district gazetteer. The find-place, Dhāpewārā, was in Vidarbha in the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. This was too far west for the Kalinga region. Gupta and Jain call it Mahākośala, but such a place did not exist.<sup>26</sup> The southern parts of Kośala were known as Dakṣiṇa Kośala during the first century AD but the term Mahākośala came into vogue only during modern times. The weight series of these coins ranges from 0.9 g to 1.2 g. Rajgor put one such coin in the Āndhra series<sup>27</sup>. He mentions that this was from the Sonepur hoard. One has to realise that Sonepur and Āndhra (especially Singavaram) are more than 300 miles apart. The reference is given as *Agrawal 1952* but Agarwala talks only about the denomination and not the attribution to Āndhra.<sup>28</sup> He has attributed one more coin to the Āndhra janapada. This is in the British Museum<sup>29</sup>. At type 27, Rajgor mentions the BM coin as having been found at Singavaram. But P.L. Gupta and Balchand Jain mention that it is not unlikely that one coin of this type (Dhāpewārā find) which is now in the British Museum and originally belonged to Cunningham formed part of this (Dhāpewārā) hoard<sup>30</sup>. The weight of the coin 17.8 grains or 1.14 g (which Rajgor mentions as 1.2 g) suggests that Gupta and Jain are correct. Cunningham found this coin in 1894, which is close enough to the find of the hoard in 1893. Rajgor identifies this coin as a ¼ *Kārṣāpana*, which is the half of 1.8 g *ardhakārṣāpana*. The half of 1.8 g would be a 0.9 g coin. The coins weighing 1.2-1.3 g cannot be the quarters of a 3.7 g *Kārṣāpana* standard. The Dhāpewārā series is, therefore, very close to the Vidarbha coins as far as the metrology is concerned. Coming to the historical facts, we know that the Vaingāngā river was known as Bennā and, after it joined the Kanhān, it was called Kanhabennā as is known from the Hāthīgumphā inscriptions. The area around this river formed a part of Vidarbha and was known as the Bennākaṭa or Vennākaṭa region. The Sātavāhana ruler, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, is called *Benākaṭakasvāmi* in the 19<sup>th</sup> year of his Nāśik cave inscriptions<sup>31</sup>.

The Beṇṇākaṭa or Bhennākaṭa was indeed eastern Vidarbha during the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. In Mahānāradaśāstra jātaka, Bhennākaṭa is called a janapada. Chandrasekhara Gupta has drawn a map of this region and shown the boundaries of Bhennākaṭa<sup>32</sup>. This area was the eastern side of the Wardha river. The Asika janapada existed at this place during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as discussed earlier but it was a little to the south of Bhennākaṭa. Hence the Dhāpewārā hoard coins can either be attributed to the Vidarbha janapada or the Bhennākaṭa janapada. The geography of Bhennākaṭa and Asika during the various centuries is a matter of conjecture and further research is needed to prove the antiquity of Asika during the jātaka period. The attribution of this region and the coins found therein may be restricted to the Vidarbha Janapada for the time being.

Of the 92 Dhāpewārā coins, the whereabouts of only 22 are known. One is in the British Museum and 21 in the Nagpur Museum. What happened to the rest is unknown. A small group of almost 20 coins surfaced in 2003 and its find-spot was unknown. These have been shown to me by Sri Avinash Ramteke. According to their weight and marks these are precisely the coins of Dhāpewārā type. They are illustrated here and described.

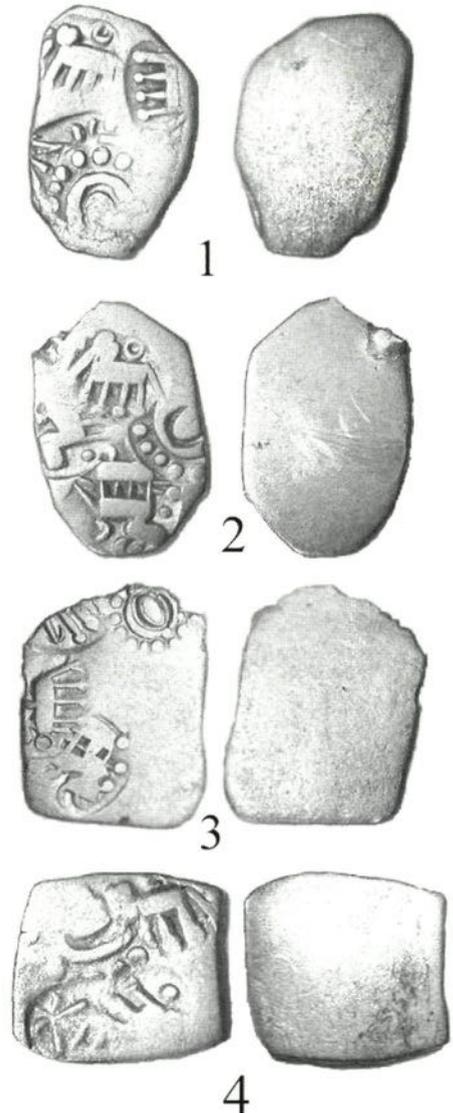
**Obverse:** Very similar to Vidarbha type no.5 illustrated above. Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: bull to left, 3: two bulls yoked to a plough, 4: a solid oval symbol surrounded by dots known as the eye symbol or *netrabindumṇḍala*.

**Reverse:** Blank.



- 1: 0.9 g, 10 x 17 mm.
- 2: 0.95 g, 10 x 17 mm.
- 3: 0.95 g, 9 x 19 mm.
- 4: 0.95 g, 12 x 13 mm.
- 5: 1.05 g, 11 x 13 mm.
- 6: 1.02 g, 7 x 19 mm.
- 7: 0.95 g, 9 x 16 mm.
- 8: 0.95 g, 10 x 16 mm.

Soon after this find, a small hoard of about 49 coins was found at Gondīā. Many coins appeared in the Gondīā jewellery shops and in the Raipur *sarafa bazār*. Gondīā is only 45 kilometers south of Bālāghāt and it is possible that the above mentioned eight coins also formed a part of the Gondīā hoard. I was able to photograph only four specimens out of the hoard. These are illustrated here.



**Obverse:** Very similar to Vidarbha type no.5 illustrated above. Four punches consisting of 1: an elephant to left, 2: bull to left, 3: two bulls yoked to a plough, 4: a solid oval symbol surrounded by dots known as the eye symbol or *netrabindumṇḍala*.

**Reverse:** Blank.

1. 1.04 g, 11 x 18 mm.
2. 1.02 g, 11 x 18 mm.
3. 0.88 g, 13 x 18 mm.
4. 1.07 g, 12 x 13 mm.

The Gondīā, Bālāghāṭ and Dhāpewārā coins are of the same fabric, weight and typology. The town of Gondīā is currently in Vidarbha and the district of Bālāghāṭ was located in the Nagpur division of the Central Provinces. This place was always a part of Vidarbha where copper plates of the Vakataka ruler, Pṛithivīseṇa were discovered. Similarly, the district of ancient Beṇṇākaṭa comprised the territory around the modern village of Benā, 35 miles to the east of Kosambā in the Gondīā tahsil of the Bhandara district.<sup>33</sup> These coins are, therefore, undoubtedly of the Vidarbha janapada. As mentioned earlier, these coins can very well belong to the Beṇṇākaṭa janapada. But it appears that Vidarbha was divided into two parts called Bhennākaṭa and Bhojakaṭa. The boundaries of these regions are extremely conjectural and, thus, the attribution is restricted to the Vidarbha janapada at this moment.

The Vidarbha Janapada coins, therefore, weigh in the range 0.9 to 1.21 g and principally bear the marks displaying an elephant, a bull, and two yoked bulls. The list of marks found on Vidarbha types are:

R479		1.3g, 11x17mm Vidarbha, Rajgor 479
R494		0.9g, 12mm. Silver plated copper, Vidarbha, Rajgor 494
1		1.21g, 14x14mm, Bhandara
2		0.9g, 15x16mm, broken Yamatmal
3		0.85g, 11x15.5mm, broken Yamatmal
5, 6		5 Akola, 0.95g 14x15mm 1.14g, BMC p.10, p.L1, no.27 Dhapewara find 1893 Collected by Cunningham
7		1.19g, 13x15mm, Pavanar
8		2.23g, 20x23mm, Mandhal
8 rev		Undertype of above double Unit

### Coins of the Chedi Mahājanapada

The Chedi or Chetiya mahājanapada was one of the sixteen important regions according to the jātakas. It was a huge *rājya* with areas comprising south-eastern Madhya Pradesh and north-western Orissa. It included the eastern portions of the Narmadā valley and a major part of the Mahānadi river area northwards of Kaliṅga.

According to the Purāṇas, the grandson of Vidarbha was Chedi or Chidi, who founded the Chedi *rāṣṭra*. The *Vedabhha Jātaka* describes the journey of Bodhisattva with a *Vaidarbī brāhmana* from Kauśāmbī to Chedi *rāṣṭra*. The road from Kauśāmbī to the town of Bhaddavati or Bhadrāvati in Vidarbha passed through the Chedi region<sup>34</sup>.

If we look at the map of the janapadas to which coins are assigned by Rajgor, we see a big hole in central India<sup>35</sup>. This was

the Chedi mahājanapada. The northern parts of Orissa are assigned by some to Dakṣiṇa Kośala. But they do not consider that the term Dakṣiṇa Kośala came into vogue only in the centuries after the Christian era. And the term Mahākośala was an invention of Cunningham in the nineteenth century. According to the Macmillan atlas,<sup>36</sup> the Chetiya janapada started from regions a little north of Tripurī in Madhya Pradesh and touched the borders of Avanti in the west, Vidarbha in the south west, Kaliṅga in the South-east and Magadha in the east. This was indeed a large area, perhaps larger than some modern states in India. The expansion of the Magadhas eliminated Chedi rule. It would appear that, after the fall of the Magadhan Empire, the Chedi never recovered, instead their territory was fragmented into Vatsa, Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga.

The coins of Chedi janapada have never been listed except for a passing reference by P.L. Gupta that the Vatsa coins might have been issued by the Kingdom of Chedi<sup>37</sup>. We, however, know of the famous Sonepur hoard and other finds in Madhya Pradesh. These are listed as:

1. Sonepur hoard: 162 silver punch-marked coins, now in the Bhubaneswar Museum.
2. Tārāpur find: 15 coins found in 1927 from the river bed of the Mahānadi.
3. Bālpur find: 7 coins found during 1934 to 1947 from the gold-dust washers of Mahānadi.
4. Sambhalpur find: 2 coins.<sup>38</sup>
5. Śiśupalgarh find: 2 coins found in excavation<sup>39</sup> in 1966.
6. Bilāspur, private collections, reported, not confirmed.

These coins are the same as the coins in the Dhāpewārā hoard of Vidarbha as far as the marks are concerned. It is to be noted that the distance between Dhāpewārā and Sonepur is more than 400 kilometers. The difference in the coinage is only a few significant milligrams. While the Dhāpewārā coins weigh 1.025 g to 1.177 g, the Sonepur weigh 1.244 g to 1.36 g<sup>40</sup>. The difference is about 200 milligrams at both the upper and lower limit. This difference is noteworthy and enough for us to distinguish the series. This standard is much closer to the 1.458 g *sāna* standard known to Pāṇini as an eighth of the *Ṣatamāna*. This has been thoroughly discussed by V.S. Agarwala<sup>41</sup>.

The coins of Chedi janapada will, therefore, be listed as stray finds and hoards from Chhatisgarh and Sonepur areas.

### Attribution

The conclusions can be summarised as follows.

The series of 1 to 2 g punch-marked coins found in Central and Southern India can be classified into at least five different groups. As the series differ in weight standard and execution of marks they can be attributed to the different janapadas that ruled over the area of their find-spots during the 6<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. It looks as if these coins formed a currency system of their own and were traded frequently within the different janapadas. The minor differences in weight standard of different regions were perhaps necessary to meet the local needs. Each region had some principal mark on the coin. This was not necessarily the janapada mark or the state symbol but it was simply accepted by the people around there. We know of very few hoards, and the new finds can bring forth more such principal symbols. These are, however, helpful for us in identifying the coin at a glance. When two or more regions share the same mark, the identification key is the weight standard. And of course the real key is the find-spot. It is a combination of all the factors above that should help solve the riddle of the janapada coins.

The attribution can be simplified as given below:

Janapada	Principal mark(s)	Weight standard	Hoards/Collections
Āsmaka	Elephant, Tree	1.46-1.73 g	Nāśik-Māheshwari Nāndeḍ - Pātil Prakāśa, Bhandāre
Vidarbha	Elephant, Eye symbol, yoked bulls	0.9-1.21 g	Dhāpewārā-Bālāghāt Akolā, Bhandāra, Yavatmāl, Māñḍhal, Pavanār, Gondia Chamedīā, Zavar, Rāmteke, British Museum
Chedi	Elephant, bull, eye, yoked bulls	1.25-1.36 g	Sonepur, Tārāpur, Sambhalpur, Bālpur Bilāspur
Kaliṅga	Candelabra, elephant	1.7- 1.8 g	Durgā Prasād, Patnā Museum
Āndhra	Elephant, mixed symbols	1.5-1.8 g <sup>42</sup>	Singavaram hoard Madrās Museum, Lucknow Museum S.D.S.Gopalācharya <sup>43</sup>

It is to be hoped that with more discoveries in future we would also be able to segregate coins of such minor janapadas as Asika, Bhogavardhana, Mahimsaka, Raṭhika, Bennākaṭa and the Mahārāṣṭra janapada. The attributions suggested in this paper are not final; this is only one step closer to the truth. Much will be revised on finds of new data and research.

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- P. L. Gupta 1969:10, foot note.
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- Snigdha Tripathi, *Early and Mediaeval Coins and Currency system of Orissa Circa 300 BC to 1568 AD*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta 1986, p.3. Snigdha Tripathi has finely demonstrated as to how these coins do not belong to the Kalinga janapada but were found at Śiṣupalgarh as a result of trade relations.
- Bipin Behari Nath, "A New variety of Punch-Marked coins from Sonepur", *JNSI XV*, Bombay 1953, pp.54 ff.
- V.S. Agarwala 1953: 22-25.
- There exists a small repoussé coin weighing 0.2 g in the Lucknow Museum (See Rajgor, p. 27). This was perhaps a testing pattern for the mark.
- Gupta & Jain 1957: 109.

### An Interesting Arab-Sasanian Dirhem

By A. Shams Eshragh



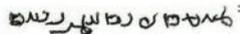
I have recently received the photos of both sides of a very interesting and unusual Arab-Sasanian dirham. It is a type that I have never seen before. The photos came from one of my friends in Dubai who asked me to identify the coin. Details are as follows :

**Obv.** Centre, in Pahlavi script :

Usual symbol 

Apzut = 

Opposite the bust, instead of the personal name of the ruler :

 : mhmt pgtami Y Dat.

In the margin, in Kufic :  = Bism Allah wali \* الله vali/Allah

**Rev.** in Pahlavi

Mint : *Grm Kirman*, Garm Kirman = ( wann Kirman)

Date : *Hftat* , Haftat = 70 ( Y or h)?

The most important aspect of this coin is the unusual Pahlavi inscription on the obverse instead of the personal name of the ruler. After research and consulting with Mr. Stephen Album, the Pahlavi text has finally been clearly read as :

*Mhmt pgtami Y Dat*

This Pahlavi legend means: Muhammad is the messenger of God. This motto would be engraved in Kufic as محمد رسول الله on various of the Arab-Sasanian coins, such as those of 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd-Allah, Al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf, Bishr bin Marwan and Khalid bin 'Abd-Allah.

The style of this coin is typical of the contemporary issue of Musab bin al-Zabair, in whose name coins were struck at various mints in the province of Kirman (60-70 h) and of al-Atiya bin al-Aswad, whose Kirman Province coins are dated 71-77 h. (and possibly also 70 h).

In the obverse margin, after Bism Allah  i.e., (in the name of God), is the motto :  *wali Allah* = (appointed by God), never seen on Arab-Sasanian coins, but on the coins of Shiite governments after the Umayyads.  usually comes after the name of Ali, the first Shiite imam as :  *علي ولي الله*

The question is why has the Pahlavi language and legend been engraved instead of the Arabic motto which would normally have been engraved in Kufic and who struck this coin in Kirman Province in year 70? – Musab bin al-zubair ? Atiya bin al-Aswad? or some other rebel whose may have conquered Kirman for a short period in year 70 of the Yazdgird or Hijri era?

### Chhota Udaipur paisa overstruck on a European copper

By Peter Lampinen

The coin illustrated below is a Chhota Udaipur one paisa of Motisinghji, dated VS 1948 (AD 1891). Diameter 19mm, weight 7.09 grams. KM 4. (see photos 1 and 2). It is crudely struck on an irregular planchet, as typical for the series. What is unusual is that the coin can be ascertained to have been overstruck on a European copper coin. There is not a trace of overstriking on either side<sup>1</sup>, but rather the edge retains part of an incuse lettered edge of the original coin. Only four letters are visible, in sans-serif



characters 1mm high...UNDY...(see photo 3). The original coin was much larger and probably thicker, having been cut down and hammered flat to receive the Chhota Udaipur striking.

I have been unable to identify the original coin. No obvious candidate comes to mind among the potential European minor coins that may have found their way to 19<sup>th</sup> century India. It should be possible to reconstruct the edge inscription and trace it to its origin. One possibility is a British 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century penny token. Readers are invited to offer further suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> (Editor's note: there does appear to be a Roman I to the right of the 8 of the date).

### An Enigmatic Coin of al-Malik al-Ş ālih Ism'āi l b. Maḥmūd By Michael Fedorov

In 1964 in Tashkent V. Kūcherov, an amateur numismatist and collector, had shown me a coin struck in 571/1175-6 or 591/1194-5 by a certain Ism'āi l b. Maḥmūd. The mintname had not survived (or maybe was not placed on the coin). I could not identify Ism'āi l b. Maḥmūd with any Central Asian ruler of that time, known from the written sources or other coins. So I made a pencil rubbing and description of this coin and put it aside until such time as some new coins of this type (or of another type but struck by the same ruler) should be found with the mintname intact. Forty years passed without my coming across any more of these coins. Recently, while perusing my archive, I came across the card with pencil rubbing and description of this coin and decided to publish this coin in order to bring it to the attention of numismatists and collectors in the hope that one or more of them might have seen such coins or have them in their collection.



Malik al-Ş ālih Ism'āi l b. Maḥmūd. AH 571 (or 591). Copper and lead alloy coin (most probably a fiduciary, silver-washed dirhem of the type which was minted in the Eastern Qarākhānīd khaqanate). Weight 4.24 g. Diameter 22 mm.

*Obverse:* In the field - within a beaded circle: الملك / الصالح.

Above it an arabesque.

The marginal legend is badly worn: ... سله ... (Qur'an IX, 33?).

*Reverse:* In the field - within a beaded circle: اسمعيل / بن محمود.

Below it an arabesque.

Margin: ... سنة احد وسبعين (تسعين؟) وخمس... . It looks as if there was no mintname in the margin because the place between the date and beginning of the legend is too small. It was too small even for the usual beginning of the mint-date legend (بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم الخ). I believe it started simply with ضرب هذا الدرهم .

The date is not clear. It is either AH 571 or 591. The numerals سبعين (70) and تسعين (90) differ only in diacritical marks. Since the diacritical marks as a rule were not placed on the coins these numerals are quite easy to mistake for one another. Sometimes, however, the die-sinker took pains to distinguish 70 from 90. If the first tine was somewhat higher than following three tines (or was not higher but stood apart from them) it was تسعين (90). If the fourth tine was higher than the preceding three tines (or was not

higher but stood apart from them) it was سبعين (70). Unfortunately this is not the case with the present coin.

Initially, I was inclined to identify Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd with the Qarākhānid ruler of Akhsīket and Kāsān. The Chinese chronicle mentioned Ho-sse-mai-li (i.e. Ism'ā'il), ruler of Akhsīket and Kāsān who, circa 1218, met the army of general Djebe Noion and submitted to the Mongols. Djebe reported this to Čīngiz Khān, who ordered Ho-sse-mai-li to join Djebe in his campaign against Qushluk Khān, the ruler of the Nāimān nomads. In 1218 Qushluk was defeated and killed. Djebe gave Ho-sse-mai-li the severed head of Qushluk Khān and ordered him to carry it through the realm of Qushluk, after which demonstration this land submitted to the Mongols (Bartold 1963, 469-470, 431). The chronicle added that Ho-sse-mai-li was the "retainer" of the Khytai Gūr Khān and ruled Kāsān and Akhsīket as his vassal. Since Qushluk Khān dethroned the Gūr Khān in 607/1211, Ho-sse-mai-li (Ism'ā'il) could have been the vassal of the Gūr Khān only before AH 607. According to numismatic data, the ruler of Kāsān in AH 605 and 608 was Ulugh Toḡhrul Khān (Kochnev 1997, 271/1135; Mitchiner 1977, 163/897-898). This means that the Muslim name of this Ulugh Toḡhrul Khān was Ism'ā'il.

But there are some facts which speak against such an identification.

**Firstly**, the title Malik al-Šālih on this coin is not a Qarākhānid title. Before the Mongol invasion of Central Asia only the Qarākhānids used the Turkic titles Khān, Qarākhān, Khāqān, Qarākhāqān. The presence of such a title on a coin indicated that it was minted by a Qarākhānid. Next in rank to the title of Khān was the title, Īlek, and next to that was the title, Tegīn (Prince). As far as I know, the title of Īlek was at that time only to be found on Qarākhānid coins. The title, Tegīn, is found on coins of other states before the Mongol invasion. It is found on Sāmānid coins: Malik b. Shakar Tegīn on a coin of 341/952-3 Naṣrābād, Bilga Tegīn on a coin of 372/982-3 Uzgend (Markov 1896, 148/854; Kochnev 1988, 192). This title was used by Turk aristocrats who came to serve the Sāmānids or by Turk generals, who mostly rose from *ghulāms* (slaves trained as warriors and used as palace guards) to high posts at the Samanid court and were appointed governors of some provinces. The title, Tegīn (in the same quality), is also found on Ghaznavid coins. For instance Bilgā Tegīn (governor or vassal of Maḥmūd Ghaznavi) on a coin of Andarāba minted in 397/1006-7 (Schwarz 2002, 34/219).

When they became vassals of the Khytai, the Qarākhānids retained their titles. Qarākhānid rulers of Kāshghar, who were vassals of the Khytai, had on their coins the title *Arslān Khān* (Fedorov 2001, 20). In the 1130s, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, harried by Qarluq and Qangly nomads, called upon the Khytai nomads to punish the Qarluq and Qangly. The Khytai came, dethroned the Qarākhānid, made Balāsāghūn their capital and punished the unruly Qarluqs and Qanglys. In this way was the Khytai state created. The ruler of Balāsāghūn became a vassal of the Khytai, but retained the title of Īlek. The Khytai called him *Īlek-i Turkman* (Īlek of the Muslim Turks). In 553/1158, the Gūr Khān (the supreme ruler of the Khytai) sent him and 10,000 warriors to help another Qarākhānid vassal of his, the ruler of Samarqand, Chaghry Khān 'Alī, who also came into conflict with the Qarluqs (Bartold 1963, 367). So Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd, who was neither *Khān*, nor *Īlek*, nor *Tegīn*, was most probably not a Qarākhānid.

**Secondly**, the mint of Kāsān minted coins on the pattern of the Western Qarākhānid coinage: large (D. up to 40 mm), thin (less than 1 mm) copper, silver-washed, fiduciary dirhems. The coin of al-Malik al-Šālih Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd was minted on the pattern of the Eastern Qarākhānid coinage: small (22 mm), thick (about 1.5-2 mm) copper and lead alloy, fiduciary, silver-washed dirhems.

These facts render the identification of al-Malik al-Šālih Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd with the Qarākhānid ruler of Kāsān and Akhsīket Ism'ā'il highly questionable.

There is other possibility. "Nasāb Nāma", written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Šafi' al-Dīn Orin Qoylaqī, a descendant of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasevī (a famous *ṣūfī* sheikh, who spent his life spreading Islam and Muslim Mysticism among the Turks of Kazakhstan) provided information on the Qarākhānid rulers of Otrār. He wrote: "Chaghri (another reading of this word is

*Jaghrā*) Tegīn ruled Sairām (i.e. Ispījāb - M. F.) for 33 years. His son, Qylych Arslān, came to Otrār and ruled it for 40 years. His son, Ism'ā'il Khān. His son, Ilyās Khān. His son, Aḥmad Khān. His son, Sanjar Khān. His son, Ḥasan Khān. His son, Muḥammad Khān, his laqab, Bilge Khān. His son, 'Abd al-Khāliq Khān. They all ruled Otrār. The Sultan of Urganch, Muḥammad (Khwārizmshāh - M. F.), came and killed Bilge Khān (i.e. the son of 'Abd al-Khāliq - M. F.). Ghair Khān was made Khān. The line of Bilge Khān came to an end" (Khodzhaev 1995, 100). So one could identify the ruler of Otrār, Ism'ā'il, son of Qylych Arslān, with Malik al-Šālih Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd. This is especially enticing since Chaghri Tegīn Ḥusain b. Muḥammad was the father of the famous Maḥmūd Kāshghari, the author of the "Dī vān Lughāt al-Turk" (Pritsak 1953, 40). The full name of Maḥmūd Kāshghari was Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain b. Muḥammad. So Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd could have been the grandson of Chaghri Tegīn Ḥusain and the son of Maḥmūd Kāshghari. Maḥmūd Kāshghari fled from the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, when, in 449/1057-8 as a result of a palace revolution, his grandfather Boghrā Khān Muḥammad (and very probably his father Chaghri Tegīn Ḥusain) was killed by the rival faction. He was in Baghdād circa 1072-1075 where he wrote his famous "Dī vān Lughāt al-Turk", which he intended to present to the caliph al-Muqtadī (Fedorov 2001a, 14). It is not out of the question that eventually Maḥmūd Kāshghari was able to return to the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, where he could have become an appanage ruler of Otrār with the title, Qylych Arslān Khān. But again the title (Malik al-Šālih), of Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd on his coin is not a Qarākhānid title. And again the coins minted in Bārāb (i.e. Otrār) were minted on the pattern of the Western Qarākhānid coinage: large, thin, copper, silver-washed, fiduciary dirhems. Also the chronology does not fit. Even if the coin of al-Malik al-Šālih Ism'ā'il b. Maḥmūd was minted in 571/1175-6 it would be about hundred years after the time when Maḥmūd Kāshghari had written in Baghdād the "Dī vān Lughāt al-Turk" (circa 1072-1075).

There remains one more possibility which looks to me more plausible than the preceding two.

In April 2003 a hoard of 280 copper-lead alloy, silver-washed dirhems was found in a ploughed field near the northern wall of Krasnaia Rechka hillfort (ancient Navikat) situated 35 km east of Bishkek. They were anonymous (citing no ruler) coins of Muslim type (with the *kalimah* and the name of the caliph), minted in the Chu valley shortly after the Khytai nomads, having come from the borders of China, conquered the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. The coins had no mintname. The surviving dates were: AH (52)7, 531, 538 (between 1132-1144 AD). The caliphs cited on these coins were Mustarshid billah (512-529/1118-1135) and Muqtafi li-amrillah (530-555/1136-1160). Another hoard of 200 such coins was found in 1997 near Tokmak. "Near Tokmak" means near Balāsāghūn. The town of Tokmak is situated 11 km north-east of the Burana hillfort (ancient Balāsāghūn). Since the coins were fiduciary dirhems (and such coins were accepted only in the appanage which minted them) one may be sure that these coins were minted in the Chu valley, most probably in Balāsāghūn (or, as it was mostly called on the coins, Quz Ordū), the capital of the Chu valley, where one of the biggest mints of the Qarākhānids functioned. On the reverse of some coins (above the central legend of the field) is the word سعيد "lucky, successful" (in one case سعد "happiness") or البهر "brilliance, radiance". I am of the opinion that these words were the names or honorific epithets of some men. The coins are anonymous and cite neither the Khytai Gūr Khān nor his Qarākhānid vassal. But cases are known where the name of a mint official was placed on coins. Another possibility is that the name of the Muslim governor or *ra'is* (head of the town administration) could have been placed on these coins. Thus on anonymous (i.e. citing no Khān) Chaghatayid coins struck in Kāshghar in AH 650 we find mentioned the name of Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī, a Muslim governor charged with the civil administration of the Chaghatayid state (Mayer 1998, 65). Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī, though, did not have any title. The legend ran: ضرب بامر مسعود الخوارزمي (minted on the order of Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī).

The Qarākhānids, first the Eastern then (from 1141) the Western ones, were vassals of the Gūr Khān for more than 60

years. But no Qarākhānid cited the Gūr Khān on his coins. Gūr Khāns were not Muslims so they were not mentioned in the *khuṭba*, the Friday sermon in mosques and which was an indispensable prerequisite for the Muslim suzerain. Moreover, the Gūr Khān's title was not placed on coins after the honorific mention of the caliph (as spiritual head of the Muslim world) which also was the indispensable prerequisite for a Muslim suzerain (if any Muslim ruler did not mention his Muslim suzerain in the *khuṭba* and on his coins it was tantamount to mutiny). B. Kochnev (2001, 51-52) wrote that on the dirhems of AH 547-548 struck in Samarqand, together with mention of the Qarākhānid ruler there was the title of Gūr Khān and that "the Samarqandian episode with the coins of 547-8 /1152-4 was that same exception of the rule, which only confirms the rule". But actually on those coins it is not *کور خان* (Gūr Khān) that is written but *سرور خان* (Sarvar Khān) which title did in fact belong to the Qarākhānid ruler of Samarqand, Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad (Fedorov 2000, 24).

I think the coin of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ism'ā'īl b. Maḥmūd was minted by a Muslim governor (not of Qarākhānid origin) appointed by the Gūr Khān to rule some town or province in the Khytai state.

The coin of Ism'ā'īl b. Maḥmūd is quite different from the coins of the Western Qarākhānids (which are large and thin, and cut out of a copper sheet). It is about twice as thick but smaller in size. Its edges are cracked in places (a result of a heavy minting blow and insufficient pliability on the part of the alloy). It resembles the copper-lead alloy, silver-washed, anonymous coins minted in the Chu valley in AH 527, 531 and 538 (in the Krasnaia Rechka hoard). It also resembles the copper-lead alloy dirhems minted in Farghana and the Chu valley in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when these regions were part of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, and the copper-lead alloy dirhems of Kāshghar minted by the Eastern Qarākhānids in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is hard to say about the 11<sup>th</sup> century coins, but coins from the Krasnaia Rechka hoard and coins of 12<sup>th</sup> century Kāshghar had traces of silver-washing. I think the coin of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ism'ā'īl b. Maḥmūd was most probably minted in the Chu valley under the reign of the Khytai. Another thing in common between the Krasnaia Rechka hoard coins and the coin of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ism'ā'īl b. Maḥmūd is the absence of a mintname..

Lastly, we should not rule out the possibility that the title Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Pious, Righteous King) may have belonged to the Gūr Khān while the name Ism'ā'īl b. Maḥmūd belonged to his Muslim vassal or governor, who was not a Qarākhānid by origin.

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## Demetrios I of Bactria and the 'Greek Era'

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The very recent discovery of an inscription<sup>1</sup> containing a dating of the 'Greek Era', has helped to pinpoint the start of Greek rule in the Indo-Greek lands. The inscription contains the following dating formula, 'Year 27 of Vijayamitra, year 73 of Azes and year 201 of the Greek Era'. Assuming Azes can be dated to 58/7 BC, this gives a date of 186/5 BC for the start of this 'Greek Era'. This could of course be very useful for dating other reigns, but the important fact is that the 'Greek Era' was considered to have started in 186 BC. Who was the king who inaugurated this new era? It must have been a Bactrian king who moved south and east across the Hindu Kush and conquered Indian territory. The most likely candidates are Demetrios I, Agathokles and Pantaleon and possibly Apollodotos I. The first Bactrian king we hear about in the ancient sources who conquered Indian territory was Demetrios I, and we also know from the coin evidence that Agathokles and Pantaleon ruled in the eastern areas, while their successors, Apollodotos I etc. continued to rule there. Indeed Apollodotos<sup>1</sup> is mentioned by Strabo as one of the two kings who extended Greek rule in the east<sup>2</sup>, the other being Demetrios. But the date of 186 is possibly rather too high even for the usual<sup>3</sup> high dating of 180-160 for Apollodotos I and it would have been the first king who inaugurated the era, so it is most likely to have been Demetrios I.

One of the objections to this has always been that there is no known 'Indian' type coinage positively attributed to Demetrios I, although there has been a little reasonable dissent from this view<sup>4</sup> with respect to the bronze. In fact we know from the coinage of Antimachos I and Eukratides I that just a few years later monolingual Attic weight silver was struck south of the Hindu Kush (and then also by Menander and others), while (square) bronze *monolingual* coinage was struck there by Antimachos I. It does, therefore, not seem so unreasonable that Demetrios I struck and used the same coinage (Attic and monolingual, as used in Bactria) south of the Hindu Kush, while he either did not penetrate much further east or he did not reform the coinage system there (continuing with the Indian punch marked coinage). It is relevant to note that the first 'Indo-Greek' bilingual issues we know of were issued by Pantaleon and Agathokles based on the old Indian coinage. Thus Demetrios I may have continued to tolerate the use of this 'Indian' coinage system, but now presumably under his authority. This would of course not be the first example in numismatics where an existing indigenous coinage system was continued by the new conquerors. The reform of this eastern coinage may have occurred very gradually, taking several years, and Demetrios I perhaps did not have the time in any case, being recalled to Bactria on the death of Euthydemos I. The date of 186 BC then seems to be when Demetrios I conquered 'Indian' territory south and east of the Hindu Kush, just before he moved back to Bactria. It may correspond to the start of his 'sole' reign (possibly from c. 185/6 on the death of Euthydemos I<sup>5</sup> or this new conquest. It was then left to Pantaleon (and Agathokles) in the east to introduce the bilingual 'Indian' type coinage and for Apollodotos I to extend the conquests further east and to develop the 'Indian' coinage system. If this 'Greek Era' was inaugurated by Demetrios I, then Demetrios I could indeed be the 'king of the Indians' despite having no existing bilingual coinage and this may help to resolve the problem of Demetrios and Eukratides I.

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