



### ONS News

#### From the Editor

A reminder that the index to the Newsletter/Journal can be found at the Society's website [www.onsnumis.org](http://www.onsnumis.org). The index has been expanded to include a column with the page numbers of each article.

#### Cologne Meeting

A meeting of the Indian Coin Collector Circle took place on 4 November at the Römisch-Germanische Museum. The main item on the programme was a detailed presentation by Mr Brockmeier on the various types of Arkot rupee, where they were struck and by whom, and how they were used and circulated. It was agreed that the next meeting would take place on Saturday 10 November 2007 at the same venue.

#### Leiden Meeting

The annual ONS meeting at Leiden, Netherlands, took place on Saturday 21 October 2006, for the last time at the premises of the National Museum of Antiquities. From next year the annual ONS meeting will be held at the new Money Museum at Utrecht. Over thirty people attended the meeting, which provided for a pleasant and informative gathering.

**Patrick Pasmans** gave an informative lecture on the *Coinage of the Lichhavi Kings of Nepal*. He started with an outline of the early history of Nepal. The Lichhavis were originally from Bihar (North India) and had their capital at Vaisali, near Basarh. After a struggle for power with the Magadhas and the Guptas, the Lichhavi king, Supushpa, had to flee with his people to the Kathmandu Valley. He was the first king of the Lichhavis in Nepal. After the death of Skandagupta in 467 AD, the Lichhavi king, Manadeva I (464-505 AD), was able to recapture Vaisali. Nevertheless the Lichhavis did not move their capital back to Vaisali. During the first half of the sixth century the Guptas recaptured the old capital.

The lecture focused on the period 576-705 AD., the period that the Lichhavis issued coins. Stone inscriptions mention that the 'Pana' was a unit of currency. The copper coins are mentioned as 'Tamrika pana' ('Tamra' or 'Tamrika' means copper). Also the 'Karshapana' (and 'Purana') is mentioned, a common coin in India but not in Nepal, and was probably a unit of account with a value of 16 panas. Several inscriptions mention the term 'Panapurana', which means 'old panas' and implies some change in the coinage circulating in the mid-seventh century. The term 'Mrittika' refers probably to clay tokens.

Patrick Pasmans used the typology of Nicolas G. Rhodes, Karl Gabrisch and Carlo Valdetaro during the lecture (*The Coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911*, 1989, 30-49). The first coins of the Licchavis in Nepal were issued during the

reign of king Sivadeva I and his Samanta (Chief Minister) Amshuvarman (588-604).



Type A

The coins of this reign show a lion on the obverse with the legend 'Śrī Mānanka' and a seated female deity on a lotus flower with the inscription 'Śrī Bhogini' (type A). Amshuvarman was probably responsible for this issue and chose the designs to honour the first king of historical importance, Manadeva, and his queen, Bhogini.

The second type of coins were issued only during the reign of Amshuvarman (605-621). The coins show a winged lion with the inscription 'Śryamośoh' (B1) or 'Sryamsuvarma' (B2, B3) on the obverse. The reverse mentions the legend 'Maharajadhirajasya' around a central sun symbol (B1), a lion with front paw raised, with a crescent above (B2) or a cow with calf below and the legend 'Kamadehi' above (B3). Kamadehi is the purveyor of plenty.

The third type (C) shows, on the obverse, Kuvera, the god of wealth, with a flower composed of dots and with the legend 'Vaiśravaṇah'. The reverse depicts a cow and calf with the legend 'Kamadehi'. The fourth type was issued during the reign of Jishnu Gupta as Minister of King Dhruvadeva (c. 622-25 AD) and Bhimarjunadeva (c. 625-33 AD). The coins show, on the obverse, a winged horse with the legend 'Śrī Jisnu Guptasya' and, on the reverse, an ornamental Vajra or Srivatsa. The fifth type (E) shows a standing, walking or charging elephant on the obverse and the female deity Lakshmi with the legend 'Śrī Gunāṅka' on the reverse, probably referring to Gunavati, the wife of Manadeva. The elephant is probably the symbol of Vasantadeva, for whom she may have acted as regent. The sixth type (F), issued around c. 641 AD, shows a standing bull with the legend 'Vṛsa' on the obverse and a large eight-petalled flower on the reverse. The seventh type (G) are coins with the inscription 'Paśupatih'. Probably this coins were issued during the reign of Narendradeva (c. 641-90 AD), because it is known from inscriptions that this king had a great devotion for this god. The second 'Vṛsha' type (type H, issued c. 680-90 AD) shows on the obverse the legend 'Vṛsa' over a recumbent bull, and, on the reverse, a trident with the legend 'Siva'. The last type (I) are thin crude coins with a bull that must either be forgeries or the final degeneration of the official coinage (c. 700 AD). RGV also mentions a thin silver coin

with a trident and 'ti' on the obverse (type J), the only silver coin that may be attributed to the Lichhavi period.

**Prof. Dr. Jan van der Dussen** took the audience back to Greece in his presentation on *Fifth century BC Greek wars and their numismatic consequences*. After an introduction, about the coinage of the Greece and, in particular, the official Athenian tetradrachms with the bust of Athena and the owl-reverse, the political situation was explained.

During the fifth century BC many important wars were fought on Greek soil, not only local wars between the city-states of Greece, but particularly against their most powerful neighbour, the Persians. War with Persia had already started in the sixth century BC. A formal peace was reached in 449. Earlier, in 479, the Persians had been compelled to end their official military interventions in Greece. Until then, Sparta and Athens co-operated in the military interventions against the Persians, but after 479 they started to struggle among each other for hegemony, in which Sparta succeeded in 404 BC. For all those wars good, reliable coins were needed to pay the troops, who consisted mainly of mercenaries.

After 483/2 BC Athens was able to strike enormous quantities of silver tetradrachms, drachms and minor denominations from the silver mines of Laurion. Though much coinage and bullion moved in the course of trade, the warfare that was endemic among the Greeks and their neighbours was hardly less important. Some of the issues were explicitly for military purposes, primarily to pay the mercenaries.

The Athenian 'owl' tetradrachm became the trade coin par excellence, but, as tended to happen with important trade coins, they became much imitated and countermarked. Even plated coins are met with. Most of the imitations were struck in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and later, and originate from the Near or Middle East.



ARABIA FELIX. Sabaeans. Circa 2nd century BC.

Van der Dussen pointed out that there may be many more imitations of the Athenian 'owls' than there are original Athenian issues. In many cases it is very difficult to distinguish between the official issues and the imitations, which are often also of correct weight and fineness, but others diverge so strongly in style from the authentic Athenian coins that they can hardly be regarded as issues of the Athenian mint. Such derivations are common in hoards from Syria and Egypt. A particular crude class was produced somewhere in northern Syria, in which both weight and alloy fell far below the Athenian standard. Many imitations of Athenian owls are known from Arabia, San'a (Yemen), Egypt, Bactria, Babylon, Judea, Philistia and Gaza.

Another feature, pointed out by Van der Dussen, are the many countermarked Athenian tetradrachms, sometimes with a single or multiple chisel-mark, but also hieroglyphic and Aramaic symbols, mostly applied in the Near and Middle East. This proves that the Athenian 'owl' tetradrachm was an important trade coin for trade with the Middle East and Asia, which, in the later part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, was replaced by the coins of Alexander III 'the Great' with the seated Zeus reverse.

The next talk was by **Dr. Ruud Schüttenhelm** on "*The silver coinage of the Ilkhan Arghun – do we have the complete picture?*" After a historical and geographical introduction of the Ilkhanid state around 680-690 AH he showed the main silver coin types from the previous khans, Abaga and Ahmad. This was followed by some remarks on the political developments following Abaga's demise in 680 AH. The main points of Arghun's coinage policy were outlined. His well-known coin types and several type variants were shown and explained and changes compared to Arghun's predecessors and changes with time highlighted. Next,

developments following Arghun's death in AH 690 were mentioned including the reasons why dirhems continued to be struck in his name in certain areas. Summing up, the conclusion was that Arghun's coin issues are generally well documented, but with the exception of early issues. A short note, to appear in this Journal, with details of this conclusion is in preparation.

*Genuine or fake? Some remarks on irregularities observed on coins of Qumm*, was the subject of **Roland Dauwe's** contribution to this meeting, after lunch.

During his research on the Islamic coinage of the mint of Qumm (Iran), the speaker came across some irregularities that can be divided into two different groups. First there are some Abbasid dinars in the name of al-Muqtadir struck in very debased gold and showing traces of gilding. As one piece was obviously struck from official dies, these dinars seem to be some kind of fraudulent issue of the mint. The second group shows errors in the legends, such as the adding of a wrong heir on the dinars of al-Radi dated 324 AH, or strange ways in writing the mint name, such as *bi-Madinat bi-Qumm* (with the prefix twice!) on a dinar of al-Muqtadir dated 304 AH, or *bil-Qumm* on a dinar of the Seljuq Muhammad I, dated 499 AH. Some of the errors can be explained as mistakes made while copying older dies, but the errors in the mint name could also point towards the production of the dies in some other, more important mint, since it seems most unlikely that such errors could have been made in Qumm itself.

The afternoon session ended with the traditional auction of oriental coins and numismatic books, which resulted in useful funds for the ONS of over € 600. Our thanks are due to those members who kindly donated 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.



A very pleasant dinner was had by all

The next ONS-meeting in the Netherlands is scheduled for Saturday **20 October 2007**, but this time at the premises of the newly established Money Museum, Leidseweg 90, Utrecht. Please make a note in your diary.

### London Meeting

A meeting of the ONS was held at the British Museum on Saturday 21 October. Although this was the same day as the Leiden meeting, a dozen or so members attended for the full day, and a few others popped in for various sessions.

The first talk was by Joe Cribb on the organisation and practice of Kushan mints. This was very comprehensive and covered the types, denominations and likely mints of the coins of every known Kushan ruler. From this wealth of information a clear pattern emerged suggesting that, after an initial period where existing local coinage types were copied, the Kushans generally operated from a maximum of four mints, spread across their empire. The gold coins were minted from two main mints, probably originally in Bactra and Peshawar, but moving further



The autumn edition of *De Muntmeester*, the new magazine published by the 'Diestse Studiekring voor Numismatiek' (Diest, Belgium) includes an article by Patrick Pasmans on the Nepalese coins of the Lichhavi kings. Members of the ONS can ask for a free copy of '*De Muntmeester*': Diestse Studiekring voor Numismatiek, Postbus 44, 3290 Diest, Belgium E-mail: info@muntmeester.be

### Other News

A seminar was held at Agartala (capital of Tripura state, India) from 2 to 4 September 2006, which was attended by a large number of scholars from India and abroad. In the six sessions of the seminar a good number of papers were read mainly covering the theme "Coinage of Samata-Harikela". A paperback book was also released in this connection entitled 'History-Culture & Coinage of Samatata & Harikela' which contains a number of interesting articles written by Dr BN Mukherjee, Dr Susmita Basu Majumdar, Nicholas Rhodes, Dr Suchandra Ghosh, Dr Sayantani Pal, Jahar Acharjee and SK Bhose. Reports were also published covering three excavations in the Samatata region, now in India and Bangladesh. The price of the book is \$12. This 134 page book includes several plates of illustrations. Interested persons & dealers may write to mirasbooks@rediffmail.com for more information.

### Studiedag over Oosterse numismatiek

The 'Diestse studiekring voor numismatiek' will hold a meeting with 6 lectures on Oriental Numismatics (in Dutch) on Saturday April 21st, 2007. Different subjects will be covered. The venue will be: The Cultural Centre Beguinage Diest (09.00-17.00). The meeting will end with an auction of some Oriental coins. More information can be found on [www.muntmeester.be](http://www.muntmeester.be)

### Auction News

Morton & Eden's next auction, to be held at Sotheby's on 28-29 November, will include over 250 lots of Islamic and Indian coins including a particularly fine group of material relating to Spain and North Africa. Highlights in this area include an extremely rare Umayyad third-dinar of al-Andalus 102h, a dirham of al-Andalus 103h (the first silver coin struck in Muslim Spain), a Spanish Umayyad dinar of al-Andalus 400h, and no fewer than nine Castilian doblas in the name of Alfonso VIII, with Safar dates from 1228 to 1255. There is also an interesting group of Almoravid dinars, a selection of Fatimid coins including an extremely rare dinar of 'Asqalan 502h which is unrecorded in Nicol's recent corpus, and a dinar struck by the last Samanid, Isma'il b. Nuh, during his doomed attempt to regain his throne from the Qarakhanids. Among later material, there is an extensive offering of Qajar gold, while the small selection of Indian coins extends from the Gandhara period through to the twentieth century AD. The catalogue can be viewed online at [www.mortonandeden.com](http://www.mortonandeden.com), or to order a printed copy please contact: Stephen Lloyd, Morton & Eden Ltd, 45 Maddox Street, London W1S 2PE. Tel: +44 (0)20 7493 5344 Fax: +44 (0)20 7495 6325 Email: [info@mortonandeden.com](mailto:info@mortonandeden.com)

### Review

Nicol, N.D., *A Corpus of Fatimid Coins*, Giulio Bernardi, Trieste 2006. A4, hardbound, xlvi+382pp, 68 black and white plates. ISBN 13: (978)-88-85873-30-8

This long-awaited book represents the first attempt at a comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of the Fatimids, one of the most important dynasties of mediaeval Islam. Until now, collectors and students of this series have relied on a combination of references of varying age, quality and completeness. The best general survey was Miles's *Fatimid Coins in the Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society* (ANS NNM No. 121, New York, 1951), which published the holdings of these two collections supplemented by a brief list

of other mint/date combinations known to the author. This was never intended to be a corpus of all Fatimid coins then known, having only six plates and what Miles himself called "descriptions...reduced to the minimum consistent with accuracy," and it is a tribute to the quality of the material, and Miles's cataloguing of it, that this monograph should have remained a standard work for over fifty years. There are many other works which have sometimes been used as references for coins not listed by Miles (by no means all of which are rare). Perhaps the most commonly used in auction catalogues are the relevant volumes of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale catalogues (published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Lane Poole and Lavoix respectively), as well as the more recent catalogues of the William Kazan Collection and the holdings of the Egyptian National Library, Cairo. To these can be added the 1991 publication of the Fatimid coins in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, although to date this does not seem to have been widely used as a reference in the United States and Europe.

First impressions of Nicol's *Corpus* are very encouraging. The front and back covers show colour images of both sides of the unique dinar of the rebel Nizar (catalogue no. A2396; incorrectly described as 2396 in the identifying text), set on a dark green background with a discreet texture derived from the coin's legends. Opening the book, high-quality matt cream paper has been used for the text while the plates are on equally robust white gloss; there is virtually no "show-through" on either. Parts of the text resemble a word-processed document; the bibliography clearly lacks carriage returns in some places (page xlv, between the entries for Wüstenfeld and YK) and has too many in others (page xxxi, between Berne and Beyram Bey), but the text layout is generally clean and easy to follow. Sensibly, the introduction begins with a summary of the arrangement of the catalogue and a list of some of the abbreviations used. Placing this key at the very front of the book in this way saves a great deal of time, as anyone who has tried to find the transcriptions of Pahlawi dates in Walker's *Catalogue of Arab-Sasanian Coins* will testify. After two prefaces, there is a very brief introduction to Fatimid historiography and coinage (this is, after all, a corpus rather than a numismatic history), with a short bibliography for further reading. The arrangement and layout of the catalogue is then clearly explained, and a full transcription and translation given of all the Qur'anic verses which appear on the coins. A list of Fatimid mints in English and Arabic and four simple sketch-maps follow (divided, somewhat unexpectedly, by a lengthy list of acknowledgements). Finally, there is a seventeen-page list of sources and abbreviations, both of publications and collections which the author has examined. It has not been possible to check that all of these are accurate, but it is perhaps worth pointing out that the last Sotheby auction mentioned, held in Geneva on 25 June 1985, was a regular Sotheby sale and had nothing to do with Philip Wilson or Hashim Khusrawani as stated here. The rest of the text is entirely devoted to the catalogue itself.

The catalogue is arranged chronologically by the issuing authority (usually the caliph), and at the foot of each page Nicol has helpfully included the name of the caliph whose coins are described there. The coins of each caliph are then grouped by mint, arranged in order of the Arabic alphabet, and then divided further by metal (not denomination, so quarter dinars are presented alongside full dinars) and date. Thus for the caliph al-Zahir, a gold quarter dinar of Misr 414h is found between full dinars of Misr 414h and Misr 415h, while a silver half-dirham of Misr 414h follows immediately after the last of al-Zahir's Misr gold. This arrangement works extremely well, and it is generally very simple to find one's way around the catalogue. Each caliph's reign is prefaced by a short historical introduction which generally extends to no more than three paragraphs. This is followed by a description of all the types struck during that reign, with a "type" defined in the introduction as "the incorporation of the inscriptions found on a coin with the design and arrangement of those inscriptions." Each type is then given a code: a letter, or combination of letter and number such as H1. Below this Nicol summarizes the mints, denominations and dates of coins of this

type struck during the reign. The type code is then used as shorthand in the catalogue which follows to save writing the legends of each coin in full. Not only does this save space, but because this code is applied to each catalogue entry we are spared long sequences of “similar to the last” found in other catalogues, which gives plenty of scope for error by both reader and author, not to mention horrors of the “obverse similar to type 682 but with marginal legends transposed; reverse as type 679” type. Slightly confusingly, Nicol’s type codes are applied on a reign by reign basis, so type A1 for al-ʿAziz is different from type A1 for al-Hakim. Having the name of the relevant caliph at the foot of each page makes it easy to check, and in most cases looking at the wrong type chart will give a nonsensical result, but in the case of a hypothetical dinar of al-Mansuriya, which can either be a posthumous issue of al-Zahir (catalogue nos. 1576 and 1577) or an early issue of al-Mustansir (2188), this means that both 1577 and 2188 are both classified as type A2. In practice, it is unlikely that anyone looking up a coin of one caliph will fail to notice that they have turned back too many pages to the type chart for his predecessor, but avoiding repetition of the type codes could have eliminated this problem entirely. It would also have allowed a full index of the codes to be placed at the very front of the catalogue along with the other abbreviations.

The catalogue entries themselves are succinct and clearly presented. Each is given a unique number, followed by the metal, denomination and date on the same line (such as **1496. AV Dinar, Filastin 415**), beneath which is the type code (A1) and the relevant part of the mint/date formula in Arabic. Finally, there follow the references, with weight and diameter where available, and an asterisk showing which specimens are illustrated in the plates. Because this is a corpus Nicol has included, within the limits of what is humanly possible, details of *all* Fatimid coins known to him, whether rare or not. Twenty-four years of compiling data mean that common coins can have a very lengthy list of references: those for the dinar of Misr 363h take up 24 lines and cite literally dozens of examples. For the collector, this means that the number of specimens recorded gives as fair an impression of rarity and availability as the data will permit, without the distortion which can arise when authors understandably decide that they have recorded enough examples of a common coin but continue to add details of rarities. Even those references to coins whose weight and diameter could not be recorded are important in this context, as they contribute to the accuracy of population data. It also means that an enormous amount of well-organized metrological data is made available for further research and study.

There are sixty-eight pages of plates. Of these, sixty-two have coins numbered sequentially with the name of the relevant caliph at the head of each page. The remaining six are described as supplementary plates, illustrating coins added to the text after the main body of plates had been compiled. The quality of the images themselves is variable, although it should be stressed that this is hardly the author’s fault. The images were obtained over a long period of time by different people under varying conditions and using different processes. Comparing an auction catalogue from 1982 with one printed today makes it clear just how much higher the general standard of coin photography has become, and Nicol has done his best to improve matters by digitally enhancing older and less clear photographs. With the exception of a few pictures in the supplementary plates, the general standard of photography is lower than that in the recent Ashmolean and Tübingen sylloges. Nonetheless, the images are for the most part perfectly adequate, and the plates are sensibly laid out with the coins clearly numbered.

There is so much about this corpus that is excellent, with a huge amount of disparate information sensibly organized and clearly presented, that its main omission is all the more surprising: there is no index. At the very least, one would have liked to see two tables: one giving the dates when the various denominations were struck at each Fatimid mint, and another presenting the coins in chronological order and showing which mints were active in each year. Such tables are not difficult to produce and can be

extremely helpful in highlighting patterns of minting activity. There are two attempts by the publisher to rectify this. Firstly, at the very beginning of the catalogue, the Publisher’s Preface gives the catalogue numbers of those coins struck in Sicily; this is intended to help collectors of Italian coins who may not be familiar with the Arabic alphabet. Secondly, at the start of the plates, there is a single-page summary entitled “Publisher’s Quick Mint Links,” which is a table with the caliphs’ names on the x-axis and mint-names on the y-axis. Thus looking at coins of al-Mustansir struck at Tarabulus, we find that these begin with catalogue number 1983. Again, this may be of some help to those who are not used to the order of the mint-names, but it is one of the great strengths of Nicol’s arrangement and presentation of the material that it is easy to find a particular ruler and mint just by browsing the catalogue. I understand that a supplement is planned in due course, which might be an opportunity for someone to add indexes also.

Both prefaces stress the amount of time and effort involved in the production of this corpus. During more than 20 years of work, over 25,000 specimens have been assigned to over 2,700 different types, of which some 2,200 are illustrated. In spite of the lack of indexes, the *Corpus* manages to remain easy and quick to use while containing a huge body of material. It is a cliché to describe a new book as being destined to remain the standard work on the subject for decades, but in this case it really does seem inconceivable that anything could supplant this *Corpus of Fatimid Coins* for years to come.

Steven Lloyd

## Articles

### A New 4-line-reverse Variety of the 6-rosette Irregular-shaped Copper Coins of Queen Tamar

By Irakli Paghava

The aim of this article is to publish a previously unknown coin variety of Queen Tamar of Georgia.

During her reign the power of the united medieval Georgian kingdom reached its peak, when “within a decade after the kings of France and England had gone with contumely out of Palestine, the royal army of Georgia could carry terror and rapine through all the Muslim lands which lay between the Black Sea and the south-eastern corner of the Caspian” (Allen, p.106).

From a numismatic point of view it is noteworthy that, both in Georgia and in neighbouring countries, no silver coins were issued during this period. Despite the economical and political might of Tamar’s realm, “surprisingly enough, no attempt was made to strike gold” (Lang p. 22) during her reign (one cannot exclude the possibility that Tamar’s golden coins existed but did not survive) and therefore copper coins constituted the only Georgian currency of the period.

The copper coinage of Queen Tamar may be divided into two major groups: regular and irregular (Kapanadze, Lang, Pakhomov), these terms reflecting not only the shape of the coins, i.e. regular-shaped and irregular-shaped, but their value as well, each piece having a pre-defined, constant purchasing power in the case of regular coins (Pakhomov p. 85, 1969 Kapanadze p. 73-74) or being valued in accordance with their weight in the case of irregular coins (Pakhomov p. 85, 1969 Kapanadze p. 71).

Regular coins of Queen Tamar, which may be also called AE dirhams (Pakhomov, pp. 85-86, 1969 Kapanadze p. 74) bear the name of Davit Soslan, her second husband, and are either dated 420 according to Koronikon, Georgian Paschal Cycle (i.e. 1200 AD), or have no date (Pakhomov ##60-61, 1969 Kapanadze ##69-70) at all. They fall outside the scope of this paper.

Irregular coins of Queen Tamar may be divided into several distinct groups, comprising coins bearing only Tamar’s name (Pakhomov ##56-59), bearing both Tamar’s and Giorgi’s names (Pakhomov ##52-55, 1969 Kapanadze ##63-65) and the unique coin first published by Prince Barataev (Baratashvili), one of the

founders of Georgian numismatics, and later obtained by the Berlin Museum (Pakhomov #62).

As far as the lattermost is concerned, it has the letters TRD in Asomtavruli, the old Georgian script, standing for either **TamaR Davit** or **TamaR Dedopali** (Tamar Queen) or **TamaR Didi** (Tamar the Great) (1969 Kapanadze p. 76, Pakhomov p. 96). According to the drawing available to us (1969 Kapanadze p. 76), it is really not regular, although Pakhomov's description of this *unique* specimen: "a coin/s of irregular shape and different weight" seems to be somewhat precarious.

Coins of Tamar and Giorgi are undated and bear Tamar's and Giorgi's names abbreviated in different ways; the latter may belong either to Tamar's father or first husband or son, as all of them bore the same name (Pakhomov pp. 89-90, 1969 Kapanadze pp. 74-75).

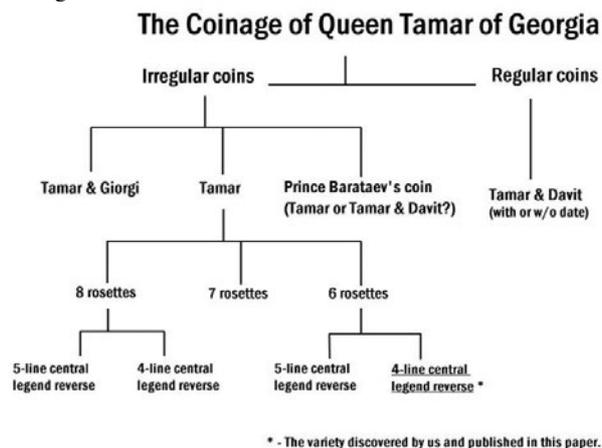
The new variety discovered by us belongs to the first group of Tamar's irregular coppers, bearing only Tamar's name. Coins of this group are of the following type:

**Obv.** In the centre, Tamar's facsimile in Mkhedruli, modern Georgian "secular" or "military writing" script. Surrounded by a wreath of rosettes and a border of dots and a marginal legend in Asomtavruli: SKhLTA GhTA IK'NA TchDAI VTsKhLSI AMS K'RKNS UZ, abbreviated for *sakhelit'a ghv'tsait'a ik'na tcheday vetskhlisi amis k'oronikonsa 407*: In the name of God, was made the striking of this silver piece in the Koronikon 407 (i.e. 1187 AD) (in another variety there is Asomtavruli UL, meaning 430, i.e. 1210 AD). Surrounded by a border of dots.

**Rev.** In the centre, in Arabic in 5 lines *al-malikat al-muazama / jalal al-dunia wa'l-din / Tamar binta Giurgi / zahir al-masih / aiza-llaha ansarahu*: *The great Queen / Glory of the Worlds and Faith / Tamar daughter of Giorgi / Champion of the Messiah / May God increase [her] victories*. Marginal legend in Arabic, surrounded by a border of dots: *dafu-llahu jalaliha wa mudda zilaliha wa aiyed ighbaluha*: God increase her glory and lengthen her shadow and strengthen her beneficence! Surrounded by the border of dots. (Lang #10; Pakhomov #56, #57; 1955 Kapanadze #60).

The wreath on the coins of this group consists of various numbers of rosettes, mostly of 6, though there also extremely rare varieties with a 7-rosette wreath (Pakhomov p. 93, 1955 Kapanadze p. 64, 1969 Kap p. 75) or 8-rosette wreath (Pakhomov #59, 1955 Kapanadze p. 64, 1969 Kap p. 75).

For a schematic representation of Queen Tamar's coinage please see Fig. 1.



Regarding the 8-rosette coins, Kapanadze published a rare 8-rosette coin with a marginal reverse inscription in Arabic saying that the coin had been struck in AH 583 (=1187 AD) instead of the formula praising Tamar (1969 Kapanadze p. 75-76, #68a). Some 8-rosette coins have the standard 5-line reverse inscription (1955 Kapanadze p. 64, 1969 Kapanadze #68) whereas some other 8-rosette coins lack the last, fifth line of the standard inscription on the reverse (1955 Kapanadze p. 64, Pakhomov #59) and are dated Koronikon 430 (=1210 AD) (Turkia, Paghava).

7-rosette coppers are mentioned by both Pakhomov (p. 93) and Kapanadze (1955 Kapanadze p. 64, 1969 Kap p. 75), but neither gives an illustration of such a coin nor more information about it, and as 7-rosette coins are not available to us, we cannot specify what the date on them is: Koronikon 407 (1187 AD), 430 (1210 AD) or any other date.

6-rosette coins constitute the commonest variety of Queen Tamar's irregular coins, fully compliant with the above-given type. Previously, only 6-rosette coins with a 5-line central legend reverse were known, until we were lucky enough to purchase two 6-rosette coins with a 4-line central legend reverse. They were selected by us in 2004 out of a group of more than 20 coins of Queen Tamar and Giorgi IV Lasha, her son and successor, chosen for their good-for-the-type state of preservation and without us noticing the absence of the fifth line of the central reverse legend; the vendor seemed not to have had known it either. We noticed this peculiarity only later on when thoroughly studying our acquisition, and we have been looking for more coins like this ever since. Our efforts were rewarded in 2005 when we discovered one more 6-rosette 4-line central legend reverse coin among at least 58 coins of Queen Tamar and Giorgi IV, and in March of 2006 when we found 3 more pieces of the same variety from a stock of about 25 coins also of Queen Tamar and Giorgi IV.

These coins are as follows:

1 (acquired in 2004):



**Obv.** Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 6 rosettes; marginal legend off-flan.

**Rev.** Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fourth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; marginal legend almost completely off-flan.

Weight 9.06g., Size 19-21mm., Die axis 1:30 o'clock.

2 (acquired in 2004):



**Obv.** Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 4 rosettes visible, 2 more off-flan; Asomtavruli L of the marginal legend visible. 2 countermarks: Asomtavruli D with a dot in the middle (Pakhomov, fig. 2, p. 112) and small countermark of Queen Rusudan (Pakhomov, fig. 7, p. 112; Kap1969 fig. 9, pp. 84-85).

**Rev.** Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fifth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; upper 2 central lines partly effaced by the countermarks on the obverse; marginal legend almost completely off-flan.

Weight 7.97g., Size 17-25mm., Die axis 12:00 o'clock.

3 (acquired in 2005):



*Obv.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 6 rosettes; marginal legend off-flan. 2 countermarks: Asomtavruli D with a dot in the middle (Pakhomov, fig. 2, p. 112) and small countermark of Queen Rusudan (Pakhomov, fig. 7, p. 112; Kap1969 fig. 9, pp. 84-85).

*Rev.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fifth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> lines partly effaced by the countermarks on the obverse; marginal legend off-flan.

Weight 7.89g., Size 18-21mm., Die axis 5:45 o'clock. Alloy!

4 (acquired in 2006):



*Obv.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 5 rosettes, 1 rosette non-existent due to weakness of strike; marginal legend off-flan. 1 countermark: Asomtavruli D with a dot in the middle (Pakhomov, fig. 2, p. 112).

*Rev.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fifth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; the right side of the central lines effaced by the countermark on the obverse; fragment of the marginal legend: *...ha wa aiyed ighb....*

Weight 4.12g., Size 18-19mm., Die axis 6:15 o'clock.

5 (acquired in 2006):



*Obv.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 6-rosettes; fragment of the marginal legend: Asomtavruli IK'NA TchD, abbreviated for *...ik'na tched....* 2 countermarks: Asomtavruli D with a dot in the middle (Pakhomov, fig. 2, p. 112) and small countermark of Queen Rusudan (Pakhomov, fig. 7, p. 112; Kap1969 fig. 9, pp. 84-85).

*Rev.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fifth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; upper 3 central lines almost completely effaced by the countermark on the obverse; fragment of the marginal legend: *...liha wa aiyed ighb....*

Weight 6.11g., Size 20-21mm., Die axis 8:00 o'clock.

6 (acquired in 2006):



*Obv.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; 6-rosettes; fragment of the marginal legend: Asomtavruli UL, meaning 430. 1 countermark: Asomtavruli D with a dot in the middle (Pakhomov, fig. 2, p. 112).

*Rev.* Standard for irregular coppers bearing the name of Tamar; the fifth line of the central legend missing, border of dots clear; right bottom quadrant of the coin effaced by the countermark on the obverse; traces of the marginal legend.

Weight 5.14g., Size 19-22mm., Die axis 6:45 o'clock.

All 6 coins seem to be struck with the same pair of dies, which may be considered unsurprising taking into account the obvious rarity of this variety. At least 4 different punches were used for applying 5 Asomtavruli D countermarks (D countermarks on coins ##4-5 could have been produced with the same die) and 3 more different punches were used for applying 3 small Queen Rusudan countermarks.

The coins were not cast; the style of the legends and other design elements is normal; moreover, although a previously unknown rare variety, these coins were sold by different dealers for a moderate price as regular, common coins of Tamar, so we assume that they are extremely unlikely to be "curious" die-struck counterfeits specially produced for collectors.

We may try to cast some light on the enigmatic issue of countermarks applied to Georgian copper coins of the 12-13<sup>th</sup> centuries: the fact that, at least in this series, in 80-100% of cases the punches used to apply the Asomtavruli D countermark were different may mean that these coins, produced with the same pair of dies, i.e. within a limited span of time, were countermarked later on, maybe after having circulated for a while and not right after been produced; or, alternatively, that several punches with Asomtavruli D were simultaneously used in the production cycle at the very mint where the coins were struck. Of course, further research is necessary; particularly productive may be an attempt to establish how many different D countermarks were applied to Tamar's coins struck with the same dies.

Fortunately, the date on coin 6 is on the flan; it is a clear-cut UL, which means 430 (Asomtavruli L of the marginal legend visible on coin 2 is not a date but a fragment of the word *sakhelit'a*: in the name). Therefore it may be deduced that at least some 4-line reverse 6-rosette irregular-shaped coins of Tamar were dated Koronikon 430 (=1210 AD).

The 4-line reverse variety of 6-rosette irregular-shaped coins of Queen Tamar is obviously quite rare, constituting only about 10% in those 3 groups which served as their source for us and which comprised more than 100 coins in total, about 60% being coins of Queen Tamar. However, the real rarity should be significantly higher, as none of the rest of Tamar's coins studied by us in 2002-2006 belonged to this variety and none of the venerated researchers of Georgian numismatics like Pakhomov, Lang or Kapanadze had reported it. To get a better idea of the rarity of this variety one should study the Funds of Simon Janashia Georgia Museum with its very rich collection of copper coins of the period, which numbered 11,000 pieces already by 1955 (1955 Kapanadze p. 30). A large proportion of these coins should be those of Queen Tamar.

We do not think that various varieties of irregular-shaped copper coins bearing Tamar's name, including the one discovered by us and being published in this paper, have any particular

importance *per se*; this very variety might have been produced by accidentally combining standard 6-rosette obverse dies with 4-line central legend reverse dies, the more so as reverse dies of this type were used for producing 8-rosette obverse 4-line central legend reverse coins of Tamar also dated Koronikon 430 (=1210 AD) (Turkia, Paghava); however, this points out that 6-rosette and 8-rosette coins were most probably issued at the same mint or mints.

Nevertheless, studying various varieties of these irregular-shaped copper coins proves and may prove later on to be quite useful in terms of elaborating the classification of Queen Tamar's coinage; the latter, along with studying die matches, is necessary for researching hoards and single coins in order to try to establish the geography of mints, application of countermarks, chronology of issue and its connection with various aspects of the reign, other concurrent issues of historical importance.

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### A Naṣrid square dirham struck in Baṣṭa (present-day Baza, Granada, Spain)

by Salvador Peña & Miguel Vega

The coin we present here is the only example we know from a series of unpublished dirhams issued by the Naṣrids, the last Islamic dynasty that ruled al-Andalus. In fact one of the Naṣrid sultans is referred to in its inscriptions, but only by his title (*al-ghālib bi-llāh*), used by two different rulers: 'Alī ibn Sa'd, known as *Māwlāy Ḥasan*, who ruled twice, between AH 868 and 887 (1464-1482 AD) and later between AH 888 and 890 (1483-1485 AD), and his brother, Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, known as *al-Zaḡhal*, who ruled between AH 890 and 892 (1485-1487 AD), immediately after the last Andalusī ruler, Abū 'Abd Allāh (*Boabdil*)<sup>1</sup>, who ruled between AH 891 and 897 (1486-1492 AD). Dirhams issued by both 'Alī and Muḥammad, the two of them bearers of the same religious title (*al-ghālib bi-llāh*) displayed on their coins, were published long ago<sup>2</sup>.

As the dirham<sup>3</sup> studied here was not properly struck, its legends are only partly readable, but we can complete them leaving the attribution to one of the two mentioned rulers open. Fortunately, the most interesting information on the coin is clearly visible. This relates to the place of minting for it can be easily read: *Baṣṭa*, the Arabic name for present-day Baza, a medium-size city, at the north-eastern edge of the old Naṣrid realm (100 km from Granada). The inscriptions are as follows:



لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
[رسول الله]

*lā ilāh illā  
allāh muḥammad  
[rasūl allāh]*

There is no god but  
God, Muḥammad  
[is the Messenger of  
God]



[عبد الله علي / عبد الله محمد]  
الغالب بالله  
بسطة

*['abd allāh 'alī / 'abd allāh  
muḥammad]  
al-ghālib bi-llāh  
baṣṭa*

['Abd Allāh 'Alī / 'Abd Allāh  
Muḥammad]  
al-Ghālib bi-Llāh  
Baza

Thus, there seems to be good evidence for claiming that the coin was issued in the city of Baza sometime between AH 868 and 892 (1464-1487 AD), probably because of the troublesome circumstances endured by the Naṣrid dynasty during the last years of their kingdom, just before the fall of Granada, at that time a stage of continuous, political struggles. It should be pointed out that Baṣṭa (Baza) has not hitherto been noted among the places where the Naṣrids issued coins, these previously comprising Gharnāta (Granada), Mālaqa (Málaga), al-Mariyya (Almería), Wādī Āsh (Guadix), al-Ḥamrā' (the Alhambra, in Granada), Jayyān (Jaén) and Mursiya (Murcia) in the Iberian peninsula, and Sabta (Ceuta) in North Africa.

### Another autonomous copper coin bearing the name of Safi

By Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia

The aim of this article is to publish an extremely rare civic copper coin bearing the name of Safi and to attempt to deduce where and when it was minted; and to make some observations on which side of Persian civic coppers should be considered the obverse.

The coin in question was purchased in Tbilisi, Georgia (the former Tiflis of the Safavid period) and is currently in a private collection. Details are as follows.



Obverse:

In the upper part of the coin: صفي (Safi); the long tail of the final letter *yā* extends to the right and serves as a divider between the upper and the middle parts of the coin.

In the middle: فلوس (falus) (the letter ف is not clear, nor is

the left-hand part of the letter س) and a circle-like element (probably a figure 5?) to the left.

<sup>1</sup> See Lafuente Alcántara, E., *Inscripciones árabes de Granada*, Madrid, 1860, p. 81; Farḥāt, Y. Š., *Gharnāta fī ḡill Banī l-Aḥmar*, Beirut, 1982, pp. 57 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> Prieto y Vives, A., "Numismática granadina", *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, 100 (1932), pp. 305-311 (see 270); Rodríguez Lorente, J.L., *Numismática naṣrī*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 86-87; Medina Gómez, A., *Monedas hispano-musulmanas*, Toledo, 1992, p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> 0,610 g.; 13,20 x 12'80 mm.; private collection.

The lower part of the coin is worn out, hence the mint formula is illegible and probably at least partially off-flan. Floral (?) decorations in the background.

**Reverse:** two curved fish, one above the other and facing in different directions (zodiacal Pisces?); floral (?) decorations in the background

Æ, Weight: 8.69 g; diameter: 20 mm; thickness: 2-3.5 mm

From iconographic and metrological points of view this coin looks like a typical “Persian” copper issue of the 17-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It resembles many other copper coins with the same design of two fish. Details about these are summarised in *Table 1*. It is noteworthy that there are no published coins minted in Tiflis with this design [2, pp. 47-65], except for coppers of king Vakhtang VI bearing the effigy of a ship on one side and 2 fish on the other side [2, p.60: #12, table V: #37].

This copper coin being published here is very remarkable for bearing the name of the ruler, Safi. Persian copper coins of the Safavid period are usually termed civic issues, i.e. anonymous copper coinage [7, p.20], also known as autonomous coinage [6, p. xc; 1, p.165], presenting “on the obverse a type, usually the figure of an animal, and on the reverse the name of the mint” [6, p. xc].

The indication of the ruler on copper coins of the period is extremely unusual [2, p. 51], Poole mentions “insignificant exceptions” to this rule, but unfortunately does not specify them [6, p. xc]; Rabino also writes about “a few exceptions”, but unfortunately does not specify them either [7, p. 20]. By 1979 there seemed to be known only one 17<sup>th</sup> century coin like this, minted in Tiflis with a design of a lion to the right with the rising sun behind, date not preserved, and bearing the name of Safi as well [2, p.51: #1, table IV: #25]. To our knowledge no more coins like this have been noted since then.

Bearing in mind the importance of the right of *sikka* for the Shahs of Iran [6, p. xx], we consider it extremely improbable for the Safi acknowledged on the coin not to be a Shah of Iran, i.e. either Safi I or Safi II Safavid; though theoretically it may be the rebel Fath Ali Khan as well, who at some time around 1747 AD “assumed the title of King of Iran, having himself called Shah Safi” [7, p.82].

Before proceeding with an attempt to establish which Safi was acknowledged on this coin, it seems reasonable to recall that Kutelia attributed the Tiflis coin bearing the name of Safi to Safi I and the Georgian king, Rostom [2, p.51-52].

Lang gives a concise summary of the story of Rostom’s enthronement: “Shah ‘Abbas the Great died in 1629. In the resulting confusion, it was a Georgian prince, Khusrau Mirza, prefect of Isfahan, whose energetic action resulted in the elevation of Sam Mirza, grandson of ‘Abbas, to the throne of Persia under the title of Shah Safi. This Khusrau was an illegitimate scion of the K’art’lian royal family... In recognition of his services to the new sovereign, he was given the title of Rustam Khan, and sent in 1632 as the shah’s *vali* or viceroy to Tiflis” [4, p. 12], where he became King Rostom, as “among the Georgians, the shah’s viceroy was still known by the title of *mep’ e* or king... internally he retained virtually absolute power over his subjects, within the limits of custom and the barriers imposed by local institutions, but had to refer questions of war and foreign affairs to his overlord, the shah” [4, p. 21].

Kutelia considered that Rostom put Safi’s name (i.e. the name of Safi I) even on the copper coin, and not just on the silver ones, as was normally the case, to stress the pro-Persian policy he was pursuing [2, p.52].

Another argument she used to support her attribution of the name Safi to Safi I was the fact that even the silver coinage of Safi II (not Sulayman I) is quite rare as that person ruled as Safi II only in 1077-1079 AH (1667-1669 AD), for about two years only [2, p.52]. This argument is valid in our case as well.

Moreover, the circle-like element , which is probably the

figure 5, and the last digit of the date, as there are no more figures visible to the right, also does not fit the reign of Safi II: 1077-1079 AH (1667-1669 AD), but does fit the reign of Safi I: 1038-1052 AH (1629-1642 AD). Therefore, if we assume that the above-mentioned element is the figure 5, and the last digit of the date, then we could conjecture that the only possible date which falls within the reign of Safi I is 1045 AH (1635/36 AD). It is worth noting that there exists an Iranian copper coin dated 1045 also having a “two fish” design [3, #032, Chronological List of Coin Types (in Pakhomov’s Collection in the State Hermitage Museum)], though apparently not bearing the name of any ruler.

The present coin was purchased in Tbilisi, former Tiflis, and taking into account the preponderance of South Caucasian civic coppers in the local numismatic market this fact may be considered as an additional though very indirect hint of its “local”, and maybe even Georgian origin.

As the only other coin known to us which also bears the name of Safi was minted in Tiflis, most probably during the reign of Safi I, and taking into account the political situation in Eastern Georgia, we reckon that there is enough solid ground for carefully postulating that this falus might have been minted in 1045 AH (1635/36 AD) also in Tiflis by King Rostom (Rustam Khan), “one of the few far-sighted Georgian statesmen of the time who preferred conciliation to gallant but often suicidal patriotic ardour” [4, p.17], and constituted a new type of Tiflis copper money.

In our opinion it is less likely that this coin was issued either by Safi II or Fath Ali Khan or was minted in Iravan or any other city in the Persian realm, but for the moment it would be definitely premature to be certain that this coin was minted under the authority of Safi I in Tiflis and not in any other city of the Iranian state, not excluding cities for which no copper coins with the fish design are currently known. To be able to claim something with more certainty, one needs to find another specimen with the mint and preferably the date fully preserved on it, or to discover copper coins of the same or different design being minted somewhere else but also bearing the name of Safi.

If any reader of this paper is aware of yet another copper coin of the Safavid period like this, we would be extremely grateful if he or she could contact us at [meseft@gmail.com](mailto:meseft@gmail.com) to let us know of the existence, whereabouts and other details of such a coin.

We would also like to add that this coin along with the other one, also bearing the name of Safi, might help us in better understanding which side of the copper civic coins was considered the main one by contemporaries, or, more precisely, by the contemporaries who were in charge of minting coins. The reverse being defined “as the face of the coin struck from the lower punch, and the obverse as the face struck by the upper”, the obverse of the coin may be established by observing brockages [1, p.27], but unfortunately there seem to be no research of this type done with regards to Persian copper coins of the period. In our opinion, therefore, it was quite normal for many authors to consider the side with some design as the obverse by either putting it on the left in illustrations [2, Tables 4-5; 3, Tables 1-34; 8, ##1-180] or even directly mentioning it in the text [1, p.165; 6, p.xc; 7, p.20]: “one side of the coin (called the obverse by modern numismatists) to portray an animal, plant or other design, and the other side for a simple inscription consisting of date and mint” [1, p.165]; the fact that, on Tiflis coppers with no indication of a Safavid suzerain but with the initials of Georgian kings, the latter were placed also on the side with the design [2, pp. 61-62], proves the correctness of this decision, though, on the two coins with the name of Safi, the obverse is definitely the side with the ruler’s name (the more so as there is no *kalima* on them); the fact that the side with legends was considered more proper for the ruler’s name may indicate that the contemporary view of which side was the main one (“obverse”) was different (unless of course Safi was placed on the legend side simply because of lack of space on the design side). It is noteworthy that Pakhomov considered the

design side to be the reverse [5, pp. 226-228]. Anyway, further research in this direction is needed.

*Acknowledgments:* We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Giorgi Janjgava for his generosity in making available to us many interesting and scarce books we were looking for when working on this paper.

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**Table 1. A summary of anonymous copper coins with 2 fish designs, arranged by date.**

City	Date, AH	Design	Reference	Reference Number	Inventory number if known/Location
Tabriz	950	listed as “fishes”	According to [3] listed in Markov A. [Inventory Catalogue of Moslem Coins of The Emperor’s Hermitage], St-Petersburg, 1896.	011 [3, Chronological List of Coin Types]	The State Hermitage Museum?
Urumi	980	2 fish	[3]	007 [3, Catalogue]	5656/ State Museum of Georgia
Ardabil	1052	2 arcuate fish	[3]	001 [3, Catalogue]	5731/ State Museum of Georgia
Iravan	1045	listed as “fishes”	According to [3] in Pakhomov’s Collection in The State Hermitage Museum	032 [3, Chronological List of Coin Types]	The State Hermitage Museum
Iravan	1144	listed as “fishes”	According to [3] listed in Markov A. [Inventory Catalogue of Moslem Coins of The Emperor’s Hermitage], St-Petersburg, 1896.	222 [3, Chronological List of Coin Types]	The State Hermitage Museum?
Rasht	1167	listed as “fishes”	According to [3] listed in Tabatabai J. [Coins of the Islamic Shahs of Iran], 1350 (1972).	246 [3, Chronological List of Coin Types]	Tabriz Museum?
Rasht	1169	2 arcuate fish	[3]	367 [3, Catalogue]	7875/ State Museum of Georgia
Nakhjavan	1198	2 fish	[3]	530-533 [3, Catalogue]	5679, 5768, 7520, 7575/ State Museum of Georgia
Rasht	1207	listed as “fishes”	According to [3] in Pakhomov’s Collection in The State Hermitage Museum	290 [3, Chronological List of Coin Types]	The State Hermitage Museum
Rasht	1221	sunface with 2 fish around	[8]	88	?
Khuy	124?	listed as “fishes”	[3]	356 [3, Catalogue]	3429/ State Museum of Georgia
Rasht	1287	2 arcuate fish	[8]	96	?
Hamadan	X	2 slightly arcuate fish	[8]	30	?
Qandahar	X	2 catfishes	[6]	152	?
Khuy	X	listed as “fishes”	[3]	362 [3, Catalogue]	6559/ State Museum of Georgia

## Some Bactrian Monogram Successions

By L.M.Wilson

Monograms<sup>1,2</sup> on the coinage from Demetrios I to Eukratides I show a clear succession with the major monograms passing from one king to the next. The more complex monograms of Apollodotos I and other Indo-Greek kings are presumably associated with mints south of the Hindu Kush and are not included in this succession. The last Bactrian monograms of Heliokles I and Eukratides I present special features which are discussed. The main monogram 'mint marks' from Euthydemos I to Heliokles I (mainly on the silver coinage) are shown in Table 1.

Two of the most important monograms with long series of successions are  $\text{P}$  and  $\Phi$ . The first ( $\text{P}$ ) seems to be associated with the capital Bactra<sup>3</sup> and some of the other monograms, for example those based on the A motif, could also have been used there at this time<sup>2</sup>. Monogram  $\Phi$  was started by Demetrios I and is probably not located in the capital Bactra (which continued to

use  $\text{P}$  as its main monogram) or even in northern Bactria<sup>3</sup>, but somewhere further south in Bactria and is probably associated with a new mint set up by Demetrios I. Two candidates for this new mint are Panjhir (a mint favoured in ref. 2, but with different monogram) and the city of Demetrias in Arachosia founded by Demetrios I. Demetrios probably set up this mint before the death of Euthydemos I because there are issues of Demetrios I with a very young-looking, boyish portrait with this monogram. However, there are (so far) no lifetime issues of Euthydemos I with this monogram, which is surprising if this mint was producing coinage during his lifetime. This raises interesting questions about Demetrios issuing coinage in his own name while still a 'joint king' with Euthydemos I, as probably also happened in the time of Diodotos I and II and perhaps also later in the time of Eukratides I. Of course it complicates the monogram succession from one king to the next when monograms are shared between two or more joint kings at the same time, for example Agathokles, Pantaleon, Euthydemos II and Antimachos I.

Table 1. The main monograms on the silver coinage

	$\text{P}$	$\text{P}$	$\Phi$	$\Phi$	A	W	H	A	W	□
for the following;										
Euthydemus I	$\text{P}$					W		A		
Demetrios I	$\text{P}$	$\text{P}$	$\Phi$		A			(A)		
Euthydemos II	$\text{P}$		$\Phi$		A			A		
Pantaleon			$\Phi$		A					
Agathokles	$\text{P}$		$\Phi$		A					
Antimachos I	$\text{P}$			$\Phi$			H			
Eukratides I (early)	$\text{P}$		$\Phi$			W	H			
Eukratides I (late)	$\text{P}$	$\text{P}$	$\Phi$	$\Phi$		W	H	A		□
Eukratides II						H				
Demetrios II								A	W	
Heliokles I					A			A	W	□

Some monogram sequences can be found among the main monograms, giving chronological 'monogram successions'. The  $\text{P}$  monogram passes from Euthydemus I to Demetrios I to Euthydemos II, Agathokles and Antimachos I (possibly sharing this at the same time) then finally to Eukratides I. Apollodotos I does also use this monogram south of the Hindu Kush, where it then continues with his Indo-Greek successors. The  $\Phi$  monogram passes from Demetrios I to Euthydemos II, Pantaleon and Agathokles (possibly sharing this with Antimachos I at about the same time since it does occur on his obols) then finally to

Eukratides I. The coinage of Agathokles is divided into earlier and later issues by his adoption of the  $\Delta\text{IKAI}\text{OY}$  epithet, the later issues include his commemorative 'pedigree' coinage. It may be significant that while both his major monograms ( $\text{P}$  and  $\Phi$ ) appear on these pedigree coins,  $\text{P}$  appears on his non-pedigree coins but  $\Phi$  does not. Is it possible that the  $\Phi$  mint was lost by Agathokles in this later phase before the  $\text{P}$  mint, leaving Bactra ( $\text{P}$ ) as his last stronghold?

Eukratides I used these two major monograms of Agathokles ( $\text{P}$  and  $\text{P}$ ) on his earlier coinage showing that he used these mints early in his reign. This is evidence that the adoption of the epithet by Eukratides I was not due to the conquest of Bactria since he continued to issue his 'early' type coinage without epithet after he acquired these monograms from Agathokles and Antimachos. Eukratides also acquired two monograms from Antimachos I,  $\text{P}$  and  $\text{P}$ . The second of these,  $\text{P}$  was acquired early in the reign of Eukratides I, but the  $\text{P}$  monogram was only used on the later coinage (with epithet) and probably after he crossed the Hindu Kush since this appears to be a southern monogram. This suggests it is possible that Antimachos I continued to reign in the south after the demise of Agathokles and continued to use this monogram on his coinage, unless of course Antimachos was eliminated when Eukratides acquired his Bactrian mints. This southern mint monogram actually appears to have been acquired by Eukratides from a successor of Antimachos I, namely Menander.

Several new monograms were implemented by Apollodotos I, as is to be expected since new mints had to be set up in the new indo-Greek territories, but some monograms (often used together with others) are the same as those used on the coinage of the Euthydemids and seem to pass south to Apollodotos I, eg.  $\text{A}$  and  $\text{P}$ . Menander I also started using many new monograms - probably due to many new mints being opened in the new South and East Indian territories controlled by Menander. With these two kings the impetus for new control marks seems to have been the opening of new mints in new territories.

A multiplicity of new monograms also start to appear on the coinage of Eukratides I in the later period of his coinage (with epithet) and only 3 seem to be associated with acquisitions south of the Hindu Kush in the Indian territories. Is this appearance of about 25 new monograms on the Attic silver coinage a sign of fragmentation and crisis in the kingdom, possibly due to the need for many new local mints? Although only 3 of these monograms are the same as those on the coinage of Heliokles I, several others are fairly similar. This has been discussed previously<sup>4</sup>, and while it does not seem to support the minting of very large numbers of posthumous Eukratides coins by Heliokles I, there may of course have been posthumous issues of both kings using some of these new monograms after Heliokles I. So-called 'barbarous imitations' of these kings are well known, but can all the posthumous coins be identified as such if they are of better workmanship and style? They may be difficult to identify.

Many new monograms also appear on the coinage of Heliokles I. At least 22 new monograms are used, nearly as many as for Eukratides I and only a few seem to be inherited from his predecessors. This may seem surprising, but then it could be explained if Bactria was already in a state of disintegration under the weight of Nomadic attacks (like the situation during the later coinage period of Eukratides I, above). Old established mints would cease to operate as cities were sacked or conquered and new mints would need to be set up in new towns or even travelling mints would be needed that moved with the king on his campaigns. This would give a multiplicity of new monograms and would also help to explain the fact that Heliokles I issued only silver coinage. Only silver would be needed in these desperate times to pay the troops or for the tribute to pay the invading nomads. The reasons for the explosion of monograms under Heliokles (and also the later period of Eukratides I) could thus be completely different to the explosion under Menander. As a consequence of this production of an entirely silver coinage some of the mints or mint workshops that had previously produced bronze coins could have switched to producing silver, perhaps using different monograms and again increasing the total number of monograms; it is hard to be sure since none of these actually appear to be the same as those used on the bronze of Eukratides I. Another factor contributing to the number of monograms here

could also be the production of posthumous Heliokles and Eukratides coinage with different monograms. Some of the issues could well be posthumous (as mentioned above) despite being of apparently 'normal' style for the period, since this has declined in any case and many of the later Eukratides I coins actually have quite poor style and flans, making it harder to distinguish the 'posthumous' or 'barbarous' coins from the official ones.

Some mints could have used several different monograms at the same time, particularly the principal mint at Bactra, as had probably happened before during the reigns of the Euthydemids. Another way of accounting for some of these new monograms would be to gather several monograms together into 'families' that are possibly derived from or related to one 'original'

monogram. An early example could be  $\text{P}$  (with cross bar), which could be a variant of  $\text{P}$ . If these 'variants' were then all produced at the same mint, it would reduce the number of apparent mints operating. These variants could represent different workshops at the mint or could sometimes be produced simply by the carelessness of individual engravers leading to small differences (the later style certainly degenerates and the engraver's understanding of the monograms could decrease). The few

monograms of Heliokles I that are inherited include,  $\text{A}$  which begins on the coinage of Euthydemos I and passes to Euthydemos

II, Eukratides I, Demetrios II and Heliokles I. The similar  $\text{P}$  also passes from Eukratides I to Heliokles I. This may even be a

later variant of  $\text{A}$  as some of these monograms could change

over a period of time, for example the  $\text{A}$  monogram may change into several similar monogram 'variants' that were produced from the same mint, such as the last monograms shown

in Table 1,  $\text{A}$  and  $\text{P}$ . This monogram could even be related

to the  $\text{P}$  monogram, as a very similar monogram with a loop on the first vertical was used on the coinage of Euthydemos I, and

also related to the similar  $\text{A}$  monogram which was used on the

coinage of Euthydemos I along with  $\text{A}$ . Other 'families' of

similar monograms can be found, eg.  $\text{P}$  passes from Eukratides I to Heliokles I and may evolve into several other monograms of Heliokles I that are similar in appearance. This could reduce the monograms into only half a dozen or so families. If the monograms within these families are related 'variants' and these families of monograms are in fact associated with only one mint, it may go some way to account for the appearance of so many monograms on the coinage of Eukratides I and Heliokles I.

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- 2] MITCHINER, M., *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol.1, 1975
- 3] HOLT, F. L., *The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria; Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum*, *Revue Numismatique* XXIII, 1981, pp. 7-44
- 4] WILSON, L.M., *The End of Eukratides I of Bactria*, ONS 185, p32, 2005

### A Rupee of Muqarrab Khan Gakhar

By Haroon Tareen

A unique copper Falus of Muqarrab Khan, the Gakhar ruler of territory between the Rivers Jhelum and Indus, comprising the Salt Range and the districts of Rawalpindi and Attock, was

published in ONS Journal 187. Now a unique silver rupee of the same ruler has turned up in a private collection.

The coin weighs 11 grams (similar to contemporary Mughal rupees) and is made from high-grade silver. The legend on the obverse is the Kalima written in a script similar to Naskh without any out-line or border. On the reverse, the legend is almost same as that on the copper falus published earlier, except that the mint is Sultanpur and is inscribed below the king's name on that side. As mentioned in the earlier article, Sultanpur Fort (located about eight kilometers from Mangla) was the headquarters of the early Gakhars.

The date on the coin is 1131 AH, which means that it must have been struck at the beginning of Muqarrab's reign. The significance of the year 1131 AH in the history of India is great as, during that very year, the Mughal empire (already on the way to rapid decline) suffered from severe internecine conflicts and four Mughal kings occupied the throne of Delhi in succession, viz Farrukhsiyar 1124-1131 AH, Rafi' al-Darjat 1131 AH, Shah Jahan II 1131 AH and Muhammad Shah 1131-1161 AH. The central authority at Delhi was, therefore, in a state of disarray and control over the provinces and other peripheral regions, was diminishing. Against this backdrop, several subedars became independent of the central authority at Delhi while new powers like the Sikhs consolidated their gains and emerged as independent states. The decline of Muqarrab's rule commenced in 1179 AH after a defeat suffered at the hands of the Sikhs at Gujrat in northern Punjab and the precise date of his death is known from contemporary accounts to be 1183 AH.

This raises a question as to how could only two coins have survived (or be reported) of a local ruler who ruled for almost 48 years, and not in the very distant past (two and a half centuries ago). The probability is that the coinage was not issued regularly but only sporadically and that mostly coinage of neighbouring kingdoms was used as currency. Muqarrab was a local chieftain of a marauding tribe. The territory under his control was barren and unproductive. Agriculture was dependent upon rain and even that was only possible where level ground was available. There was not much trade or commerce either. Rock salt and small quantities of coal were mined and exported. It is obvious that a few silver and copper coins were minted to support Muqarrab's claim to the throne, independent of Mughal supremacy. Moreover, it is unlikely that any local coinage was issued while Nadir Shah was around.



*La ilaha illa Allah Muhammad Rasul Allah*

*(Darmiyan) Attock wa Jehlum shud (Muqarrab Badshah – (Zar) Sultan(pur) 1131*

*Between Attock and Jhelum, Muqarrab is king. Struck at Sultanpur. 1131*

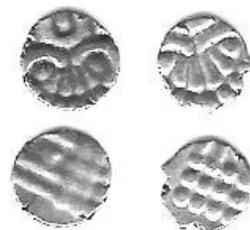
[Words in brackets are off flan]

### Chiuli Fanams of Ramnad

By Barbara Mears

These crudely struck base fanams are roughly modelled on the fanams of "Viraraya" style that circulated in Cochin and Travancore. I acquired mine (see illustration below) from a friend in Nagarcoil as a gift, and understood that they were used in the very southernmost part of Tamil Nadu. Prinsep, in his "Useful Tables" notes a "Suli" fanam in circulation in the Tirunelveli area

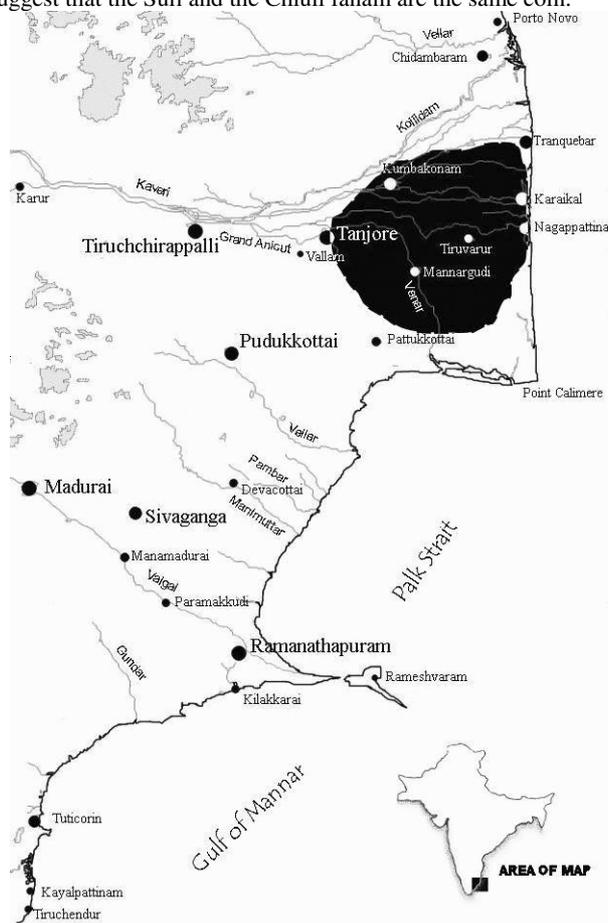
prior to 1833 that contained only 25% gold, but I had not connected this fact with these particular coins.<sup>1</sup> When Hans Herrli kindly sent me a manuscript copy of his proposed book on fanams (now published) I must admit I did not have much time to read it. Now I have been able to peruse it properly I see that coins of this type are listed as modern fakes and fabrications (types 1.17.20 – 1.17.35).<sup>2</sup>



*Coin on the left: 0.35g, 8mm*

*Coin on the right: 0.34g, 7mm*

It was only this summer, while researching for my M.A. dissertation, that I read an article written by Lennart Bes, about the Sethupatis of Ramnad and their relationship with the Dutch, and suddenly the penny (or should I say fanam) dropped.<sup>3</sup> In this paper he mentions that in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the coinage of Ramanathapuram (Ramnad) included "Chiuli" fanams, but they were only valid locally. According to VOC records, 12 could be exchanged for 9 Madurai fanams at the weekly market in the town of Pativenalur that served merchants from the Fishery and Coromandel coasts.<sup>4</sup> He suggests this town may be present day Partibanur, near Sivaganga, and that its original name meant "twelve hours" as it was a 12-hour journey west of Ramnad on the road to Madurai. Herrli (p.10) gives a table of all the different fanams he has encountered, including a Madurai fanam that contained 31% gold when noted by Bartolomeo.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, according to Prinsep's records, 12 Suli fanams should have bought 9.68 Madurai fanams. If allowances are made for small variations in gold content over time, this exchange rate is not far removed from the 12:9 ratio in the Dutch records, and I would suggest that the Suli and the Chiuli fanam are the same coin.<sup>6</sup>



The word “Chiuli” suggests that they were issued by local Muslim trading communities. Throughout his work on trade on the Coromandel Coast, Sinnappah Arasaratnam refers to these merchants as Chulias; however, they are more commonly referred to in contemporary texts as Maraikkāyars.<sup>7</sup> They were Shāfi‘i Muslims, descendants of Arabs from the Gulf, and they had two important enclaves on the Fishery Coast: at Kayalpattinam, where they had been greatly involved in the importation of Arabian horses until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and at Kilakkarai, situated just south of Ramnad and the Pamban Channel. This narrow strait, passing between the mainland and the island of Rāmēśvaram, was the only deep-water passage between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal that did not involve circumnavigating Sri Lanka. After the Dutch acquired Tuticorin and Nagapattinam from the Portuguese in 1658, they realised that whoever controlled the shipping passing through this passage could control all the sea trade between the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and they took steps to secure it for themselves.

In the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when these fanams were circulating, Kilakkarai and its inhabitants were thus in a key position, but were nevertheless suffering from impositions upon their traditional trading activities (and prevented from exploiting newer opportunities) by the Dutch. The political situation in the hinterland was also complicated. This coastline had nominally been under the jurisdiction of the Madurai Nāyakas, but both its ports, and the important Hindu pilgrimage site at Rāmēśvaram, was separated from Madurai by an area of wild country haunted by tribes of nomadic pastoralists who eked out their existence by robbing travellers. In 1605 the chief of one of these Marava bands, Sadaika Tēvar, provided protection to the guru of the Madurai Nāyaka on his pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram, for which he was honoured and given land grants. He imposed some order on his new territory and levied taxes for the Nāyaka, who in return installed him at Pogalur (near Ramnad) with the title of “Sēthupati” (Lord of the Bridge). As the influence of the Sēthupati grew, other local chiefs sought alliance with him, and by the 1660’s he could call on a large army of Marava warriors, which was gainfully employed both in local disputes between the Nāyakas of Madurai and Tanjore, and in regional disputes involving the forces of Bijapur, Mysore and the Marathas. The Nāyakas of Madurai, realising his power, veered between heaping honours on his head in reward for military support, and attempting to curtail his rise by launching periodic invasions into his territory and backing rival claimants to his title.

In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the Portuguese had pretty much seized control of the Fishery Coast, and its lucrative annual pearl and conch harvest, although they were careful to allow the Madurai Nāyaka his due share. When the Dutch arrived, the Sēthupati saw an opportunity to advance his influence on the coast and allied himself with them. With him came the Muslim traders, who had long had a grudge against the Portuguese, as they naturally favoured their Christian converts, the Paravas, over them in matters of trade. Initially all went well, as the Dutch gave the Sēthupati’s shipping the right to use the Strait of Mannar in return for free passage through the Pamban Channel. The new capital at Ramnad became an important local market and pilgrimage centre, and both the Sēthupati and the Maraikkāyars could trade freely to Bengal, Sri Lanka, the Malabar Coast, and the Gulf. Trouble arose after 1674 when the Sēthupati was obliged to sign an extremely disadvantageous treaty with the Dutch that involved him giving up most of his rights to free trade by sea.

In 1674, the old Sēthupati, Tirumala, died. He had originally been called Raghunātha Tēvar, but had been granted his new name as a great honour by the great Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai. However, by the 1660s he was at war with the new Madurai Nāyaka, Chokkanātha, and in the 1670s he also became embroiled on the side of the Tanjore Nāyakas in the conflicts that led to their demise. These wars were very expensive, and it appears that the new treaty was signed in return for a loan from the Dutch.<sup>8</sup> Madurai forcibly prevented Tirumala’s chosen heir from succeeding to his title, which, after an extended conflict, passed to

his illegitimate son, Raghunātha Sēthupati, who was commonly known as Kilavan. Finding that the Dutch loan and their restrictive treaty severely compromised his income from trade, the new ruler resorted to forging new alliances with the English and French and to illicit shipping activities. The Maraikkāyar merchants of Kilakkarai were key partners in the latter enterprise. In fact, the period between 1675 and 1735 saw the apogee of their power. Initially their leaders came from an important merchant family who went by the appellation of “The Thambis” (brothers). The chief of these was naturally called Periya Thambi (Big Brother), his full title being “Vijaya Raghunātha Periya Thambi”, to demonstrate that he acted as Sēthupati Raghunātha’s agent on the coast. These services included the right to collect revenue on his behalf in return for an agreed annual amount (termed revenue farming). Obviously, in order to be able to act as a revenue farmer, the Thambis had to be both wealthy enough to make the necessary advance payment, have a detailed knowledge of how much tax the area in question was likely to yield, and the military power and administrative expertise necessary to extract it from the populace. Being acknowledged as the second most powerful group in the area, fully conversant with local trading patterns and very wealthy, they were perhaps the only people who were able to perform this role successfully. The Dutch often referred to them in their records as the “Regents for the Lowlands” due to their total control of the Sēthupati ports. It is likely that the Chiuli fanams were issued by them during this period, possibly in connection with their revenue collecting activities.

Throughout the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century, correspondence between the Dutch and the Sēthupatis was full of calls to remove this family from power. This was not just due to their mercantile activities, which included forging lucrative but unauthorised agreements with certain Dutch agents stationed in this somewhat isolated area, but also because they were apt to use force when extracting tax from the Parava fishermen.<sup>9</sup> In 1685, following a blockade by a Dutch fleet sent from Sri Lanka, the Sēthupati was granted some trade concessions on condition he no longer employed the Thambis or their associates in administrative roles. However, their wealth and influence could not be ignored. Furthermore, the Sēthupatis continued to find them extremely useful as a screen and, to an extent, as scapegoats for trading activities that infringed the terms of their agreement with the VOC, and, by 1690, they had regained their old position. It was at this time that the Dutch invaded the holy island of Rāmēśvaram, and, after fierce opposition, were appeased by the right to house a Dutch agent on the island at Pambanaar and also at Kilakkarai to oversee shipping in the Pamban Channel. The Thambis resented this Dutch interference and, among other things, sabotaged the annual pearl fishery of 1698, in which both had a share, by refusing to make the normal cash advances to the divers, and persuading all the boats from Kilakkarai and Kayapattinam to boycott it. Soon after this the first of the three known Periya Thambis died, and was replaced by his brother ‘Abd al-Qādir Maraikkāyar. He was undoubtedly the most famous, being such a lavish patron of the arts, and in particular Tamil translations of Islamic literature, that he was immortalised in the 18<sup>th</sup> century epic poetry of the area as the hero Cītakāti.<sup>10</sup> However, by 1710 the Thambis’ position with the Sēthupatis had been usurped by another merchant family from Kilakkarai, the Labbais, who acted as their agents in the same way.

It was in 1710 that Kilavan Sēthupati died. He had nominated an illegitimate son, Bhavāni Śankara Tēvar as his successor, but his subjects preferred his second legitimate son, Vijaya Raghunātha (also known as Udaya Tēvar). He appeared to have spent much of his reign in the fortress of Arantāngi, near Pudukkottai, but was constantly harassed by Bhavāni Śankara, who eventually gained control of the throne in 1725. In order to do this he forged an alliance with the Maratha ruler of Tanjore, on the (unfulfilled) promise of returning some lands in the north of the country that had been annexed by Kilavan in the latter part of the previous century. There were two other contenders for the Sēthupati throne at the time: Kattaya Tēvar and Sasivarna Tēvar who also sought

Tanjore's support with their claims. Annoyed by the fact he had not had his lands returned, Safoji gave them military support also. It was the subsequent incursions that led to the division of the Sēthupati kingdom in 1729; Safoji reclaiming his lost lands, Sasivarna receiving the area around Śivaganga and becoming the first Rājā of Śivaganga, and Kattaya retaining a much reduced Sēthupati kingdom centred on Ramnad.

After this, many of the Sēthupati rulers were minors, dominated by their Hindu Dalavays (chief ministers), and who mysteriously died before they achieved the maturity necessary to rule independently. This pattern was initiated by Kattaya, an illiterate, who left all administrative matters in the hands of Labbai Nayinar. In 1731 the Dutch Resident at Kilakkarai noted that he dominated and directed all meetings between them and the Sēthupati.<sup>11</sup> However, he severely overstepped his authority when he dropped strong hints to the VOC that, were the Sēthupati to be dethroned, he would allow them to build a fort at Kilakkarai, and he was dismissed. This marked the end of the close association between the Muslim merchants of Kilakkarai and the Sēthupatis of Ramnad, although the former may have continued issuing Chiuli fanams after this period for use in local trade.

1. Prinsep, J., *Useful Tables*, John Murray, London, 1858. (Republished by Asian Educational Services, 1995), p.44

2. Herrli, H., *Gold Fanams, 1336-2000*, Reesha Books, Mumbai, 2006.

3. Bes, L., "The Setupatis, the Dutch and Other Bandits in Eighteenth-Century Ramnad (South India).", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, #44, 2001, pp.540-573.

4. Bes (p.551) also gives other coins that equated to the value of 12 Ramnad "chiuli" fanams as follows:

= 9 Madurai

= 1 pardao (gold half-pagoda / varaha coin)

= Half a pagoda

= 1.75 Rupees

= 3 Dutch Guilders

= 5 British Sterlings

These figures are taken from the records of the VOC in the Algenmeen Rijksarchief Archives in the Hague, dated to 1731 (#2185 folio 1066, & #2224 folio 1624).

5. This fanam is mentioned by Bartolomeo in the *Viaggio all Indie Orientali*, published in Rome, 1862.

6. Arasaratnam, in *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740* (OUP, Delhi, 1986, p.13), using Van Imhoff's notes of 1738, writes that the Madurai fanam had gradually been debased. In 1698 eighteen could be exchanged for one pagoda, but by 1738 a pagoda would buy 27.

7. Arasaratnam, S., *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740*, OUP, Delhi, 1986.

8. Arasaratnam, S., "Commercial Policies of the Sethupathis of Ramanathapuram 1660-1690", in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, 1968*, International Association of Tamil Research, Madras, 1971, p.253.

9. Rao, V.N., Shulman, D. & Subrahmanyam, S. *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu*, OUP, Delhi, 1992, p.277.

10. *ibid.*

11. Bes, L., *JESHO*, 2001, p.557

### Too Many Raghunāthas: Vijaya Raghunātha legend on coins of Tanjore & Pudukkottai

By Barbara Mears

This article is to be read in conjunction with my paper on Chiuli fanams above, as much of the history of the Sēthupatis of Ramnad that it contains is of relevance to both, as is the map. In it I mentioned that Kilavan Sēthupati had acquired much land around Pudukkottai and further north that had originally belonged to the Nāyakas of Tanjore after their demise in 1673/4. I also noted the habit of marking the sharing of power with an important but subsidiary ruler by the gifting of names and titles. As we have seen, the traditional name of the Sēthupatis had been Raghunātha, and they granted the right to use the title "Vijaya Raghunātha" not just to the Periya Thambis, but also to their Labbai successors and the head of the rising Tondaiman family of Pudukkottai. This was motivated by the same reasoning that inspired Tirumala Nāyaka to bestow his name on the original Raghunātha Tēvar in the 1650s.

The thing that these lesser rulers had in common was that they were heads of independent polities at the periphery of the Sēthupati heartlands, with whom it would be advantageous to forge ties of loyalty. Obviously the Thambis did not use this title on their coins, but I have reason to believe that the early rulers of Pudukkottai may have done so. Arumuga Seetharaman lists sixteen copper coins bearing this title in his book on the coinage of the Nāyakas of Tanjore, where he ascribes them to Raghunātha Nāyaka (1600-34) (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 1

Coin 27: "Tanjavur Nayaka Kasugal", A. Seetharaman 2.8 g  
Tamil legend: "Vijayaraghunatha"

One is also listed by Mitchiner as a coin of Vijaya Kumāra of Madurai.<sup>2</sup> I am not certain how the Sēthupatis got the right to use this title themselves. It could have originally been granted by Raghunātha Nāyaka in return for military services.

As mentioned above, the Sēthupatis were of local peasant origin, they used Tamil on their coins and, despite their links to Rāmēśvaram with its associations with Rāma, their tutelary deity was Saivite. The legend on these "Vijaya Raghunātha" coins is in Tamil and their iconography is mainly Saivite. The Nāyakas of Tanjore were of Telegu extraction and they tended to use this language on their other coins (fig. 2) and in their literature.



Coin naming Raghunatha in Telugu, 3.94 g, 14 mm  
Narayana and Lakshmi (holding discus)

They also employed mainly Vaishnavite imagery on their coins as they worshipped a form of Krishna called Raghunātha whose shrine was at Mannārgudi. Seetharaman gives find spots for his coins, which I have marked in black on the map. Only one was found in Tanjore, the rest appear to have been found around Mannārgudi, a good distance south-east of Tanjore, or further east. The Saivite imagery and crude Tamil script would suggest that the legend "Vijaya Raghunātha" was being used as a title by a local dynasty that controlled land in the Mannārgudi / Tiruvarur area rather than the Tanjore Nāyakas themselves. The early Rajas of Pudukkottai were just such a group, their heartland was just south-west of the find spots, they were Saivites, and a couple of the deities on these coins (Seetharaman #27 & 31) look exceedingly like later representations of their tutelary deity Brihadamba (fig. 3, and compare with Mitchiner vol.II, #793-798).



Fig. 3

Left: Pudukkottai cash – hammered coin, 1.28 g, 11 mm  
Legend: "Vijaya"

Right: Milled issue, 1.28 g, 12 mm, same legend

Furthermore, their later coins also bear the legend "Vijaya" on the reverse. I had previously taken this to be a generally auspicious invocation, like the "Śrī Vīra" on copper *kāsu* of Madurai, but it is perhaps more understandable as the remnant of an old title that had been used on previous currency.

The only problem with this argument is that there have been no recorded finds in Pudukkottai itself. However, I still feel that the fabric of the coins is more in line with known issues of the 18<sup>th</sup>

century, rather than the early 17<sup>th</sup>, when coin flans tended to be thicker and more rounded at the edges. I would suggest that if they were not issued by Pudukkottai rulers, they still belong to the post-Nāyaka period, 1674-1729, when this area was contested and may have been controlled by Raghunātha Sēthupati (Kilavan) or another local ruler who, unknown to history, had also been granted the right to use the title “Vijaya Raghunātha” by him. Another alternative is that they were issued for circulation in the markets of Mannārgudi itself, and the legend honours the local deity. However, I feel this is unlikely in view of the Saivite icons on the reverse.

1. Seetharaman, A., *Taijāvūr Nāyaka Kāsugal*, published by author in Tamil, Tanjore, 2002, #16-31, pp.19-27.
2. Mitchiner, M., *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, Part Two, Kerala –Tamil Nadu, Hawkins Publications, London, 1978, #1047

### Silver Coins From First Millennium Mainland Southeast Asia: New Discoveries

By Vasilij Mihailovs, Ronachai Krisadaolarn

Although the first millenium coins, or coin-like medals, found in the settlements of first millennium, mainland Southeast Asia have been studied extensively<sup>1-5</sup>, new types of coins are discovered on a regular basis<sup>6-8</sup> and are not taken into account in major reviews. In this article we present some coin types published in some journals that are not widely available, as well as some newly discovered types which are, to our best knowledge, hitherto unpublished.



Fig. 1

The specimens shown in fig.1 have been published before<sup>7,8</sup>. However, since the original publications are not widely available, we illustrate them in this review. The first coin (upper left) has an elephant charging a lion turning to attack on one side, and a standing female figure surrounded by vegetal tendrils on the other side. The coin was published in a Thai language publication<sup>1</sup>, and

is reproduced and discussed in detail in an English language article<sup>8</sup>. The remaining coins on fig.1 have been published in the Thai language only<sup>7</sup>. The second coin (upper right) bears an adult elephant with a calf and a man riding the elephant on one side, and a Sanskrit legend on the other side. The Sanskrit legend written in the Pallava script translates "Bhanda, whose title is *Sripunangavamanga*, has abandoned the ascetic attempts and devotes himself to the Boddhisattva". Only one specimen of this coin is known to exist; it belongs to the collection of The Gallery of Northern Art and Culture in Chiang Mai. The coin is attributed to the end of the first millennium. The third coin (lower left) depicts an unidentified plant on one side, and a *srivatsa* symbol of the late Dvaravati style on the other side. The only known coin of this type is stored in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha museum complex, The Royal Regalia, Decorations and Coins Pavilion, in Bangkok. The last coin is engraved with a bird, probably, a seabird, on one side, and a fish and *ankusa* symbol below on the other side. The authors possess no information regarding the number and location of known specimens. All coins in fig. 1 are of the full unit size, and weigh approximately 9-10g, although we have no details of exact weights.



Fig. 2

The coins illustrated in fig.2 (courtesy Anders Berglund) remained unpublished in the major reviews regardless of the fact that they were discovered by one of the most authoritative Thai archaeologists during the excavations in Satburi district of Chainat province about twenty years ago<sup>6</sup>. The more recent discovery of a hoard with these coins is reported in U Thong, one of two core-cities of the first millennium Menam Valley civilisation in Suphanburi province<sup>9</sup>. The coins are known in two denominations - full unit and quarter unit - with the full unit weight standard being approximately 9g. Although the number of known specimens is relatively large, only three specimens are known outside museum collections.



Fig. 3

The series in fig. 3 consists of three coins with a similar design of a *srivatsa* symbol on the reverse. The first coin (left-to-right) of the series carries a lotus-like *dharmacakra* on the obverse and is listed in [1] (without number), [2] (N19), [3] (N615), and [4] (N27). Based on the pictures available in these works, as well as from additional information provided by Robert Wicks, altogether the authors are aware of four coins of this type, they are all produced from different dies. The second coin carries a lion on the obverse and is listed in [5] (N28) only. The authors are aware of two coins of this type, both struck with different dies. The third coin carries a conch shell on the obverse and is unlisted in the major works quoted above. The authors are aware of one coin of the type only. The illustrated coin has been glued together from three fragments. The analysis<sup>11</sup> carried out by the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique shows that the alloy on the surface of all three coins consists of over 99% silver with some copper. The alloy data is consistent with the metal density ranging from 10.16g/ccm to 10.37g/ccm. The coins weigh from 8.33g to 9.08g. Therefore, based on both design and physicochemical measurement data the coins are assumed to have the same provenance.

The provenance for these coins, however, is unclear. Mahlo attributes them to Kyaikkatha and the region around the Gulf of Mertaban in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>, while Wicks dates the series to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and attributes it to Central Thailand - Upper Burma<sup>2</sup>. The only find of coins of these types was recorded in Central Thailand, Lopburi province<sup>10</sup>. It should be noted that the type of *srivatsa* symbol reproduced on these coins is not mentioned by Gutman<sup>5</sup>. The placement of a *swastika* under the base of a *srivatsa* is unknown on other coins and seals found in Central Thailand. The obverse of the second coin also has some design similarities with Dvaravati period seals that were used as a means of payment in first millennium Menam Valley settlements<sup>12</sup> – fig.4



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

The coins illustrated in fig.5 represent the group attributed to Kyaikkatha and the region around the Gulf of Mertaban in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century by Mahlo<sup>4</sup> (N25), to Central Thailand in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century to early 8<sup>th</sup> century by Wicks<sup>2</sup> (N11 and N37), and to Central Thailand in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century by Mitchiner<sup>3</sup> (NN625-630). The generic design of this group includes a conch shell on the obverse and a *srivatsa* symbol with fish beyond it on the reverse. Some variations may be observed in the symbols inside and surrounding the *srivatsa*. The first and the third coins (left-to-right) illustrate the types N11 and N37 according to Wicks<sup>2</sup>, and N625 and NN626-630 according to Mitchiner<sup>3</sup>. The second and the fourth coins show unpublished combinations of the symbols inside *srivatsa* and symbols flanking it. All four coins are comparatively rare, but all are known from more than ten pieces each. The analysis<sup>11</sup> carried out by the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique shows that the alloy on the surface of all four coins consists of 98.0%-99.5% silver with trace copper. The alloy data is consistent with the metal density ranging from 10.25g/ccm to 10.42g/ccm. The coins weigh from 8.77g to 9.30g.

The coins illustrated in fig. 6 (courtesy Anders Berglund) and fig. 7 are unpublished to the authors' best knowledge.



Fig. 6

The coin in fig. 6 was tentatively attributed to Dvaravati by Robert Wicks (private communications) based on the reported place of excavation, weight, and overall design. The coin bears the front view of *Garuda* on one side and sitting female (goddess?) on the other side, and might be seen as another type of a series of coins depicting human beings or deities. Two different coins of this series are previously published: an anepigraphic type<sup>1,8</sup>, and an epigraphic type<sup>7</sup>. The illustrated coin weighs 9.47g and was reportedly excavated in Central Thailand. The authors are aware of four coins of this type, all of them seemingly produced with the same pair of dies.



Fig. 7

The symbols illustrated on the coin on fig. 7 indicate its provenance to be Burma rather than Thailand. Although the trident is characteristic of an Arakan coin of the first millennium, the scene with it placed on the lotus flower may provide some alternative attribution. The surface of the metal of the coin, in its turn, resembles the type of surface so far observed only on some pieces of several types of fractional coins attributed to the early period of Sriksetra ([2] NN20-23 for the type, and [3] NN420-423 sometimes, 442-450 rarely, 452-455 usually). The coin weighs 1.01g, and this denomination is so far recorded only for Beikthano ([2] NN28-30 for the type, [3] NN389-402). Therefore, we suggest the first millennium Pyu of Central Burma being the most probable provenance for this type. No full-unit denominations (circa 10g weight) are known for this type.



Fig. 8

The coins in the fig. 8 are commonly attributed to Halin. Derived from the coins of the rising sun / *srivatsa* series, which spread over all mainland Southeast Asia, these coins are distinguished by the dot in the middle of the rising sun.



Fig. 10



Fig. 9

The series in fig. 9 does not only have a dot in the middle of the rising sun, but also an additional arc. The coins with dot and double arc were acquired by the authors in Bangkok as one group of nine pieces. The coins were produced using at least eight different dies. Few other specimens are known to the authors. All known specimens have holes for wearing. The coin weights clearly fall into two standards representing quarter-unit (about 2.5g) and a full unit (10g) denominations respectively. Based on the weights and the fabric of the coins, the group is more likely to be a first millennium issue rather than hill-tribe imitations, some specimens of which are shown in fig. 10



Fig. 11

The coin in fig. 11 (courtesy Anders Berglund) is unpublished to the best of our knowledge. The coin bears a barely depictable inscription in Sanskrit on one side tentatively read as "*Dvaravati svarapunya*" - the Meritous Lord of Dvaravati - by one of the authors, and the *srivatsa* symbol on the other side. The text of the legend is similar to the one commonly known for Dvaravati inscribed medals<sup>13</sup> commonly dated to the seventh century; however, it is written with a script significantly different from the variety of Pallava script observed in the other Dvaravati inscriptions found in Thailand. Based on the design of the *srivatsa* symbol, the coin might be attributed to Southern Burma - Western Thailand. According to Wicks<sup>2</sup>, this design of the *srivatsa* symbol dates to the middle of the fifth century, while according to Cribb<sup>14</sup>, it should be dated to the beginning of the eighth century. Since Dvaravati is believed to have come into existence only in the middle of the seventh century, the latter version stays in better agreement with the facts provided by this coin. Only one specimen of this coin is known to exist. The weight of the specimen is 8.63g.

The status of the coins illustrated in fig. 12 and fig. 13 is unknown.



Fig. 12

The first coin (left-to-right) in fig. 12 represents an unpublished variation of the conch shell / *srivatsa* series. The analysis<sup>11</sup> carried out by the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique shows the alloy on the surface to be 96.6% silver with remaining copper. The alloy data is consistent with the metal density which is 10.21g/ccm, as well as with several minor series of first millennium mainland Southeast Asia symbolic coins. The illustrated coin weighs 16.31g, which corresponds to approximately double the weight of standard unit coins of these series. A coin of the same design weighing 9g has been observed by the authors. Although the coins of both denominations are radically different from modern fabrications, the fabric and the surface is different from all the other coins produced in that time in mainland Southeast Asia.

The second coin in fig. 12 is gold and is common in the silver version and also is known in votive tablet form ([3], N468), but it is unpublished in gold. The analysis<sup>11</sup> carried out by the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique shows the alloy on the surface to be 77.6% gold, 18.4% silver, and 3.2% copper. The alloy data, however, is not consistent with the metal density which is only 9.84g/ccm. The coin weighs 12.53g, which is relatively low for a gold strike since the silver strike weighs around 10g. Therefore, the coin is probably gold-plated rather than made of solid gold. The time of plating and the composition of the inside metal alloy are unknown.

The third coin in fig. 12 is attributed to Nakhon Pathom in the first millennium by Oliver<sup>15</sup>, but is not widely discussed in further works either in English or in Thai. There are several different theories about the origin and attribution of this coin. According to one version, told to the authors by an authoritative Thai contact, a group of about twenty pieces of these coins was produced and distributed in Bangkok in the 1970s by a certain well-known collector. However, this version has a significant drawback since a specimen of this type was published in 1937<sup>16</sup>, and therefore could not have been produced only in the 1970s. Wicks<sup>17</sup> considers it a token issued during the Ayuthaya reign.



Fig. 13

The first coin (left-to-right) in fig. 13 (various sources) represents a genuine specimen of the *Purnakalasa* / Legend coins ([2] N48, [3] N674). The second coin on the same picture ([4] N675) was first published by Kaewklai<sup>18</sup>, who has identified the script of the Sanskrit legend as Kharosthi. However, no other significant inscriptions in Kharosthi script Sanskrit are mentioned for Dvaravati, where the coin belongs [19, p. 160-165]. Moreover, based on the geography and time frame of Kharosthi paleography, the use of Kharosthi script is not likely to be expected in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Menam Valley. Besides, the fabric and overall design of the coin is significantly different from the genuine coins of the Dvaravati period. The only specimen known for this type of coins is stored in a private collection in Bangkok, and was used for all known publications. These facts make the status of the coin uncertain. The remaining coins in fig. 13 represent modern counterfeits of this coin [2] N48 / [3] N674.

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#### Unpublished Types of Rising Sun /Srivatsa Coins of First Millennium Burma-Thailand

By Vasilij Mihailovs and Ronachai Krisadaolarn

Of all the series of early southeast Asia, the coins the rising sun / *srivatsa* issues are probably the most widespread - they have been found in many locations in the area from central Burma to Viet Nam and northern Malaysia. It is not surprising that these issues also have the highest number of varieties, both die varieties and contemporary imitations. Regardless of the place of production, the coins of this series always bear a rising sun in a border of pellets on the obverse. On the reverse is a *Srivatsa* with three

pellets below, and a *damaru* or drum (sometimes referred to as the Bhadrapiṭha throne) on one side, either a swastika or a cross with four pellets on the other side, and the sun and the moon above. The die varieties are usually distinguished by the number of rays above the horizontal plane, the number of rays below, and the number of pellets around the rising sun symbol on the obverse; the shape and position of the sun and the moon above the *srivatsa*; a swastika or a cross with four dots, and *damaru* at the sides on the reverse. The contemporary imitations are distinguished by the style of the rising sun and the weight - with the original full unit units weighing 9.0-9.5g, the imitations may weigh as little as 7.0g<sup>1</sup>. What never changes are the rising sun and Srivatsa designs, the three pellets under the Srivatsa and the symbols around it - the sun, the moon, the swastika or the cross with four pellets, and the *Damaru/Bhadrapiṭha* (See [2,3] for discussion on symbols). Coins with all possible arrangements of these symbols are either known to exist, or may reasonably be expected to be found. Recently, in a collection of approximately 300 coins, the authors discovered several pieces of the rising sun / *srivatsa* series which show major differences compared to the pieces published before. To the best knowledge of the authors, no similar coins have been published in the major catalogues.



fig. 1

Fig.1 shows the two most typical varieties for the full unit and quarter-unit pieces.



fig. 2

The coins in fig. 2 represent a set of unit and quarter-unit pieces with five (instead of the normal three) dots under the Srivatsa. So far, the authors are aware only of one example of each denomination, though, a search over a larger sample may reveal more specimens. Based on the weights (9.0g and 2.1g) and the overall style, these pieces are more likely to be die varieties than contemporary imitations.



fig. 3

The coins in fig. 3 carry a symbol which has not been previously described on any of the first millenium Irrawady or Menam Valley series, but is occasionally reported on some *pot duang* coins. Instead of a swastika or a cross with four pellets, the coins of this group carry a mark of six pellets on one side and the Damaru/Bhadrapiṭha symbol on the other side. Le May<sup>4</sup> identifies this six-pellet symbol as *Jantras*, while Guehler<sup>5</sup> notes that a similar symbol is frequently found on early Indian punch-marked coins and probably represents the *Chakra* or wheel. None of them, however, produces a good visual match to the six-pellet symbols seen on these first millenium coins.

Only five coins of these rising sun / Srivatsa sub-series are known to the authors; all came in one lot. Based on the weights (8.7g and 8.6g) and the overall style, these issues may be considered contemporary imitations, although they may be late varieties. According to the seller of these coins, these particular pieces were unearthed in Central Thailand.

Neither coins shown in fig.2 nor coins shown in fig.3 demonstrate any significant deviation in the chemical composition of the alloy from the other coins of the rising sun / *srivatsa* series. The average silver content in all these coins is above 99% with traces of copper<sup>6,7</sup>.

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#### A gold coin of Sultan Mansur - Possibly Sultan Mansur Bin Muzaffar Shah of Malacca

By Nicholas Rhodes & Michael Goh

Many islamic states of the medieval Malay Archipelago are known to have produced their own coinage. Tin coins were produced in almost every principality; gold coinage was struck in the sultanates of Macassar, Samudra Pasai, Aceh Dar as-Salam, Johor, Trengganu, Kedah, and Patani-Kelantan, silver coins were struck by the sultans of Kedah and Johor. Altogether, the islamic

coinage of the Malay Archipelago accounts for more than a thousand types of tin coins, nearly two hundred types of gold coins, and a dozen types of silver coins<sup>4</sup>.

An unrecorded gold coin, wrongly identified by the seller as a kupang of Sultan Muzaffar II of Johor (1564-70 AD), was recently sold in the London market (fig.1). The coin is badly struck, which caused the misreading of the legends by the seller or/and owner, but the name on the coin clearly reads Mansur, not Muzaffar.



fig.1

Obv: *sultan mansur*  
 Rev: *khalifat al-muminin* (Ruler of the faithful)  
 Diam. 10.5mm Wt. 0.51g

Nothing is known about its provenance except that it was in a collection of gold coins of the Johor Sultanate. However, the fabric, weight standard, and overall style provide additional evidence that the coin is a gold kupang of the Malay Archipelago. The reverse legend, *khalifat al-muminin*, suggests that the piece originates from the south of the Malay Peninsula, where this legend was common on the coins of Johor and Trengganu. On the other hand, the attribution of the piece to Johor or Trengganu is impossible because no rulers of these states was called Mansur. Additionally, the quality of production of this coin is not as good as is typical for Johor and Trengganu. The weight is also on the light side compared to all known types of gold kupang coins (most coins weigh c0.6g). These facts pose a question: "Who was Sultan Mansur, whose name is on the coin?"

#### **Sultan Mansur Bin Muzaffar Shah**

The Kingdom of Malacca was founded around the year 1400 AD, and by the middle of the fifteenth century it was to become the dominant power in the Malay Peninsula. The first king was a Hindu prince of Śri Vijaya, called Parameśvara, the ruler of Temasek (Singapore), who had been driven from his kingdom by the Siamese. After wandering for some time, he settled at the mouth of the Bertam River, and named his new capital Malacca<sup>5</sup>.

Malacca was ideally placed to control the trade passing through the Straits, now known as the Straits of Malacca, through which trade from China to India and the West had to pass. The new Sultan quickly sent an embassy to China in order to have his legitimacy as ruler confirmed by the Emperor. Several Chinese ambassadors visited Malacca in the following years, including the famous admiral Zheng He. Quite early in his reign, Parameśvara also made an alliance with the Islamic king of Samudra Pasai, in northern Sumatra, married the daughter of this Islamic king, and converted to Islam.

As a result of its strategic position, Malacca grew quickly in wealth as a trade emporium. Ships visited and goods were exchanged from India, Burma, Sumatra, Java, China and elsewhere. Both the traders and the ruler became rich. Around 1445 AD, the successor in the line of Parameśvara, Raja Ibrahim, was deposed and murdered by his brother, Raja Kasim, supported by Tamil Muslim traders. Raja Kasim's mother was apparently the

daughter of a rich Tamil trader from Pasai. Raja Kasim assumed the name Muzaffar Shah and ruled from 1445-59. During this reign, Tun Perak, the brother of one of Muzaffar Shah's wives, was to emerge as a great military leader. During the following years, Malacca was to gain control of the whole of the Malay Peninsula and much of northern Sumatra, apart from the kingdom of Aceh.

The kingdom of Samudra Pasai, further north, and on the other side of the Straits, had been striking a coinage in gold since the late thirteenth century. These coins, struck from gold mined in Sumatra, were struck in large quantities throughout the fifteenth century, and a local currency of tin was also struck.

Surprisingly, the only coins known to date for the Malacca Sultanate are made of tin, first struck during the reign of Muzaffar Shah (1445-59 AD) and continuing during subsequent reigns, until the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511 AD. Despite being a major power in the region, so far Malacca is not known to have produced any silver or gold coins. The reason for this, perhaps, was that tin was mined in the hinterland of Malacca, and was a natural metal for making coins for local use, the gold, in contrast, was only mined in Northern Sumatra. The son and successor of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan Mansur bin Muzaffar Shah, who ruled Malacca from 1459-1477 AD, thanks to the military campaigns of Tun Perak would have had access to the Sumatran gold.

In our opinion, Sultan Mansur Bin Muzaffar Shah of Malacca is the most probable issuer of the gold coin published in this article.

#### **The Coins of Sultan Mansur Bin Muzaffar Shah**

Tin coins denominated as pitis and half-pitis are known to have been issued by Sultan Mansur of Malacca. The design of these coins is shown on fig. 2:



fig.2

Obv: *mansur shah bin muzaffar shah al-sultan*  
 Rev: *nasir al-dunya wa'l din* (Helper of the World and of the Faith), written in Tughra style.  
 Diam. 15mm Wt. 2.5g

The gold coin and the tin coins are quite different in style and design. This situation is similar to what can be observed later in Johor where tin coins had a significantly different design from the gold and silver pieces. Such a discrepancy may happen because the coins were produced by different artisans in a different mint for a different market. The tin coins were produced by local contractors, for local use in Malacca only, whereas the gold coins would have been produced for use by the visiting traders or as presentation pieces, and would have been made by court artisans. The Tughra-style reverse legend on tin coins may have been more appropriate for the local population, whereas the legend *khalifat al-muminin* may have been thought more appropriate for the international Muslim trading community. As regards calligraphy, it should be noted that the *mim* of *mansur* is written clockwise on the tin coin and anticlockwise on the gold coin, but otherwise the style is reasonably similar.

The power of the Malacca Sultanate was at its height during the middle of the fifteenth century. Compared to the tin coins at that time of Sultan Muzaffar and Sultan Mansur, the coins of later rulers are very primitive and are found in much smaller quantities. Also, Malacca lost control of Sumatra, and concentrated on its role as a trading centre, and on repulsing the frequent incursions

<sup>4</sup> The coins of the Sultans of Malaysia are well described by Saran Singh, *The Encyclopedia of the Coins of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, 1400-1967*, Malaysian Numismatic Society, Kuala Lumpur, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1996, while those of Aceh and Sumatra Pasai are best described by T. Ibrahim Alfian, *Mata Uang Emas Kerajaan-Kerajaan di Aceh*, Aceh 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Our historical information is taken from D.G.E.Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, London 1981, pp.225-28. Whether the original conversion to Islam was as a result of conviction or political expediency is a matter that has been discussed by historians, but whatever the original motivation, subsequent Sultans were fervent Muslims.

from Thailand. It also became a centre for Islamic scholarship and ceased to have territorial ambitions. Therefore, due to both economic and political reasons, the production of gold coins may have taken place for the first and the last time during the reign of Sultan Mansur.

After the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 AD<sup>6</sup>, Sultan Mahmud fled south and lived in the Riau Islands near Singapore. After some years he died and his younger brother, Sultan Ala'uddin Riayat Shah (1527-64 AD), established the Sultanate of Johor. This first Sultan of Johor, struck gold coins with the title *khalifat al-mumanin*, and later sultans struck similar coins until the mid-eighteenth century. Rulers of other south-east Asian kingdoms did not strike coins with this title, and no ruler of Johor had the name Mansur. The use of the title, *khalifat al-mumanin*, may have been chosen by the Sultans of Johor because they were the direct descendants of the Sultans of Malacca. If the Sultans of Malacca had struck gold coins with that title, it would have been natural for the Sultans of Johor to use the same title on their gold coins.

Our thanks to Vasilij Mihailovs for his valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.<sup>7</sup>

### The Introduction of the 1835 Quarter Annas (Pice) as Part of the Uniform Coinage of British India

By Dr. Paul Stevens

Discussions about standardising the coins of the British possessions in India had begun in the 1790s and resulted in what amounted to a statement of intent in 1806, when the Court of Directors issued a consultation to the three Presidencies effectively instructing them to begin to move towards an agreed standard. At various times over the next thirty years or so, the Court of Directors issued instructions to move the coinage towards that vision and this has been discussed by Pridmore<sup>1</sup> and other authors<sup>2</sup>.

This culminated in the issue of the uniform coinage for the whole of British India, starting in 1835 and the purpose of the present paper is to explore the events surrounding the issue of the copper pice, which, henceforth, became known as the quarter anna.



1835 Copper Pice or Quarter Anna

The first consideration of the authorities was the replacement of the rupee, which, by 1835, had become the standard coin throughout British India, although various different types existed (Madras, Bombay, Calcutta Sicca and Farrukhabad). The copper coinage did not come under the spotlight until after the plans for the rupee were well advanced.

<sup>6</sup> It may be relevant to note that when the Portuguese conquered Malacca, one of their first actions was to open a mint and a few gold and silver coins were struck. Any gold coins of the Sultanate discovered by the Portuguese would have been melted in order to strike these commemorative or celebratory coins, accounting for a low survival rate of any gold coins struck by the Sultans of Malacca. These new gold and silver coins were probably sent to Portugal, but no specimens are known today. One theory which was espoused by the late Mr Sim Eong Ewe is that they were all put on board the Flor del Mar, which sank soon after leaving Malacca and its cargo has yet to be retrieved, accounting for the absence of surviving Portuguese Malacca gold coins. Thereafter the Portuguese struck no gold coins in Malacca, with tin coins continuing to be the main local coinage. c.f. Saran Singh, op.cit. p.13.

<sup>7</sup>

On 1 July 1835 the following resolution was agreed at a meeting of the Bengal Council<sup>3</sup>:

#### Resolution of 1<sup>st</sup> July 1835

*Resolved that no more copper coins be struck at the Calcutta mint in the name of Shah Alum; and that an English device be adopted for the copper, as well as the other, currencies.*

*The Governor General in Council does not contemplate the general introduction immediately of a new copper currency. The pycce of the present Calcutta coinage will be supplied to the treasuries in the provinces as long as there are stores available for that purpose, or until further orders, but when the mint is required to provide for a deficiency and to prepare new coins, they shall be struck and issued with an English device...*

At the same time as agreeing this resolution the Mint Committee was instructed to prepare dies for a new copper coinage and to submit patterns for the approval of Council. This they did in October 1835, although they encountered some difficulties with the dies and matrices, which failed four times before the final result was achieved. The Mint Committee went on<sup>4</sup>:

*We have at last, however, the honor to submit specimens of a device which we think will be suitable for the new copper money of the Bengal Presidency. It is in fact the same as was recommended in the note submitted with our first address on the proposed change of device dated the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1833, having on the obverse the Honourable Company's arms, as on the pycce of Bombay and Madras, and on the reverse the denomination of the coin, in English and Persian, enclosed in a wreath, and the title of the Honourable Company on the margin in correspondence with the device of the new rupee. Should this device meet with the approbation of your Honor in Council, the mint will be ready to issue the new pycce whenever the presses can be spared from the coinage of silver which is at present more urgent.*

After a long discussion about exchanging old and worn out pice at the Treasury, the Mint Committee ended their letter with the following recommendations:

1. *That a pictorial device be adopted for the coin henceforward to be struck at the Calcutta mint, as the 64<sup>th</sup> of the new or "Company's" rupee.*
2. *That the Calcutta mint pycce of former issues shall be receivable in payment of 64<sup>th</sup> of the late sicca rupee, until 1<sup>st</sup> February 1836 after which date it shall be a legal tender only for fractions of the new rupee.*
3. *That for the convenience of the public the mint shall be open for exchange of old into new pycce at numerical par, for sums above 20 rupees, and for a fixed period (to 1<sup>st</sup> January 1837).*
4. *That the Pycce of the Benares, Farruckabad and Sagur mints shall henceforth be taken only as fractions of the rupees of those mints or of the Company's rupee (rescinding section 5 of regulation XXV of 1817).*
5. *That the late Calcutta pycce (as at present) shall be receivable in the upper provinces as 64<sup>th</sup> of the Farruckabad or new rupee and after the 1<sup>st</sup> February next in Bengal also.*
6. *That the pycce currency of the three presidencies shall circulate at par together while they retain the proposed distinguishing impress of the mints at which they were struck.*
7. *That spurious and entirely obliterated coin shall not be receivable at the Government treasuries.*
8. *That Collectors shall not refuse copper coin which appears to be unfit by its wear or defacement for circulation but shall remit such coin to the mint for recoinage.*
9. *It is unnecessary to add that copper shall remain a legal tender up to the value of one rupee or that the weight of the pycsa shall be 100 grains, as on these two points we have suggested no change*

This recommendation, and several subsequent entries in the records, reveals the challenge that the British faced in trying to

introduce the new coinage, and this challenge revolved around the fact that they had failed to standardise the coinage within the Bengal Presidency. In Bengal the *Calcutta sicca rupee* was the standard and well established medium of financial exchange but, following the acquisition of more territory after the second and third Maratha wars, the British had established the *Farrukhabad rupee* as the standard in the rest of the Bengal Presidency.



Calcutta Sicca Rupee



Farrukhabad Rupee

These two rupees were of a different standard and therefore of a different intrinsic value and the problem that this caused can be seen by the Governor General's reply to the Mint Committee's proposals<sup>5</sup>:

*...The copper pice issued from the Calcutta Mint circulate in the Lower Provinces as the 64<sup>th</sup> part of a sicca rupee, but in the Western they are at present received and issued at the rate of 1/64<sup>th</sup> of the Farruckabad rupee, which is of equal value with the Company's rupee.*

*If a new pice of the same weight were to be issued as the 64<sup>th</sup> part of the new rupee, it would be impossible to give it currency immediately as of equal value with the pice in circulation, which being received at 64 to the sicca rupee bear an exchangeable value of 60 to the new rupee. On the other hand, the old pice having been issued as fractional parts of the sicca cannot equitably be at once declared to be only equal to the same fraction of the Company's rupee. Thus the measure proposed by the Committee would have the effect of increasing the confusion of the present state of transition from the sicca to the new currency by involving the copper in the same predicament as the silver, viz that of having two sets of coins of the same metal and denomination but of different value both current at the same time.*

*It seems to the Governor General in Council that the change to the desired condition in respect to the copper currency, and the establishment of the pice as an even fraction of the new rupee and of its anna will be made with less difficulty after the sicca rupee shall have been withdrawn in some degree from circulation, and the new have obtained general currency. Unless your committee sees any strong objection to this course, which does not at present occur to His Honor in Council, it is proposed to suspend the issue of any orders in respect of the copper. I am accordingly desired merely to direct that the committee take steps to prepare the necessary dies for commencing a coinage of copper, with the device of the Company's arms, whenever ordered.*

So, in October, the Governor General intended to solve the problem by firstly issuing sufficient new rupees to replace the old sicca rupees and then withdrawing the sicca rupees from circulation before issuing the new copper coins. This would have left in circulation the Company's new rupee together with the Farrukhabad rupee, which were of an equal value.

However, by December, the Government had changed its mind and directed that a new copper coinage should be issued as soon as possible<sup>6</sup>:

*Since my letter under date the 11<sup>th</sup> ultimo was dispatched the Honorable the Governor of Bengal has seen reason to think that the existing difficulties in respect to the general circulation of the New or Company's rupee will be lessened by providing as quickly as possible a copper currency to circulate at par in even fractions with that rupee.*

*I am accordingly directed to desire that the Mint Committee will cause a supply of pice, double pice and pies to be immediately struck with the device of the Company's arms on the obverse and the name of the coin on the reverse as already approved.*

*It is desirable that the first issue of this coin should be made as soon after the fifteenth instant as possible. An Act to give circulation to this coin will be immediately laid before the Legislative Council. It has not been deemed necessary to include at present in the draft of this act any provision respecting the existing copper currency.*

Although this called for 'double pice, pice and pies' (i.e. half annas, quarter annas and twelfth annas), the Mint Committee actually instructed the Mint Master to start with pice and worry about the other coins later.

The records contain entries showing that the mint began striking the coins almost immediately, striking 134,000 in December 1835 and 2,470,000 in January 1836<sup>7</sup>. By June they had struck about 17,000,000<sup>8</sup>.

However, the whole enterprise was not without difficulties. The first of these was the exchange of old (trisuli) pice at the treasuries throughout the Presidency. In promising to exchange trisuli pice at the Calcutta treasury the authorities had laid themselves open to all kinds of devious practices<sup>9</sup>:

Paragraph 6

*The native mints in the neighbourhood of Saugor are said to be engaged in preparing copper coins similar to those struck at the Benares and Saugor mints and as neither the Podars [i.e. assayers] and others who examine them, when paid into Government treasuries, or the mint officers, have the power of absolutely detecting counterfeits of a coin itself so rudely executed, there is no certainty that the quantity sent in will be confined even to the amount originally issued from Government mints.*

Paragraph 7

*Under these circumstances the Committee will, I hope, meet to discuss the question, and will be prepared to advise Government whether with reference to existing regulations, which declare that copper coins issued from any of the Government mints are a legal tender for the fractional portion of the rupee, and the difficulty of detecting counterfeits, a stop can in any way be put to the receipt of such coin at the public treasuries, which if allowed to continue will subject the state to a heavy and apparently unlimited charge...*

*... While the Government treasuries continue to receive the Tirsoolie pice at 64 to the rupee without reissuing them, it is obvious that there can be little prospect of the influx of this description of coin diminishing. Indeed it is well known that at present a very small portion of the payments to Government departments are made in any other description of pice than Tirsoolies and that if the system is continued so as to afford, as now, an outlet for the coins issued by Native mints and forgers, they will still as at present, be able to supply the artificial demand created with an average profit to themselves and a loss to the Government of 100 per cent.*

Whilst not directly affecting the production and issuing of the new pice, The copying and direct forging of the trisuli pice must have coloured the way that the authorities viewed the whole copper coinage.

A more direct impact on the new copper coins came from the increasing price of copper. Some time between the end of June and September 1836 the price had got to such a high level that the

coinage had been suspended<sup>10</sup>. The Governor General believed that the price increase was caused by speculators (shroffs) hoarding the old Calcutta copper coins and he considered two ways of dealing with this. The first option was to flood the market with new coins, and the second was to try to re-establish the old coin as a valuable medium of exchange in the Calcutta Bazaars. He chose the latter course as the likely solution, to be achieved by offering to buy the old pice at 66 to the rupee, and accordingly issued a resolution to try to make this happen:

*Resolved that public notice be given in the Gazette (and copies of the same in Bengalee be circulated through the police of Calcutta and of the neighbouring districts) to the following effect:*

*Notice is hereby given that until further orders pice of any description coined at the mint of Calcutta will be received in exchange for silver at the mint of Calcutta at the rate of 66 single pice for the Company's rupee provided the same be brought for exchange in sums of not less than 20 rupees worth at one time. Pieces tendered that may be found not genuine will be returned defaced. Payment for pice so tendered and received at the mint of Calcutta will be made by bill to be drawn by the Mint Master on the General Treasury payable at sight.*

To facilitate this exchange the authorities appear to have opened what they describe as 'change shops' within Calcutta itself and these were so successful that some outlying areas also asked if they could open them as well<sup>11</sup>. To get production of the new pice going again, the authorities had ordered a small amount of copper from Madras and had offered the mint staff bonuses if they could melt the old pice and turn them into useable copper cakes for producing the new coins.

By December 1837 the mint had a crore (10,000,000) of new pice in store. The problem then became: how to get them into circulation?

The success of the change shops may have influenced the Government in its thinking about the distribution of the new coins. In December 1837 they agreed a resolution to the effect that 'exchange shops' would be established with local shroffs who would be licensed to buy pice from the mint and then sell them at various localities at the rate of 64 to the rupee, taking half a pice for themselves (i.e., in effect, 63 ½ to the rupee)<sup>12</sup>:

*In the town of Calcutta the President in Council is of opinion that the time has arrived for closing and withdrawing the Government change shops that have now for some months been established and for adopting the plan recommended in the letter of the secretary of the Mint Committee dated 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo submitting to Government the offer of Ramgopal Sein with a note by the secretary explaining in detail the nature of his proposition.*

*The President in Council agrees under the representations made, to accept the offer of Ramgopal Sein and any similar offers made by other shroffs, the Government undertaking to supply copper coins at par under the condition that it shall be issued at par in exchange for silver to all applicants, that no distinction shall be made between pice of the different Calcutta mint coinages, but from applicants for silver in exchange for copper, the shroffs shall be at liberty to take consideration of half a pice in excess, and to obtain silver at par from Government in exchange for copper, whenever an excess of pice shall be presented for exchange at the shops opened under these conditions.*

*The President in Council resolves that the Mint Committee be authorised to arrange the conditions and prepare the sunuds to be issued to established shroffs on these terms, taking measures to ensure that they shall be generally known to the public and that boards shall be exhibited at the authorised houses inviting exchange at par and specifying the other conditions. The exchange shops thus established shall be authorised to obtain from the mint under orders from the sub treasurer either silver for copper coin or vice versa to any extent they may apply for and through the same shroffs the*

*officers of Government will consider it their duty to promote the issue of small silver coin.*

*The privilege of obtaining such an exchange from the mint must be declared liable to be withdrawn whenever it may be established that the shroffs enjoying it has contravened any of the conditions of the sunud or refused an exchange on the terms of his engagement.*

The Mint Committee duly complied with this order, and a notice was issued inviting people to participate in the scheme<sup>13</sup>:

*It having been resolved by the Government that money changers of the city of Calcutta shall on certain conditions be permitted to receive supplies of copper money in exchange for silver at the mint under orders from the sub treasurer or vice versa of silver money in exchange for pice in order to facilitate the maintenance of an uniform rate throughout the town at the established par of 64 pice per rupee.*

*I am directed by the Mint Committee to give notice to the shroffs, podars and bunyas generally that on application at this office before the 1<sup>st</sup> March next any party may be admitted to the privilege above mentioned on his signing an agreement to the following effect:*

*That he shall allow a board to be placed over his shop or stall intimating that he will give in exchange for every lawful rupee of the Company's coinage sixty four pice of lawful currency making no distinction between the various denominations but mixing indiscriminately new Company pice and Sicca pice of the new mint and of the old mint only excepting such pice as from wear are no longer fit for circulation: and*

*That he will also give one Company's rupee (in silver) for every 65 Calcutta or Company's pice of legal currency tendered for exchange at his shop – one pice being taken in excess as his lawful profit and shroffage.*

*That on these conditions he shall have the privilege of drawing from the mint under the sub treasurer's orders as below provided such supply of mixed pice for silver or of silver for pice as may be required for the current business of his shop at convenient periods in the manner now practiced by applicants for pice Viz:*

*Having paid into the General Treasury an amount in silver he shall obtain thence an order on the mint for the equivalent in copper money, or vice versa, having delivered into the mint an amount of copper money he shall then receive an order on the General Treasury for the equivalent in cash, always at the par of 64 pice per Company's rupee.*

*The Treasury will have a discretionary power to restrict the amount of these drafts so as to prevent any applications for the purpose of speculation or of remittance into the mofussil, the object being merely to provide for the bona fide transactions of change shops in the town and vicinity.*

*Any infringement of the above terms by the shroffs, podar or bunea, either by his separating and distinguishing the species of coin, or by his demanding from his customers other than the rate herein before fixed, will on being brought to notice lead to the immediate withdrawal of the privilege.*

*All complaints to be made to the magistrates who will bring the same to the knowledge of the Mint Committee and if it be proved that an exchange has been refused on the demand of any person or that any one of the above conditions has been contravened, the further supply of copper pice to the shroffs so offending will be stopped, besides any other punishments to which he may be liable at the police.*

*The Government change shops will be closed from the date on which the new system may be established.*

In March 1838, eleven licenses were issued to the following people<sup>14</sup>:

*Names of Podars who have applied for licences to establish change shops*

*No 1 Madoosooden Dutt – Three shops. One in New China Bazar and two at Burra Bazar*

*No 2 Mr J Grief*

- No 3 Messers R Philips & Co  
 No 4 Bhuggobaun Chunder Bundopadea and Moodosooden Komar  
 No 5 Mothor [?] Mohun Podar and others  
 No 6 Moodosooden Dutt  
 No 7 Marcandow Podar  
 No 8 Comul Lochun Sein  
 No 9 Maudub Chund Debsemono [?]  
 No 10 Govind Chund Chuckerbutty  
 No 11 Mudden Mohan Dutt

The terms were very slightly different to those originally proposed in that now the shroffs would be allowed to buy 64 ½ pice from the mint for one rupee and sell them at 64 to the rupee. In other words, Government would now bear the cost of issuing the new coins rather than the general populus. The Government ordered ‘Twenty five single paste boards (thick brown binding boards)’<sup>15</sup> so that each shroff could advertise that they were a change shop (though the exact wording is not given) and more licenses were issued a little later in March<sup>16 17</sup>:

- No 12 Goluch [?] Chunder Podar  
 No 13 Kasynath Podar  
 No 14 Ragib Lochun Podar  
 No 15 Rade Govind Podar  
 { Suncur Paul  
 No 16 {Gocul Mohun Addy  
 {Shree Canto Addy

With advertence to the letter of Radakissen Bysack Khazanchee to the General Treasury, I am directed to state for your information and guidance, that a license number 17 has this day been granted to Hurronundun Mookerjee for the vend of pice at the gate of the General treasury<sup>18</sup>.

I am directed by the Mint Committee to state for your information and guidance, that a license No 18 has this day been granted to Rammohan Paul for the vend of pice at the Chandnee Choak<sup>19</sup>

I am directed by the Mint Committee to state, for your information and guidance, that licenses have this day been granted to the following podars for the vend of pice.<sup>20</sup>

- No 19 Chunder Mohun Chund – Kidderpore  
 No 20 Luckeynarain Seal – Burtollah Sobha Bazar  
 No 21 Jissur Chunder Mookerjee – Sobha Bazar  
 No 22 Tara Chund Dutt – Dhurmollah  
 No 23 Maudub Chunder Day – Simlah  
 No 24 Damoder Banerjee Bisto – Soastytollah  
 No 25 Sedham [?] Chunder – Calcutta  
 No 26 Pitamber Pine – Clive Street  
 No 27 Ramnarain Seal – Calcutta  
 No 28 Luchman Doss – Mirzapore  
 No 29 Sonatun Duddy – Calcutta  
 No 30 Goroochurn Pyne – Burra Bazar  
 No 31 Calee Churn Dutt – Tirettas Bazar  
 No 32 Roopchund Dutt – Old China Bazar  
 No 33 Tarrachund Mookerjee – Juggernaut Ghaut

I am directed by the Mint Committee to state, for your information and guidance, that a license No 34 has this day been granted to Chenebas Duddy for the vend of pice in the fort<sup>21</sup>.

I am directed by the Mint Committee to state for your information and guidance, that licenses have this day been granted to the following podars for the vend of pice<sup>22</sup>:

- No 35 Beerchund Day – 100 Rs pice per diem  
 No 36 Toolsee Ram & Leelmanny – each 50 Rs pice per diem

Not all applications were successful since Mr R Bolst had his application refused (no reason given).

The operation appeared to be a great success with some of the shroffs dispensing all their allocation of pice within two days instead of the expected five and their allowance was therefore increased to 200 Rs worth per day<sup>23</sup>. Within ten days 40,000 Rs worth of the new pice had been issued<sup>24</sup> and by April James Prinsep, the Assay Master, was able to report<sup>25</sup>:

*I beg to circulate for your information a statement of pice given out through our licensed shops.*

*In 18 days from the 17<sup>th</sup> March to the 3<sup>rd</sup> April we have issued 41 lakhs in tale. Our shops are 36 in number and each is authorized to draw 100 rupees worth of pice per diem. The average hitherto of daily issue has been 3000 rupees worth, henceforth it may exceed that sum.*

*The balance of pice in store has been reduced from 76 to 46 lakhs (partly however by drafts from the treasury or public account). A weeks holiday are approaching during which the mint will be closed. If we give out at the same rate during that period, we shall reduce the mint store to 27 lakhs, whereas 32 laks are required to be kept in hand to meet the Accountant General’s orders.*

*The price of old pice has come down to par in many parts of the town, and the licensees have engaged to buy them and mix with their store of new pice which while they are sold alone will necessarily be greedily sought for.*

*On this plea we may restrict the daily issue of new pice to 50 rupees each shop excepting at particular places (as the Fort, Tiretta bazaar etc) but it may be questionable policy to do so before we have turned the scale by bringing the old pice even to beyond 64, for the speculators will immediately take advantage and hoard in order to sell again at the former premium of 62 per rupee.*

Not everything went completely smoothly and occasionally licences had to be revoked<sup>26</sup>.

*I beg to inform you that Mudoosooden Dutt, Licensee of Pice shops No 1, having three shops, has been detected selling pice there from below the legal rate. His licence has accordingly been cancelled and the Mint Master has been requested to reject the draft for Rs 1000 of pice which this party had just presented at the mint.*

His license, No.1, was subsequently granted to a Mr W Dickson<sup>27</sup>, a very European sounding name so it was not just local shroffs who engaged in this business.

*Roop Chund Dutt, Podar, under license No 32 having been detected practicing deceit exchanging pice contrary to the terms authorised, I am directed by the Mint Committee to state for your information and guidance, that they have this day cancelled his agreement, you will accordingly be pleased to discontinue granting drafts to the Mint Master in favour of the individual in question<sup>28</sup>.*

The licences continued to be issued and revoked well into 1839<sup>29</sup> essentially until the mint began to run short of its store of coins<sup>30</sup>, and this novel method of distributing the coins appears to have been a great success.

Now to the coins themselves. Madras began to strike the coins in the middle of 1837. Bombay continued to issue the quarter annas that had been introduced in 1830, before the uniform coinage, and it was not until 1846/47 that this mint began to strike quarter annas with the same design as that of the other two mints. All of these coins were dated 1835.

Attribution of the quarter annas dated 1835 to the different mints is difficult. Pridmore chose to assign coins to the various mints based on the diameter of their flans. Diameter is certainly a distinguishing feature for some coins (26.1-26.3mm compared with 25.2-25.5mm). Pridmore assigns the larger diameter coins to Calcutta, though his grounds for doing so are not clearly apparent. It may be because he identified some proofs with broad rims as issues of the Calcutta Mint, and these have diameters of 26.2mm. He then divides the smaller diameter coins between Bombay (25.2-25.3mm) and Madras (25.4-25.5mm). This difference is very difficult to substantiate.

An alternative approach is to assume that the number of die varieties will vary in proportion to the mintage figures (755m for Calcutta, 186m for Madras, and 37m for Bombay), in other words there will be most die varieties for Calcutta and least for Bombay. Now, up until 1844, Bombay had been issuing quarter annas with the old ‘scales’ design and with a diameter of 25.2-25.4mm. It is therefore reasonable to assume that when that mint switched to the

new design they continued to make the coins with a diameter of 25.2-25.4mm. This diameter fits with those coins that have the open loops to the bow on the reverse and also fits with Pridmore's attribution<sup>31</sup>.

The obvious way to distinguish between the remaining coins is diameter. The larger number of die varieties occurs in the coins with a diameter of about 25.5mm with closed loops to the ribbon bow on the reverse. These coins should logically be assigned to Calcutta. This leaves the larger coins with a diameter greater than 26.1mm to Madras. Of course, this is by no means definitive proof of mint attribution but does fit the known facts. Further work would be required to substantiate the hypothesis, if this is ever possible.

However, this approach has been questioned by Bob Johnston who wrote<sup>32</sup>:

"What is most important is not the total number of known varieties but which varieties are the most common...

...From my experience Pr 142 and 148 are the most common with Pr 145 next. Others such as Pr 140, 141, 144, 146 and 147 seem to be rare with Pr 143 and 149 intermediate. The existence of rare varieties would imply a less uniform coinage and not necessarily large mintages. The branch mint Madras for the corresponding silver coinage produced more varieties than Calcutta or Bombay by its use of initials although its mintages were smaller.

More important also is relating these coins to the preceding and subsequent coinage. The initial 1862-1865 Calcutta quarter annas were 26.2 mm. It is most likely that the preceding 26.2 mm 1835 dated issues also were Calcutta and not Madras with most of them being the common Pr 148. Since Calcutta produced most proofs, the known Pr 148A proof would therefore also be a Calcutta issue. Pr 142-147 could be Madras or Bombay but since Pr 142 and to a lesser extent Pr 145 are common they are most likely the large mintage Madras issues. The rarer Pr 140 and perhaps 141 would therefore be the low mintage Bombay issues. This attribution would also not overturn Pridmore."

Although I can see the logic of this argument, I have chosen to use my own approach (given above) for the catalogue shown below. This catalogue has been published at [www.coins-of-india.co.uk](http://www.coins-of-india.co.uk) and will be updated there from time to time.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Shailendra Bhandare for kindly reviewing this paper and suggesting a number of changes.

#### References

<sup>1</sup> Pridmore F., Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations – India volumes

<sup>2</sup> See for instance, Stevens P.J.E., British Numismatic Journal, Vol. 74, p121-144

<sup>3</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, July 1835, No 3

<sup>4</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, October 1835, No 4  
Letter from The Mint Committee to Government, dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1835

<sup>5</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, November 1835, No 21  
Letter to the Calcutta Mint Committee, from Government, dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1835

<sup>6</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, December 1835, No 14 & 15  
Letter from Government to the Mint Committee, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1835  
Letter from the Mint Committee to the Mint Master, dated 9<sup>th</sup> December 1835

<sup>7</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87, April 1836, No 32  
Letter from the Calcutta Mint Master (Forbes) to the Mint Committee, dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1836

<sup>8</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87, July 1836 No 1  
Letter to The Mint Committee from the Calcutta Mint Master (Forbes) dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1836

<sup>9</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87, April 1836, No 32

Letter from the Calcutta Mint Master (Forbes) to the Mint Committee, dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1836

<sup>10</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87, September 1836, No 7 enclosure

Resolution

<sup>11</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/87, October 1836, Nos 6 & 7

Letter from Government to H.M. Pigue (Commissioner of the Allipore Division), dated 5<sup>th</sup> October 1836

*I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1<sup>st</sup> instant suggesting the expediency of extending to certain places beyond the limits of Calcutta the system of Government Change Shops, the inconvenience from the exorbitant rate demanded for new pice and from the refusal of old pice being equally felt in the suburbs.*

*The Right Honorable the Governor of Bengal concurs with you in thinking it may be necessary to take steps similar to those adopted in Calcutta for giving effectual circulation to the old pice of the Calcutta mint which are still a legal tender, but his Lordship observes that it is not desirable to multiply the number of change houses more than may be absolutely necessary and it will be inconvenient for the mint to provide podars to open shops at such distances as shall prevent their daily accounting and bringing in their balance.*

*Of the three places named by you therefore, the only one that can conveniently be superintended by the mint officers is that of Howrah, which is across the river immediately opposite the mint. The Mint Master will accordingly be directed to establish a shop at Howrah.*

*With respect to Kidderpore, it occurs to his Lordship that the officiating collector of the 24 Pergunnahs will be able through his treasurer to establish a change shop in the same manner as is done by the mint officers, that is by deputing podars under the security of his treasurer, and furnishing them with the required quantity of copper and silver coin to make exchanges at the established par of 64 pice per Company's rupee and vice versa.*

*You are accordingly authorized to direct the officiating collector to establish a shop at Kidderpore as above described provided that a sufficiency of copper coin for the purpose shall be available in his hands. If the Acting Collector have no copper coin in hand he may obtain from the mint old pice in exchange for rupees to such extent as may be necessary for the daily use of his shop.*

*If however this plan be put in execution, it must be understood that the Acting Collector and Treasurer will be jointly answerable for the issues made to the podar and must daily take over his balance and accounts and his Lordship expects that you will yourself superintend the conduct of this business and receive weekly reports of the exchanges made by the podar.*

*You will report immediately if it should appear that there is a run more extensive than usual either for silver or for copper at the shop that may be established.*

*His Lordship does not deem it necessary to authorize the establishment of a shop at Maunicktullah, as in that position it would not be easy to subject it to a proper superintendence.*

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Mint Master dated 12<sup>th</sup> October 1836

*I am directed by the Mint Committee to forward for your information and guidance, the accompanying copy of a letter from Government dated 5<sup>th</sup> October authorizing two additional pice shops to be established, one at Howrah and one in the Allipore division. The former being within convenient distance is to be under your control and precisely on the same footing as the Government change shops opened in the town of Calcutta. The shop at Kidderpore will be under the Collector 24 Pergunnahs who will indent upon you for copper coin to such an extent as he may require.*

*With reference to the circumstance of the Government Change shops having already induced such a reaction as to*

have drawn out into circulation the major part of the old copper coin which had previously been repudiated in the bazaar and paid back into the mint in large quantities even at a sacrifice, the Committee are inclined to the opinion that the copper circulation is not so fully supplied as has been before imagined and they would consequently urge upon Government the expediency of recommending the coinage of pice as soon as a supply of the material can be obtained. The small stock expected from Madras may be coined immediately on arrival, and should you be aware of any importations of copper by late ships or of any probable alteration of the market price, the Committee will thank you to communicate the same to me in order that no opportunity may be lost of laying in a stock.

The Governor General has expressed to members of the committee a desire that endeavours should be made to melt up the stock of defaced pice on hand, and the Committee would readily recommend a handsome remuneration to any of the mechanics of the mint who should prove successful in producing a jurnee of malleable slabs from the copper foundry of the mint.

<sup>12</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/88, December 1837, No 23.**

<sup>13</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/88, December 1837, No 24**

<sup>14</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89 March 1838 No 30**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-treasurer, dated 14<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>15</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838 following No 31**

<sup>16</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 35**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-treasurer dated 16<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>17</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 44**

<sup>18</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 49**

Letter to the sub-treasurer from the Mint Committee, dated 20<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>19</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 52**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1838

<sup>20</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 70 and just above for places**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1838

<sup>21</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 72**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1838

<sup>22</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 96**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1838

<sup>23</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 39**

Note from the Secretary to the Mint Committee 19<sup>th</sup> March 1838

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 40**

Letter to the sub-treasurer (W H Oakes) from the Mint Committee, dated 19<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>24</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 87**

Letter from the Mint Committee to Government, dated 29<sup>th</sup> March 1838, in reply to a request for a large amount of new copper pice (see No 86 for details)

<sup>25</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, April 1838, No 7**

Letter from J. Prinsep to the Mint Committee, dated 5<sup>th</sup> April 1838

<sup>26</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 46**

Letter from the Mint Committee to th sub-treasurer, dated 20<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>27</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, March 1838, No 84**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 28<sup>th</sup> March 1838

<sup>28</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/89, April 1838, No 2**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Sub-Treasurer, dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1838

<sup>29</sup> **Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, February 1839, No 23**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-Treasurer, dated 25<sup>th</sup> February 1839

I am directed by the Mint Committee to acquaint you that licence No 3 has this day been granted to Ramlockun Shen Podar for the exchange of pice in Burraq Bazar. The individual in question is to be furnished with twenty five rupees worth of pice daily.

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, March 1839, No 21**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Calcutta Mint Master (Forbes), dated 19<sup>th</sup> March 1839

I am directed by the Mint Committee to acquaint you that they have this day requested the sub-treasurer to discontinue granting orders on the mint for the daily supply of pyce in favour of Radagobind Podar of Patoragatah whose licence No 13 has this day been cancelled for an infringement of the conditions entered into by him.

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, March 1839, No 26**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Calcutta Mint Master, dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1839

I am directed by the Mint Committee to acquaint you that a licence No 13 has this day been granted to Ramnarian Mookerjee Podar for the exchange of pice at Patoorah Ghautta.

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, March 1839, Nos 48 & 49**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Calcutta Mint Master, dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1839

The Mint Committee having this day granted four licences to the following Podars for the exchange of pice at Sudder Barrackpore, I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter written to the sub-treasurer on the subject.

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-treasurer, dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1839

I am directed by the Mint Committee to acquaint you that they have this day granted four licences to the undermentioned podars for the exchange of pice at the Sudder bazaar Barrackpore Viz

Jhubbo	Podar
Rucha Paura	ditto
Madie	ditto
Radhay	ditto

In consideration of the distance at which the shops of the above podars are situated, the Mint Committee have consented to allow them to receive eight days pice in advance at the rate of twenty five rupees worth per diem to each, and one or more of the parties in question will be deputed weekly from Barrackpore to receive the pice for the whole.

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, May 1839, No 42**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the sub-treasurer, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1839

Dewan Podar of licence No 42 stationed at Dum Dum having relinquished the privilege of receiving pice from the mint for the purposes of exchange, I am directed by the Mint Committee to acquaint you that a fresh licence under the same number has this day been granted to Begumsha Podar, whose shop is also stationed at Dum Dum.

**Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, August 1839, No 7 (also 6, 8 & 9)**

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Mint Master, dated 6<sup>th</sup> August 1839

I am directed by the Mint Committee to state for your information and guidance, that they have granted permission to Issur Chunder Mookerjee Podar of licence No 21 to receive fifty rupees worth of pice daily instead of twenty five rupees as hitherto allowed him for the purposes of exchange at Sobha bazaar.

The Committee having granted a licence No 43 to Dwarkanauth Dutt Podar of Wellesley Street, ordered that the sub-treasurer and the Mint Master be informed accordingly.

<sup>30</sup> Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/90, November 1839, Nos 25 & 26

Letter from Forbes (Mint Master) to the Calcutta Mint Committee, dated 19<sup>th</sup> November 1839.

*I have the honor to report for the information of the Committee that, in consequence of having fallen short of dies, I have been unable to keep up the supply of copper coins, and regret to say that it will be out of my power to meet any more drafts for copper coin in new pyce as the balance now in the mint does not exceed 5332. 9. 4½ Cos rupees worth.*

*I have endeavoured in vain to get the licensed podars to take equal proportions of old sicca and new Cos pice in payment of the drafts and they declare that if these are forced upon them, they will bring them back again and redeliver them at the rate at which they received them*

Letter from the Mint Committee to the Mint Master, dated 26<sup>th</sup> November 1839

*I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, reporting your inability to maintain the supply of*

*copper coin in consequence of having fallen short of dies and the disinclination of the podars to receive old sicca and new Company's pyce in equal proportions.*

*Previous to adopting the alternative of withdrawing the licences from those podars who decline to take the sicca and New Company's pyce in equal sums, the Mint Committee request you will have the goodness to explain particularly to the parties in question the conditions of the agreement entered into with them, and that if they decline to receive the pice on those conditions that their licenses shall be immediately withdrawn.*

<sup>31</sup> Pridmore p13, 40-42

See also: Stevens P.J.E., (1986). The Coins of the British in India. New Varieties of the Uniform Coinage. Seaby's Coin & Medal Bulletin October 1986.

<sup>32</sup> Bob Johnston, Personal communication, December 2005

### Catalogue (see [www.coins-of-india.co.uk](http://www.coins-of-india.co.uk))

Cat No. Brt-	Pr. No.	Date	Mint/ Mintmark	Status	Obv	Rev	Comments	Mintage	Rarity
1982.	140	1835	Bombay Diam 25.2-25.4	Currency	<u>A</u>	I	Rev with stop after EAST INDIA COMPANY.	36,766,903	C
1983.	141	"	Calcutta Diam 25.2-25.4	Currency	<u>A</u>	II		186,529,741	C
1984.	-	"	"	Proof-like	<u>A</u>	II	MADRAS written in ink on edge		RRR
1985.	142	"	"	Currency	<u>A</u>	III			C
1986.	-	"	"	Currency	<u>A</u>	III	Axes: ↑↓		C
1987.	142	"	"	Currency	<u>A</u>	III	Light weight 5.29g		C
1988.	-	"	"	Gold Proof	<u>A</u>	III	Ref: Baldwin (1995), sale 6, lot 726.		RRR
1989.	143	"	"	Currency	A	IV			C
1990.	144	"	"	Currency	<u>B</u>	IV			C
1991.	145	"	"	Currency	<u>B</u>	V			C
1992.	146	"	"	Currency	<u>B</u>	VI			C
1993.	147	"	"	Currency	<u>B</u>	VII			C
1994.	148	"	Madras Diam 26.2-26.3	Currency	<u>A</u>	VIII	17 berries	755,059,377	C
1995.	148A 166	"	"	Proof/PR	<u>A</u>	VIII	Ref: Pr. p200. Mint & variety not certain		RR
1996.	149	"	"	Currency	<u>A</u>	IX	18 berries		C

### Obverse Varieties



Obv A. Slanting top to Numeral 1



Obv B. Flat top to Numeral 1

### Reverse Varieties

Variety Heading	Variety Text
Berries in wreath	The number of berries in wreath may vary.
Loops of Ribbon	The ribbon at the bottom of the wreath may have large or small loops to the bow.
Y of COMPANY	The Y of COMPANY may point above a berry in the wreath, at a berry in the wreath, or below a berry.
Ribbon Ends	The ends of the ribbon below the bow may be forked or pointed
Wreath tip leaves	The number of leaves in the wreath tip may be 3 or 4

Variety Heading	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Berries in wreath	30-15L;15R	18-9L;9R	18-9L;9R	23-12L;11R	24-13L;11R	24-12L;12R	27-13L;14R	17-8L;9R	18- 9L;9R
Loops of Ribbon	Large	Small	Small	Small	Smallest	Smallest	Smallest	Small	Small
Y of COMPANY	-	Above	At	Below	Below	At	At	Above	Above
Ribbon ends	Forked	Pointed	Pointed	Pointed	Forked	Forked	Forked	Pointed	Pointed
Wreath tip leaves	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	3



**Large Loops to Ribbon**



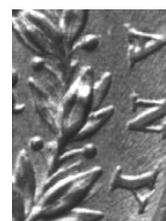
**Small Loops to Ribbon**



**Y points above Berry**



**Y points at Berry**



**Y points below Berry**

### Some Coins of the Safavid Ruler, Tahmasp I: Part 2

By Stan Goron

As mentioned in Journal 188, in this series I am presenting a selection of silver shahis from various mints struck on the "second western standard of 6.22 g during the period AH 937-946.



**Demavand, no date visible** ruler's name and mintname within circle; Kalima within circle.



**Arzan 939** ruler's name within scalloped circle; Kalima within square.



**Fuman 938** ruler's name within ornamental cartouche, mintname and date at the bottom; Kalima within quadrilobe.



**Barfurushdeh ND** mintname within quadrifoil; Kalima within ornamental rectangle.



**Mint uncertain, possibly Ganduman** ruler's name within rhombus, mintname below to right, possibly more of it on the next segment on the left; Kalima in square.



**Ganja 93.** Ruler's name and mintname within ornamental rectangle; Kalima within square.



**Iravan 939** mintname within ornamental rectangle; Kalima within square.



**Ganja 939** mintname and date within horizontal oval; Kalima within double square



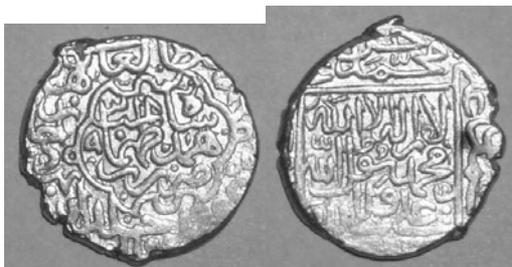
**Isfahan 938** ruler's name and date within six-lobed circle, mintname below in margin; Kalima within circle.



**Ganja ND** ruler's name and mintname within circle; Kalima within circle.



**Isfahan 938** as previous type but Kalima within multilobe.



**Hamadan 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within ornamental cartouche; Kalima within square.



**Isfahan (938)** as previous two types but Kalima within what appears to be a rhombus and with central dividing line.



**Iravan** ruler's name, mintname and date within quinquelobe; Kalima within square.



**Isfahan 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within circle; Kalima within circle.



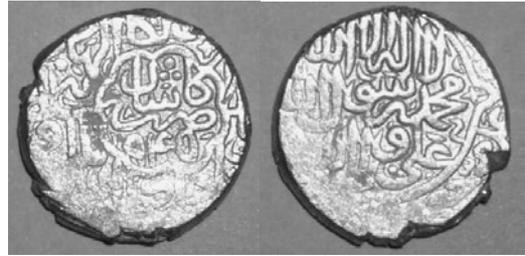
**Isfahan 940** ruler's name in central area, mintname and date below; Kalima within circle with nodes.



**Kashan 938** as previous type but reverse has Kalima within circle with bulges.



**Kashan 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within "pregnant" rectangle; Kalima within circle and with central dividing line.



**Kashan 945** mintname and date within multilobe; Kalima within circle with bulges.



**Kashan 938** as previous type but Kalima without central dividing line.



**Kashan, no date visible** ruler's name and mint within multilobe; Kalima within circle with nodes.



**Kashan 938** obverse as previous types, reverse with names of the *Rashidun* in millsail design, Kalima in margin.



**Kirman 941** ruler's name in upper half of obverse, mintname and date at bottom; Kalima within square.



**Kashan 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within circle; Kalima within plain circle



**Kirman 941** obverse as previous type but Kalima in angular script arranged clockwise.



**Nakhjavan 939** ruler's name and mintname within quadrilobe, date bottom left; Kalima bottom right.



**Nakhjavan (939)** obverse as previous two types but Kalima on reverse within bulging square.



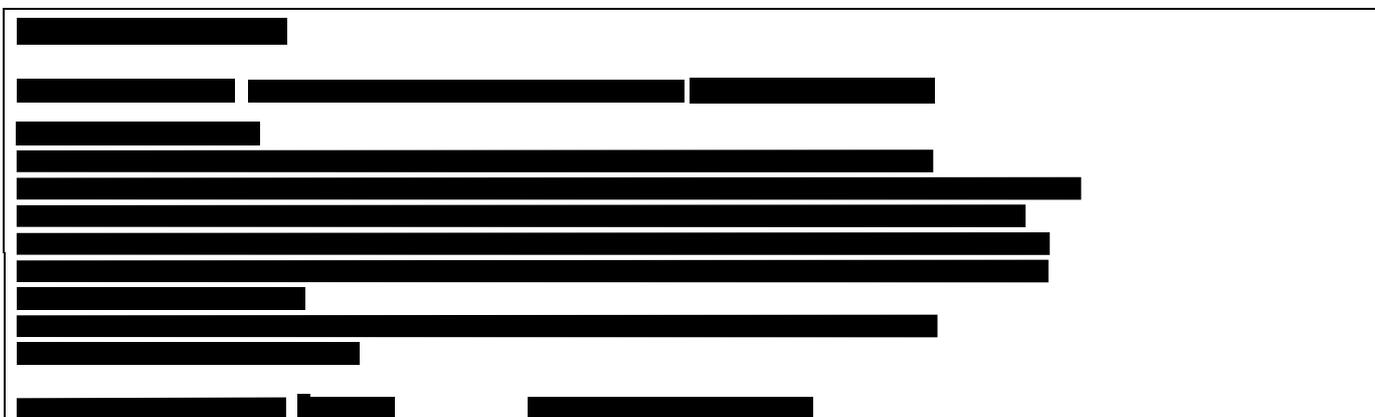
**Nakhjavan (939)** obverse as previous type but reverse has Kalima in the margin and the 12 *Rashidun* arranged in a millsail design in the centre.



**Nakhjavan 940** Mintname and date within ornamental cartouche; Kalima within square.

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