



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 182

Winter 2005

ISSN 1813-0364

ONS News

From the Editor

Those of you that read the Newsletter header will notice that we now have an ISSN number. This is a number devised for periodicals that corresponds to the ISBN series given to books which are published. Please note that this number will not change as long as the name of the newsletter remains the same.

Membership List

We are also planning to publish with this newsletter, or shortly afterwards, an up-to-date membership list. Regional Secretaries have been asked to check the details for their regions prior to publication, but if you find any inaccuracy or wish to amend your entry, please contact your Regional Secretary and NOT the Editor. Please also remember that the membership list is a confidential document for members of the ONS only. It should not be given, lent, shown or otherwise made available to anyone who is not an ONS member.

Leiden

The annual ONS meeting at Leiden, Netherlands, took place on Saturday, 9 October 2004 at the premises of the of the National Museum of Antiquities. The participants were welcomed with coffee and tea in the Taffeh Hall, named after the Egyptian temple of Taffeh.



The Egyptian Government presented this authentic temple, built about 2000 years ago by order of the Roman Emperor Augustus, to the Netherlands in recognition of Dutch support safeguarding many cultural treasures from flooding by the storage lake of the Nile dam near Aswan.

The proceedings began with a PowerPoint presentation by *Anne van't Haaff* on the *Coinage of Elymais*, based on a study for a monograph on Elymais coinage to be finalised during 2005. Main points were: three major dynasties issued coins: The Elymais Seleucid dynasty (147 - 129 BC), the Kamnaskirid dynasty (90 - 35 BC) and the Elymais Arsacid dynasty (35 BC-228 AD). Information on Elymais history is based on their coins, on circumstantial evidence and Roman/Greek writers, as none of Elymais' written information has survived. The Elymais kingdom had a continuously strained relationship with the Parthian empire, ending in a vassal state relationship with varying degrees of dependence during the Elymais Arsacid dynasty. The coins of the Post-Seleucid dynasty and the Kamnaskirid dynasty are rare or extremely rare. The number, names and dates of the Kamnaskirid dynasty rulers are subject to a continuing discussion between numismatists with the number of kings varying between 8 and 1 or 2. Combinations of mintmarks and dates in Greek letters are a clue to the fluid geopolitical situation in Susania, the heartland of Elymais. The coins of the Elymais Arsacid dynasty are all bronze: tetradrachms (rare) and drachms (mostly common). The Parthian influence on the Elymais Arsacid dynasty is seen on the coins; the rulers have Parthian names, have a Parthian head-dress and all coins are bronze. The Parthian overlords probably confiscated the Elymais precious metal and took it home.

The most prominent symbol on Elymais coins is the anchor, seen on practically all coins. The anchor is also seen on some Parthian coins, which is an indication that, at that time, the Elymites were evicted from Susa, and Parthia ruled in Susa.

The number of cross-bars on the anchor (1, 2 or 3) probably indicates different mintmarks. Also the use of Greek or Aramaic legends points to different mint places, Greek for Susa and Aramaic for Seleucia on the Hedyphon. The decoration on the tiaras of the Elymais Arsacid rulers varies by ruler and is an easy means for identifying each one. Many Elymais Arsacid coins have a reverse covered by a pattern of simple dashes. Van't Haaff suggests that this could be an indication of a specific mint as well.

Following on from this, *Patrick Pasmans* spoke about the work he is doing on certain metrological aspects of Parthian silver coinage. He has concluded, after studying and weighing several hundred well-preserved coins, that the weights does not seem to be irregular, but that there are indications that some Parthian kings used two different weight standards for one and the same denomination. His research continues and data for his research are very welcome at parthianstudies@hotmail.com

After that **Andrew Oddy** gave a presentation on *A New Arab-Byzantine Mint*. The lecturer started with an overview of the coinage struck and used in Syria during the 7th century. He showed slides of coins issued by the Umayyads at a number of mints and then described in more detail the coins that copy folles of Justin II and Sophia of the previous century. These are known to have been issued at both Gerasa (Jerash) and Scythopolis (Beth Shean) in the 670s or 680s. Besides the coins on which the mint names of Gerasa and Scythopolis can be read, there are a number of this type of coin which seem to have meaningless legends. Now the author has collected together details of about ten coins that have a legend starting ABL (in Greek letters). Although the rest of the legends vary, it is suggested that these were struck at Abila, which was a town of the classical period like Scythopolis and Gerasa.

Nico Arkesteijn concluded the morning session with an exposition on the Islamic glass weights in the former National Collection, now part of the Money and Bank Museum in Utrecht.

He pointed out that the present collection consists of 217 small glass objects, generally described as coin weights and so far without any further attribution. Most of the objects (182) came, like most of the metal pieces too, from the collection of Gerard Houben, a famous Dutch collector and author of weights, who donated a large part of his collection to the collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet.

Of the present collection of glass weights, 147 pieces are of Islamic origin. Houben published a couple of those weights, but without any proper description. Despite the scanty amount of literature on this subject, Arkesteijn has tried to describe and attribute them as much as possible, but still many remain indecipherable. He pointed out that glass was invented in Egypt, about 7000 years ago. From then onwards a glass industry flourished there as well as in some neighbouring countries. In Phoenician, Greek and Roman times small glass discs were produced to be mounted in rings or other artifacts. Some of these pieces were used as amulets or became coin weights. Glass was also used for seals and vessel stamps of which the collection contains one example.

The earliest identifiable pieces in the collection are probably of Roman Egypt and are certainly not weights. One shows Heracles fighting a lion and being crowned by Victory and another shows Nilus with, on the reverse, Nike, or more probably Isis.

In the West, coin weights were never made of glass, but normally of bronze or brass. This was also the case in Byzantium, but from Byzantine-Egypt some glass coin weights are known. The Byzantine types were imitated in the early Islamic period up to the reform of 'Abd al-Malik in 696 AD. New types of quite different design became necessary because of the introduction of a fully Islamic coinage, whereby the solidus became a dinar, the dirham was introduced and the follis became a fals.

The Islamic coin weights generally show only legends similar to the coins they were meant for. These legends are sometimes arranged like those on the coins, except for weights with legends of six lines of text where one would look in vain for similar coins. In most cases the name of the reigning caliph is mentioned followed by the denomination, sometimes with a date too. In the collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet only one example of an Abbasid piece is found with a clear indication of the denomination of a dinar. After the usual *bismillah* follows the name of *Al-Mahdi Muhammad* (775-785AD), *amir al-muminin* and then *mithqal dinar waf*. *Mithqal* in this case only refers to the weight.

Though the mass of the actual coins issued under the dynasties following the Umayyads fluctuated strongly, the mass of the coin weights, however, did not. Coins were weighed by numbers - not one by one as was the case in Europe - against the standard set by 'Abd al-Malik at 4.25 gm for the dinar and 2.97 gm for the dirham.

Around 120 pieces in the collection can be attributed to the period of the Fatamid caliphs. The earliest ones are in the name of Al-Mahdi (1 specimen), Al-'Aziz (6 specimens) and Al-Hakim (14 specimens), followed by Al-Mustansir (16 specimens). On some of

these, the inscription just reads *Al-Amir Al-Mu'ad*, on others his full name and titles *Al-Imam mu'ad abu / Tamim al-Mustansir bi / Allah amir al-muminin*. All authors agree that these pieces are indeed quite abundant; they have even been found in hoards. That is why some prominent scholars like Paul Balog, Michael Bates and others have discussed the supposition that these pieces might have been tokens. They allegedly functioned in that way in a society that lacked a copper coinage. Some types show a very degenerate script, in fact no script at all. Balog calls them contemporary forgeries, but why should anyone produce large numbers of forgeries of coin weights? Arkesteijn does not see any sense in that. Moreover, many of their types occur in different weights and colours, so how could one distinguish between the weights for dinars, dirhams and their fractions without undue difficulty? He is indeed inclined to think that, at least from the time of Al-Hakim onwards, glass coin weights were more and more used as tokens.

After lunch, **Dirk de Boer** spoke about the Manchu script on Chinese coins. He pointed out that the Manchu script appears on coins in three forms, viz.:

- as text, which is only known from the early period and the last decades of the Qing dynasty. Of a total of about 25 texts, most are accompanied by Chinese ones with the same meaning. It is striking that, on some coins, the Chinese text is adjusted to reflect a new situation, but the Manchu text is not. This is particularly the case on some coins from Guangdong and Sichuan, on which the new period of government is shown, whereas in Manchu the old period continues to be used. Moreover, on a coin from Fengtien two different dates are shown.

- with complete mint names. Except for one, all are places located in Xinjiang. The name of the city of Kashgar here seems rather puzzling as it is written in the Guang Xu period as Kashghar in Arabic, but as Kuikiyo in Manchu. The only place outside Xinjiang is Mukden (in Manchu: Muktan) with the name written in full on, probably, a unique specimen.

- as a rendering of Chinese abbreviations of city or province names. Most of them are extensively described, but some are not sufficiently explained. This concerns abbreviations like Ging, Gung, Hui, Joo, Ling, Si, Sin and Sat or Son. With the help of, among other things, a list of the Manchu-spelling of Chinese words an explanation is suggested.

The afternoon session ended with the traditional auction of oriental coins and numismatic books, which resulted in useful funds for the ONS of over €550. Our thanks are due to those members who kindly donated some items for this event and others who supported the auction. The successful meeting ended with a pre-dinner drink at a nearby pub and a very pleasant dinner at a Chinese-Asiatic restaurant.

The next Leiden meeting is scheduled for **Saturday 15 October 2005**. Please make a note in your diaries.

London

An ONS meeting took place at the British Museum on Saturday 13 November 2004. Robert Tye talked about Islamic weight systems, Joe Cribb gave a talk on certain aspects of the Islamic coinage tradition. Your editor presented some countermarked Safavid coins and David Priestley showed some enigmatic coins from the Caucasus region.

Future ONS meetings in the UK are:

- British Museum, Saturday 26 February 2005
- Ashmolean Museum Oxford 23 April 2005
- British Museum, Saturday 19 November 2005.

Coinage and history in the Seventh Century Near East Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table Initial Notice and Call for Papers

The next Round Table Conference will take place in Cambridge on the afternoon of Friday April 15 and the whole of Saturday, 16 April 2005. The provisional programme is as follows:

Friday

12.30 pm Meet for lunch in University Centre
2.00 pm - 4.45pm First formal session in Fitzwilliam Museum
7.00 pm - 9.00pm Dinner or buffet at Wolfson College and informal discussion

Saturday

10.00 am - 12.45pm Second formal session in Fitzwilliam Museum
1.00 pm - 2.00 pm Lunch
2.00 pm - 4.00 pm Third formal session at Fitzwilliam

The format will be similar to the successful event held at Oxford last year, with a number of papers by numismatists, archaeologists and historians. Time will also be made available for informal discussion and for examining coins. Accommodation is available at Wolfson College. If you would like to book a single or double room please contact the organisers (below) as soon as possible for details.

If you would like to offer a paper, are just interested in participating, or would like more information please contact: Marcus Phillips and Susan Tyler-Smith PO Box 348, Biggleswade, Beds, SG18 8EQ. UK Tel 01767 312112 e-mail senmerv@freenet.co.uk

New and Recent Publications

Helen Wang, *Money on the Silk Road: the evidence from Eastern Central Asia to c. AD 800* (with a catalogue of the coins collected by Sir Aurel Stein), The British Museum Press, London, 2004. ISBN 0-7141-1806-0. The author has provided the following resumé:-

"In the early decades of the twentieth century, Sir Aurel Stein collected over 4,000 coins in Eastern Central Asia: some were gifts, some were purchases and some were finds made at sites in Xinjiang and Gansu (northwestern China). Keen to employ the best archaeological practice, Stein kept detailed records of provenance, and it is the documentation as well as the coins that makes the Stein collection so important. The most celebrated pieces in the collection are, of course, the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan, which combine the traditions of Chinese and 'Indian' coinage. The most common coins are Chinese coins of the Han and Tang dynasties. But coins were not the only form of money in this region: gold, silver, textiles, carpets and grain also served as money. By studying the contemporary documentary evidence found at the sites, it is possible to establish hierarchies between different forms of money, which forms of money were used in which types of transactions, and how credit and contractual exchanges worked. A study focusing on the coins alone would have given a partial view of the whole. But without knowledge of the coins, we would not fully understand the documents. Bringing them together leads us to a new framework for understanding money on the Silk Road.

The book is arranged in three parts. Part 1 looks at the Silk Road and the archaeology of Eastern Central Asia; and money on the Silk Road. Part 2 considers the numismatic evidence: the Stein collection of coins from Eastern Central Asia; coins of the Chinese tradition; coins of the western tradition; and coins of local manufacture. Part 3 examines the documentary evidence: Chinese woodslips, 1st century BC - 4th century AD; Kharoshthi documents, 3rd-4th century; Chinese paper documents, 4th-8th century; Tocharian documents, 7th century; Chinese and Khotanese documents, 7th-8th century, and Tibetan documents, 8th-9th centuries.

The catalogue of the Stein collection is arranged in three parts. Part 1 presents the coins. Part 2 gives details of the contexts of the coin-finds and Stein's interpretation of the numismatic evidence. Part 3 is a concordance of the Stein and British Museum numbers."

Tony Goodwin, "A new standing Caliph mint in Jund Filastin?", in *Spink Numismatic Circular*, October 2004, vol. CXII, no.5.

Stefan Heidemann: "Maria Pawlowna und der Umbruch in der Orientalistik. - Die Gründung des Großherzoglichen Orientalischen Münzkabinetts", in *Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen* (ed.): »Ihre Kaiserliche Hoheit« Maria Pawlowna, Zarentochter am Weimarer Hof, Weimar 2004, p. 313-328. The article deals with the foundation of the Oriental Coin Cabinet in Jena in the Grandduchy of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach by Johann Gustav Stickel.

Reiner Cunz (publ.) in collaboration with Rainer Polley and Andreas Röpkcke, *Fundamenta Historiae. Geschichte im Spiegel der Numismatik und ihrer Nachbarwissenschaften*. Festschrift for Niklot Klüßendorf on his 60. Geburtstag 10 Februar 2004 (Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover 51), Hannover 2004. This publication has two articles which deal with Oriental numismatics: Lutz Ilich, "Die imitativen solidi mancusi", p. 91-106, and Stefan Heidemann, "Die orientalischen Münzen der Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig - Eine Wiederentdeckung für die Forschung, p. 339-352". The first article is about the Carolingian Mancusi. A thorough corpus of these gold coins which imitate Abbasid dinars reveals that they were produced in far greater quantities than previously thought. It also attempts to define the regions of the mints. The second contribution reports on the collection of oriental coins in Leipzig, which was formerly the collection of Otto Blau (see ONS News letter 176, p. 2-4).

Some find reports have also recently been published:

Stefan Heidemann, "Die Fundmünzen von Kharab Sayyar im Verhältnis zur lokalen Geschichte" in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 135 (2003), p. 103-112.

J. Militký - V. Novak, "Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic coins excavated by Bedrich Hrozný in the Middle East (1924-1925)", in: *Annals of the Nárpstek Museum*, 23 (2002), p. 1-68.

Stefan Heidemann, "Tall Rifá'at and Other Syrian Sites - Some Remarks" [a review of the latter article]. In: *Annals of the Nárpstek Museum*, 24 (2003), p. 91-95.

Volume 3 of *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum* has finally been published. It covers the period from Shapur II to the 2nd reign of Kawad I (309-531), and consists of two volumes. The first one provides numismatic surveys on various topics such as typology, mints etc., as well as surveys on the coinage of each king dealt with. The second volume contains the catalogue of ca. 1950 coins. The language is German, but English and French summaries are included. The two volumes have 512 and 510 pages respectively; the price for both is €199. For a short description, and ordering information, please go to <http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at> (N. Schindel)

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 200 (Oct. 2004)
2. Early World Coins (R & M Tye) (7-9 Clifford Street, York, YO1 9RA, UK; tel ++1 845 4900 724; orders@earlyworldcoins.com) list 40 of medieval and oriental coins.

Other News

The 25th Annual Conference of the North East India History Association, the largest academic organisation of the region, was inaugurated at N.E. Hill University, Shillong, on 28th October, 2004. This is the first time that a non-academic personality, Mr Nicholas G. Rhodes was selected to be the President of the session, considering his enormous contribution to numismatics of the region. In the inaugural session, the second volume of *The Coinage*

of *Assam Ahom Period* by N G Rhodes and S K Bose was released by Prof. M. Miri, Vice-Chancellor, North Eastern Hill university. This silver jubilee session, attended by a large number of scholars from the region as well as from other parts of India, was concluded on 30 October, 2004. Altogether sixty papers were presented by researchers on North East India.

Technical Details of the above book:
Binding : Cloth-enveloped hardbound
Dimensions : 19 mm X 25 mm
Number of pages : 183 (including plates)
Paper : Art paper
Illustration : Approx 900 coins are presented.

Auction News

Auction 82 (11 December 2004) of Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; www.elsen.be) had some 250 lots of oriental interest.

Mail bid auction 13 (closing dates 24/25 November 2004) of Dmitry Markov (PO Box 950, New York, NY 10272, www.russian-coins.net; markov@banet.net) had around 150 lots of oriental interest.

Reviews

P. Anne van't Haaff, *Saurashtra (c.450-50 BC) Surasena (c.500-350 BC) Silver Punchmarked Coinage*, IIRNS Publications, Nasik, 2004. ISBN 81-86786-18X

This study by P. Anne van't Haaff forms part of the AHATA project which aims at creating a comprehensive catalogue of ancient Indian punchmarked coinages. The first AHATA project study was about the Kosala punchmarked coinages and was done by Paul Murphy, who published his results in a fine catalogue. The present study appears in the same attractive A-4 soft-cover format comprising 120 pages full of thorough discussions, useful information, drawings and attractively enlarged coin illustrations. Van't Haaff's catalogue contains two books in one: book one is about the silver punchmarked coinages of Saurashtra, dated by the author to c.450 - 50 BC, book two is about the silver punchmarked coinages of Surasena, dated by the author to c.500 - 350 BC.

The ancient Saurashtran Janapada was situated in modern Gujarat on the west coast of India. This Janapada issued a series of small, irregularly shaped silver coins which were punched using a single die technique. The coins have a weight standard of ca.0.9 grams. Only a few specimens of smaller denominations are known which were produced from cutting full weight 0.9g specimens, resulting in pieces of around 0.6g. In addition, a single specimen of 0.3g weight is known. The coins in most cases were restruck several times. A few specimens were overstruck on cut-down Magadhan karshapanas with traces of the Magadhan undertype on them. Most Saurashtran punchmarked coins have surfaced in the southern parts of the Gujarat peninsula, from find spots in the modern districts of Junagadh, Amreli and Bhavnagar. In recent years a large number of types and subtypes have come to light. Whereas Mitchiner in 1978 reported only four main-types, viz. hill, tree, seated goddess and elephant, Rajgor's catalogue from 2001 about the punchmarked coins of early India lists many more. Rajgor's focus is mainly on the coins from the Junagadh 3 hoard, which is regarded to have contained early coins of the series. Van't Haaff includes Rajgor's information but he also adds new important material from another early series hoard recently found at Amreli. Some early symbols like Srivatsa, turtle and svastika were reported by Rajgor from the Junagadh 3 hoard but others are reported for the first time by van't Haaff. Among the early Saurashtran coin designs in his study we find a 'Banyan' tree from the Amreli hoard, a symbol looking like a barrel, a peculiar U-shaped symbol and a great number of miscellaneous other symbols. However, the majority of the coins published in this new catalogue belong to types regarded mainly on stylistical considerations as belonging to a later phase of Saurashtran coin

history: they mainly show different varieties of hills and trees; depictions of goddess Lakshmi, an elephant, bull or temple. The author emphasizes the detailed execution and the elegant style of many of these later types, especially seen on some Lakshmi and bull depictions, in contrast to the cruder, artistically inferior style of the early types. New trade contacts and, with them, new artistic insights and possibly inspiration from the Indo-Greek coinages and from contemporary temple artwork are discussed among the factors which might have influenced the style development within the Saurashtran coin series. In this context special attention is paid to the Lakshmi images. Here the author refers to Coomaraswamy's opinion that anthropological depictions in India are not earlier than the 2nd century BC. I do not know whether this statement holds true for all kind of ancient Indian art but, as far as I see it, it holds true for the indigenous Indian coinages. This, therefore, seems to be a strong argument for following van't Haaff in dating at least the Saurashtran Lakshmi types to the 2nd or 1st century BC.

Scholars like Mitchiner, Rajgor and Tye have proposed different dates for the time of issue of the Saurashtran punchmarked coins. Inscriptional evidence suggests that Saurashtra was incorporated into the Mauryan Empire at the end of the 4th century BC. This caused Rajgor to believe that the Saurashtran coinage, which he assumed to have started at about 450 BC had stopped at about 300 BC. Using the information contained in Buddhist chronicles, Rajgor sees Saurashtra as an independent republic before its incorporation into the Mauryan Empire and as a vassal kingdom with no coinage of its own thereafter. One of Rajgor's material arguments is the fact that overstrikes on cut-down Magadhan karshapanas are known but no such overstrikes on Mauryan karshapanas. Van't Haaff's reply is that it would not have been a problem to hammer the thicker Mauryan coins flat before cutting and overstriking them but that this process would probably make it impossible to identify even traces of any Mauryan undertype. For Mitchiner, Saurashtra lost its independence only under Asoka and for him the Saurashtran coin series was issued from about 310 to 260 BC. Because of the large number of different types and subtypes and the many restrikes - one can find mostly five and sometimes up to eight restrikes on a coin - van't Haaff sees problems with such a relatively short time span of only 50 years. Tye placed the series between the early 2nd and the late 1st century BC. On the one hand, he regarded the series as being too complex and too long to fit into a short period just before the Mauryan occupation. On the other hand, the symbols on the coins appeared to him rather to belong to a later period. As for the occurrence of overstrikes on cut-down Magadhan karshapanas, Tye argued for a prolonged use of these karshapanas long after the time of their issue. For Tye, the Saurashtran coin series could conveniently fill the gap between the demise of the Mauryan karshapanas in the early 2nd century BC and the use of imported silver drachms of the late Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotus II in the later 1st century BC. Van't Haaff is of the opinion that a period from the late 2nd to the late 1st century BC cannot convincingly explain the complexity and the stylistic development within the series. As for a distinction between earlier and later types, he found that the coins from the Amreli hoard that have been classified as earlier types have fewer overstrikes in contrast to coins that have been classified as later types. Also the later coins are somewhat larger than earlier coins. As each restrike widens the coin a bit this also seems to support a distinction into early and late, in addition to the stylistic differences. The restriking was applied throughout all phases of the Saurashtran coin series and, on most specimens, traces of at least five restrikes can be found with no general restrike pattern recognisable. Van't Haaff's explanation for this phenomenon is a continuous restriking process: each coin received by the treasury would get a new restrike, sometimes with the same image as before, sometimes with a different image. As a result of his study and his observations, van't Haaff links the different views of the previous writers on the subject by proposing that the Saurashtran punchmarked coins were issued in one long series from about 450 BC to about 50 BC.

The second part of van't Haaff's study is devoted to the single-punched 'fish over lion' silver coins from ancient Surasena Janapada. Ancient literature refers to Surasena and its capital, Mathura, as one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas. The territory of ancient Surasena was in modern Uttar Pradesh west of the Yamuna river with the Panchala Janapada as its neighbour east of that river. Few details are available about Surasena's political history. We only hear that Surasena's king, Avantiputra, had close relations with King Pradyota of Avanti who was a contemporary of Bimbisara, king of Magadha. Around 350 BC, Surasena seems to have been conquered by Mahapadma Nanda, the king of Magadha.

The coins of Surasena have a very characteristic design which, in most cases, was deeply incused by a single punch of round or oval shape: a lion-like animal with a fish above and some ancillary symbols around. Many varieties exist in the shape of the animals and the nature of the ancillary symbols. Sometimes the fish is replaced by a second lion, a sun or a taurine. The exact identification of minor varieties is frequently impossible as only parts of the complete design appear on the coins because the punch was always considerably larger than the flan. In the past, these 'fish over lion' coins have mostly been misattributed to the Avanti Janapada. In 1989 P.L. Gupta noticed that such coins had been found in a hoard at Sonkh/Mathura and he discussed their attribution to Surasena. The hoard soon disappeared and only a few pieces were acquired by the Mathura museum with no exact identification of their findspot. Since then some more hoards with several thousand 'fish over lion' coins have surfaced in the Mathura district, strengthening their attribution to the Surasena Janapada (Kosi Kalan hoard, Mathura hoard and Nandagaon hoard). These hoards were reported in Rajgor's catalogue of 2001. In that catalogue 21 varieties of Surasena coins are listed in two denominations: '½ karshapanas' of 1.5–1.8g and 'mashakas' of 0.3–0.4g.

Van't Haaff's study is based on about 1050 Surasena coins; 400 were from the photographic library of the IIRNS, 632 were scans of the Maheshwari collection and others came from different private collections. The author examined the coins thoroughly, noting any variety. In the end he comes out with an astonishing number of different types and subtypes, many of them reported here for the first time and all of them carefully catalogued and illustrated by photos and drawings. In this catalogue we find scarce types with a fish above and below the lion, specimens on which the fish is omitted, rare pieces with two lions and no fish at all and sometimes we even see the lion facing left. As for the flan type: round, square and rectangular shapes can be observed. The author describes the round specimens as having been produced by the 'droplet' technique, the square and rectangular ones as having been cut from a silver sheet. More than 70 % of the coins have tiny marks on them, measuring 2–4 mm, the so-called bankers' marks, of which the author identifies and lists 75 different types.

Many Surasena coins were restruck on older coins, sometimes on another Surasena specimen but mostly on Panchala Janapada coins, a feature supporting the attribution of the 'fish over lion' type to the Surasena Janapada. Not all the observations contained in van't Haaff's study can be explained satisfactorily at this moment. One such observation is that nearly all the restrikes of Surasena coins on Panchala coins were on specimens with blank reverses. Another question is raised by the fact that round coins are significantly more often restruck on Panchala coins than square and rectangular coins. Van't Haaff discusses the possibility that round and square/rectangular pieces might have been separated either geographically or in time but, in the absence of factual evidence, questions such as this must be left open. As for the dating of the Surasena coin series, van't Haaff disagrees with Rajgor who proposes a time-span from 400–350 BC for the issue of these coins, in contrast for example to the earliest coins of Kashi, Magadha or Gandhara which Rajgor assumes to have started at about 600 BC. Van't Haaf sees no reason why the Surasena coinage should have started so much later than the first coinage of other Janapadas. He mentions the intensive trade connections at that time with trade

routes linking the Jamuna-Ganges region with North-Western and Central India and considers it probable that these contacts might have inspired the start of coinages in the different Janapadas at about the same time. Following the hypothesis of the first Indian coinages having been issued around 500 BC, he proposes a time-span for the Surasena Janapada coins from about 500 BC until about 350 BC when Surasena became a part of the Magadha Empire.

Altogether the author has to be congratulated on this well-researched, well-written, profusely illustrated and user-friendly work. It is a pleasure to go through the hundreds of photos and neatly drawn illustrations and to identify one's own coins according to this new classification. If future AHATA publications are of a similar standard as the first two then we can all look forward to adding some more nice books to our libraries. Van't Haaff's book is highly recommended to all scholars and collectors with an interest in ancient Indian coins and history. Potential buyers can contact the author by e-mail (vanthaafl@zeelandnet.nl) or at his postal address (P. Anne van't Haaff/ Westerenban 44/ 4328HE Burgh-Haamstede/ The Netherlands). The book is available at \$25 or 21 Euros plus postage and package, cash or paypal.

Wilfried Pieper

Hans Herrli: *The Coins of the Sikhs*, second edition, New Delhi, 2004 published by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. ISBN 81-215-1132-1. Cased bound, 301 pages, illustrated throughout.

When the first edition of this work was published in 1993 it was an important milestone in the development of Sikh numismatics. Earlier writers on the subject such as Charles Rodgers, Wiggins & Goron, Saran Singh, Surinder Singh, John Deyell had dealt with the coins that were known to them at the time or specific issues and features of the coinage. What was needed was an up-to-date compendium that looked critically at what had gone before and which updated and expanded that information. This was and remains particularly necessary as writers on Sikh history have all too often quoted erroneous information about the coinage, when they quoted it at all, merely repeating the same erroneous information from previously published histories.

During the 11 years that have elapsed since the publication of the first edition, more types and varieties of Sikh coinage have come to light and a certain amount of additional research undertaken. This and an increase in interest in the coinage prompted the production of a second edition. This edition maintains the format of the first edition, namely a brief history of the Sikhs, information on the Gurmukhi script and some Sikh terms, a general introduction to the coinage, then the main sections dealing with each mint in turn, including those that as yet remain unidentified. There are a few new sections that I shall comment on below and various appendices. The book ends with an updated bibliography. Coins are illustrated throughout with very clear and accurate drawings.

The author has taken the opportunity to revise and rearrange some of the text in this edition and has included some contemporary quotations from such people as Charles Masson and Alexander Burnes, which add some interesting and relevant information. He has also included some information on the purchasing power of Sikh coins. As far as the mint sections are concerned, new dates have been added for the rupees and fractions and a significant number of symbols have been added to the symbol tables, especially relating to Amritsar and Multan. The section on Anandghar has been expanded a little to include new varieties and somewhat reorganised. A new unidentified mint A replaces the previous one. The new one features a coin possibly from Amritsar, where the author tentatively reads the top line as including the expression *Srī Pūrakhjī*. This seems to me to be highly speculative from what can be seen on the illustration. This section is followed by a new unidentified mint F.

The Nimak rupees, which, in the first edition, were placed under unidentified mint A are now placed under Pind Dadan Khan. This attribution was first made by Rodgers back in 1881 but it was considered as somewhat speculative until Jyoti Rai published her article in ONS 143 on the subject. The present author now accepts that attribution though he admits it still is not clear whether Nimak relates to the mintplace or the main commercial product of the area (salt). Two more new unidentified mints are included, one relating to a half rupee that could in fact be from Kashmir, and the other relating to a type of Nanak Shahi rupee, dated Sv 1889, which has an, as yet, unread mintname or expression in the top line of the reverse. An important re-attribution relates to the so-called "Malkeria" rupees. The attribution of these enigmatic rupees to Malkeria dates back to Rodgers who was informed that that was where they were struck. When the late Ken Wiggins and I were researching our papers published by the ONS during the 1980s, we could not find any such place, the nearest being Mukeria a village situated in the middle of nowhere in particular in the Kangra foothills and a most unlikely place for a Sikh mint. Herrli continues to express surprise that we identified Malkeria with Mukeria. We did nothing of the sort; merely stating that the latter was the closest that could be found phonetically to the alleged minting place. Be that as it may, Herrli has now re-attributed these coins to Mankera, a town some 80 km southwest of Dera Ismail Khan and 130 km north of Multan and with a strong fort. The town was annexed by the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh in the early 1820s AD. The dates of these rupees fit in with the period just after the annexation and the style of the coins, similar to that of Multan and Lahore, fits in with the area. As no mintname has as yet been found or read on these coins, this re-attribution is very plausible but still based on circumstantial evidence. Nonetheless, it is the best that has hitherto been suggested.

Any collector of Sikh coins will have come across various crude copper coins with Gurmukhi or quasi-Gurmukhi lettering which do not fit into the issues of copper coins from the main mints. A number of these are illustrated in section 19 of the new edition. Herrli states that these coins were probably struck at Loharu. Loharu, in Haryana, was notorious for the massive minting of imitative copper coins of various princely states, which were then distributed all over northern India as appropriate.

The growing interest in Sikh coins and the increasing prices being paid for rarer items, including fractions, has led to the increased risk of modern fakes being produced. This is mentioned in section 21 and it is clear that collectors need to be on their guard. Section 23 deals with countermarks found on Sikh coins and the author is right to draw attention to certain allegedly Sikh countermarks found on Mughal coins of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam I. These countermarks, which Surinder Singh includes uncritically in his recent book, *Sikh Coinage – symbol of Sikh sovereignty*, began to surface in recent years. Herrli considers these to be modern fabrications, and I fully agree with him.

Appendix 5 deals with Sikh medals and tokens. It has been expanded to include more types but does not attempt to illustrate the rather large number of tokens, especially gold ones, that have appeared on the market recently and whose age is uncertain.

I have not detailed all the changes that have been made in this second edition as that would make this review unnecessarily long. In summary this book in its second edition is a must for anyone interested in Sikh coinage, whether it be from a numismatic, historical, epigraphical aspect. If you already own the first edition, then the degree of interest that you have in the series will determine whether you wish to have the new edition. If you do not have the first edition then do not hesitate to acquire this one.

SG

Articles

Foundation of Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād

By M.I. Mochiri

The present article is devoted to four coins issued under the reign of Kavād I proving the authenticity of a historical event, that is the foundation of the town called Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād.¹

1.



Obverse:
usual bust of Kavād I

name legend: kw' t' p' zwtw = kw' t' p' zwtw

Note the small rings of the hair and the breast ornament, probably indicating special care taken over this coin.

Reverse:
Mint signature:

wyhc = WYHC

Date: $\text{hpdh} = 17$
(Mochiri collection)

2.



Obverse:
usual bust of Kavād I
name legend as above

Reverse:
Mint signature as above

Date: $\text{hshd} = 18$
(Mochiri collection)

3.



Obverse:
As above

Reverse:
Mint signature as above

Date: $\text{hshd} = 18$
(Private collection, UK)

¹ I am grateful to R. Gyselen and M.L. Bates for their useful remarks on the present article.

4. Photographs of another coin made from the same dies, obverse and reverse, as coin no. 1 are in a file in the Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien.²

Kavād I's reign began in 488 and he died in 531. But in reality this long reign of more than 40 years should be divided into two half-reigns, since his brother Jāmāsp usurped his throne during an interregnum of 2 years (497-99). After having defeated Jāmāsp and regained his throne, Kavād carried out a military expedition against the Byzantines. The accounts of these hostilities are reported in the following paragraph:

'. . . the great four years' war launched by Kawād against the Byzantines (summer 502-autumn 506) soon after his regaining the Persian throne. Kawād's pretext for opening hostilities was the emperor Anastasius's refusal to contribute to Kawād's expenses in financing the Hephthalite army, which had backed him, and in paying the ongoing tribute to the Hephthalites. The Byzantines must have had the hope that, if Kawād were unable to pay his former allies, a rupture between these two latter powers would occur . . . Hence early successes for Kawād's army, which included Hephthalite contingents, were the sack of Theodosiopolis (the later Erzerum) in western Armenia, the capture of Amida/Āmid and that of Martyropolis or Mayyāfāriqin.³

The years of reign of Kavād, engraved on the reverse of his coins, are calculated in such a manner as to include the two years of Jāmāsp's reign. Therefore, the coins of his fifteenth year of reign (502) are issued in the beginning of the war against Byzantium and in the year seventeen of his reign (504), the town of Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād already announces its foundation with the mint signature WYHC.

The fortress of Amida had already been invested by Shāpūr II in 359 after a heroic resistance of its garrison troops. The description of Ammianus Marcellinus concerning the battle of Amida is one of the most eloquent.⁴ Following al-Tabari's description: 'Sābūr II remained in his kingdom for a considerable time, and then he led an expedition against the Romans. He killed many of them and took many captives. He settled these last in a city he built in the vicinity of al-Sūs and called it Iranshahr-Sābūr.⁵

Recalling these events under Shāpūr II constitutes almost a tradition, since Kavād, in his turn, moved the captives from Amida in order to place them into this region. The following paragraph links together textually, without interruption, the seizure of Amida with the foundation of Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād:

'Qubādḥ led an expedition against the land of the Romans, conquered one of their towns in al-Jazfrah called Āmid⁶ and carried off the women and children as captives. He gave orders for a town to be built in the borderland between Fars and the land of al-Ahwāz and named it Wām Qubādḥ,⁷ this is the town named Būqubādḥ, also called Arrajān. He laid out an administrative

division (*kārah*) and added to it rural districts (*rasāfiq*) from the *Kārah* of Surraq and that of Rām Hurmuz.⁸

The foundation of a new city immediately following the seizure of Amida suggests that Arrajān was embellished and changed its name into Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād which means 'better', or 'more beautiful' than Āmid. The establishment of a new mint is a normal bureaucratic element for a new city.

Thus follows the account: '. . . he himself with all the remainder of the army and the captives marched away homeward. These captives were treated by Cabades with a generosity befitting a king; for after a short time he released all of them to return to their homes, but he pretended that they had escaped from him by stealth . . .'⁹ The years of issue of coins 17 and 18 of the reign of Kavād I correspond to the dates 504 and 505. The war ended in 506.

Could it be possible that the issue of WYHC under the reign of Kavād is limited to the years 17 and 18, the two years of Roman habitation of the place? Could the reason be explained by the return home of the prisoners of Amida?

The coins issued by this mint are very rare and, what is more, the two coins of year 17 are made from the same dies.

Meanwhile I have been informed about a new coin with the same mint issued in the year 12 of the reign of Khusraw I. The mint signature is slightly crushed but very likely it could be WYHC. Does this reveal some activities of this mint?¹⁰

The present article is the expansion of a chapter in my book published in 1986.¹¹ The subject of this chapter concerns my conclusion about the two coins nos. 1 and 2 that I had purchased in 1985. I was surprised by the resemblance of their mint signatures with the one I had attributed to Visp-Shād-Khusraw, since this last one should begin its issues half a century later, in 553, under the reign of Khusraw I.¹² I, therefore, separated the two mint signatures: VSP as representing the capital during the Sasanian dynasty, and WYHC as an Arab-Sasanian one. I would like to inform Stephen Album, who has studied the same subject, that I arrived at this conclusion 16 years before he did.¹³

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A New Arab-Byzantine Coin Type*

by Nikolaus C. Schindel

The beginning of Islamic coinage in former Byzantine Syria has always attracted considerable interest¹. While dating and mint locations are still subject to considerable controversy, one would have thought that the basic typology had been firmly established,

2 N. Schindel, *SNS 3*, Kawād I/2nd reign/no. A25. I thank R. Gyselen and N. Schindel for this information.

3 al-Tabari, 1999, Vol. V, p. 137, note 351.

4 Christensen, 1971, pp. 240 et seq.

5 al-Tabari, 1999, p. 65.

6 Ibid. p. 137, note 350: 'Āmid, classical Amida, was a key point in the fighting between the Byzantines and Sāsānids. It lay on the west bank of the Upper Tigris, in what was in early Islamic times the district of Diyār Bakr in the province of Jazfrah; and is now the modern Turkish city of Diyarbakir.'

7 Ibid., p. 138, note 352: 'Following *Addenda et Emmendanda* p. DXCI, as being a crasis of Wehaz-Āmid-Kawād for the texts Wām Qubādḥ.' Examples of crasis: 1) the absence of the sound *v* gives in Arabic the transliteration *b* or *w*; 2) the crasis itself gives these three varieties:

- Vihāz Āmid- Kavād = Wām Qubādḥ

- Vihāz-Āmid-Kavād = Bizam Qubādḥ

- Vihāz-Āmid-Kavād = Bih Qubādḥ

8 Ibid., pp. 137-8.

9 Procopius of Caesarea, 1914, Vol. I, VII, 30-33, pp. 50-1.

10 N. Schindel, *SNS 4*.

11 Mochiri, 1986, Chapter XI, p. 77.

12 Mochiri, 1983, Chapter VII, pp. 223-61.

13 Album and Goodwin, 2002, Vol. 1, pp. 65-7.

especially now that the recent study by Tony Goodwin has been published². It is therefore somewhat surprising that a totally new coin type can come to light, such as the one published here³. This type, of which I have been able to record seven specimens, shows on the obverse, instead of the usual imperial figure, a palm branch on a triangular base. The palm branch is shown standing upright, with six or seven short strokes on both sides representing the leaves⁴. The reverse features a cursive 'm'. Two minor variants of the rendering of the 'm' can be observed: on nos. 1, 4 and 7, it has a short stroke to the upper left, which is missing on the other specimens. Judging from nos. 2 and 3, it seems that the cross above the 'm' has been replaced with a six-pointed star. No symbol at all is visible on no. 4, whereas on no. 7 a lily-like object is depicted. On both sides a border of dots encircles the coin image.

Although the obverse design is certainly very strange at first glance, it has to be seen in the broader context of the Syrian coppers which are called 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coins by Goodwin⁵. The one thing all these 'Pseudo-Byzantine' obverse types known so far have in common is that they depict one or more Byzantine emperors on the obverse. By far the commonest type shows a standing figure holding a long cross and a globus cruciger⁶, usually with barbarised Greek legends. This type is based on folles of Constans II dated AD 642 to 648⁷. On the reverse a cursive 'm' with, in most cases, a garbled Greek inscription around it is depicted⁸. Variations of this type are known⁹. Other, less common types show an imperial bust¹⁰, or two¹¹ or three¹² standing emperors. Thus the new type is essentially the common standing 'emperor'/m design but with the palm replacing the standing 'emperor'¹³.

Due to bad striking and, above all, the poor state of preservation of most coins, the legends on both obverse and reverse pose a big problem. On none of the seven specimens can all the letters be read. Nonetheless two different obverse designs (referred to as groups A and B in the catalogue) can be distinguished. On nos. 1-4 (group A), on the left side of the palm branch a vertical inscription consisting of four letters: ΠΑΠΟ can be reconstructed from the four specimens¹⁴. The letters on the right side of the palm branch are less safely identifiable. Judging from nos. 3 and 4, it appears that three letters are arranged vertically V, Η (retrograde N) and I. The interpretation of the last letter is uncertain. Taking all the letters together, and presuming that the legend starts to the left of the palm branch, the fullest form one can reconstruct is ΠΑΠΟΒΝΙ. The inscription on nos. 5-7 (group B) is strikingly different. On nos. 5 and 7, which share the same obverse die, two letters to the left of the palm branch can be read with certainty. The top one consists of a circle and thus most likely stands for an O, the lower letter apparently is an X. It seems that on no. 6 the same letters also occur at the same location. The second half of the legend to the right of the palm branch can be read on none of the specimens. Neither the ΠΑΠΟΒΝΙ nor the OX... variety makes any sense to me at all. Neither of them is directly connected with the Byzantine inscription EN TOYTO NIKAI.

On the reverse, the letters are much more barbarised than on the obverse, and any reading is impossible. Judging from nos. 2, 3 and 6, it seems to me that four letters were placed on both sides of the cursive 'm'. The close similarity between the reverse legend of nos. 2 and 3 on the one hand and no. 6 on the other clearly proves that, even though the obverse inscriptions differ, both variants of obverse legends originate from the same production place. Nothing of any use, however, can be gained from the legends on these coins apart from the fact that they are written in barbarised Greek, and not in Arabic.

To get some understanding of the size of the issue of the palm branch fulus, a die analysis of the seven specimens assembled here is useful, though, due to the bad state of conservation, die identity, is not totally certain in all cases.

Fig. 1. Die Links

	obverse die	reverse die
no. 1	1	1
no. 2	?	2
no. 3	2	2
no. 4	3	3
no. 5	4	4
no. 6	?	5
no. 7	4	?

With only one die match for each side, it is clear that these coins represent an issue which, even if not really substantial, cannot have been as rare as it would appear today. Goodwin has reported 46 obverse dies and 70 reverse dies for the coins known as 'Umayyad Imperial Image' coins of Baalbek¹⁵. Compared with these numbers, at least four obverse and five reverse dies of the palm branch fulus is a remarkable number, considering that the type was unknown until now.

The shape of the flans is a striking and characteristic feature of this group of coins. All are of an irregular rectangular or square shape of varying size and thickness: while no. 2 is 1.7 mm thick, no. 5 measures more than 3 mm. It seems from this that older coins were not used when preparing the flans but, instead, other bronze objects, which were cut into pieces. The traces of cutting are clearly recognisable on all the coins which I was able to study personally, the best example being no. 5.

While irregular flans are in no way rare among early Islamic copper coins, the use of rectangular flans can only be observed, with the odd exception¹⁶, on very few other groups of pre-reform fulus. The only other group where square flans are employed throughout the entire series are coins which depict a standing imperial figure on the obverse, a cursive 'm' on the reverse and bear as legends the name 'Muhammad' plus an unclear Arabic word. Two specimens have been published by Walker¹⁷, one by Qedar¹⁸, one by Heidemann¹⁹ and another by Foss²⁰, plus another two – with wrong attribution to Hims – by Ilisch²¹. Thus, together with one piece from an auction sale²² plus a very badly preserved specimen in a private collection, I know seven coins of this group. It is astonishing, considering the small number of specimens²³, that two main variants plus at least two sub-variants exist. The first is characterised by a word most likely reading بعض While Walker did not comment on these coins at all, Qedar, after having failed to offer an explanation for the word in his 1988/89 article²⁴, finally came to the conclusion that it meant 'ba'd', 'fraction'²⁵. Foss suggests the reading 'Nu'man' which, however, should be written نعمان which is clearly different from the form on the coins. On the coin illustrated by Heidemann²⁶, the first letter looks like an S, and thus the word was read as 'sa'id' (سعيد) by this author. His interpretation was accepted by Foss²⁷, although the last letter of the word is not recognisable at all. Be that as it may be, it is clear that some word other than 'ba'd' is intended. Apart from these differences the placing of 'ba'd' also varies: on the coins published by Qedar and Foss, on the obverse, 'Muhammad' is written running downwards to the left of the imperial figure, while 'ba'd' can be found in the exergue. On Walker's no. 140, the positions are changed, while the word 'sa'id' on the Heidemann coin is placed to the right of the 'm'. Despite these differences, judging from style and typology as well as the flans, there can be no doubt that these coins originate from the same place²⁸. As for the localisation of the 'ba'd' issues, one could postulate a place in southern Filastin as one of the specimens comes from Jerusalem²⁹ and another one from Jordan³⁰.

Apart from the palm branch and the 'ba'd' coins, there are two other groups in which square flans occur. In the case of the first group which was discussed by Foss as his no. 8³¹, square flans are apparently typical, but Karukstis³² has published some coins which share the same peculiarities of style and legends³³ (and thus

certainly belong in the same 'mint'), but which are struck on round (or at least not on square) flans. For this production group, square flans therefore are not the rule which is the case for the palm branch and the 'ba'd' fulus. Still, the occurrence of the rectangular flans is noteworthy, especially since this group can be localised with a high degree of probability in southern Filastin, apparently in the Jerusalem area: the two coins presented by Foss were found in Jerusalem³⁴, and of those coins mentioned by Karukstis all but two are said to come from Israel, the two exceptions being 'Trans-Jordan' and Dehes in northern Syria³⁵. Typologically, all these coins follow the main type of 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coins, with meaningless, though easily readable Greek legends on obverse and reverse.

There exists one other group of 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coins in which square flans are attested, (Foss no. 7)³⁶, and which are stylistically different from the issues dealt with above. Since the same pair of dies has been used for striking round as well as square flans³⁷, square flans once again are not necessarily typical for this group.

One can attempt a localisation of the palm branch issues. As two specimens were bought in Amman, generally speaking some place in the south of Bilad al-Sham seems likely. All of the square-flan coins mentioned above for which provenances are known come from the same region, especially all the 'ba'd' coins. Since the only pre-reform mint which has parallels when it comes to irregular flans as well as a very bad style, and which can be firmly located, is Yubna in *jund* Filastin, a localisation of the palm branch fulus to southern Filastin seems feasible, although an attribution to a specific city will be possible only once reliable archaeological data becomes available. Only recently, Goodwin has published a group of 'Standing Caliph' coins which display an inferior quality of both style and calligraphy, and which might represent a new 'mint' in *Jund* Filastin³⁸.

Since it seems that square flans are a peculiarity of southern Filastin, the question arises whether the palm branch fulus might come from the same production place as the three groups mentioned above³⁹. Since in the last two groups square flans are not used for all issues, and also because of the different letter forms, I do not think that the palm branch coins can be linked with either of these two groups. Things are more difficult when considering the 'ba'd' coins. These, too, are always struck on square flans, judging from the material available so far. This does not necessarily mean that both groups must come from the same 'mint', since square flans apparently were used in various production groups in southern Filastin, but one then has to assume that – hardly by chance – the same form of flans was chosen in two different 'mints', which, however, employed totally different types. Assuming that both the palm branch and the 'ba'd' coins originate from the same source, one is confronted with the highly difficult problem of which type came first. On the one hand, one generally assumes that garbled Greek preceded correct Arabic. On the other hand, it is hard to explain why an Islamised coin type in which the human figure has been replaced by a less offensive plant, should come before a human being. The situation is comparable with the MACP and ABAZ coins of early Islamic Egypt, although their typology offers more clues⁴⁰. It has to be emphasised that the great differences in both typology and scripts used allow no certain stylistic answer to whether the palm branch and the 'ba'd' fulus come from the same production place.

Even more important, but also more difficult, is the question of dating the palm branch fulus. It goes without saying that a detailed discussion of the dating problems of 7th century Syrian copper coins is beyond the scope of this short note⁴¹ but a few general remarks cannot be avoided. Goodwin has divided the pre-reform coins of Bilad al-Sham into three categories⁴². The first one ('Pseudo-Byzantine' coinage) consists of imitations of Byzantine prototypes of varying stylistic quality, with typically heavily blundered and senseless legends⁴³. No mint indications which make sense can be found on these coins, which were struck in a number of different 'mints', only very few of which can be even

tentatively located today⁴⁴. These 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coins are dated by Goodwin to the 650s to 670s⁴⁵. The second phase is styled 'Umayyad Imperial Image' coinage, characterised by meaningful legends in Greek and Arabic, a high level of technical quality as well as a clearly recognisable central organisation of the entire series⁴⁶. The date Goodwin gives for these issues is c.670-690⁴⁷. The third and last category is the 'Standing Caliph' type which is recognisable by the depiction of the Umayyad caliph on the obverse⁴⁸. The date of these, according to Goodwin, is the 690s⁴⁹. The main problem with this categorisation is that it attempts to cover the entire Bilad al-Sham without taking into consideration the local differences in monetary production. Suffice it to say here that no 'Umayyad Imperial Image' fulus are known for *jund* Qinnasrin, while the highly productive mint at Tabariya did not strike any 'Standing Caliph' coins. As for *jund* Filastin where the palm branch fulus most likely were produced, the ratio between the very few 'Umayyad Imperial Image' coins and the 'Standing Caliph' issues is totally different from the two *ajnad* for which Goodwin's three period model works, namely Hims and Dimashq. Once again, I have to come back to the mint of Yubna Filastin. No 'Umayyad Imperial Image' issues are known so far for this mint, and the 'Standing Caliph' coins show very clearly direct connections with Goodwin's 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coinage when it comes to irregular flans and bad style. The quality of the legends – which are now, however, Arabic – also has more in common with the 'Pseudo-Byzantine' coins in general than with the bulk of the 'Standing Caliph' issues.

The problems of dating the palm branch fulus now become clear. Judging by their square flans and the barbarised and senseless Greek legends, they should belong in the 'Pseudo-Byzantine' category. The latter, however, normally follow their Byzantine prototypes as closely as the die cutters could manage, with only minor modifications. The deliberate replacement of the standing imperial figure on the obverse does not really fit into the 'Pseudo-Byzantine' series. Bad style and senseless legends, however, make a connection with both 'Umayyad Imperial Image' and 'Standing Caliph' issues difficult. Apart from this, even if one labelled the palm branch fulus 'Pseudo-Byzantine', the date of their striking would not emerge, since – given the numismatic peculiarities of *jund* Filastin – it is equally feasible that these coins were struck in the 650s, that is to say, at an early stage of the issue of local Syrian imitations of Constans II folles, or that these 'Islamised' copper coins were struck at a very late date, maybe only shortly before the monetary reform of AH 77. The evidence of Yubna, the flans and the quality of legends do not rule out such a late dating. It goes without saying that a dating between these two chronological extremes is also possible. The question of when these palm branch fulus were struck thus cannot be answered.

Since I cannot offer any reliable date for the palm branch coins nor any reasons why this outstanding obverse type was chosen, both questions have to remain open for the time being. Assuming a late date, one could guess that the replacement of the imperial figure has to be seen in the context of the Arabisation and Islamisation which was introduced with the coming of the 'Standing Caliph' coinage, the palm branch issues representing a local idea which was not to prevail. On the other hand, if one accepts an early date, this type can also be explained by the assumption that the authorities responsible for choosing this type were taking religious prescriptions more seriously. Similarly they could have been struck in a non-Islamic environment which was hostile to the Byzantine Empire in general, such as a city with a strong Jewish population. It is interesting that a palm branch as main pictorial device occurs on various issues from Judaea in the 1st century AD⁵⁰. However, let me emphasise that all these are but wild guesses.

Having said all this, I have to confess that I am not able to answer the classical numismatic questions, 'where were these coins struck, when, and by whom'. I hope, though, that the publication of the palm branch fulus has contributed, if not to our knowledge,

then at least to our sense of understanding the complexities of 7th century Syrian copper coinage.

Catalogue

Group A. 'ΠΑΠΟΝΙ' obverse legend

1. AE. Fals. 3.69g. ? 13.7x16.3mm⁵¹. Die crack at 5h



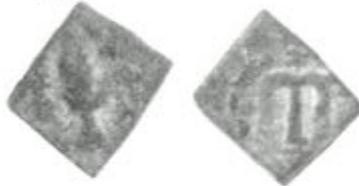
obv.

rev.



Kadman Numismatic Pavilion at the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, K-44727

2. AE. Fals. 3.31g. 6h. 13.7x16.3mm. Same reverse die as 3



obv.

rev.



Private collection (bought in Amman)

3. AE. Fals. ??? Same reverse die as 2



obv.

rev.



Private collection
(= Metlich and Schindel (note 3), fig. 16)

4. AE. Fals. ? ? ? 3.70g 8h 15.5x15.9mm.



obv.

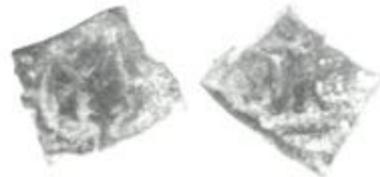
rev.



Private collection (bought in Amman – found in Ajloun/Gerasa)

Group B. 'OX...' obverse legend

5. AE. Fals. 7.23g. 10h. 16.9x19.7mm. Same obverse die as 7



obv.

rev.



Private collection (bought in Amman)

6. AE. Fals. 4.00g. ??



obv.

rev.



Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 47 (1998), 2094

7. AE. Fals. ??? Same obverse die as 5



obv.

rev.



Private collection

Notes

* My warmest thanks go to Cecilia Meir of the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion at the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, for providing me with a photo, and kind permission to publish her specimen, as well as to Ingrid Schulze and Shraga Qedar for making accessible to me further coins of this type. For valuable suggestions and discussions I have to thank Ingrid Schulze, Shraga Qedar and Marcus Philipps.

1 Cp. for an overview the most useful (albeit somewhat dated) bibliography, for which we are indebted to M. Bates, at <http://www.amnumsoc.org/collections/bates01.html>.

2 S. Album and T. Goodwin, *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1. The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 78-80.

3 Except for a photo in Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 47 (1998), 2094 (= no. 6), this type is, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, save for a short mention in M.A. Metlich and N.C. Schindel, 'Egyptian copper coinage in the 7th century AD. Some critical remarks', *ONSN* 179 (2004), p. 13 with fig. 16 (= no. 3).

4 Especially on no. 1, it might appear that on the right lower side a bundle of dates is depicted, but in fact, this most likely is nothing else but a rather crude depiction of two of the palm leaves.

5 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 74. On the terminology and its problems cp. below.

6 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 79, type E. A short survey, together with a somewhat different approach to classifying these coins can be found in T. Goodwin, 'Imitations of the folles of Constans II', *ONS Occasional Papers* 28 (1993).

7 W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini III. Von Heraclius bis Leo III. / Alleinregierung (610-720)* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 135-137, nos. 162-168.

8 In the catalogue of Album and Goodwin (note 2), 18 of these coins are listed (catalogue nos. 508-525), compared to only eight specimens of all other types (catalogue nos. 505-507, 526-530).

9 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 79, types D, F.

10 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 79, types G-L.

11 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 79, types A, C.

12 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 79, type B.

13 A similar phenomenon is the similarity in morphology of Arab-Sasanian coin reverses featuring a fire altar flanked by two assistant figures and the three-line legend of the post-reform dirhams, cp. J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins* (London, 1956), p. LXVI.

14 For drawings of the individual legends see the catalogue.

15 T. Goodwin, 'Notes on the Arab-Byzantine mint of Baalbek', *as-Sikka* 2/2 (2000), available on the internet at <http://islamiccoinsgroup.50g.com/assikka22/baalbek.htm>.

16 Cp. e.g. Album and Goodwin (note 2), pl. 42, catalogue no. 643 ('Standing Caliph' from Sarmin).

17 Walker (note 13), p. 52, no. 140 and ASK.6.

18 S. Qedar, 'Copper coinage of Syria in the seventh and eighth century A.D.', *INJ* 10 (1988/89), p. 33 with pl. 5, 12.

19 S. Heidemann, 'The merger of two currency zones in early Islam. The Byzantine and Sasanian impact on the circulation in former Byzantine Syria and northern Mesopotamia', *Iran* 36 (1998), p. 98 with pl. 16, 4.

20 C. Foss, 'Anomalous Arab-Byzantine coins. Some problems and suggestions', *ONSN* 166 (2001), pp. 7-8 with no. 9.

21 L. Ilisch, Die umayyadischen und 'abbasidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims. Versuch einer Chronologie, *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 10/3, 1980, p. 23, no. 1. I have to thank Ingrid Schulze for directing my attention to these two specimens which I would never have found myself.

22 I. Vecchi, (London), auction 5 (5 March 1997), lot 1292.

23 To which, no doubt, further coins might be added from private and public collections. I do think, however, after having consulted the major publications, that the five specimens listed above are all which are published so far.

24 Qedar (note 18), p. 33: '...a word not yet deciphered'.

25 Qedar, however, never set this interpretation down on paper. This reading is referred to by Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 90. I have to thank Shraga Qedar for explaining to me his ideas concerning the 'ba'd' coins in detail.

26 Heidemann (note 19), p. 98 with pl. 16, 4. He thinks that Sa'id is a personal name, referring to 'an official, a mintmaster, or perhaps a merchant offering copper coins'.

27 Foss (note 20), p. 8 doubts that Sa'id is a personal name and instead suggests a tentative connection with phrases similar in meaning to 'sa'id' in Iranian numismatics such as 'afid' on Khusro II drachms.

28 On the specimens published by Walker and Heidemann, the standing figure holds a long sceptre in its right hand and a globus cruciger in its left, while on the coins depicted by Qedar and Foss, the sceptre is missing.

29 Foss (note 20), p. 7, no. 9.

30 Walker (note 13), p. 52, no. ASK.6.

31 Foss (note 20), p. 7 with no. 8a and 8b. One such coin has been published already by Walker (note 13), pl. 9, no. 139.

32 C.P. Karukstis, 'A note on the localization of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage in Syria', *NCirc* 108/4 (2000), p. 158, presenting six specimens.

33 Suffice it to mention the retrograde 'E' on the obverses of the two Foss coins and no. 1, 2 and 4 of Karukstis. The one difference between the two groups is the occurrence of a 'shepherd's crook' on the square and of globus cruciger on the round coins. Despite this, both groups clearly share the same place of origin.

34 Foss (note 20), p. 7.

35 Karukstis (note 32), p. 158.

36 Foss (note 20), p. 7.

37 Foss (note 20), no. 7a and 7b respectively.

38 T. Goodwin, 'A New Standing Caliph Mint in Jund Filastin?', *NCirc* 112/8 (2004), pp. 299-301.

39 I hesitate to use the word 'mint' here, since certainly the entity responsible for the production of the palm branch coins was strikingly different from an official mint in the sense of e.g. Byzantine Antioch or post-reform Dimashq. However, even in the case of production groups such as this one, it is feasible that they co-operated, if not with authorities at a central imperial or provincial level, then at least with municipal authorities, especially in the case of a type as unusual as the palm branch which clearly was deliberately chosen.

40 Cp. Metlich and Schindel (note 3), pp. 13-14.

41 Cp. for a recent overview Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 99-107.

42 Album and Goodwin (note 2), p. 74.

43 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 77-81.

44 Cp. T. Goodwin, 'A hoard of imitative Byzantine folles', *NCirc* 102/8 (1994), pp. 357-359; Karukstis (note 32).

45 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 74; 106.

46 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 81-91.

47 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 74; 106f.

48 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 91-99.

49 Album and Goodwin (note 2), pp. 74; 107.

50 The following rulers are attested (classification according to the masterly study of Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish coinage volume 2. Herod the Great through Bar Cochba*, New York 1982, whose passing away this year was a very heavy loss to the numismatic community): Herodes Antipas (4 BCE-39 AD), Meshorer no. 1-16, 18 (AE); Agrippa II (56-96 AD), Meshorer no. 51 (AE); Bar Kochba (132-135 AD), Meshorer no. 6, 50, 77, 78 (AE); 30-32, 62-64 (AR); among the Roman procurators Valerius Gratus (15-26 AD), Meshorer no. 17-20 and Festus (59-62 AD), Meshorer no. 35. For this idea I am greatly indebted to Ingrid Schulze.

51 Measurements have been given for those coins which I was able to check in the original.

A New and Unusual Kharijite Dirham By Clive Foss

In *ONS Newsletter 178 (Winter 2004)*, pp. 45f., A. Shams Eshragh published an unparalleled Arab-Sasanian dirham. Although it had the normal types, it bore unusual obverse legends. In place of the governor's (or earlier, Sasanian ruler's) name appeared the Pahlavi slogan MHMT PGTAMI Y DAT, 'Mohammed is the messenger of God', the direct equivalent of the Arabic short *shahada*, *muhammad rasul allah*. Inscribed in the margin, in Arabic, was *bism illah wali allah*. The reverse bore the date 70, and the mintmark GRM KRMAN, an unidentified place in Kirman province, conceivably Bamm.¹⁴

The coin raises the obvious questions of who issued it; why it is anonymous; and what does the marginal inscription mean? Even the date could be a problem, for the Arab-Sasanian series confusingly uses both Hijri dates (lunar, from 622) and those of the Yezdegerd Era (solar, from 632). The coinage of Kirman normally follows the Hijri calendar, but one issue, precisely from GRM KRMAN, uses YE 63, equivalent to AH 75.¹⁵ In theory, then, this coin could have been struck in AH 82, at a time when the Arab-Sasanian types, largely displaced by the reformed epigraphical coinage with no images, were still hanging on in a few mints of Fars and Kirman. Shams Eshragh notes, however, that the style of this piece is closest to that of the Kirman issues of Mus'ab b Zubayr (60-70AH) and Atiya b al-Aswad (71-77AH), so the date may be accepted as Hijri.

At that time, most of the Islamic East was in the hands of the rival caliph Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr, who was embroiled in a ferocious struggle with the Umayyads of Syria and Egypt under Abd al-Malik. Ibn Zubayr and his brother Mus'ab struck dirhams at several of the mints of Kirman every year from 63 to 71. Ibn Zubayr's first issues overlap with those of the Umayyad governor Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad, reflecting the civil war that temporarily divided the lands of Islam. Mus'ab struck in Kirman in 69, 70 and 71 (only one mint each year), then in 71 his issues are replaced by those of the Kharijite Atiya ibn al-Aswad, who remains dominant through 75 and last strikes in 77.¹⁶

In the year 70, then, Kirman would appear to have been still in the hands of the Zubayrids, but the situation is actually more complicated. Ever since 64, ibn Zubayr had had to contend with a serious Kharijite revolt which, in its initial stages, afflicted lower

¹⁴ For this mint, see the discussion of S. Album *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum* (SICA) I.54.

¹⁵ SICA p. 31, with n.172

¹⁶ See the useful table of M. I. Mochiri, "Kirman, terre de turbulence", *Iran* 38 (2000) 34, to be supplemented by the information (complete for Atiya, sketchy for the others) in SICA 20f. (Abdallah b. al-Zubayr), 24 (Mus'ab), 31 n.173 (Atiya), 36f. (survey of Kirman issues).

Iraq and Khuzistan.¹⁷ After a couple of years of mixed success there, these extremists, who took an uncompromisingly strict view of Islam and expressed bitter hostility to any who disagreed, began to retreat into the mountains of Fars and Kirman where they looted the country, collected taxes and built up their resources. The most successful advocate of this policy was Qatari ibn al-Fuja'a who became their leader in 68 or 69. Using Kirman as his base, he descended again into Fars and Khuzistan in 70, but was pushed back into the mountains whence he returned in 72, this time to face the Umayyads, who meanwhile had defeated Mus'ab ibn Zubayr and gained control of Iraq; they finished off Abdallah ibn Zubayr in 73. Qatari's success is manifest in the numismatic record: he struck coins at Bishapur in Fars and at an unidentified mint ShW (perhaps Susa in Khuzistan) in 69. The regime of ibn Zubayr thus faced a serious threat in the East, where an enemy even more implacable than the Umayyads was at least in temporary control of Fars and Kirman. The year 70, then, was in the midst of real turmoil, with Zubayrids and Kharijites fighting for supremacy in Kirman, and the Umayyad enemies of both ready to move.

Qatari struck coins in 69; Atiya began striking in Kirman in 71, and eventually issued coins at 13 mints of that province until 77 when the Kharijites were finally crushed. The year 70 apparently produced only one issue, by Mus'ab at HRJN KRMAN. No Kharijite coins are known for that year. Nor are the historical sources at all informative. Tabari, whose narrative is essential for understanding events in Iraq and Iran, and who seems to have had a special interest in the Kharijites, says nothing at all about operations in that year, though his narrative for the previous and following years is full of detail. Unfortunately, there are many chronological problems in his account and those of other sources, for Tabari tends to lump events of more than one year together so that he can produce a coherent narrative. In any case, the coin in question was the product of a complicated time in an area subject to constant strife.

Historical circumstances, however, are not the only problem associated with this coin. Most strikingly, it is anonymous. Although virtually all the Arab-Sasanian coins issued after AH 41 bear the name of a governor or, less often, a caliph, there is one important anonymous issue. Those coins, struck for only a short time in AH 64 at Darabjird and two mints in Kirman, are inscribed AMYR Y WRWYSNYKAN (Pahlavi for 'Commander of the Faithful') alone, without naming the caliph in question. They were rapidly succeeded by coins that bore the name and title of Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr. There is no certain explanation for these issues. One theory is that the mint officials were uncertain who was actually the legitimate ruler when the Umayyad caliph Yazid died in 64.¹⁸ But such confusion seems hard to understand given the fact that coins in the name of ibn Zubayr (though without the caliphal title) were already being struck at Jayy (AH63) and in Kirman (62 and 63). Alternatively, these may have been produced by pro-Umayyad forces who were themselves unclear about the succession, but had no intention of recognizing ibn Zubayr.¹⁹ In any case, this precedent seems not to explain the present coin.

The legend 'Mohammed is the Messenger of God' is of real interest, for such openly Islamic messages were still a novelty on the coinage of the Arab realm. The short *shahada* 'In the name of God, Mohammed is the prophet of God' first appears on the dirhams of Abd al-Malik ibn Abdallah struck at Bishapur in AH 66 and 67, under the regime of ibn Zubayr.²⁰ A remarkable coin of the Zubayrid governor Abd al-Aziz ibn Abdallah ibn Amir struck in Sistan in 72 has, instead of the normal reverse design of attendants flanking a fire altar, a three-line legend in Pahlavi that

translates the full *shahada*.²¹ In the same year, the Umayyads start putting the *shahada* on their Arab-Sasanian style dirhams struck in Damascus and Homs. After that, Islamic slogans become more general on the coinage.

To judge by the reference to the Prophet, then, this type would seem to fit into the complex of issues of ibn Zubayr and his governors. Yet it bears another unusual legend in the obverse margin, *bism illah wali allah* ('in the name for God, the friend of God'). There seems to be no precedent at all for such a title in this period or at any time under the Umayyads. But, as Shams Eshragh points out, there are later issues of Shi'ite regimes that give the caliph Ali the title 'friend of God'. Shi'ites, of course, were very much in evidence in the Islamic realm during the Umayyad period, and could conceivably have been responsible for striking the present coin, but then why not name Ali directly? Such an issue, moreover, would be entirely without precedent around the year 70 in Iran.

The explanation comes from another recently published example, no. 3172 in *Baldwin Islamic Coin Auction No. 9*, ed. T. Wilkes (2004), illustrated here through the courtesy of A. H. Baldwin and Sons.



This coin, struck from the same dies as the previous specimen, bears the marginal inscription *bism illah wali al-amr*. On Shams Eshragh's coin, the final word *amr* has been obliterated and recut to read *allah*. Evidently the original slogan was considered undesirable by whatever authority issued the recut die. This implies that the mint of GRM KRMAN changed hands, but its operators economically put a current die to use, changing it in a way that made it more acceptable to the new issuers. If the slogan *wali al-amr* was undesirable, it was because it was associated with the Kharijites. It appears on all the issues of their leader, Atiya ibn al-Aswad, who, as noted, dominated Kirman from 71 though 77. Its meaning, too, accords with Kharijite doctrine. Currently, the phrase is used to denote a manager, a person in charge, or a ruler. Its meaning in the seventh century was probably something similar, for the term *amr* appears in the massive history of Tabari when he is dealing precisely with this period. In his text, it means 'matter, command' or even 'the state'.²² In that case, the entire phrase would mean something like 'Allah is the head of the Community', a notion completely in accord with Kharijite doctrine. They came into existence as a reaction against the caliph Ali when he agreed to arbitration after the battle of Siffin he fought against the rebellious Mu'awiya. The Kharijites 'withdrew' (hence their name from the Arabic *kharaja*, 'withdraw') from Ali's side proclaiming what became their notorious motto *la hukma illa li-illah*, 'there is no judgment but that of God' – that is, they regarded God as the ultimate judge, and hence the only one who could rule over the community, though they chose their own secular rulers to whom they gave the normal title of Caliph and Commander of the Faithful.²³ Atiya was using a phrase that perfectly well expressed the basic doctrine of his sect. Since the Kharijites made themselves widely hated by their fierce intolerance of other Moslems,

17 See C. Foss, 'The Kharijites and their Coinage', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 171 (Spring 2002) 24-34.

18 SICA 20

19 Alan de Shazo (to whom my thanks), personal communication

20 SICA 21, 25

21 For this and the following, see the discussion 'Experimental types' in SICA 27

22 See *The History of al-Tabari XXI: The victory of the Marwanids*, tr. M. Fishbein (Albany 1990) 140 n.500, 155 n.561.

23 For their beliefs, see the sketch of J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in early Islam* (Amsterdam 175) 20f.

obliterating their characteristic slogan would make sense when another faction took control.

These coins, then, can be seen as a product of the struggle between the Kharijites and the forces of Ibn al-Zubayr, a struggle that the sectarians ultimately won, at least for several years in Kirman. It would indicate that they had gained control of this mint by AH 70, only to lose it for a short time until the dominance of Atiya was established the next year.

Why, though, should it be anonymous? Here, the sources provide no evidence, only a hint. The Kharijite coins of 69 are issued in the name of Qatari, those of 71 by Atiya. It is possible, then, that the coin was issued at a time of transition when it was not clear who the head of the community in Kirman should actually be. According to the sources, Qatari made his base in Kirman in 71 and later, but he struck no coins there or anywhere else for several years. His next issue was produced throughout Fars in 75. Meanwhile, Atiya alone was striking in Kirman. He is a rather mysterious figure, mentioned only as having been sent around 68 by one of the original Kharijite leaders, Najda ibn 'Amir, to take control of Oman. He had some initial success there, but ultimately had to flee further East.²⁴ His relations with the more famous Qatari are unknown. In sum, these coins could represent uncertainty, safely referring only to God and his Prophet. Alternatively, they could have been the product of some even more extreme faction of Kharijites who recognised no head of the community than God alone. The parallel of Ibn Zubayr's anonymous coinage suggests perhaps that the first is the more plausible explanation, but – as so often in these fields – much remains uncertain.

Money Circulation of Khwarezm in the Ancient Period

By Michael Fedorov

Khwarezm, an ancient oasis with a developed agriculture based on a ramified system of canals, fed by the Oxus (Amu Daria), occupied the lower basin and delta of this great Central Asian river. In the Soviet period it was split between two adjacent republics: Turkmen SSR (Tashauzskaja oblast') and Uzbek SSR (Khorezmskaja oblast' and Kara-Kalpak ASSR).

The territory of the Khwarezm oasis was not something constant. It depended on nature. When there was an arid climatic period the oasis shrunk since there was not enough water to irrigate its remotest parts. But when the water in the Amu Daria ran high the oasis expanded, lands that had been abandoned were revived. Sometimes wayward, the Amu Daria changed its course and flourishing lands along the old river-bed gradually turned to desert. But sometimes there was also a human factor. The Mongol invasion of Central Asia was accompanied by unheard-of devastations and atrocities. When the Mongols failed to take Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm, by force they destroyed the unique dam to inundate Urgench. As a result part of the oasis territory turned to desert. The abandoned lands were recultivated only during the Soviet era. As a matter of interest, the lands abandoned in the 1220s and unpopulated for many centuries, proved to be an archaeological heaven. Many outstanding discoveries were made there by Soviet archaeologists.

In the north, the Khwarezm oasis stretched to the Aral Sea. In the east it was confined by the formidable Kyzyl-Kum (Red sand) desert. In the west it opened onto the Ust-Yurt, a waste of sun-baked clay, which rolled monotonously towards the Caspian Sea. In the south-west there was another formidable desert, the Kara-Kum (Black sand). The southern frontier of Khwarezm was Hazarasp province when big canals started bringing water and life to the flourishing oasis. The Amu Daria split the country into two parts: left-bank Khwarezm and right-bank Khwarezm, each with its own irrigation system.

Sedentary Khwarezm was surrounded by nomadic tribes, which circumstance played an important role in the political, economic and (to some extent) cultural life of the oasis. Khwarezm was among the countries mentioned in the *Avesta*. The Greek historians, Hecateus of Milet (ca 500 BC), Herodotus (489-425 BC) and Ctesias (the end of the 5th c. BC) mentioned the Horasmii people. Horasmia was mentioned in Persian cuneiform inscriptions. Soviet archaeologists came to the conclusion that the Horasmii originally populated a narrow strip of fertile lands along a mountain ridge in southern Turkmenia and northern Iran. This fertile land, supplied with water by rivulets and streams running down from the mountains, was a cradle of agriculture in Central Asia. The first primitive irrigation and small canals appeared there. Then in the 5th c. BC the Horasmii migrated in search of new lands to Khwarezm bringing with them their know-how and advanced methods of agriculture (Gafurov 1972, 58-59; Drevneishie 1985, 317-318).

The earliest written history of Khwarezm is connected with the history of the Achaemenids. The Achaemenid empire (one of the greatest in the Ancient World) was created by the ruler of Persian tribes, Cyrus II. He was a vassal of the Median king, Astyages. In 553 BC he rebelled against Astyages. In 550 he defeated Media, took Astyages prisoner and proclaimed himself king of the Medians and Persians. Then he subjugated Parthia, Girkania (548 BC) and Lydia. (546 BC). In 545-539 BC he subjugated the whole of Iran, Afganistan, Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana and Khwarezm. In 539 he conquered Babylonia and spread his power to the borders of Egypt. In 530 he decided to subjugate the Central-Asian nomad tribes of Massagetae. He crossed the Amu Daria and attacked them. In a crucial battle (end of July-beginning of August) he was killed and his army defeated (Gafurov 1972, 67-71; Dandamaev 1982, 142-145).

Cyrus II was succeeded by his son, Cambyses, in August 530 BC. Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BC. In March 522 an uprising broke out in Iran headed by Gaumata, an impostor who proclaimed himself the second son of Cyrus II. Cambyses hurried to Iran but died on the way. The uprising of Gaumata was quelled by Darius I who killed Gaumata on 29 September 522 BC. Darius belonged to the junior line of the Achaemenids. Having come to power, he quelled uprisings in Babylonia, Armenia, Margiana, and other places. The period of Darius I was the heyday of the Achaemenid empire. But already in the last years of his reign the decline of the Achaemenids started. Darius carried out several reforms, administrative and monetary among them. He divided his state into 20 satrapies ruled by satraps. Central Asia constituted four satrapies. Khwarezm, Parthia and Sogd constituted the 16th satrapy and paid tribute of 300 silver talents (33.665 x 300=10096.5 kg). Of course not all of this was in silver; it was the value, in silver talents, of all the goods delivered as a tribute (Gafurov 1972, 72-74; Dandamaev 1982, 146-147).

Defeats in the Graeco-Persian wars, endless palace revolutions and dynastic fights as well as the liberation struggle of countries subjugated by the Achaemenids undermined the Achaemenid empire. The 4th c. BC witnessed the decline and fall of the Achaemenids. The crucial blow was delivered by the greatest conqueror of the ancient world, Alexander the Macedonian (356-323 BC). Having succeeded his father Philip II, king of Macedon, in 336 Alexander started preparations for the conquest of the Achaemenid empire, considerably weakened by that time. In Spring 334 BC he crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and in May 334 defeated the Persian army near the river Granic. In 333 he defeated another army sent against him near Issus (a town in Cilicia), not far from Syria. After that he conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Egypt. In spring 331 Alexander advanced to Mesopotamia. The last crucial battle was fought on 1 October 331 BC near the village of Gaugamela (in Assyria). The Persian army was defeated and the last Achaemenid, Darius III, fled. At this turbulent time the satrap of Bactria, Bessus, killed Darius III, usurped the throne of the Achaemenids and started to raise a new army. Alexander defeated him. Having lost Bactria,

²⁴ There is a useful sketch of his career in Walker, *Arab-Sassanian* ix.

Bessus fled to Sogdiana, where he was captured and executed by Alexander. The invasion of Sogdiana caused a popular uprising there. It was quelled, 22000 Sogdians being killed. Alexander lost many warriors and was wounded himself. The Sogdian capital, Maracanda (Samarqand), was captured. Alexander left a garrison there and advanced to Fergana. Near the border of Fergana on the bank of the Syr Daria he built a fortress (the future Khojend). In his absence a new uprising broke out in Sogdiana, led by a Sogdian aristocrat, Spitamen. Spitamen was killed in 328 BC but it took two years, 328-327, to quell the mutiny (Gafurov 1972, 91-98).

But long before those events, Khwarezm had become an independent state. This happened around the end of the 5th-beginning of the 4th c. BC. Soviet archaeologists explored the ancient fortress of Kalalygyr dated to that time. It had strong fortifications and a huge edifice built according to the traditions of Achaemenid palace architecture. But both the fortress and palace remained unfinished. The archaeologists came to the conclusion that it was a residence being built for the Achaemenid governor of Khwarezm, which remained unfinished because Khwarezm became independent from the Achaemenids (Drevneishie 1985, 319). Khwarezm remained independent during the turbulent time of Alexander's conquests. In the winter of 329/328, when Alexander and his army were resting at their winter quarters in Bactrae (future Balkh), the king of Khwarezm, Farasman, arrived there with 1500 cavalry. He offered Alexander his help (first of all as a guide) in the conquest of the lands situated west of Khwarezm. Alexander concluded an alliance with Farasman, but told him that he was now contemplating the conquest of India. He promised that after the conquest of India he would return to this matter. Alexander considered this short episode as the subjugation of Khwarezm (Drevneishie 1985, 318; Zeimal 1978, 196) but in fact Khwarezm remained independent. The army of Alexander never got that far.

Alexander the Great died in his capital, Babylon, on 20 May 323 BC while preparing for his new conquests. His death triggered "the wars of the Diadochs". For about 12 years Alexander's generals fought each other over his heritage. The eastern part of his vast empire (Syria and lands to the east of it) came to Seleucus, a tried and tested general. In 312 BC Seleucus was crowned in Babylon. Thus the state of the Seleucids was created. Having resubjugated Central Asia, Seleucus sent his son, Antiochus, there. Once he succeeded his father, however, Antiochus I (280-261 BC) spent his life in the western part of the state waging wars against his western neighbours. The sway of the Seleucids over the eastern part of their state weakened. Eventually, in the middle of the 3rd c. BC, the satraps of Parthia and Bactria rebelled and became independent. Thus two new states were created; Parthia and Graeco-Bactria (Gafurov 1972, 101-105). Khwarezm stood apart from all those events and regained its independence.

The situation changed drastically around the middle of the 2nd c. BC. And it was connected with events which took place far away from Central Asia. The steppe area comprising Mongolia, southern Altay, easternmost Kazakhstan and Central Asia from time immemorial was the habitat of the nomad tribes. But it could feed only a certain amount of herds and flocks on which the nomads subsisted. When livestock and people proliferated out of proportion a bloody, merciless fight started for pastures. The victors seized the pastures, the defeated tribes were forced to leave the country.

Such was the situation in Mongolia and the adjacent region in the 170s BC when two powerful confederations of nomad tribes, the Hsiung-nu (Huns) and the Yüe-chih (Yueji) clashed in a struggle for pastures. In 174 BC the Hsiung-nu defeated the Yüe-chi and killed their ruler. To the north there were forests (which are no place for nomads), the way to the east and south was barred by the victors. So the Yüe-chih started their exodus to the west. Driving before them native nomadic tribes or involving them in their advance, the Yüe-chih advanced in search of good pastures, which meant life for them. When they reached the steppes of southern Kazakhstan and northern Central Asia, part of the nomad

tribes turned south and eventually conquered the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Several generations later their descendants created the Kushan empire, one of the greatest in the ancient world. Other nomadic tribes remained in Central Asia. They subjugated Sogdiana and Khwarezm and created their kingdoms there. It cost Parthia the life of two kings, Phraates II (138-128 BC) and Artaban II (128-123 BC.) and many bloody battles to stem the advance of the nomads and drive them back, beyond the Amu Daria (Gafurov 1972, 128-134).

It was in those turbulent years that chiefs of one of the nomadic tribes which invaded Khwarezm seized the throne of the ancient rulers of Khwarezm and established a dynasty of their own there. And it was this new dynasty which, in the second half of the second century BC, struck the first coins in Khwarezm (Vainberg 1977, 77).

The information about ancient Khwarezm available in written sources is extremely scarce (sometimes only a few lines or even a few words). For the second - beginning of the first century BC there is some information in the Chinese chronicle. Describing K'ang-kiu (Kangüi, Kangha), a nomad state with its centre in the middle basin of the Syr Daria, the Chinese chronicle states that under the sway of K'ang-kiu there were five smaller kingdoms and that the rulers of those kingdoms were vassals of K'ang-kiu rulers. Among those vassals was a ruler of Yuegian who resided in the town of Yuegian (Bichurin 1950, 184, 186). All the scholars were unanimous that Yuegian was Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm (Drevneishie 1985, 318). So Khwarezm (ruled by the dynasty descending from the chiefs of some nomadic tribe which came from the east) was under the sway of the large, amorphous nomad state of K'ang-kiu which, in its heyday, could raise an army of 120,000 warriors.

The famous Greek geographer, Strabo (64/63 BC-23/24 AD), mentioned the Horasmii (Strabon 1964, 485) as being related to the nomadic tribes of the Sacae and Massagetae. In my opinion the tribal names Massagetae and Sacae were already anachronistic by the first century BC. But there certainly was some affinity between the Khwarezmians and the nomadic tribes surrounding them.

S. P. Tolstov (1948, 234-237) thought that the Arshakid dynasty of Parthia was related to the ruling dynasty of Khwarezm: "brother-chieftains Arshak and Tiridat were related to the Kangüi-Khwarezmian House of Siyavushids and originally served this House as warlords". Tolstov used numismatic material to substantiate his theory. But B. I. Vainberg (1977, 85) wrote that the Arshakids appeared much earlier than the dynasty which first minted coins in Khwarezm. She also stressed the differences between the Parthian and Khwarezmian coins. 1- The portrait of the ruler on Parthian coins was made according to Hellenistic traditions, while the portrait of the ruler on Khwarezmian coins was made according to old eastern traditions (face in profile, shoulders in full view). In contrast to Parthian coins, Khwarezmian silver coins never portrayed the ruler with an uncovered head. 3- the obverse of Khwarezmian coins is quite different from that of Parthian coins, etc. She considered there to be no evidence of close political and cultural links between Parthia and Khwarezm.

E. Hezfeld (1924, 36, 117-119) considered that Khwarezm and the King of Khwarezm were mentioned in the Paikuli inscription of the Sasanian shah, Narse (293-302 AD), and came to the conclusion that Khwarezm was subjugated by Artashir I (226-243). W. B. Henning (1965, 169-170) thought that Khwarezm was under the sway of the Sasanians in the time of Artashir and Shapur I (243-273). Tolstov (1948, 162-163) was quite positive: "Khwarezm was under the sway of the Sasanians no more than the realm of the Roman Caesar". M. M. D'iakonov (1961, 398) and V. G. Lukonin (1969, 115) shared Tolstov's opinion. R. N. Frye (1957) read the questionable words not as "King of Khwarazm" but as "King Khwarazman". He considered that "Khwarazman" was the name of the king but not the name of the country. B. G. Lukonin (1969, 116) supported Frye's reading. Vainberg (1977, 90-91) was more cautious. She cited the Arab historian Tabari

(839-923), who wrote that Artashir, having started from Savad, went to Sakastan, Gorgan, Arabshahr, Merv and Khwarezm whence he returned to Merv. During that campaign "he killed many people and sent their heads to the temple of Anahit". She also cited the Syrian "Chronicle of Arbela" which states that Shapur I in 243 AD carried out a victorious campaign against Khwarezm. She wrote, though, that even if Khwarezm was subjugated by the Sasanians, it was only for a short time. It looks as if, after the campaign of Artashir, Khwarezm recognized the suzerainty of the Sasanians but regained its independence soon enough. By the way, the fact that Shapur I started his reign with a campaign against Khwarezm shows that, by 243 AD, Khwarezm was independent and Shapur had to resubjugate it. And I believe that this time Khwarezm again quickly regained its independence.

As for the opinion of some scholars (Istoria 1955, 96) that Khwarezm was under the sway of the Kushans and became independent from them in the third century AD, Vainberg (1977, 89) wrote that Khwarezm was never under the political sway of the Kushans. She did, however, admit that there was Kushan cultural influence in Khwarezm.

Interesting albeit somewhat specific information for the history of ancient Khwarezm is provided by tamghas placed on Khwarezm coins. These tamghas have attracted the attention of scholars since the 1890s. A. K. Markov (1892, 265-304) attributed the Khwarezmian tamgha (according to Vainberg's classification [1977, Table XI] it is *T4*) to the so-called late-Kushan dynasty of Turushka. He came to this conclusion from the fact that there was some resemblance between the said tamgha and the tamgha of the Kushan king, Huvishka. E. Drouin (1896, 129-130) attributed this tamgha to a later time and to the Hephthalites. He supposed that coins with such a tamgha were minted in Sogd before 555 AD. A. Cunningham and E. I. Rapson (1896, 246) shared Drouin's opinion about the Hephthalite origin of such a tamgha but dated it to an even later period (7th c. AD). Tolstov (1938, 120-145; 1948, 173 ff.) established that this tamgha belonged to the rulers of Khwarezm. Simultaneously with Tolstov (and independently of him) M. E. Masson (1938, 57-69) attributed this tamgha to the rulers of Khwarezm. Tolstov admitted that there was some resemblance between Khwarezmian tamghas and the tamghas of the Kushans and the Hephthalites. But he also stressed that some Khwarezmian tamghas were close to the tamghas of "massageto-sarmato-alanian" nomad tribes and "massageto-saco-sarmatian" dynasties of the Kingdom of Bosphorus, and especially to tamghas of the Aspurgian dynasty (first - third century AD). But there was one distinction between the Khwarezmian tamghas and those of the Kushans and the Bosphorus kingdom. The Kushan and Bosphorus tamghas changed from ruler to ruler, while the rulers of Khwarezm, belonging to the same branch of the dynasty, inherited the same tamgha from each other. In this respect, the tamghas of Khwarezm were closer to Sogdian tamghas.

Vainberg registered 14 tamgha types on the coins of Khwarezm:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						

Types 1-5, 13-14 are related in their upper part which I would describe as a "floating swan" (it resembles a floating swan with a gracefully curved neck). The "swan" is oriented either to the left (*T1*, *T2*) or to the right (*T4*, *T5*, *T13*, *T14*). *T3* is a hybrid; it has

two "swan necks" (one turned to the right, the other to the left). But they differ in the lower part, which I call the "pedestal". *T1* and *T5* have the same pedestal shaped like a letter "C" placed horizontally with back upwards. But the "floating swan" part of *T1* is turned to the left, while that of *T5* is turned to the right. In fact it is the same tamgha only turned in different directions. The most widespread is *T4*. Its "floating swan" part is turned to the right but its "pedestal" is shaped like a squat letter "W". *T2* in fact is the same as *T4* but turned to the left. *T14* repeats *T4* but its upper part is somewhat more angular (not roundish). *T13* has the same upper part as *T4* but its "pedestal" is shape like two letters "C" turned back to back. *T3* is a hybrid of *T2* and *T4*, with two "swan necks" turned in opposite directions.

Very interesting coins are those of Khwarezmshah Biwarsar (Livshits' reading of the name). On these coins, the king has the same crown and garments, there are the same remnants of a distorted Greek legend, the same name and title of the ruler (written in Khwarezmian). Vainberg (1977, 35-36) was quite positive that these coins were minted by one and the same ruler. But tamghas on those coins are different. Types "B2VIIa" and "B2VIIb" have traditional Khwarezmian tamgha *T4*. But on a coin of the type "B2VI" there is tamgha *T3* (with two "swan necks" turned in opposite directions). *T3* first appeared on the "AIII" type coins. *T3* was preceded by *T2* ("swan neck" turned to the left) and succeeded by *T4* ("swan neck" to the right). Vainberg (1977, 35-36, 55) considered that *T3* was transitional and symbolised the unification of two branches of the same clan. She supposed the dualistic organisation of the nomad tribe (something like "right wing" and "left wing" - *MF*) which came to Khwarezm and seized power there. Probably *T3* reflected a dynastic marriage. But later on, the coins have only *T4* (which, being united with *T2*, produced *T3*). In my opinion, however, the *T3* tamgha (with two "swan necks") could belong to the third branch of the tribe. The nomad armies usually comprised three main parts: left wing, head (centre) and right wing. So the branch which fought in the centre could have had the *T3* tamgha.

The coins of Biwarsar followed the coins of Wazamar (some copper coins of Biwarsar were struck over the coins of Wazamar).

Having appeared on coins, *T4* later became the traditional tamgha of Khwarezm and survived on the coins till the beginning of the 9th c. It is present on the silver coins of 10 (out of 13) types. "It could attest to the continuity of the dynasty", wrote Vainberg, "but comparison of tamghas on the silver and copper coins of the same king Wazamar shows that, while on his silver coins he appears as the traditional king of Khwarezm (with the bird-shaped crown), on his copious copper coins prevail symbols alien to Khwarezm (the crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its legs tucked under it, and a tamgha shaped like a swastika with roundish ends (*T7*)). Only on his latest ... copper coins (B2V/4-5) appeared the same investiture symbols as on his silver coins: the bird-shaped crown and traditional tamgha (*T4*) around which the name and title of the ruler were placed. This dual policy of Wazamar is reflected most distinctly on the copper coins of B2V/5 type. On the reverse of such coins, apart from the above-mentioned legend and tamga (Vainberg means *T4* and the legend containing the ruler's name and title - *MF*), there is also a three-ended tamgha (*T8*). I believe this is easy to explain. At first Wazamar was ruler of some appanage. The rulers of this appanage had a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its legs tucked under it, and a tamgha shaped like a swastika with roundish ends (*T7*). Then Wazamar inherited or usurped the throne of Khwarezm. While an appanage ruler, he had not minted silver coins, but having become the ruler of Khwarezm he minted silver coins with the usual royal symbols, *T4* and bird-shaped crown. The copper coins with local symbols (crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with legs tucked under it, and tamgha shaped like a swastika with roundish ends) were minted by Wazamar when he was an appanage ruler. The copper coin of type B2V/5 (with the additional tamgha *T8* resembling a triskelion) could have been struck in Wazamar's name but in some appanage, the ruling dynasty of which had

tamgha T8. Originally, T4 was the tamgha of tribal nomad chiefs who seized the throne of Khwarezm. But later, this tamgha was associated more with Khwarezm and its capital, Urgench, than with some ancient dynasty. It was the same in Samarqand. Originally the "y-shaped" tamgha belonged to the nomad tribal chief who seized the throne of Samarqand. Later, however, it became the symbol of Samarqand and of the kingdom of Eastern Sogd. When the Sogdian ruler of Kesh, Shishpir (second quarter of 7th c. AD), usurped the throne of Samarqand he placed on his coins not only the "y-shaped" tamgha but also the triskelion-shaped tamgha of the rulers of Kesh. When warlord Tukaspadak (ca 696-698) became king of Samarqand he placed on his coins the "y-shaped" tamgha as well as the tamgha of his clan. Vainberg's thesis (1977, 73) that from the 1st to the beginning of the 9th c. AD Khwarezm was ruled by the same dynasty looks highly improbable to me. Especially so, bearing in mind that every 150-200 years, hordes of hungry, warlike nomads invaded Central Asia from the east, having lost their pastures (=homeland) to victorious tribes. Later, though, Vainberg (1977, 38) changed her opinion. Here I cite both passages. "In Khwarezm", she wrote (1977, 73), "for a thousand years coins were minted retaining and developing the same ... monetary type. This fact and the stability of the main type of tamgha (T4) prevailing on the coinage of Khwarezm since, probably, the 1st c. AD to the beginning of the 9th c. indicate that mintage of the traditional coin in ancient Khwarezm was carried out by the dynasty which during this historic period reigned over the country. This is confirmed ... by the fact that Khwarezm had a chronological system of its own for eight centuries", i.e. Vainberg deemed that the Khwarezmian era started when a dynasty with T4 tamgha came to power. But let us compare it with the following passage (Vainberg 1977, 38): "Despite the fact that not once did representatives of other clans or tribes come to power in Khwarezm, this tamgha (T4) became the traditional one (especially on silver coins) up to the 9th c. AD". I fully agree with this second passage. Vainberg probably had forgotten to correct or delete the first passage.

Vainberg (1977, 37) thought that the "W-shaped" pedestal of tamghas T2, T3, T4, T10, T14 was borrowed from the Kushans, or rather that the nomadic tribes which conquered Khwarezm and created their state there were somehow related to the tribes which conquered the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and created the Kushan state there. As a result, Vainberg came to the important conclusion that the ruling dynasty of Khwarezm derived from nomadic tribes related to the Yueji, and that those tribes appeared in Khwarezm in the middle of the second century BC.

She wrote that, originally, Khwarezm was captured by tribes ruled by chieftains with T1 tamgha ("floating swan" turned to the left, "C-shaped" pedestal). While proceeding from the east this tribe divided. One part of the tribe turned south and came to the Bukhara oasis. The other part carried on westwards and captured Khwarezm. The newly-established dynasty of Khwarezm minted imitations of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms of king Eucratides, placing on the coins their tamgha T1 (fig 1).



That part of the tribe which came to the Bukhara oasis minted there about the same time (second half of the second century BC) imitations of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms of king Eucratides (fig 2) placing on the coins tamgha T5, which is the same as T1 only turned to the right (I think that T5 was the tamgha of the right wing of this tribe).



The tribe with the T5 tamgha was probably not that strong and numerous in the Bukhara oasis and after some time was forced out of power. Anyway T5 tamgha disappeared from the coins minted in the Bukhara oasis. Another part of the T5 tamgha tribe which came to Khwarezm fared better and even ruled there for a while. There are coins (type "BIII") minted by Khwarezmshah Artaw (Vainberg 1977, 52) with T5. Vainberg (1977, 37) thought that such coins were minted between the second half of the 1st to the second half of the 3rd c. AD. She wrote (1977, 37-38): "Notwithstanding that, ... the tribe (clan) which had the tamgha with a semicircular lower part (i.e. T1 and T5 - MF) was forced out of central power in Khwarezm ... it, and first of all the left branch ... stayed in the country because, during the time of unrest which started in Khwarezm after the second half of the 3rd c. when, to judge by the coins, all the possible claimants to the throne appeared on the political scene, we meet T1 tamgha on copper coins of one or two rulers (types "B2 10,11")". I believe that, after being forced from central power, the tribe (clan) with tamghas T1 and T5 retained some appanage where the coins in question were minted. It could also be that they seized the throne for some time (though that would be more plausible if the coins in question were silver). Incidentally, T5 has been found in the steppes north of the Black Sea (Krivoi Rog stela) and south of the Ural mountains, i.e. in the lands inhabited by the Sarmat nomad tribes. This fact may indicate that the tribes which subjugated Khwarezm and a part of the Bukhara oasis were also somehow related to the Sarmats.

If one looks closely at Khwarezmian tamghas one will realize that almost all of them are various combinations of four main symbols: 1-"floating swan", 2-"C-shaped", 3-"W-shaped", 4-"S-shaped". Thus T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T13, T14 have the same "floating swan" symbol. T2, T3, T4, T10, T14 have the same "W-shaped" symbol, serving as pedestal. T1, T2 have the same "C-shaped" symbol (rearside up), serving as pedestal. T6, T7, T9 have the same "S-shaped" symbol. T6 has one vertical symbol. T7 has two symbols (vertical and horizontal) crossing one another so that T7 looks like a swastika. T9 has one symbol placed horizontally and serving as pedestal. T9, T10, T12 have a "C-shaped" (rearside down) symbol serving as the upper part of the tamgha.

T8 (irregular triskelion) has a close affinity to the tamgha found on one coin of Chach (Baratova 1999, 247, Abb. 3,33). It is very interesting that the "floating swan" symbol (turned to the right) is found on the coins of ancient Chach (Rtveladze 2000, 147-149). The pedestal of this tamgha is shaped like two letters "J" turned back-to-back. I am of the opinion that, when the nomad tribes united by the tamgha with the same upper part ("floating swan") were advancing from the east, some of them stayed in Chach. The tribes that proceeded westwards conquered Khwarezm. The tribes that turned southwards captured part of the Bukhara oasis.

The genealogy of the Khwarezmshahs was given by Bīrūnī (1957, 48). He wrote: "the rule over Khwarezm was in the hands of this (Banu 'Iraq - MF) family ... till the dignity of ruler and title of shah went from them after ... Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Iraq ibn Manšūr ibn 'Abdallāh ibn T.r.k.s.bāth ibn Shaw.sh.f.r ibn 's.k.j.mūk ibn 'z.kājwār ibn S.brī ibn S.kh.r ibn 'r.th.mūkh; in whose time, as I have mentioned, the Prophet's divine mission took place". Bīrūnī also traced back the genealogy of Khwarezmshahs to Afrīgh who had built a castle al-Fīr on the bank of the Oxus in the year 616 of the Era of Alexander (=305 AD) and so Kāth was founded. But Livshitz (1970, 166) has shown that Bīrūnī's genealogy of the Khwarezmshahs before the 8th c.

does not coincide with the names of Khwarezmshahs placed on the coins.

Here I ought say something about the Khwarezmian Era. For at least eight centuries Khwarezm had its own system of chronology. Documents found at excavations of Toprak Kala were dated to 188-231 years of the Khwarezmian Era, while ossuaries found in Tok Kala were dated to 658-738 years of the Khwarezmian Era (Vainberg 1977, 79, 88). Scholars have given various dates for when this era began. According to W. B. Henning (1965, 168-169) it is 42 AD. According to Livshits and A. V. Gudkova (1967, 8) it is between 1-33 AD. According to Tolstov (1961, 69) it is 78 AD. According to Vainberg (1977, 79) it is between 40-54 AD. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (1965, 140-144) thought the Khwarezmian Era was identical to the "Era of Afrīgh" (which according to Bīrūnī started in the year 616 of the Era of Alexander = 305 AD) but Livshits and Gudkova (1967, 10) showed that that is out of the question: if the Khwarezmian Era were the same as the Era of Afrīgh (which started in 305 AD) then a date "738 of the Khwarezmian Era", written at one ossuary found in Tok Kala, would be (305+738) 1043 AD, but, according to the archaeological data, the settlement of Tok Kala ceased in the 8th c. and was not inhabited after that. Vainberg (1977, 79) wrote that the introduction of its own chronology in Khwarezm was connected with the establishment of a new dynasty, when the *T4* tamgha appeared on coins, the tamgha which was traditional for coins of Khwarezm till the end of the 8th c. As for the Era of Afrīgh, which according to Bīrūnī started in the year 616 of the Era of Alexander, she wrote that there is no evidence whatsoever that the Era of Alexander was used in Khwarezm. She presumed that Bīrūnī somehow got some information that Afrīgh built the castle of al-Fīr in the year 616 but, since he knew nothing about the Khwarezmian Era, he decided that it was the Era of Alexander (i.e. Seleucid Era). So Vainberg (1977, 80) considered that Afrīgh (Fravik) built the citadel of al-Fīr not in AD 305 but between AD 656-670 and I agree with her.

Just as the science of Sogdian numismatics was created and developed mainly as a result of the efforts of O. I. Smirnova, so the science of the ancient and early-mediaeval numismatics of Khwarezm was created and developed mainly due to the efforts of Vainberg, assisted by Livshits, who contributed greatly to the reading of the names of the Khwarezmshahs on the coins. But despite their efforts, the numismatics (and history) of ancient Khwarezm remains one of the most intricate and obscure parts of Central Asia numismatics.

Vainberg established the comparative chronology, i.e. the chronological succession of coins (for instance: coins of series "A" preceded coins of series "B" which, in turn, preceded coins of series "B"). She used archaeological data (for instance: these coins were found in strata of the third century, those coins were found in strata of the fourth century, and these coins were found together with Sasanian coins etc.). Sometimes coins of one series were struck over coins of another, so the host coins preceded the following series. The degree to which the Greek legend was corrupted was also used: the more distorted it was, the more chronologically distant it was from the original type. She used analogies between Khwarezmian and Sasanian coins: the hair style of this ruler of Khwarezm was like the hair style of that Sasanian ruler etc. In other words all imaginable ways were used to establish the comparative chronology. As for the absolute chronology, it has not been established for almost all the series of ancient Khwarezmian coins. Like other contemporary coins of Central Asia, Khwarezmian coins had neither date nor mint name. As for the ancient Khwarezmian chronicles, they did not survive. According to Bīrūnī (1957, 48, 63) old Khwarezmian chronicles and sacred books were burned on the order of the Arab conqueror of Khwarezm, Quṭayba.

Vainberg (1977, 48) divided the ancient coins of Khwarezm into three groups. "A"-with Greek legend. "B"-with Khwarezmian and Greek legend. "B"-with Khwarezmian legend. She dated the

"A I" series to the last third of the second century BC, the "A II" series to the first century BC and the "A III" series not earlier than the beginning of the first century AD.

Series "B" comprises subgroups "B1" and "B2". On these coins appears the classic variant of the Khwarezmian tamgha (*T4*) which survived on the coins till the end of the eighth century. With subgroup "B2" the regular mintage of copper coins started. Vainberg dated the "B" series of coins in the following way: "B1 I" to the second half of the first century AD; "B1 II" no date, king *Artaw*; "B1 III" no date, king *Artamush*; "B1 IV" no date, "B2 V" last third of the third century AD, king *Wazamar*; "B2 VI" no date king *Biwarsar*; "B2 VII" no date, "B2 VIII" no date, king *K/Rwy*. Coins of "B2 VI", "B2 VII" and "B2 VIII" series fall within the period between the 4th and 6th c. AD.

Series "B I" no date, king *Tutuhas*(?).

And now to the coins.

"A I". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 49, 106, plate XXII). *Obverse*. An almost exact copy of a tetradrachm of Eucratides I (171-155 BC) wearing a Greek helmet (facing right). But the face of the ruler differs from the face of Eucratides. *Reverse*. Dioscuri galloping to the right. Around them the distorted Greek legend: ΠΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΥ ΕΥΚΙΑΤΙΑΥ. To the right of the Dioscuri is the monogram HT. To the left of the Dioscuri is tamgha *T1*. Weight 15.64g. Diameter 32mm. (fig 1). Vainberg dated this coin to the last third of the second century BC.



"A II". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 50, 106, pl. XXII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a beardless king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown shaped like a roundish *kulāh* (kind of a hood). *Reverse*. Dioscuri galloping to the right. Around them a Greek legend still more distorted: ΙΥΧΙΒΕΩΩΗΕΓΑΥΑΕΙΥΙΑΥΙ. To the right of the Dioscuri the letter H. To the left of the Dioscuri, tamgha *T2*. Weight 13.6g. Diameter 33.5mm. (fig 3). Vainberg dated this coin to the first century BC.



"A III". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 50, 106, pl. XXII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a moustached and bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The Khwarezmian crown is shaped like a *kulāh* (a kind of hood) but it differs from the crown pictured on the preceding coin. Behind the king's head there is a tiny figure of a winged goddess (Nike?) with a wreath in her right hand. *Reverse*. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him *T3*. The Greek legend is badly corrupted. Weight 13.05g. Diameter 31mm. (figs 4a, 4b).





Vainberg dated this coin to the first century AD (probably the first half of the century).

D. Biriukov (2002, 7-21) published an article on the anonymous period in the coinage of ancient Khwarezm. Because he was greatly preoccupied with the anonymity of the early Khwarezmian coins he missed other more important and significant facts.

Firstly: Coins of the Nameless King ("A III") which scholars attributed to one person, were struck by two kings. Even Vainberg (1977, 106, Nos 3-4) described them as belonging to the same type but wrote that king's image on the second coin is more distinct and the king's features more "individualized". By good fortune Biriukov placed coins of the Nameless King side by side on the same page. On examining them I realised to my astonishment that they were minted by different kings! *Nameless King A* has a roundish, slightly puffy face with a short, massive, somewhat turned-up nose. The shape of his eye is almost oval. *Nameless King B* is long-faced with a thin, long, sagging aquiline nose and almond-shaped eye. His face is rather gaunt. The head-dresses differ slightly too. Scholars wondered what this head-dress was (especially the trapezium-shaped part of it, which looks like a peaked cap). It dawned upon me that it is a *kulāh* with a diadem tied over it, similar to what can be found on some Kushan kings (Vima Kadphises, for example). The ends of a string tying the diadem are distinct on coins of *Nameless King B*. His diadem was open-work: two rims with a zigzag line (forming a row of triangles) inbetween. The diadem of *Nameless King A* differs slightly from that of *Nameless King B*. Due to the wear on the coin, the diadem of *Nameless King A* at first glance seemed to me to be a solid band, but then I discerned that it is open-work with a zigzag line in the middle. The *kulāh's* flaps (covering the ears and neck) of the "A" and "B" kings are shaped differently. Their tamghas also have some differences, although they are variants of the same type. The upper part of the tamghas has two "swan necks" turned back-to-back. But the tamgha of *Nameless King A* has the "necks" rising from inside the oval part. The tamgha of *Nameless King B* has "swan necks" rising from outside the oval part, which sometimes had two dots inside (but not on all coins). The pedestals of both tamghas are the same, W-shaped. (see tamgha fig 4a, 4b, above).

Secondly: The faces of *Nameless King A* and the *King in kulāh* (type A II) have some affinity (roundish, puffy, slightly turned-up nose), as can be the case with relatives (or members of the same dynastic family). In my opinion this means that *Nameless King A* was closer to the earlier king and preceded *Nameless King B*. The earliest Khwarezm coin has the king depicted in a Greek helmet. It is worth noting that if the portrait on this coin was that of a native king (and not an imitation of Eucratides' portrait) the face of the king was also roundish, puffy and with a slightly turned-up nose. The king in a Greek helmet had a tamgha with "floating swan" turned to the left and a C-shaped pedestal; the *King in kulāh* had one with "floating swan" turned to the left but with a W-shaped pedestal. *Nameless King A* and *Nameless King B* had tamghas with two "swan necks" (one turned to the left, the other to the right) and a W-shaped pedestal. Vainberg (1977, 50, 64) dated the coins with the king in Greek helmet to the last third of the 2nd c. BC, or to "the end of the 2nd - border between the 2nd and 1st c. BC". She tentatively dated coins of the *King in kulāh* (type A II) to the 1st c. BC and coins of the "Nameless King" (A III) "not earlier than the 1st c. AD". This would mean that for each century we had only one reign. Now that we have *Nameless King A* and *Nameless King B* it is

somewhat better. Some early Kushan kings (e.g. Vima Kadphises) had the same peculiar head-dress (a *kulāh* with a diadem tied over it) as *Nameless King A* and *Nameless King B*. This speaks in favour of their being contemporary with the early Kushan kings (1st c. AD). As for the *King in kulāh* (type A II) he looks to me to be a close predecessor of *Nameless King A* and, as such, could have reigned around the end of the 1st c. BC. Anyway, there is a big gap between the earliest Khwarezm coin (king in a Greek helmet) and coins of the kings in Khwarezmian attire and head-dress.

The weight of the "Nameless Kings" coins (9.32, 9.7, 11.68, 13.05, 13.4, 13.6, 15g) shows that there were two denominations: the tridrachm and tetradrachm. The canonical weight of the Attic tetradrachm was 17.44g (4.36 x 4), of the tridrachm 13.08 g (4.36 x 3). But such heavy coins are quite rare.

Vainberg established the sequence of issues in the "B" group according to the extent to which the Greek legend was corrupted. She divided the copper coins into two types. One type to some extent repeated the pattern of the silver coins, the other type differed from them. The sequence of the copper coin issues was determined by studying the overstrikes that exist. Archaeological data were also used. The "B" group comprises two subgroups: "B1" and "B2". Subgroup "B2" relates to the regular copper coin issues.

"B1 I". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 51-52, 106, pl. XXII). **Obverse.** Portrait of a long-bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown shaped like a *kulāh* but his crown differs somewhat from the crown depicted on the preceding coins. Part of the coin has broken away but it looks as if behind the king's head there was also a tiny figure of a goddess (Nike?). **Reverse.** A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him T4. The Greek legend at the sides and above the horseman is badly corrupted. Under the horseman is a Khwarezmian legend engraved in a script derived from the Aramaean. The Aramaean heterogram MLK' (King) is discerned. Weight 9.32g. Diameter 31mm. (fig 5). Vainberg dated this coin to the middle or the third quarter of the first century AD.



"B1 II". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 52-53, 106, pl. XVI). **Obverse.** Portrait of a beardless king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown (which I would prefer to call a "kulāh-crown" - MF) with the upper part shaped like a squat, truncated cone turned upside-down (to me it resembles the Kara-Kalpak astrakhan fur hat, shaped the same way) but, like the preceding crowns, it has a flap covering the king's neck. **Reverse.** A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him T5. The Greek legend at the sides and above the horseman is badly corrupted. Under the horseman there is the Khwarezmian legend 'rt'w MLK' (Artaw King). The word "King" is given by the Aramaean heterogram MLK'. Weight 10.05g. Diameter 34mm. Vainberg could not date this coin but thought that it came after coins of type "B1 I" and before those of type "B1 III".

"B1 III". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 53, 106, pl. XXII). **Obverse.** Portrait of a beardless king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a crown resembling in shape the crown on the "A II" type coins. But this crown is decorated with the image of a wing as it is on the coins of some Sasanian shahs, for instance, on those of Varahran II (277-293) and Hormizd II (303-309). **Reverse.** A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him T6 ("S"-shaped). The Greek legend at the sides and above the horseman is badly corrupted. Under the horseman there is the Khwarezmian legend wrtrm@ MLK' (Ārtramush King). Weight 11.75g. Diameter 31mm. (fig 6).



"The distorted Greek legend", Vainberg wrote (1977, 53), "is close to that of type **B1 II**. Bearing this in mind and in consideration of the fact that type **B1 IV** belongs (as one may establish from the coincidence of the king's name and tamgha) to the same king [Vainberg meant *wrtmš - MF*], but looking [on that coin - *MF*] considerably older, I find it possible to propose the succession of issues from **B1 III** to **B1 IV**".

"B1 IV". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 53, 106, pl. XXII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a crown differing from that on the "**B1 III**" type coins (there is no wing). *Reverse*. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him **T6** ("S"-shaped). The Greek legend at the sides and above the horseman is badly corrupted. Under the horseman there is the Khwarezmian legend *wrtmš MLK'* (Ārtamush King). Weight 11.62g. Diameter 32mm. (fig 7).



Vainberg (1977, 53) thought that coins of types "**B1 III**", "**B1 IV**" were minted before the last third of the 3rd c. AD. But if the wings on the crown on "**B1 III**" coins were borrowed from the crown of Varahran II (277-293), they should have been struck in the last quarter of the 3rd c. AD.

"B2 V". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 53-54, 106, pl. XXII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king with plaited hair, facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a crown shaped like a sitting falcon. *Reverse*. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him **T4**. The Greek legend at the sides and above the horseman is distorted out of all recognition. Under the horseman there is the Khwarezmian legend *wzm'r MLK'* (Wazamar King). Weight 9.85, 8.02, 6.85g. Diameter 31, 31.5, 30mm. (fig 8).



Judging by the crown (the crown shaped like a sitting falcon, but with wings, appears on coins of Hormizd II [302-309]) and hair style (plaited hair style appears on the coins of Narse [293-302]), Vainberg (1977, 53-54) dated the coins of Wazamar to the second half of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th c. AD. She adds "But taking into consideration that copper coins of this king (types **"B2 V/1, 2, 3"**) were found together with the late drachms of Shapur I [243-273. *MF.*] the most probable date of Wazamar's reign is the second half or the last third of the 3rd c. AD". I cannot, myself, agree with this dating. As we have seen, Khwarezmshah Ārtamush had the crown decorated with wings. The crown decorated with wings appears on the coins of Varahran II (277-293). So I date Ārtamush's reign to the last quarter of the 3rd c. and

Wazamar's reign to the end of the 3rd - beginning (maybe even the first quarter) of the 4th c.

"B2 V/1". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 54, 107-9, nos 13-72, pl. XVII). *Obverse*. Royal horseman. *Reverse*. In the middle of the field, a big swastika-shaped tamgha **T7**. I shall return to the metrology of copper coins later.

"B2 V/2". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 54, 109-11, nos 73-128 pl. XVII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king in a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its legs tucked under it. *Reverse*. In the middle of the field, a big swastika-shaped tamgha **T7**.

"B2 V/3". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 54, 111-13, nos 128-163, pl. XVII). *Obverse*. Circular Khwarezmian legend *wzm'r MLK'* (Wazamar King). *Reverse*. In the middle of the field, a big swastika-shaped tamgha **T7**.

"B2 V/4". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 54, 113-15, nos 164-192, pl. XVII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king, with plaited hair, facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a crown shaped like a sitting falcon, i.e. it is the same crown and hair-style as on the silver coins of Wazamar. *Reverse*. In the middle of the field, a big Khwarezmian tamgha **T4**. Around it, the legend *wzm'r MLK'* (Wazamar King).

"B2 V/5". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 54, 115, no. 193, pl. XVII). *Obverse*. Bearded king, with plaited hair, facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a crown shaped like a sitting falcon. *Reverse*. In the middle of the field, a big Khwarezmian tamgha **T4**. Around it, the legend *wzm'r MLK'* (Wazamar King). But to left of the tamgha **T4** there is an "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8**. As I mentioned above, the "irregular triskelion" tamgha (not exactly the same type but similar) is found on the coins of Chach.

Vainberg (1977, 55) stressed that it was under Wazamar that the regular striking of Khwarezmian copper coins had started.

"B2 VI". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 115, no. 194, pl. XVIII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown shaped like a roundish *kulāh* (kind of a hood) and decorated above his forehead with a crescent (rearside down). Within the crescent there are three pellets placed in the shape of a triangle. *Reverse*. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him **T3**. The badly corrupt Greek legend looks more like an ornament. To the right and under the horseman is the Khwarezmian legend *bywrsr MLK'* (Biwarsar King). Weight 5.96g. Diameter 27mm. (fig 9). It is interesting that **T3** first appeared on the silver coins of "**A III**" type (dated to the 1st c. AD).



"B2 VI/6". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 115-16, nos 195-206, pl. XVIII). *Obverse*. Like that of the "**B2 VI**" silver coin. *Reverse*. In the middle, a big tamgha **T3**.

"B2 VII". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 116, nos 207-9, pl. XVIII). *Obverse*. Portrait of a bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown shaped like a roundish *kulāh* and decorated above his forehead with a crescent (rearside down). Within the crescent are three pellets placed in the shape of a triangle. *Reverse*. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him **T4** (sic!). The badly corrupt Greek legend looks more like an ornament. To the right and under the horseman is the Khwarezmian legend *bywrsr MLK'* (Biwarsar King). Weight: not given, about 8.64, 9.1g. Diameter: 30.5, 27, 31mm. (fig 10). The coin weighing 8.64 g could be a didrachm.



"**B2 VII/7**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 116, nos 210-217, pl. XVIII). Obverse. like that of the "**B2 VI**" and "**B2 VI/6**" coins. Reverse. In the middle, a big tamgha **T4** (sic!).

Vainberg dated Biwarsar's coins to the time after Wazamar, i.e. after the beginning of the 4th c. I would rather date coins of Biwarsar to the first third of the 4th c. AD.

"**B2 VIII**". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 117, no. 218, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Portrait of a bearded king facing right (face in profile, shoulders in full view). The king has a Khwarezmian crown shaped like a *kulāh* but different from the preceding types. Reverse. A royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him **T4**. The badly corrupt Greek legend looks more like an ornament VAVA. To the right and under the horseman is the Khwarezmian legend *k/r wy MLK'* (Kawi?/Rawi? King). Weight 11.16g. Diameter 31mm. (fig 11).



"**B2 VII/8**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 117, no. 219-226, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Like that of the "**B2 VII**" coin. Reverse. In the middle, a big tamgha **T4**.

Vainberg (1977, 55) found it difficult to date the coins of Khwarezmshah Kawi. But using archaeological data, she placed them after the coins of Biwarsar.

"**B2 /9**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55, 117-119, nos 227-264, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king with a *kulāh*-shaped crown with crescent above the forehead. Sometimes there are three pellets within the crescent. Reverse. In the middle, a swastika-shaped tamgha **T7**. Around it the Khwarezmian legend *sy'wtr (?)... MLK'*. Vainberg (1977, 55) noted that, because of the tamgha, these coins may be "placed near the coins of Wazamar" but that these coins differ from those of Wazamar "in the type of flan and style of the image" as well as in the style of the legend engraved in the "smallest lettering used in the Khwarezmian coinage". I believe that these coins were struck by a ruler of the same appanage which was ruled by Wazamar, but before Wazamar became Khwarezmshah. I would also like to recall here that the crown of Biwarsar (who succeeded Wazamar) was also decorated with a crescent with three pellets within.

"**B2 /10**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 119-121, nos 265-319, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king in a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its legs tucked under it. Reverse. In the middle, a big tamgha **T1**.

"**B2 /11**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 121-122, nos 320-350, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king in a *kulāh*-shaped crown with a crescent above the forehead. It is the same type of crown as on "**B2 /9**" coins. Reverse. In the middle, tamgha **T1**, as on "**B2 /10**" coins.

One wonders whether "**B2 /9**", "**B2 /10**" and "**B2 /11**" coins were struck from mismatched dies or whether they were coins minted by different (appanage) rulers?

"**B2 /12**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 122-123, nos 351-380, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king in a *kulāh*-shaped crown with crescent. Reverse. In the middle, a pellet. Around it, the legend

s'nb'r MLK'. Vainberg (1977, 56) wrote that, from archaeological data, coins of Sanbar were minted later than those of Wazamar and coins of "**B2 /10**" and "**B2 /11**" type.

"**B2 /13**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 123-125, nos 381-426, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king in a falcon-shaped crown (like that of Wazamar). Reverse. Circular legend *r'st MLK'* (Rast King). One such coins was struck over a coin of Sanbar.

"**B2 /14**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 125-7, nos 427-89, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of king with a crown (shaped like a truncated cone turned upside-down?). Reverse. In the middle, "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8**. Circular legend *sy'wspr@ MLK'* (Siawsp[a?]rsh King). According to Livshits this name meant "(Possessing) black stallions" or "Black-stallioned".

"**B2 /15**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 127-130, nos 490-563, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of king with a crown, shaped like a truncated cone turned upside-down, with a flap covering the neck. Reverse. In the middle, "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8**.

"**B2 /16**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56, 130-131, nos 564-601, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of a king in a *kulāh*-shaped crown with a crescent above the king's forehead. Reverse. "Irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8**.

The "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8** first appeared on copper coins of Wazamar "**B2 V/5**" type). It was placed near the Khwarezmian state tamgha **T4**. I believe this coin was minted in the name of Wazamar by an appanage ruler who placed his tamgha **T8** (or that of his appanage) near the Khwarezmian state tamgha **T4**. The appanage dynasty of the "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8** continued after Wazamar. Different portraits and crowns on the coins of types "**B2 /14**", "**B2 /15**" and "**B2 /16**" indicate that there were at least three appanage rulers with the "irregular triskelion" tamgha **T8**. The coin of type "**B2 V/5**" may have been struck by the fourth representative of this appanage dynasty. It is very interesting that the "irregular triskelion" tamgha of the type close to the **T8** of Khwarezmian coins is found on one coin struck in Chach (Baratova 1999, 247, Abb. 3, 33). E. V. Rtveldzde read on this coin of Chach the Sogdian legend *č'čnk γwβw twrk(?)*, i.e. "Turk(?) Lord of Chach". If his reading is correct this coin provides interesting information. The Turks subjugated Khwarezm around 555 AD (when they reached "the Western Sea", i.e. the Aral Sea) and Chach around 563 AD before the all-out battle with the Hephthalites (Gafurov 1972, 215, 217). It is not clear, however, whether the "irregular triskelion" type tamghas belonged to the Turks or to the ancient rulers of Chach. Bearing in mind that the "irregular triskelion" type tamgha **T8** first appeared on coins struck under Wazamar (the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th c. AD) I think the "irregular triskelion" type tamghas belonged to some tribes (and dynasties) that existed in Central Asia before the advent of the Turks.

"**B2 /17**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 131-133, nos 602-652, pl. XVII). Obverse. Head of king in a *kulāh*-shaped(?) crown (but different from the preceding types) with a crescent above the king's forehead. Reverse. Tamgha **T10** ("C"-shaped, rearside down, upper part, "W"-shaped pedestal).

Vainberg (1977, 57) thought that "**B2 /17**" was either synchronous with types "**B2 /14-16**" or preceded them.

"**B2 /18**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 134, nos 653-671, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Head of a king in a *kulāh*-shaped(?) crown (but different from the preceding types) with a crescent above the king's forehead. Reverse. Tamgha **T9** ("C"-shaped, rearside down, upper part, "S"-shaped (horizontal) pedestal). Vainberg (1977, 57) thought that "**B2 /18**" was rather later than "**B2 /19**". So it is not clear why she placed "**B2 /18**" before "**B2 /19**".

"**B2 /19**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 134-137, nos 653-733, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Head of a king in a *kulāh*-shaped(?) crown (different from the preceding types) with a crescent above the king's forehead. Reverse. No tamgha, only the legend *w/z y k/r*. Livshits read it as "Wir" ("Man").

"**B2 /20**". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 137-138, nos 734-761, pl. XVIII). Obverse. No tamgha, only the legend *'rt'w* (Artaw,

Righteous). Reverse. Blank. The same name 'rt'w MLK' is on the silver coins of type "B1 II" which Vainberg placed before Wazamar (the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th c. AD). Vainberg was quite positive that both the silver and copper coins with the name "Artaw" were minted by the same ruler. So it is strange that she placed "B2 /20" coins after the coins of Wazamar, Biwarsar, Sanbar and many others. Especially since she wrote that the "B2 /20" series was one of the first issues of copper Khwarezmian coins (some of them were struck over Kushan copper coins).

"B2 /21". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 139, nos 762-768, pl. XVIII). Obverse. No tamgha, only the legend 'rt'w (Artaw, Righteous), the letter t being written retrograde. Reverse. Blank.

Type "B2 /21" brings the "B" series to an end.

Group "B" comprises coins of one ruler. It differs from all the preceding coins by the absence of the Greek legend (or rather what was left of it by that time). But the Khwarezmian legend still is of the old type "Name + MLK'".

"B I". Silver. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 139, nos 769-770, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Bearded king in a *kulāh*-shaped crown with a crescent above his forehead. Within the crescent, three pellets, triangle-like. Reverse. Stylised image of a royal horseman trotting to the right. Behind him, tamgha T4. The circular legend was read by Livshits as t w/y t w/y hs MLK' (Tutuhas? king). Weight 6.77, 6.24g. Diameter 28.2, 29mm. (fig 12).



"B I/1". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 139-140, nos 771-800, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Bearded king (facing right, as is usual with Khwarezmian coins) wearing a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its leg tucked under it. Reverse. In the middle, a composition of five pellets placed "X"-like (one in the centre, others to the sides of it). The circular legend contains the king's name.

"B I/2". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 140-141, nos 801-809, pl. XVIII). Obverse. The name of the king. Reverse. In the middle, a big tamgha T4.

"B I/3". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57, 141, 810-815, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Bearded king (facing right, as usual) wearing a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its leg tucked under it. Reverse. In the middle, a big tamgha T4. It is not out of the question that type "B I/3" is a hybrid struck from the obverse die of type "B I/1" and the reverse die of type "B I/2".

There is a group of copper coins that could belong either to group "B" or "B". Vainberg (1977, 58) designated them group "B, B".

"B, B/1". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 58, 141-142, nos 816-858, pl. XVIII). Obverse. King (facing right) in a *kulāh*-shaped crown with a crescent above his forehead. Reverse. Big "S"-shaped tamgha T6. Vainberg (1977, 58) wrote: "it is tempting to attribute these coins to the coinage of Artamuh (i.e. Ārtamush), on whose coins ("B1 III, IV)" there was the same tamgha, but the smaller size and weight of the coins as well as the strongly stylised images, characteristic of late "B2" issues, speaks against it".

"B, B/2". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 58, 143-145, nos 859-910, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Blank. Reverse. A big tamgha T4. Some of these coins are struck over Kushan coins of Kujula Kadphises, Vima Kadphises and some others (badly effaced). It is interesting that the edges of some Kushan coins were cut away in order to make the flans smaller. Also some "B, B/2" coins are struck over Parthian coins, probably those of king Sanabares. Some "B, B/2" coins are, in turn, host coins for coins of type "B2/20". "If our comparison of "B2/20" coins with the coins of Artaw ("B1 II") is

correct", Vainberg wrote (1977, 58), "then one may conclude that "B, B/2" coins were connected with the silver coins of type "B1 II" and were the first attempt at copper coinage in Khwarezm". Vainberg wrote that the fact that quite a lot of "B, B/2" coins were struck over imported (Kushan) coins substantiates her opinion that "B, B/2" coins were the first attempt by the Khwarezmians to strike their own copper coinage in Khwarezm.

"B, B/3". Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 58, 146, nos 911-918, pl. XVIII). Obverse. Portrait of a king (head turned to the left, shoulders in full view) wearing a diadem with a crescent above the king's forehead. Within the crescent there are three pellets in the shape of a triangle. To my knowledge, this is the only case so far in the coinage of Khwarezm where the king is facing left. Reverse. A large tamgha T4. The influence of Parthian coinage here is unquestionable because, firstly, the king is facing left as on Parthian coins, and, secondly, the king has a Parthian hair-style.

Vainberg (1977, 58) considered that type "B, B/3" was one of the earliest issues of Khwarezmian copper coins.

Metrology.

Silver coins

"A I" (last third of 2nd c. BC) - 15.6g, 32mm. "A II" (1st c. BC) - 13.6g, 35mm. "A III" (1st c. AD) - 13.1g, 31mm, 9.73g (chipped), 31mm. So the weight of the first Khwarezmian coins (imitating the tetradrachms of the Graeco-Bactrian king, Eucratides) was close to the Attic tetradrachm (till the beginning of the 1st c. BC). Then (in the beginning of 1st c. BC) it was reduced (13.6g) and stayed that way (13.1g) in the 1st c. AD. The coin weighing 13.1 g is a tridrachm (4.366 x 3 = 13.098).

"B". Comprises subgroups "B1" and "B2". "B1 I" (second half of the 1st c. AD) - 8.25g, 6.65g (both coins chipped), 30, 29.5 mm. "B1 II" (no date, king Artaw) - 10.5g, 34mm. "B1 III" (no date, king Ārtamush) - 11.75g, 31mm. "B1 IV" (no date) - 11.62g, 32mm. So between the beginning of the 2nd c. AD and the last third of the 3rd c. AD the weight of silver coins was reduced again and they weighed between 10.5 and 11.75g. "B2 V" (last third of the 3rd c. AD, king Wazamar) - 9.85, 8, 6.35 (chipped) g, 31.5, 31, 30mm. So in the time of Wazamar (the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th c. AD) the weight of the coins was reduced to 8-9.85g. "B2 VI" (king Biwarsar) - 5.96g, 27mm. "B2 VII" (no date) about 8.64, no weight, 9.1g, 30.5, 31, 27mm. "B2 VIII" (king K/Rwz) - 11.6, 9.1, 8.64g, 31mm. Coins of "B2 VI", "B2 VII" and "B2 VIII" series fall in the period between the 4th and 6th c. In fact, "B2 VI" series, judging by its weight and size, should be later than the "B2 VII" and "B2 VIII" series. The coin of type "B2 VI" (5.96g, 27mm) is close to serie "B I" (6.24-6.77g, 28-29mm).

Series "B I" (no date, king Tutuhas?) - 6.77, 6.24g, 28-29mm. A further reduction in weight.

Copper coins

Initially, Khwarezm did not have its own copper coins and imported, mainly Kushan, coins were used. Then Khwarezmian countermarks appeared on them, and then they were overstruck with Khwarezmian dies. After that, the sporadic striking of Khwarezmian copper coins began. The massive and regular minting of copper coins in Khwarezm series "B2 V/1-5" started under Wazamar, at the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th c. AD, (Vainberg 1977, 55, 67-69). Khwarezmian copper coins were minted *al marco*, i.e. a certain amount of coins were struck from a certain amount of metal.

Abbreviations: D-diameter, CFW- comparatively frequent weights, MFW-more frequent weights, MG-main group of coins.

"B 2 V/1": 0.9-5.82g. MG 1.1-3.5g. MFW 1.4, 1.9-2, 2.4-2.5, 3.3g. D 10-19mm, 13-14mm prevails.

"B 2 V/2": 0.9-3g. MFW 1.4, 1.7, 2.1-2.2, 2.5g. D 10.5-18mm, 13-15mm prevails.

"B 2 V/3": 1.15-4.76g. MG 2.55-3.9g. CFW 2.8, 3.4g. D 13-19mm, 14-16mm prevails.

"B 2 V/4": 1.3-5g. MG 2.3-3.8g. CFW 2.5, 3.2, 3.8g. D 10-18mm, 13-16mm prevails.
 "B 2 V/5": 3.25g. D 18mm.
 "B 2 VI/6": 0.62, 0.67, 1.57, 1.66, 1.88, 2, 2.14, 2.66, 2.83, 3.4g. D 8.5-17mm, 13-14.5mm prevails.
 "B 2 VII/7": 1.82, 1.86, 2, 2.1, 2.22, 2.3, 2.37, 2.43g. MG 2.05-2.43g. D 12-15mm, 13-15 prevails.
 "B 2 VIII/8": 1.65, 2.1, 2.24, 2.68, 3.26, 3.37, 3.5, 4.6g. MG 2.1-3.5g. D 11-20, 13-14mm prevails.
 The copper coins then grew lighter.
 "B 2/9": 0.3-2g. MG 0.4-1.2g. MFW 0.6-0.7, 0.9-1g. D 9.5-18mm, 10-11.5mm prevails.
 "B 2/10": 1.1-3.76g. MG 1.3-2.75g. MFW 1.4-1.5, 1.8mm. D 10-18.3mm, 13-15mm prevails.
 "B 2/11": 0.47-2.99g. MG 1.2-2.83g. MFW 1.3, 2.8g. D 9-16mm, 13-14mm prevails.
 "B 2/12": 0.97-5.12g. MG 1.2-2.9g. MFW 1.7 g. D 12-17mm, 13-14mm prevails.
 "B 2/13": 0.65-4.2g. MG 1.2-3.44g. MFW 1.4, 1.7-1.8, 2.7, 3.4g. D 12-17mm, 13-14.5mm prevails.
 "B 2/14": 0.61-3.15g. MG 0.61-2.62g. MFW 1.2-1.8g. D 10-15mm, 12-14mm prevails.
 "B 2/15": 0.4-3.1g. MG 0.4-2.2g. MFW 0.7-1.1, 1.4g. D 10-13mm, 10-12mm prevails.
 "B 2/16": 0.79-3.61g. MG 1.1-2.2g. MFW 1.1, 1.4g. D 10-17mm, 11-15mm prevails.
 "B 2/17": 0.5-2.52g. MG 0.5-1.8g. MFW 0.6, 0.8-1.1g. D 9-14mm, 10-12mm prevails.
 "B 2/18": 0.5-1.9g. MFW 1.3g. D 10-13mm, 10-12mm prevails.
 "B 2/19": 0.55-2.25g. MG 0.7-1.9g. MFW 0.9, 1.1-1.2g. D 8.3-13.5mm, 10-12mm prevails.
 "B 2/20": 0.89-4.7g. MG 1.5-3.22g. MFW 1.5g. D 12-20mm, 15-15.3mm prevails.
 "B 2/21": 2.17, 2.41, 2.46, 2.57, 2.6, 3.24, 3.28g. D 12-15mm, 13.5-14mm prevails.
 "B I/1": 0.52-4.96g. MG 1-2.6g. MFW 1.5, 1.8, 2.4g. D 11.4-16.2mm, 12-13mm prevails
 "B I/2": 2.02, 2.68, 2.98, 3.07, 3.19, 3.2g. D 11-13mm, 12-13mm prevails.
 "B I/3": 1.72, 1.9, 1.94, 1.96, 2.25, 2.8g. D 11.5-13.5mm, 13-13.5mm prevails.

At first glance the weight of Khwarezmian copper coins appears somewhat chaotic. But it is possible to trace a system there. There was such a thing as the **Intended Average Weight - IAW**. As mentioned above, Khwarezmian coppers were minted *al marco*. If 100 or 300 coins were struck from 450g of copper, the **IAW** should be 4.5 or 1.5g. Coins of the **IAW**, or close to it, were more frequent than others. In 20 out of 24 series of ancient Khwarezmian copper coins there were coins of 1.4 plus/minus 0.15g (1.25, 1.4, 1.55g). And in 11 out of 20 series such coins were in the **MFW** group. In early-mediaeval Sogd there existed for bronze coins a system of **IAW**s comprising a main unit (**MU**) and its multiples: **MU**, 2 **MU**, 3 **MU**, 4 **MU**, 5 **MU**. If the **IAW** for the **MU** of Khwarezmian copper coins was 1.4g plus/minus 0.15g, then the **IAW** for the next **MU** should be (1.25, 1.4, 1.55) x 2 = 2.5, 2.8, 3.1g. Indeed in 21 out of 24 series there were coins weighing between 2.4-3.3g (2.4-2.5g are more frequent but that is understandable, bearing in mind that coins lost weight in circulation). And in 7 out of 21 series such coins were in the **MFW** or **CFW** group. Then the next **IAW** should be (1.25, 1.4, 1.55g) x 3 = 3.75, 4.2, 4.65g. Such heavy coins are found in 9 series, some coins weighing between 3.7-3.9 and 4.2-4.6g (very close to the calculated **IAW**). The next **IAW** would be (1.25, 1.4, 1.55g) x 4 = 5, 5.6, 6.2g. Indeed there are coins weighing 4.96, 5, 5.12, 5.8g. Bearing in mind that Khwarezmian copper coins were minted *al marco* and lost some weight in circulation due to wear, one ought not to expect 100% coincidence.

Khwarezmian silver coins were of solid metal (no scholar of ancient Khwarezmian numismatics ever mentioned that they were

subaerati). Khwarezmian coins of small denominations were mostly copper (not bronze). Gold coins are not known. The coins were struck (not cast in moulds). Some (mainly appanage) rulers minted only copper coins.

Various foreign coins have been found in Khwarezm. Vainberg (1977, 106-185) listed in her catalogue 1417 Khwarezmian and 115 foreign coins (in all 1532). So foreign coins make up 7.5%. The earliest are 2 Graeco-Bactrian coins (silver and copper) of Eucratides (171-155 BC) and 3 copper coins of the Bosphorus kingdom struck between 250-200 BC, 93-123 AD, and 123-132 AD. Most numerous are Kushan coppers (89 or 77.4% of foreign coins). There are 3 Parthian, 4 Kushano-Sasanian copper coins, 4 silver and 1 copper Sasanian coins, 1 Bukharan, 3 Paikendian and 3 Sogdian bronze coins, 1 silver and 1 copper Tokharistan coin, 1 bronze Chach coin. They provide some information about Khwarezm's trade relations with contemporary foreign states.

Coins of the Achaemenids, Alexander the Great and the Seleucids have not been found in Khwarezm. But of course a certain amount of Achaemenid (and other) coins were brought to Khwarezm by merchants and Khwarezmian mercenaries serving in Achaemenid armies (Greek mercenaries in Achaemenid armies according to Xenophon (Ksenofont 1951, 18) were paid 1-1.5 darics a month) but such coins were used as ingots of precious metal or jewellery. One may speak about the regular money circulation and a cash economy in ancient Khwarezm only from the time (the second half of the 2nd c. BC) when the Khwarezmians started to mint their own coinage. Before that, trade in Khwarezm was served by so called "primitive money": metal ingots or articles (bronze arrowheads, for instance), corn, sheep, cattle, pelts, pieces of cotton and wool fabrics etc.

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List of abbreviations

- AMIT *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran and Turan*
- HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Society*
- NC *The Numismatic Chronicle*
- PS *Palestinskii Sbornik*
- PV *Problemy Vostokovedeniia*
- RN *Revue numismatique*
- SONAT *Sotsialisticheskaiia nauka i tekhnika*
- VKF AN *UzSSr Vestnik Karakalpakskogo Filiala AN UzSSR*
- ZVORAO *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*

A New Sho-kang from Tibet

By Nicholas Rhodes & Alexander Lissanevitch



Fig.1



Fig.2

The coins of Tibet have been collected and studied in detail for many years, so it is surprising that a new type can turn up even now in Lhasa. The coin illustrated above as Fig.1 was discovered recently in Lhasa¹, and is completely new and unexpected, although because of some damage from wear, the attribution is not completely clear.

The flan size, weight, and obverse type is very similar to the 2.5 sKar (Y.16.1) from the Do-de Mint, although we have yet to find a precise obverse die duplicate. An example of Y.16.1 dated 15-52 is shown as Fig.2 for comparison. We have not weighed the new piece, but it appears to weigh about 5g.

The reverse, however, is rather different, in that it has a *Norbu*, or jewel, in the centre², and the legend around reads *Rabbyung 15 Lo 5[1 Sho]-gang* (15th cycle, 51st year [or 1917 AD], Sho-gang). The second digit of date is not clear due to wear and poor striking, but we can just read it as a '1' with close study³. The first letter of the denomination is also unclear, but can only be *Sho*,

as the word *gang*, meaning 'one' is clear. This denomination is completely unexpected for this date, as the coin in Fig.1 is four times the denomination of the similar coin in Fig.2. Later in 15-52 (1918 AD) the weight of the copper coins was reduced by a factor of four, and some of the old 2.5 sKar pieces were restruck as 1 Sho coins. This new piece may have been an unaccepted pattern struck in the year before the new lightweight copper coins were finally issued. Probably, it was then taken and spent by a mint employee, accounting for its worn condition.

¹This coin was first seen by Wolfgang Bertsch in a private collection in Lhasa around 1999. Our thanks to Wolfgang Bertsch for this information.

²The reverse design is somewhat similar to the copper coins dated 15-43 (Y.10) but differs in that this new piece has a circle of pellets around the double circle around the *Norbu*.

³Interestingly, most known specimens of the 2.5 sKar dated 15-51 also have the last digit of the date unclear due to poor striking, but this is not a die-duplicate of any such piece.

Two Coins of the Safavid Ruler, Isma'il I

1. A shāhī of Kāzerūn



Kāzerūn is a town in Fars, south-west Iran, about 70 miles west of Shīrāz and situated in an agricultural region. Coins were struck there under the Muzaffarids, Timurids and Aq Quyunlu. Coins are also known for a few years during the reign of the second Safavid ruler, Tahmasp I. This coin of Isma'il I (AH 907-930) is a shāhī, weighing 9.3 g. On the obverse, within the cartouche is the simple legend *isma'il shāh zarb kāzīrūn*. In the margin, only partly visible, are his titles. The reverse has the Shia' *kalima* in a square, with the names of the 12 *rashidun* in the margins. There is no date visible.

1. A shāhī of Shīrāz of year 914



Shīrāz, the capital of the province of Fars was a prolific mint prior to its occupation by the Safavids but its issues under Isma'il I are rather sporadic. Those usually seen are dated 928; there is one in the Tübingen University collection dated 908. The present coin is dated 914. On the obverse it has *isma'il shāh 914* in the mihrab-shaped cartouche, with the ruler's titles around, while, on the reverse, it has *'adl shīrāz* in the quadrifoil cartouche with the Shia' *kalima* around within a wavy border. The coin weighs 9.3 g.

It is interesting to note that the full-weight shāhī continued in use in Shīrāz in the year 928 whereas elsewhere its weight had been reduced to 7.9 g.

	Ahmad Shah Durrani	Solar Regnal Years	Peshawar	Kabul	Ahmadshahi	Multan	Ahmadnagar Farrukhabad	Kashmir	Dera	Lunar Regnal Years	Lahore	Shahjahanabad	Attock	Bhakkar
H														
1160	1	X		1						1	1			
1161	2	2								2				
1162	2	2							2	3				(3)
1163	3			(3)						3	4			(3)
1164	3	3		(3)						4	4			4
1164	4									5				
1165	4	(4)								5	5			5
1165	5			(5)		5			5	6				
1166	5	5		(5)		5			5	6				
1166	6	6				6		6	6	7				7
1167	6					6		6	6	7				
1167	7	7				7		7	7	8				
1168	7					7		7	7	8				8
1168	8			(8)		8		8	8	9			(9)	
1169	8	(9)				8		8	9	9			(9)	9
1169	9					9		9	9	10				X
1170	9	10				9		9	10	10	10			X
1170	10	10		10	(10)	10		10	10	11	11		11	X
1171	10				(10)					11				
1171	11	11		X	11				11	12				X
1172	11									12			12	
1172	12	12			12				13	13			(13)	X
1173	12									13				
1173	13				13				13	14			(13)	X
1174	13									14				
1174	14	(14)		X				14	14	14			14	X
1175	14	(14)						14	14	15			14	X
1175	15	(15)						15	15	15			15	X
1176	15	(15)					15	15	16	16				X
1176	16	16						16	16	16				X
1177	16							16	17	17				X
1177	17	17			17			16	17	17				X
1178	17							17	18	18				X
1178	18	(18)		18	18			18	19	19			19	X
1179	18	(18)						18	19	19		(19)	19	X
1179	19	(19)		19				19	20	20			X	(20)
1180	19	(19)						19	20	20			X	(20)
1180	20				20			20	21	21			20	(20)
1181	20							20	21	21			21	X
1181	21				21			21	22	22			21	X
1182	21							21	22	22			22	X
1182	22	(22)		22	22			22	23	23			22	X
1183	22	(22)						22	23	23			23	X
1183	23	23						23	24	24			23	X
1184	23							23	24	24			24	X
1184	24	24						24	25	25			24	X
1185	24							24	25	25			25	X
1185	25	25						25	26	26			25	X
1186	25							25	26	26			26	X
1186	26	26						26	27	27			27	X

The regnal years of Ahmad Shah and Taimur Shah Durrani

When publishing Alan DeShazo's article in Newsletter 180 we inadvertently omitted the table relating to the issues of Ahmad Shah and included that relating to Taimur Shah twice. We apologise to the author for this oversight and reproduce the Ahmad Shah table here. Please copy this table and associate the copy with the rest of the article in Newsletter 180.

The Coins of the Bombay Presidency The Mints of the Northern District

By Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

Earlier papers have addressed numismatic aspects of the Concan and the Deccan during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Those papers also provided some background to the transitional mints of the Bombay Presidency and the reader is referred to those for that information¹. The current paper addresses the areas referred to in the records as the Northern Districts, containing Surat and Broach, whose mints had fallen under British control soon after 1800 (or even earlier in the case of Broach), and Ahmedabad, which mostly came under British control in 1817.

Other authors have discussed coins from these mints, notably Pridmore discussed the Surat mint² and Masters the mint at Ahmedabad³. Wiggins has also discussed the activities of the EIC in Ahmedabad^{2a}. However further information has come to light that is worthy of publication and this is the subject of the present paper.

Map of Mints of the Northern District of Bombay



Ahmedabad

Ahmad Shah I, sovereign of the independent state of Gujarat founded the city of Ahmedabad in AD 1411 and it became the capital. Akbar annexed Gujarat in 1572/3 and from then on Ahmedabad was an important mint town of the Moghuls, the majority of the emperors having coins struck there.

Moghul rule continued until the end of the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur. The city was then taken by the Marathas who, in 1755, were ejected by a Moghul army under Momin Khan, who restored the rule of the Emperor, at least nominally. In 1757 Momin Khan surrendered Ahmedabad to the Marathas, an event that ended all Moghul connection with the place. Between 1757 and 1817 the city was either in the hands of the Marathas or held on lease by the Gaikwars of Baroda. In 1817 there was an agreement between the Gaikwar and the British to hand over Ahmedabad to the latter. This was duly implemented and the British took over the city including the mint⁴.

However, the British had been established in the city for many years before 1817. A Company of 32 Englishmen, led by Mr Aldworth had arrived at Ahmedabad in 1613 and a house had

been bought and a factory established in 1614⁵, but they had not obtained any right to coin money. They were obliged, therefore, to have their bullion coined at the local mint and several references exist in the records concerning the problems that this caused^{6,7}.

After the British took control of the city in 1817, the Collector, Mr. Dunlop, found the mint closed and the supply of circulating medium so low as seriously to impede trade⁸. This is confirmed in a letter from Dunlop to Government in which he proposed to abolish a nominal currency called 'Aunt' (sometimes spelt Ant) and in which he explained the background to the problem. He stated that in 1780/81 the mint had been closed and sicca rupees had become scarce, so the merchants resorted to transfers in each other's books as a method of mutual payment. This was referred to as 'dealing in aunt'. In 1805/06 this had been prohibited and this prohibition had continued all the time that sicca rupees were available. However, the mint had been closed again (no date given) and dealing in 'aunt' had restarted and still continued in 1818 when Dunlop wrote the letter⁹.

Dunlop appears to have re-opened the mint in December 1817, because the records show the mint output for the first few months of operation although not the exact denominations coined¹⁰:

Amount of Silver Coin Produced at Ahmedabad

Month	Value (Rs.Qtrs.Raes)
Dec 1817	95067.2.-
Jan 1818	211556.3.30
Feb 1818	218083.2.98
Mar 1818	206785.-.-
Apr 1818	205668.2.-
May 1818	177324.-.-
Jun 1818	150124.2.-

In February 1818¹¹ the Mint Committee in Bombay, whilst agreeing with Dunlop's actions in restarting the mint, suggested that the Judge and Magistrate at Ahmedabad should visit the mint two or three times a month and indiscriminately take a few coins and send them for assay at Bombay. Thenceforth this provided the means of controlling the quality of the coins issued from the mint. In October 1818, the Mint Committee recommended that the coinage should continue but the Financial Committee resolved that the Ahmedabad authorities should be asked for their opinion on the necessity for this, given that a new uniform coinage (for Bombay) would soon be issued following the installation of a new mint at Bombay¹². Of course, the new Bombay mint did not actually become operational until the 1830s, when a steam-driven mint started operations, but, in 1818, consideration was being given to the possibility of building a local machine-driven mint¹³.

As far as the copper coinage was concerned, Dunlop found that there was a shortage in 1818, but that this was caused by the shroffs deliberately taking the coins out of circulation. He therefore immediately began striking copper pice at the mint, with the effect that the hoarded copper was released into the market and minting was stopped¹⁴. Wiggins has discussed the copper coinage of Ahmedabad^{2a}. He believed that copper pice were only struck dated 1234 and 1236 and that those given the date 1233 (1817/18), by Masters, were the result of an incorrect reading because this date was too early for the EIC. However the letter from Dunlop (above) would seem to refute this and coins dated 1233 are included in the catalogue (indeed Wiggins had one of these in his collection, so his view may have changed since writing the paper). Pice dated 1232 and sold in the Noble sale (see catalogue below for ref.) must be pre-EIC or may be a mis-reading. Unfortunately, there were no photos of these coins in the sale catalogue. Coins dated 1235 have been reported by Masters and in the Noble sale so this date is included in the catalogue.

In 1819 the standard for the Ahmedabad rupee was established by the Assay Master at Bombay¹⁵

'I am not aware that the professed standard weight in troy grains or quantity of pure silver in the Ahmedabad sicca rupees has hitherto been declared,; perhaps the best standard would be weight 181 troy grains and purity or touch 85 1/8 per cent. Each coin would thus contain 154 grains and a small fraction of no importance, of pure silver. I suggest this standard because it is very nearly the actual average of the coins of last year.'

There are further references to the results of assays of the coins from the Ahmedabad mint in 1821¹⁶, and in 1828 the Collector was able to report¹⁷

'...there is no other coin current in this collectorate except the Ahmedabad sicca rupees which are always received in revenue payments and struck by the Government at this place.'

No record of the date of final closure of the Ahmedabad mint has been traced. By 1832 the mint had stopped producing copper coins because a proclamation was issued in that year concerning the rate of exchange of the new Bombay quarter annas for the old Ahmedabad pice¹⁸.

'The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to give notice that the old pice called Ahmedabad, being genuine coin and not counterfeits, shall continue until further orders to be current throughout the several Purgannahs comprizing the Ahmedabad collectorate and will at all times be exchangeable for the new copper currency to the extent of the supply in the revenue treasuries of the district and Sudder station at the rate noticed below.

Sixty new quarter anna pice for 68 Ahmedabad pice.'

Rupees and half rupees exist dated 1249 (1833/34) so the mint cannot have been closed before then, and Masters lists coins dated 1250 and 1251 so the mint may have continued in operation until 1835.

The coins themselves consist of silver rupees and copper pice dated from 1817 to 1834. The silver coins come in two varieties, one with the date to the right and above the top line on the obverse, the other with the date to the left and below the top line on the obverse. There is also a small gold coin that appears to emanate from this mint. The weight of the three known examples (3.07g, 3.0g and 3.10g) is less than would be expected if the coin was denominated as one-third of a mohur (3.6-3.9g) and more than that of a quarter mohur (2.7-2.9g). A possible explanation is that these three coins are third-mohurs and that the low weight can be accounted for by some event in their lives such as mounting into jewellery and subsequent removal causing loss of metal.

Gold and Silver Coins of the Ahmedabad Mint

Obverse: A Persian legend: *sikka mubarak bādshāh ghāzī muḥammad akbar shāh (AH date)* = the auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shah (AH date)

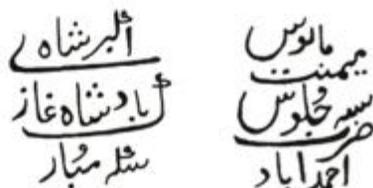
Reverse: A Persian legend: *zarb Ahmadabad sanah (ry) julūs maimanat mānūs* = Struck at Ahmedabad in his (Ry) year of tranquil prosperity

Edge: Plain

Weight (g): Gold 1/3 Mohur: 3.07-3.10; Silver Rupee: 11.43-11.78 Half Rupee: 5.76-5.84; Quarter Rupee: 2.83; Eighth Rupee: 1.44-1.46.

Diameter (mm): Gold 1/3 Mohur: 14.2-15.5; Silver Rupee: 20.7-24.3; Half Rupee: 17.3-19.7; Quarter Rupee: 14.4-14.9; Eighth Rupee: 12.5-13.9.

Script for Gold and silver coins



Gold Third Mohur



Silver Rupee (date above line). Variety A



Silver Rupee (date below line). Variety B



Full Flan Strike of Rupee in Copper



Silver Half Rupee



Silver Quarter Rupee



Silver Eighth Rupee



Copper Coins of the Ahmedabad Mint

Obverse: A Persian legend:

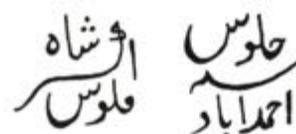
Reverse: A Persian legend:

Edge: Plain

Weight (g): Pice: 7.33-7.94

Diameter (mm): Pice: 21.4-22.2

Script for Copper coins



Copper Pice



Broach

The port of Broach on the river Namada is a town of great antiquity and was an important centre of trade and commerce for a considerable time until superseded in importance by Surat. Broach was never a mint of the Moghul emperors. In the eighteenth century it was part of the private estate of the Governor of Gujarat.

A mint was established at Broach during the time of the second Nawab, Nek Alam Khan II, by permission of the emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur (1748-1754). Whether coins were issued at Broach in the names of Ahmad Shah or Alamgir II is questionable for none appear to have been published. The first issue appears to be in the name of Shah Alam II (1759-1806). In 1772 the Nawab of Broach was deposed by the East India Company whose army took the city, the belief being that the Nawab was in alliance with the Gaikwars who had designs on the Company's territory.

In 1782, by virtue of the treaty of Salbye, the Company made over the port of Broach to Sindhia of Gwalior.

Jambusir, a few miles to the north of Broach, was occupied by the British from 1775 to 1783 and contained a mint that issued coins during this time^{20a}. Coins struck between 1772 and 1782 fall into the British series but later coins do not²⁰. Coins may have been issued from the mint at Jambusir but whether or not they were also issued from a mint in Broach, itself, is not clear.

In 1803, after the treaty of Bassein, Broach once again became a possession of the EIC.

Silver Coins

No direct reference to mints operating in Broach under the British, during the period 1772-1782, has been found in the EIC records. However, there is a tangential reference in a record dated 1781^{20a}.

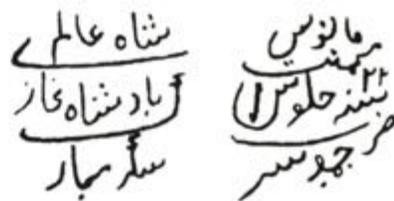
'The President acquainted the Board that there is a quantity of private silver on the island [Bombay] brought by the freight ships from the Gulf of Mocha and that it would be of the highest benefit to the place if such an advantage could be held out to the proprietors as would induce them to continue their bullion upon the island & convert it into Bombay currency, otherwise that they will as usual export it to Surat and Broach where it will yield a larger return from the mints'.

Although Jambusir features quite often in the EIC records, there is no mention of a mint operating. However, rupees have been reported with this mint-name and dated Ry 22 (1780/81)^{20b, 20c}. Kulkarni pointed out that this date could be fictitious and that the coin might be a Maratha coin of a different time. Nevertheless the coin has been included in the catalogue for the time being. The coins have a distinctive symbol in the letter *Sin* of *Julūs* on the reverse^{20d}.

Rupee from the Jambusir mint



Script for Jambusir Rupee



In 1803, the Company took over the mint at Broach and continued striking rupees *et infra* and copper coins. The coins formerly struck by the Nawabs had a flower as the predominant mark but the Company changed this to the cross of St. Thomas. Although the mark is often present on the coins, very few will be found to bear regnal years, which are almost always off the flan.

In a letter to the Bombay Government dated 31st October 1814, the Collector reported the value of rupees produced at Broach for each year from 1787 to 1803 under the control of Sindhia and then the value of those produced each year under British control²¹. This seems to establish clearly the years in which silver coins were produced at the Broach mint under EIC control with the silver mint being closed in 1814. A petition from local people to issue more silver rupees in 1820 was rejected by Government²².

Mintage of silver coins at the Broach mint, 1803-1809

Date	Value of Rupees (Rupee. Quarters)
1803	959,686
1804	1,469,700
1805	1,837,597
1806	355,686
1807	662,228.2
1808	-
1809	24,283

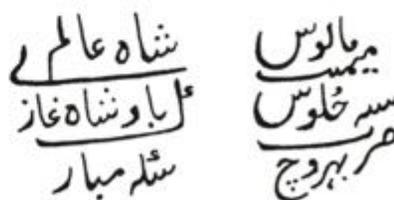
Silver Rupee

Obverse: A Persian legend: *sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī shāh 'ālam (AH date)* = the auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor Shah Alam (AH date). Coins issued from 1807 to 1809 may have the name of Muhammad Akbar, although none have been reported.

Reverse: A Persian legend: A Persian inscription: *zarb broach sanah (ry) julūs maimanat mānūs* = Struck at Broach in his (Ry) year of tranquil prosperity

Edge: Plain

Script for Silver Coins



Silver Rupee



Silver Half Rupee



Copper Coins

In 1820 a decision was taken to produce copper coins and to fix the exchange rate of pice at 64 to the rupee²³. By April of 1820 the Collector at Broach was able to report that he had received a response to his advertisement for a contract for a copper coinage and he sent examples of the pice to Bombay for their examination²⁴. The Assay Master at Bombay reported that the coins weighed 139 grains 15 dwt each and their manufacture was 'wretched in the extreme'²⁵. The Collector at Broach was ordered to stop their production immediately. However, in 1821 the Broach authorities were informed that they could restart the coinage of copper provided that the quality of coins was improved²⁶.

In 1824 a contract for the production of 7,000 rupees' worth of pice was granted to 'Chocksee Pranwallub Gokooldas, Ruseeckbhaee Bhugwandass, Khoosall Purmanund and Judgees Mungul Pahruck on similar terms to those of 1821'²⁷. However, too many pice had been produced in the Southern Concan²⁸, and a decision was made to ship these 'Bankote' pice to Broach to meet the need for copper coin, and the Collector was asked to withdraw from the contract that he had made. This he succeeded in doing, and the need for copper coin at Broach was met by the 'Bankote' pice for the next few years.

By 1827, there were no further pice left in the treasury of the Southern Concan and the Collector at Broach was instructed to issue a contract for the production of pice locally, again, under the same terms as those used in 1821²⁹. In 1828 the production of a further 10,000 rupees worth of pice was sanctioned³⁰.

In 1830 the Collector reported on the number of pice struck in the preceding three years³¹:

Value of Copper Pice produced at Broach

1827	May 31 st sanctioned 15,000 rupees-worth
1828	April 14 th sanctioned 10,000 rupees-worth
1829	April 11 th sanctioned 10,000 rupees-worth

A further 25,000 rupees-worth were authorised for production in 1830³², but with the opening of the new Bombay mint, the activities of the Broach mint were ordered to be stopped on 14 February 1831³³.

An interesting reference to the copper coins of Broach is found in a petition from the shroffs of Surat to the Bombay Government dated 1824³⁴.

'When a dispute arose sometime back, at Broach, concerning the pice of that place, Mr Prendergast ordered the pice of Broach to be stamped with the mark of the Sirkar, and from that time all disturbances concerning them ceased, and they were received as current'.

This implies that at least prior to 1824 some of the coins of Broach bore the 'mark of the Sirkar', probably the balemark of the Company.

Jan Lingen has reported the existence of copper coins of Baroda (not far from Broach) over-stamped on coins with the Company's balemark on both obv. and rev. One of these coins is dated 1244 (1828/29), a date that fits very well with the production of coins at Broach earlier in the century.

Picture of Balemark coin over-stamped with Baroda coin



Pridmore reported a copper coin bearing the Company's balemark on both obverse and reverse (Pr. 300) and he assigned it to the

Malabar Coast. Given the quote above, the fact that the copper coins of the Concan (bearing the Company's balemark) were so readily accepted at Broach, and the existence of Baroda coins over-stamped with the balemark of the Company, it seems reasonable to reassign this coin to Broach, with a probable date of issue sometime during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Copper Pice from the Broach Mint

Type 1

Obverse: Undetermined legend with the cross of St David prominently displayed.

Reverse: Undetermined

Edge: Plain

Type 1 Pice



Type 2

Obverse: Balemark of the EIC

Reverse: Balemark of the EIC

Edge: Plain

Type 2 Pice



Surat

When the British first arrived at Surat in 1612 there was no mint in the town. Commerce was conducted in foreign gold and silver coins for the first few years that the Company resided there. In fact, their first factory was established in what had previously been the local Moghul mint and which had been closed before the British arrived. However, in August 1618 the Company was obliged to move from this site because the mint was to be re-opened³⁵. Henceforth, commerce had to be conducted using local mohurs and rupees and imported coin had to be converted in the Moghul's (and later the Nawab's) mint. This situation continued until the EIC took control of the Surat mint in May 1800³⁶.

Gold and Silver coins

From 1800, the gold and silver coins issued were of the same type as those that had been issued from the Surat mint before the EIC took control and this same type was also issued from the Bombay mint, all showing the regnal year 46 of Shah Alam. Coins from the two mints (Bombay and Surat) are distinguished by obverse privy marks, which have been discussed by Pridmore³⁷. The year 1800 corresponds to regnal year 42 of Shah Alam, not ry 46. Pridmore speculated that this was a simple mistake made by the Mint Master at Surat. One possible explanation is that the Persian number ۲ (2) was replaced by a ۶ (6).

One interesting coin that requires explanation is the rupee illustrated in the KM Catalogue (p568), and dated Ry 44. This looks like an EIC coin of Surat with a different date. The existence of such a coin is difficult to explain. Perhaps this was not issued by the EIC but is an earlier issue by the Nawab of Surat, incorrectly dated. Perhaps it was issued by the EIC when they realised that they had put the incorrect date (Ry 46) on the coins and they then reverted to the perpetual Ry 46 once Bombay had adopted this date.

The usual method of managing the provincial mints in the Bombay Presidency was for the Collector to contract the mint work for an annual fee to a local person. At the Surat Mint, however, a full-time Mint Master was appointed. The first of these was John Church³⁸, who by 1806 had been replaced by C. Wren³⁹. Wren was followed, in 1807, by Thomas White⁴⁰, who was, in turn, replaced by John Morison⁴¹.

Surat Mint Masters

Date	Name
1800 to ~1806	John Church
~1806- July 1807	C. Wren
August 1807- December 1809	Thomas White
January 1810 - 1815	John Morison

In order to ensure the quality of the coins, on 9 December 1801, the Judge & Magistrate at Surat was instructed to go to the mint and select a few coins randomly to send to Bombay for Assay. This he duly did on 29 September 1802, the next time that a coinage took place⁴². Obviously the mint was not very active during the first 9 months of 1802. The coins were found to be satisfactory⁴³.

The cost of producing coins at Surat began to come under scrutiny in 1806⁴⁴, and in 1807 the Mint Master was directed to change the management of the mint. Up until then, five Bhurtiahs had overseen the operation of the mint. Three very young ones were descended from those who had served in the mint for half a century, and two who had recently transacted the business of the mint by themselves, and whose ancestors had been doing it for upwards of 75 years⁴⁵. Henceforth, the Bhurtiahs were to be replaced by a Superintendent reporting directly to the Mint Master and paid by the Company as a salaried employee. The then current Bhurtiahs were allowed to become contractors if they chose, and would receive half a percent for the contract. If they refused then the Mint Master was to consult the Chief and Collector of Surat as to the next steps to be taken⁴⁶. The Bhurtiahs were not happy with this and would only agree to continue to operate the mint on a three-month trial⁴⁷. These problems appear to have been resolved and the mint continued in operation. However, by the time that John Morison took over in 1810, the mint buildings had fallen into a state of dilapidation because the mint contractors could not afford to maintain the buildings, as they had done in the past, with their lower income⁴⁸.

In 1813 the capability of the mint at Surat was again being questioned and the Mint Master was asked to show how many coins had been produced during the previous year. He replied that between 1st May 1812 and the 28th February 1813 the mint had produced just over 40,000 rupees-worth of silver coins and a mere 272 mohurs-worth of gold coin.

The ability of the Surat mint to produce rupees of the same standard as those produced at Bombay continued to be questioned, with the Surat Mint Master claiming that he did not have the necessary equipment to conduct assays as accurately as those performed in the Bombay mint⁴⁹.

Eventually the Bombay Government deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation declaring that the Bombay and Surat coinages were of the same standard

'Proclamation issued 1st July 1813⁵⁰.

Notice is hereby given that the coinage of the Bombay and Surat mints being in all respects of the same standard and purity, and received as such in all the public treasuries at the Presidency and subordinates, the payments from those treasuries will be regulated on the same principle.'

However, the criticism continued throughout 1814 with an ex-employee of the mint claiming that the standard achieved was not high enough⁵¹ even though this was clearly refuted by the Mint Master⁵².

Finally, in 1815, the Bombay Government discussed the subject of the Surat mint and came to a conclusion to close it⁵³. The Bombay Mint Master saw three benefits in this:

1. 'That it is under no efficient control from the want of an European gentleman on the spot duly qualified to conduct the department of assay.
2. That it enables the Surat shroffs to establish a fraudulent exchange by making a distinction between the Bombay & Surat rupee to the disadvantage of the former.
3. That it deprives this mint [i.e. Bombay] of profit that would otherwise accrue to it, and which would enable Government without incurring a greater expense, to put the mint here on a more respectable and efficient footing.'

The Governor in Council agreed with this and ordered that the Surat Mint should be abolished from the 1st November 1815. The following advertisement was therefore issued:

'The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to announce for general information that the mint at Surat will be abolished from the 1st of the ensuing month of November and that the whole of the coinage under this Presidency will in future be conducted at the mint at Bombay.'

There were petitions from the local traders⁵⁴ and from the Nawab of Surat⁵⁵ but all to no avail^{56,57} and the Surat mint was duly closed for the production of gold and silver coins.

Gold & Silver Coins of the Surat Mint

Obverse: A Persian legend: *sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī shāh 'ālam = the auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor Shah Alam.*

Reverse: A Persian legend: *zarb sūrat sanah 46 julūs maimanat mānūs = Struck at Surat in the 46th year of tranquil prosperity.*

Edge: Plain

Official Weight: Mohur 11.59g; Panchia 3.86g; Gold Rupee 0.77g; Silver Rupee 11.59g; Half Rupee 5.76g; Quarter Rupee 2.88g; Eighth Rupee 1.44g

Script for Gold and Silver Coins

شاه عالم
 ميمالوس
 سکه مبارک
 سرشورت

Gold Mohur



Gold Panchia



Gold Rupee



Silver Rupee



Silver Half Rupee



Silver Quarter Rupee



No eighth rupee was available for photography. These coins must be quite rare.

Copper Coins

For some reason, Pridmore excluded the copper coins of Surat from his catalogue but events surrounding various coinages of copper pice at Surat are recorded in the EIC archives and are reported in the present paper.

At the end of 1802 and the beginning of 1803 a copper coinage amounting to 18,000 rupees-worth was undertaken, but this was insufficient to meet demand and more copper was requested and sent from Bombay⁵⁸. The size of any coinage undertaken, as the result of this copper being sent, has not been identified.

Another coinage took place when the Surat Mint Master asked Bombay to send him enough copper and lead to strike 20,000 rupees-worth of pice⁵⁹. Although he made the request in 1812, the delivery took some time and the coinage actually took place in 1813⁶⁰.

On 9 June 1818⁶¹ the Surat shroffs sent a petition to Bombay asking for more copper coins to be produced. Bombay reluctantly agreed to Surat producing more copper pice, but believed that copper coins were being hoarded by the shroffs, and that, after a small number of new pice had been produced, the shroffs would release their coins onto the market⁶². However, this coinage appears to have gone ahead without the adverse consequences that the Bombay Government predicted.

The Surat mint had been closed for gold and silver coinage in 1815 but obviously the capability to produce copper coins continued. Whether this activity was undertaken in a mint directly supervised by a British official, or was farmed out to local native manufacturers, is not clear. The latter seems most likely.

In 1824, when Surat found again that there was a shortage of pice locally, some of the excess pice produced in the Southern Concan were shipped to Surat to meet this need⁶³. However, the local inhabitants did not like the coins and in 1826 asked for permission to strike pice locally as they had in 1818⁶⁴. This petition was rejected and more pice were shipped from the Southern Concan⁶⁵. However, in 1828 another request to produce the coins locally was accepted because there were no further pice available from the Southern Concan⁶⁶. In 1831 a further offer to produce a copper coinage was made by Vrizbhookhundass Nagurdass⁶⁷, but by then the new Bombay mint was in operation and all future coins for Surat were supplied from there.

The type of copper coins issued from the Surat mint is not known. Copper coins issued before 1800 (i.e. before the British took control) are known (specimen in the Ashmolean Museum) and perhaps this was the style adopted by the British as they had adopted the earlier style of gold and silver coins.

Copper Coin of the Surat Mint. Pre-British



Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Jan Lingen and Shailendra Bhandare for many useful suggestions and comments and also for providing some of the illustrations.

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p36 – reference to the English being moved from the old mint house to a new one on July 13th 1618

p38-40 Sir Thomas Roe's negotiations with Prince Khurram in August 1618:

'...but it was intimated that the tenancy of the present factory must in any case cease, partly because it was the old mint and partly because it stood against the old mosque'.

³⁶ Pridmore p126, although the original source for this has not yet been traced

³⁷ Pridmore pp128-129

³⁸ Bombay Consultations, 20th February 1801. IOR P/342/46, p371.

³⁹ Bombay Consultations, 22nd July 1806. IOR P/343/34, p3631.

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⁵³ Bombay Consultations, 11th October 1815. IOR P/411/36.

⁵⁴ Bombay Consultations, 20th Decembe 1815. IOR P/411/36.

⁵⁵ Bombay Consultations, 31st December 1815. IOR P/411/36.

⁵⁶ Bombay Consultations, 1st January 1816. IOR P/411/37 p1.

⁵⁷ Bombay Consultations, 23rd January. IOR P/411/37.

⁵⁸ Bombay Consultations, 7th January 1803. IOR P/343/3. P155

⁵⁹ Bombay Consultations, 23rd September 1812. IOR P/408/16, p881.

⁶⁰ Bombay Consultations, 24th March 1813. IOR P/408/17, p226

⁶¹ Bombay Consultations, 24th June 1818. IOR P/411/38, p135.

⁶² Bombay Consultations, 22nd July 1818. IOR P/411/38, p169.

⁶³ Stevens P.J.E., ONS Newsletter 179

⁶⁴ Bombay Consultations, 15th March 1826. IOR P/408/64.

⁶⁵ Bombay Consultations 12th April 1826. IOR P/408/65.

⁶⁶ Bombay Consultations, 20th February 1828. IOR p/409/5

⁶⁷ Bombay Consultations, 30th November 1831. IOR P/411/50.

Ahmedabad Catalogue

Cat No.	Ma. No.	Denom	Obv	AH	RY	=AD	Comments
1	-	1/3 Mohur	-	[124]9	[xx]	1833/34	All are light weight
2	-	Rupee	A	1237	15	1817	Full flan strike on AE. Flattened on obverse. Diam: 30.0-31.3mm
3	51	"	A	12[33]	11	1817	
4	53	"	A	1233	12		Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742
5	-	"	?	1233	14		Ref: BM
6	-	"	A	[xxxx]	13		
7	-	"	A	1234	[xx]		
8	54	"	A	1236	[xx]		
9	-	"	A	1239	[xx]	1823/24	Ref: Noble (1995), Sale 48, Lot 2169. Lingen
10	56	"	A	[xxxx]	15		Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742. BM
11	-	"	A	123[x]	16		
12	-	"	A	124[x]	19		
13	57	"	?	1241	[xx]		Ref: BM
14	59	"	B	1242	22		Ref: BM, Lingen
15	61	"	B	1243	2[x]	1827/28	
16	63	"	B	1244	[xx]	1828/29	
17	65	"	B	1248	[xx]	1832/33	
18	67	"	B	1249	[xx]	1833/34	
19	-	"	B	1249	[xx]	1833/34	Retrograde 9 in date
20	69	"	?	1250	[xx]	1834/35	
21	70	"	?	1251	[xx]	1835/36	
22	52	Half Rupee	?	[xxxx]	11		
23	55	"	?	122x	13		Ref: BM
24	-	"	A	123x	[xx]		Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742
25	58	"	?	12xx	16		
26	60	"	B	1242	[xx]	1826/27	
27	62	"	B	1243	[xx]	1827/28	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742
28	64	"	B	1244	[xx]	1828/29	
29	66	"	B	1248	[xx]	1832/33	Mitchiner 1764
30	68	"	B	1249	[xx]	1833/34	Ref: BM, Lingen
31	-	Quarter Rupee	B	1243	[xx]	1827/28	Ref: Wiggins
32	-	Eighth Rupee	B	1244	[xx]	1828/29	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 745
33	-	"	B	1248	[xx]	1832/33	
34	-	Pice	-	1233	12	1817/18	Ref: Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742
35	53b	"	-	1234	12	1818/19	Ref: Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 742
36	53c	"	-	1234	13	1818/19	Ref: Noble (1995), sale 48, lot 2170
37	53d	"	-	1235	1[4]	1819/20	Ref: Noble (1995), sale 48, lot 2170
38	53e	"	-	1236	[14]	1820/21	Ref: Noble (1995), sale 48, lot 2170
39	53a	Half Pice	-	1233	12	1817/18	Ref: BM. Also called pai (pie) by Masters
40	-	Half Pice	-	1234	-	-	Offered for sale on E-Bay

Jambusir Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AH	RY	=AD	Diam (mm)	Comments
1	Rupee	xxxx	22	1780/81	19.5-20.6	ONS Newsletter No. 132, Feb-Apr 1992, which refers to a list issued by Stephen Album in which this coin is listed.
2	Half Rupee	xxxx	22	"		

Broach Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AH	RY	=AD	Diam (mm)	Comments
1	Rupee	XXXX	XX	1803-09		Issued 1803 to 1806. Usually can't be distinguished from Scindia issues
2	Half Rupee	XXXX	XX		15.8-17.0	Ref: KM South Asia catalogue A36 p150.
3	Pice Type 1	XXXX	XX		16.4-17.4	Issued 1803 to 1806. See Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 110. Some of these described as EIC coins. Identified by cross.
4	Pice Type 2					Balemark on each side (Pr. 300)

Surat Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	Ry	Weight (g)	Diam (mm)	Comments
1	250	Mohur	46	11.59	17.0-18.6	
2	251	Panchia	46	3.86	13.3-15.0	
3	252	Rupee	46	0.77	7.0-8.0	
4	-	Rupee	44	11.59	18.4-20.1	Not certain that this is an EIC issue
5	253	Rupee	46	11.59	18.4-20.1	
6	254	Half Rupee	46	5.76	16.3-17.7	
7	255	Quarter Rupee	46	2.88	13-14	
8	256	Eighth Rupee	46	1.44	10-11	
9	-	Pice				Description not certain

The 'Anjengo' Coinage of Bombay Mint: Lost and Found

Dr Shailendra Bhandare

Charles II, the king of Britain, transferred the islands of Bombay to the East India Company on 27 March 1668 and the Company's officials took charge on 23 September that year. On 2 May 1687, the seat of the Company's government was transferred from Surat to Bombay, making it the headquarters of the Company's operations on the western coast of India. On the monetary front, the British establishment at Bombay was sanctioned by a Royal Charter in 1676 to strike rupees and pice, although first attempts to operate a mint predated this charter.

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

The southernmost EIC enclave in Malabar was the small fort of Anjengo. It was located about 25 km to the south of Quilon. Presently it is located in the Trivandrum district of the state. It was founded in 1695 and the name of the fort is derived from *Anchu Thengu*, which means 'five palms' in Malayalam. This was conceivably the most recognisable feature of the fort, probably from the seaward side and may have been a landmark.

Trading involved money, and the local circulating currency in the region was dominated by small gold coins called the 'Viraraya Fanams', linked to small copper coins called 'Thirai Cash' as their lower metal equivalents. The situation changed significantly after the advent of the British in the region, whose links with Bombay meant that a predominantly silver, rupee-based currency system emerged successfully for conducting trade in Malabar. In consequence, a denomination that neatly facilitated easy conversion between the two systems made its appearance and it was called a 'Velli Fanam' equivalent to the fifth of a rupee. It was initially struck by the rulers of Cannanore in c.1720 and had Persian inscriptions on both sides. The British meanwhile had managed to gain an important advantage as far as their coinage was concerned – the Mughal Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, had permitted them to strike Mughal-style coins at Bombay in 1717. This meant that the British could launch a coinage similar to that of the Velli Fanams of Cannanore in the Malabar region, which they did

around 1725-26. The British called their coins 'Billys', from the original Malayalam *velli*, which means 'silver'. As the British enclaves in Malabar were often more accessible for the supply of specie by sea and as there was already an operational mint at Bombay, the coins for Malabar coast were struck at Bombay at regular intervals and shipped to Tellicherry as demand dictated.

A note dated 22 May 1727, to be found in the Bombay Consultations Records in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, London, indicates that the issue of silver coins for Malabar Coast was not always destined for Tellicherry, nor was it confined to the striking of fifth rupees or Billys. This note makes it clear that the Bombay mint produced silver coins of 1/12th rupee denomination to be sent to the factory at Anjengo in that year. Interestingly, this note speaks about debasement in the Company's coinage struck at Bombay for use on the Malabar Coast. According to its contents, 1973 rupees were converted to twelfths in March 1727 at Bombay for the Anjengo settlement and 'sent thither' – but they were all 2% worse as compared to the metallic fineness of full rupees. The fifths being produced for Tellicherry were 3% worse. The Master at Bombay mint justified this debasement on the grounds that 1% of the debasement in the twelfth rupees produced for consumption at Anjengo was to compensate for the extra cost that would be incurred in producing the small denomination and the other 1% would go for the Company's profit. Similarly, out of the 3% debasement of the fifth rupees (Billys) for Tellicherry, 0.5% would go towards the extra cost of workmanship to produce the coins and 2.5% would go towards the fluctuations in values of other coins, such as fanams, with which they would eventually be exchanged.

Hitherto none of the Anjengo coins were traceable. Fred Pridmore illustrates a specimen in his catalogue 'Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations' (part 4, volume 1, page 115 for text and p. 153, no.64 for illustration), but it was not a part of his collection that was auctioned after his death. The specimen he illustrated was therefore deemed lost. But it was a pleasant surprise when the coin turned up amongst the collections of Oxford University, which is housed in the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum. I am reasonably sure this is the same coin Pridmore illustrated, comparing the imperfections seen in his photographs and the blemishes the coin bears on its obverse. All other details match as well: the coin is struck in the name of Muhammad Shah in his 8th regnal year and bears the mint name as 'Mumbai'. The chronological detail matches correctly the archival reference as to when the coins were produced, i.e. March 1727; the weight of the coin is 0.97 gm, exactly a twelfth of the weight of a full rupee, which would have been a *tola* or 11.66 gm.

The coin may be described as follows:

Obv: legend in three lines – *sikka mubārak / bādshāh ghāzī / muhammad shāh*

Rev: legend in three lines – *mānūs maimanat / sanah 8 julūs /zarb mumbai*

Postscript:

The names of most of the towns mentioned have been changed since colonial times. The new names are –

Anjengo = Anjuthengu, Tellicherry = Thalasserry, Quilon = Collam
Trivandrum = Thiruvananthapuram, Cannanore = Kannur