

ONS



Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

No.210
Winter 2012

ISSN 1818-1252

Editor: Stan Goron, [REDACTED]

e-mail: [REDACTED]

Assistant Editor: Robert Bracey, Dept. of Coins & Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG, UK [REDACTED]

ONS News

Report of the general meeting held at the British Museum, London on 26 November 2011

Joe Cribb, Secretary General and Peter Smith, Secretary, gave the Council's report on the Society's activities in the previous year. In the absence of a Treasurer, Peter Smith gave a report on the Society's accounts and finances.

The Society's constitution was amended so that the Council would consist of not more than five other members of the Society in addition to the officers and regional secretaries.

Each of the existing officers and council members were re-appointed, namely Joe Cribb, Secretary General; Stan Goron, Deputy Secretary General and Editor; Peter Smith, Secretary; Paul Withers, Membership Secretary; and Shailendra Bhandare, Howard Simmons and Barbara Mears as council members. Robert Bracey was appointed as Deputy Editor and Publications Secretary and Paul Stevens as a council member.

Joe Cribb paid tribute to Nicholas Rhodes, the Society's Secretary General, an outstanding numismatist and great friend to Joe and many other members of the Society. Joe referred to Nick's enormous contribution to Oriental Numismatics including the currency of the whole Himalayan region. Joe also referred to Nick's contribution to the Royal Numismatic Society as Treasurer for 30 years, his generosity in sharing his numismatic knowledge with others and the large number of articles and books which he had written or co-written. An obituary and notes about Nick appeared in the Society's Journal No. 208 (Summer 2011).

After the formal proceedings, four papers were given, as detailed in the report below on pages 2-3.

ONS Treasurer

We are pleased to report that Ben Bream has agreed to take over the function of ONS Treasurer. His appointment has been ratified by the ONS Council. Ben has been a collector for many years and is particularly, though not exclusively, interested in the coinage of southern India.

ONS meeting Cologne

The latest ONS meeting in Cologne took place on 12 November 2011 at the usual venue, the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, with fourteen participants.

The formal part of the meeting started with a talk by Ruud Schüttenhelm on the coins of the Timurids and their counterstamps. He began by setting out the background and context which led to the ascent of Timur and his conquest of Transoxiana. A good selection of his coins was illustrated, during which his various campaigns of conquest were described, as were the capture of Herat and the subjugation of Khurasan and Sistan. Also mentioned were Timur's conquest of central Persia, the destruction of Isfahan, and the conquest of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. He then went on to describe Timur's success against

the Golden Horde, who suffered a crushing defeat, the campaigns as far as Moscow, to Mesopotamia (capture of Damascus) and even the taking prisoner of Sultan Bayazid I. Against this background, the need for money to pay his troops was clear. This was partially supplied by reducing the weight of his coins, by requiring coins to be counterstamped and some debasement. And, of course, there was much plunder. Artisans and artists were settled in Timur's capital, Samarqand. He, himself, was keen to encourage art and literature and embellished his city with magnificent buildings. Because only direct descendents of Chingiz Khan could bear the title of Khan, Timur adopted the title of Amir. Nevertheless, he was the actual ruler, with the Chagatayid khans being mere puppets. Timur tried to conquer China but died a few weeks later. His successors in their various branches were mentioned and some of their coins illustrated. Some of the coins bore up to five counterstamps. From the dates on the host coins and the counterstamps it could be shown that the coins were in circulation in many cases for more than a hundred years. From the places mentioned on the counterstamps it could also be shown to what extent and to what areas the host coins were taken to continue in circulation.

This first talk was followed by another given by Jan Lingen on fire altars on coins. He began with the cult by Zarathustra introduced in the 6th century BC and the subsequent depiction of the altars on coins. From the kings of Persis and the Parthians, he continued on to the Sasanians, who raised Zoroastrianism to the state religion. Various scripts could be found on fire altar coins: Greek, Pahlavi, Brahmi, Bactrian and Arabic. Fire altars also featured on various coins of the Kushanshahs and the rulers of Bukhara in Sogdiana (ca. AD 585-700). After the Hephthalites came to dominate central Asia (ca. 350-570), they, too, continued the striking of coins with a fire altar. The depiction of the altars and their attendants varied, with the latter sometimes looking away, or facing, or in a neutral posture. The motif of the fire altar continued on later Indo-Sasanian coins in India. Over the centuries these coins became rather dumpy and extremely debased and are known as Gadhैया paisa. The latest issues lasted well into the 13th century.



Persis, drachma of Darius II, c. 70 BC



Sasanian, drachm of Shapur I, AD 240-271



Turko-Hephthalite, Prince of Bukhara, c. AD 585-700, with legend in Sogdian



Sasanian, drachm of Shapur II, AD 309-379



Indo-Sasanian, Gurjura Pratiharas, drachm, c. AD 730-830, Rajasthan-Gujarat area of India



Ispahbads of Tabaristan, hemidrachm of Frakhan AD 711-731



Indo-Sasanian, billon "Gadhaiya" coin from Malwa area of India, c. AD 1200-1300, with "Sri Om/Kara" in Devanagari on the reverse



Kushano-Sasanian, drachm of Varahran I Kushanshah, c. AD 371-385,



Hephthalites, drachm of Napki Malik type, c. AD 475-576



Turco-Hephthalite, drachm in the names of Vasu Deva and Mardanshah, c. AD 625, with bust of Khusru II and legends in cursive Greek, Brahmi and Pahlevi

After a pleasant lunch, the meeting continued on a more informal basis, discussing the current economic situation, the increase in the price of precious metals etc.

The next meeting would take place on Saturday, 10 November 2012 at the same venue. For more information please contact Nikolaus Gankse, nikolaus.gankse@t-online.de

ONS meeting Tübingen

This year's meeting will take place on 5 and 6 May at the Max-Planck-Haus in Tübingen, with the kind support of Auktionshaus Fritz Rudolf Künker. The programme will be sent out around the beginning of April but at this stage is expected to include talks by Prof. Atef Mansour and Dr Mohammad Younis on oriental and Spanish Islamic coinage; by Lutz Ilisch on the coinage of the Ottoman governors of Egypt in the 18th century and the identification of their symbols on the coins. It is also hoped to be able to show Ottoman coins from the period AH 1099-1255 from the "Sultan" collection.

Two new Tübingen publications should also be available for inspection:

Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: XIVa; Naysabur, by Prof. Atef Mansour;

The dissertation on the monetary and political history of Armenia and Azerbaijan in the 10th century, by Aram Vardanyan.

For more information, please contact Lutz Ilisch at

London ONS Study Day

On 26 November 2011 a study day was held at the British Museum. It was well attended by UK members and some visiting from continental Europe and India. The day was dedicated to the memory of Nick Rhodes and four papers were read by individuals who had worked with Nick or on topics in which he was interested.

The Revised Standard Reference Guide to Indian Paper Money by Kishore Jhunjhunwalla and Rezwan Razack, 2012, Mumbai. Case-bound, 215 x 280mm (8½ x 11 ins.), XVIII & 605 pages, illustrated in colour throughout. ISBN-10: 81-89752-15-4; ISBN-13: 978-81-89752-15-6. Distributed by Currencies & Coins, Mumbai, www.currenciesandcoins.com Price: US \$125; Rs. 5000. It is hoped to include a review of this sumptuous publication in Journal 211.

Chopmark News – summary of contents

Editor: Colin James Gullberg

Email: [REDACTED]

Vol. 15, issue 1 (March 2011)

- Meet our members: Colin Gullberg
- Chopmark analysis
- Chopped US notes found in Ho Chi Minh City (Howard A. Daniel III)
- Chopped UK notes (Chris Mearns)
- The interview – Michael Chou

Vol. 15, issue 2 (June 2011)

- New members
- Letters received
- Meet our members: Rich Licato
- Chopmark analysis
- From our members' collections
- Book excerpt: *A Sailor's Log* (by Fred T. Wilson and James Reckner (ed.), Kent State University, 2003, ISBN-13: 978-0873387828)
- Coins from the Frank Rose collection
- Are sun chops Cambodian? (Howard A. Daniel III)
- The interview – Everett Jones

Vol. 15, issue 3 (September 2011)

- Letters received
- Meet our members: Kirk Tuttle
- Chinese chop (?) on sycee 'chunk' (Howard A. Daniel III)
- Chopmark analysis
- From our members' collections
- The shroff (Michael E. Marotta)
- The countermarks 'sa' and 'bod' on Sichuan rupees (Wolfgang Bertsch)
- Why were Spanish dollars valued more highly than Mexican dollars? (Warren Bailey)
- The David Donald collection of chopmarked coins (Bill Rosenblum)
- The interview – Richard Doty

“Discovery of Du-Dandi Maratha Rupee of Rahimatpur Mint” by Ganesh Nene, in the online publication, Gullak. This and some other articles, including one on the early rupees of Shahjahanabad in the name of Shah ‘Alam II by Parveen Jain, in the same issue can be found at

<http://www.ngsofindia.com/Products/GullakIssue29.pdf>

John Deyell has been continuing his interest in Indian monetary history and has contributed papers to various publications as follows:

“Cowries and coins: the dual monetary system of the Bengal Sultanate”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Delhi, Vol. 47-1, Jan-Mar 2010, pp. 63-110.

- describes in some detail the birth, evolution and functioning of the monetary system of medieval Bengal.

“Monetary and financial webs: the regional and international influence of pre-modern Bengali coinage”, in Rila Mukherjee

(ed.), *Pelagic Passageways: Dynamic Flows in the Northern Bay of Bengal World before the Appearance of Nation States*, Delhi, Primus, 2011, pp. 279-314.

- relates the interconnections and influence of the Bengal sultanate monetary system vis-a-vis contemporary kingdoms.

“Precious metals, cowry shells and debasement in the medieval Indian monetary systems (ca. 1200-1575)”, in John H. Munro (ed.), *Money in the Pre-Industrial World: Bullion, Debasements and Coin Substitutes*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2012 (in press).

- compares the strikingly different evolutions of coinage systems in coastal and inland medieval India.

A fourth paper will, it is hoped, be finished later this year, and will focus on the tug-of-war over Yunnanese silver between India and China in the pre-modern period.

Auction News

Baldwin's Islamic Auctions

A valuable collection of 4,000 classic Islamic rarities will be sold in three parts by Baldwin's in London during 2012 and will offer the Islamic enthusiast a rare opportunity to acquire coins that record important events in the history of Islam and some of its great rulers. The first sale will be held on the 25th April, to coincide with London Islamic week, at The Westbury Hotel, Mayfair.

The earliest coin in this remarkable collection is a dechristianised copy of a Byzantine gold solidus which shows the Emperor Heraclius and his two sons on the obverse and bears the *kalima*, the Islamic statement of faith, on the reverse. Struck in the reign of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan in the year 72-73 of the Hijra, this is the earliest Islamic gold coin to contain the *kalima*.

Other significant coins are an Umayyad dinar of year 77, a set of Umayyad full, half and one-third dinars struck in al-Andalus in AH 102 during the time of the caliph Yazid II bin ‘Abd al-Malik; there is a dinar of year 105 with the mintname Ma’dan Amir al-Mu’minin bi’l Hijaz; an Abbasid presentation dinar of al-Mu’tadid, struck at Barda’a in AH 286, probably while on military campaign in the region; an Abbasid medallid dirham of al-Radi Billah, struck at Madinat al-Salam in AH 325; a Rasulid dinar of al-Mu’ayyad Da’ud, struck in ‘Adan in AH 718; a superb Ottoman presentation 5 ashrafi of Ahmad III struck at Qustantaniyya in AH 1115, an anonymous gold “guinea” of the Mahdi of the Sudan, with mintname “Misr”, and dated AH 1255 year 2; and a unique Saudi Arabian gold pattern guinea of AH 1370. And much more.



Dechristianised copy of a Byzantine solidus of the emperor Heraclius and his two sons, struck in the reign of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in AH 72-73



Umayyad dinar, struck in AH 105, the last year of Al-Walid II and the first year of Hisham, bearing the mintname Ma’dan Amir al-Mu’minin bi’l Hijaz



Abbasid presentation dirham in the name of al-Radi Billah, struck at Madinat al-Salam in AH 325



Ottoman gold presentation 5 ashrafi of Ahmad III, struck at Qustantaniyya and dated AH 1115



Saudi Arabia, gold pattern guinea of 'Abd al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, struck in AH 1370 with mintname Makka al-Mukarrima

Details of a particularly important item to be auctioned at the first sale, on 25 April follow.

Earliest known portrait of Sultan Mehmed II



The discovery of the Magnus Princeps bronze portrait medal of Sultan Mehmed II, c.1460 in late 2000 provides the earliest known portrait of one of history's greatest military commanders. Prior to this, the only reliable knowledge of the most famous sultan of the Ottoman Empire's appearance rested on two portraits produced towards the end of his life: one on a medal executed by Constanzo da Ferrara in the mid- to late 1470s, which shows the sultan as

corpulent, wizened and well into middle age; the other on a painting by Gentile Bellini, the elderly and now frail image of the sultan, having been taken shortly before his death. Mehmed II had done much to bring European artists and craftsmen to the Ottoman court, and these universally known portraits are the result of independent visits that the two Italian artists made to Constantinople in the latter part of the sultan's life. The sultan's physical appearance from this early period has been one of the imponderables of Ottoman scholarship, for which no evidence was thought to have survived.

The script on the top of the medal reads MAGNVS PRINCEPS ET MAGNVS AMIRAS SULTANVS DNS MEHOMET [Great Prince and Great Amir, Sultan Lord Mehmed]; a fitting tribute to the man who, aged just twenty-one, masterminded the siege of Byzantium (bringing an end to the Byzantine Empire) and established the foundation of Constantinople (renamed Istanbul during the Ottoman reign) as the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. Made in the decade following the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453, the medal is a significant piece of Ottoman iconography from this early period of Mehmed's sultanate and of the greatest rarity.

After a very brief reign at the age of twelve (1444-1446), Mehmed II ascended the throne for a second time in 1451. His ambition was to create a world empire like the Roman Empire and his first move towards this came with the incorporation of the old Byzantine administration into the Ottoman state. During his 31 year rule he initiated a number of wars to enlarge the Ottoman Empire.

The occupation of Constantinople led to the conquest of all the Turkish kingdoms and territories of Asia Minor, Bosnia, Kingdom of Serbia and Albania. A cultured and highly intelligent man, he made many administrative reforms as the empire expanded that put his country on an affluent path. This, in turn, made it possible for successive sultans to focus on the expansion of the state and the growth into new territories.

Mehmed's formative years were largely spent in Italy, in areas close to Genoese and Venetian trading posts, and he subsequently brought many Western influences and ideas to the Ottoman court in Constantinople. He received lessons in ancient history, with Greek and Roman coinage serving as a form of teaching aid, and developed a strong self-identification with Alexander the Great, under whose name a large number of coins had been struck. An early interest in portraiture can be seen by drawings of small heads in one of his school exercise books and they convey a remarkable awareness of 'medallic' imagery. A letter sent in 1461 by Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, confirms the sultan to be an active patron of the arts, with a particular concern for painted and medallic portraits of himself. It constitutes a response to a request that Mehmed had made for the services of Sigismondo's master medallist, Matteo de Pasti, in order to 'paint and sculpt' him. Furthermore, it praises the sultan for his appreciation of portrait images, realising that, through bronze, the faces and virtues of men become widely known.

Conceived barely fifteen years after the first art medal had been produced in Renaissance Italy, the *magnus princeps* medal throws additional light on the personal interest that Mehmed II was taking in this new medium. Whether the medal is the result of a formal commission from the sultan himself is not clear, but the characterful modelling of the profile, and the compelling rendition of its features, are evidence of the realism with which the artist has captured his subject. It is a portrait so lively, and indeed so immediate, that whoever made the preparatory sketches - from sittings given undoubtedly by the sultan - almost certainly prepared the wax model, prior to the casting of the medal.

The bronze medal shows Mehmed II to be somewhere in his mid-twenties, for which preparatory sketches are likely to have been made in the mid- to late 1450s. The medal is a cast of very fine quality and the softly textured relief reveals skilful and sensitive handling. After more than five hundred years, a surprising amount of detail is still present, with only a small degree of wear over the higher points of the surface.

Close examination shows it to have been made by the sand-casting process, as was standard practice at this time. This is evident from its surface markings, and from the bubbling and granularity of the metal, which is particularly notable on its plain, reverse side. Various elements in the design and lettering on the medal point to the hand of Pietro da Milano, a sculptor and an occasional medallist. The attribution is further supported by the remarkable presence of the letters P M, which have been discretely incised, in the form of a monogram, along two folds of Mehmed's turban, and situated at the point almost directly above his side-locks.

Pietro da Milano was an established master sculptor, who lived and worked in Ragusa, and he was subsequently engaged on the triumphal arch for the Castelnuovo in Naples in 1452-53. The rebuilding of Constantinople in the 1450s, following its conquest by Mehmed, attracted many Western artists and craftsmen. There is therefore every reason why a monumental sculptor such as da Milano would find himself in that city, encouraged by the prospects of work. The finesse with which the portrait of Mehmed has been modelled is somewhat at odds with the lettering, which is uneven and at times clumsy. Further knowledge about workshop practices may well reveal that aspects of a medal, such as the inscriptions, were in fact executed by different artists; in any case, medals originating from a workshop were not necessarily executed solely by the master craftsman himself. The *magnus princeps* medal bears some general similarities to the medallic style of Francesco de Laurana, who is said to have worked closely with Pietro da Milano; and thus elements of collaboration, in whatever form they may have taken, cannot be ruled out.

It is not known how many examples of the medal were cast in bronze, if indeed more than one original was made. At some point in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the portrait found itself adapted for use on a group of medals produced under the auspices of a Frenchman called Jean Tricaudet. With the subsequent disappearance of the *magnus princeps* bronze prototype, the origin and legitimacy of the sultan's portrait on these medals was being called into question, so thoroughly tooled and chased were they. The discovery of this medal at an auction held by Christies in Rome in 2000 has removed any such doubts. The medal was bought as part of lot 696 in their auction held on 14 December and was one of a selection of items from a significant European collection.

For more information visit www.baldwin.co.uk/islamic-rarities. For all enquires about The Classic Rarities of Islam Collection or to request a copy of the collection brochure please contact [redacted] at [redacted] or on +44 [redacted]

[Information provided by Baldwin's Auctions]

Other News

Professor Delmer M. Brown

We regret to report the death of Delmer M. Brown, professor emeritus of Japanese history at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Brown had a long, fruitful career, and many of his students are grateful for his strong support and keen critical eye. His publications include:

Money Economy in Medieval Japan: A Study in the Use of Coins, Yale, 1951

Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Analysis, U.C. Press, 1955

The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshou, an Interpretative History written in 1219 (with Ichirou Ishida), UC Press, 1979

He also edited and contributed several articles and translations to *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. I: Ancient Japan, Cambridge, 1993.

After retiring from Berkeley, he served as the director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies, then located in Tokyo. Always open to new technology and ideas, he

explored the use of computers in rendering Japanese-language texts long before such use became common. He also headed the Japanese Historical Text Initiative, which has placed many classic Japanese texts on the web.

Members interested in the coins of the Anatolian Beyliks will probably find the Beden Coins website of considerable use. This can be found at <http://www.en.bedencoins.com/index.php>

COINEX Pune 2011

The International Collectors' Society of Rare Items held the three-day coin fair COINEX Pune 2011 on 9 to 11 December 2011 in Pune, India. There were 38 dealers at the fair, along with 20 exhibitors of themed coin collections. The bourse was bustling at all times, with an estimated 50,000 visitors attending the fair during its three days. Highlights of the fair included:

- Lifetime Achievement Award presented to Dr K.K. Maheshwari
- Publication of a tri-lingual 64-page souvenir with 14 high-quality articles on various aspects of Indian coinage
- Talks by Girish Sharma ("Some rare and unique coins from my collection") and Pankaj Tandon ("Horseman coins of Chandragupta III and the succession after Kumaragupta I")
- Auction No. 29 of Oswal Antiques, an auction containing 289 lots and run in a highly professional manner by Girish Vira. Approximately 90 per cent of the lots sold and the total realisation was around Rs. 4 million. The top sellers were a Chalukya gold pagoda of the boar/temple type that realised Rs. 275,000, a 1920 uniface British India paper rupee that sold for Rs. 270,000, and a Maratha silver rupee featuring the legend *Pant Pradhan* which fetched Rs. 265,000. In addition to these high-value sellers, there were several other coins of high rarity sold, including two punchmarked coins from Mahasthangadh in Bengal, two rare gold dinars of the Mainamati kings Virajadama and Virachandra, a silver tanka of Ghiyath al-Din Tughlaq minted in Telangana, and a nisar half rupee of Shah Jahan of the Poor Noor couplet type minted at Lahore.

All in all, the show was a great success and a clear manifestation of the thriving state of the Indian coin market.

COINEX Pune 2012 is being planned for December 2012 and will include a competition for best exhibitors in various categories.

Pankaj Tandon



Dr K.K. Maheshwari receiving his Lifetime Achievement Award from Dr M.K. Dhavalikar, Chief Guest at Coinex and former Professor of Archaeology and Director of Deccan College, Pune



The launch of the exhibition souvenir



Looking at an exhibition exhibit



The bustling bourse

Problems at the Geldmuseum, Utrecht, Netherlands



The Royal Coin Cabinet, the Dutch Mint Museum and the numismatic collection of the Dutch Central Bank were merged in 2004 with the aim of housing the collections in a new Geldmuseum at the Mint building. Soon after the opening of the

museum in 2007, however, it was becoming apparent that the funding by the Founding Fathers, the Dutch Ministry of Culture, the Dutch Ministry of Finance and the Dutch Central Bank, was not enough to allow the museum to operate properly. In particular, the rental fee for the building was considered to be far too high.

Since then, the museum has had to struggle with serious budgetary problems. In 2008 it found it necessary to lay off 6 members of staff from the Collection and Research Department. Fortunately, the Ministry of Finance came to the rescue with the promise to pay 750,000 Euros extra for three years on condition that the museum would be self-supporting by 2011.

In 2009, the new director, Heleen Buijs, was confronted with this problem but has not been able to find new sources of income. When, in the autumn of 2011, the Ministry of Finance decided not to continue the extra money, there was no other option than to reorganise the staff. Since the opening, it was obvious that the focus of the museum was no longer on numismatics, but on financial education. This resulted in a permanent exhibition but, allegedly, without a proper collection policy. The director has chosen to keep the public side of the museum intact and sacrifice the scientific side, the Collections and Research Department.

This has resulted in the lay-off of 9 people:

- The Office-manager
- The Head of the Department, Christel Schollaardt
- The Curator of Medieval and Modern Coinage, Arent Pol
- The Curator of Coins, Marcel van der Beek
- The Curator of Medals, Carolien Voigtmann
- The Financial Researcher, Gerard Borst
- The Senior Researcher, Jaco Zuijderduijn
- The Librarian, Ans ter Woerds
- The Database Manager, Jan Pelsdonk.

There are plans to keep the library open for a limited amount of hours a week, staffed by volunteers, but there has been no official announcement about this, yet. There will be no budget for new publications which means that the library collection will not be built upon, exchange will diminish and the international network of numismatic libraries will not be co-ordinated anymore by the librarian of the Geldmuseum. Requests for information from the library collection by external users will hardly be answered and accessibility will be severely limited.

Only two curators will remain: Paul Belien, Curator of Ancient Coinage and Erik van der Kam, Curator of Paper Money. The main part of their jobs will be to produce exhibitions. Other relevant fields of expertise will no longer be covered by the museum and the overall knowledge and history of the present collections will be lost.

[Information provided by Christel Schollaardt and Ans ter Woerds]

Jan Lingen, our Regional Secretary for continental Europe and organiser of the annual ONS meeting at the Geldmuseum has provided the following comments.

The present cutback at the prime numismatic institution in the Netherlands, the Geldmuseum Utrecht, is a disastrous development for the research in numismatics and monetary history.

With the merger in 2004 of the three largest numismatic collections in the Netherlands, a major numismatic institute cum museum was created, housed in a part the building complex of the Royal Dutch Mint. The expected synergy of this combination of the Mint and the National Numismatic museum has unfortunately proved not to work. Moreover, the aim of the management to concentrate on financial education, rather than to open up their rich collection for a wider public, have alienated many of their traditional rank-and-file clients.

Numismatists in the Netherlands have started a protest against the thoughtless cut back in costs which has resulted in the dismissal of all of the scientific and research part of the staff, except two, and the virtual closure of the unique numismatic library.

The protest, an initiative which was started by the enthusiast numismatist, Ad Lansen, co-author of the book *Plantation money of the Netherlands East Indies*, has by now become a wide movement of concerned numismatics in the Netherlands and abroad. The aim is to collect as many signatures and declarations of support as possible. These, together with a petition, will be presented to the Secretary of State for Education, Culture and Science. Besides this, various political parties, the Dutch Bank, the municipality of Utrecht will be/have been, approached. The major numismatic Societies in the Netherlands, including the ONS, are supporting this protest movement to save the scientific and research section of the museum as well as the numismatic library from closure.

Besides the above action, a parallel plan is being discussed with the management, to keep as much as possible of the vital parts of the science and research section of the museum, as well as the library, open and accessible.

Initially this will probably only be possible with dedicated volunteers, some of whom are already working there. This, however, can only be a temporary situation and plans for fundraising etc. are also being discussed. The best solution would be for the unfortunate decision to discontinue the subsidy to be reversed. In the present overall financial situation, however, this may not be an easy option,

As the ONS Regional Secretary for continental Europe, I am participating in the present consultations with the management. When the Royal Coin Cabinet moved from Leiden to Utrecht, the ONS moved with them and has organised its annual meeting at the Geldmuseum in Utrecht. Despite all the forced cutbacks by the Geldmuseum, the management has confirmed that the ONS will continue to be welcome at their premises under the same conditions as before. The annual meeting this year will take place on **Saturday 20 October 2012**.

Book Reviews

The Seljuq Period in Baghdad, 447-552h: a Numismatic and Historical Study, by Yahya Jafar, published by Spink, London, 2011; A4, case-bound, pp 150 and 12 plates; in English and Arabic; ISBN 978-1-907427-12-1. Price: £50.

This is an important publication for two general reasons: it takes a discrete series of coins and seeks to put each issue in its historical context, using both documentary evidence and the coins themselves; and it is published in both English and Arabic, thus serving two interested markets. It thus goes beyond the mere cataloguing of coins and types, an activity which is fine as far as it goes, but does not go very far!

To quote from the foreword: "The Seljuqs played a significant part not only in Islamic history but in world history also. At one time their territory stretched as far as China eastwards and the Mediterranean westwards, reaching Armenia to the north and embracing all of Arabia southwards. Many works have been written on the history of the Seljuqs, both old and recent and published in various languages... But although these occasionally mention their coinage, very few attempted to extract information from these to connect with historical events.

In this work, an attempt is made to present the coinage of the Seljuqs struck in Iraq, notably Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad), and to link it to the events of that period, starting with the entry of the Seljuqs in Baghdad in 447h and continuing until their expulsion from there in 552h."

As previously mentioned, the book is written in both English and Arabic, the English text starting from the left, and the Arabic from the right. The plates of photographs are located in the centre of the book so that they can serve both texts.

After a brief introductory section comes the catalogue. Each individual issue for each of the years covered is listed and described, with full Arabic legends set out as on the coins, with the marginal legends below in each case. The weight and diameter is given, except where not known. The numbering system used is

logical, being of three parts: i. a letter representing the issuing authority – S for Seljuq, A for Abbasid etc; ii. two letters representing the mint, e.g. MS for Madinat al-Salam; iii. three digits for the year in question followed, where appropriate by a letter for each issue from a particular mint in a particular year. The photographs of the coins (the vast majority of which are illustrated) are in black and white and reproduced more or less actual size. The latter is the usual practice but with coins of this type where there is much lettering not only in the fields of both sides, but more particularly in the margins, reproduction at larger than actual size would have been beneficial, especially as the actual dimensions are given in the catalogue. There is, after all, little point in illustrating coins if the legends cannot be read with reasonable ease. Ideally, the illustrations should have been placed not on separate plates but with the descriptions as this would have avoided the need to refer to two different places each time. However, with the catalogue being written in the two languages this would have meant doing it twice over, which, evidently, was considered excessive.

Names of people and places are given with diacritical marks to indicate various Arabic letters and long vowels. This is somewhat of a hostage to fortune as it requires very careful editing; indeed, a few errors were noted, though not of any consequence. Strangely, no differentiation is made in transliterating the letters z and z , both being transcribed as "z". A few other typos were also noted, which should have been spotted before the book went to press.

The catalogue, itself, makes for very interesting reading, making clear the shifting relationships not only between the Seljuq overlords and the various caliphs, but also between the various Seljuq princes themselves. A good example of this being the period 491-498h when, for most of the years, there are issues in the name of first Barkiyaruq then Muhammad, and at times, without either of them.

All the coins listed are dinars of various weights, except for a solitary dirhem issued in 484h (p. 34). There are some words about the monetary system on that page and there is also an appendix on clippings which has some observations on the monetary system. It would have been useful to have had an introductory section on metrology, the monetary system both before and during the period under review and how the coinage of Baghdad fitted in with the Seljuq (and Abbasid) coinage issued elsewhere at the time.

It looks as though some coins may have been added to or removed from the catalogue after the main body of the work was completed as there are some concordance errors between illustrations, text, and coin descriptions. Indeed, the catalogue gets off to an unfortunate start on pages 1 and 2. The catalogue entry for coin S.MS.447A and reference to it on page 2 mention inclusion of the word "askar" on the reverse. The illustration of that coin does not show this word. It is the illustrations of S.AK.447 and S.AK.448 which show this word, but, even more confusingly, the catalogue entry for the former excludes it while that for the latter does, indeed, include it. The illustration of S.MS.484C has been included twice, once in error for S.MS.484B. The illustration for A.MS.495A shows a Seljuq coin of Muhammad not an Abbasid coin. The images for A.MS.496A and A.MS.496B are transposed. The image for S.MS.513E is not correct. The description and illustration for S.MS.514C do not accord.

Elsewhere, in the description for S.MS.503B (not illustrated) the name Sanjar is misspelt "Sanmīr" in Arabic. On pages 54 and 55 mention is made of S.MS.511C and S.MS.513G, respectively, but neither of these coins are actually listed. The English titlature for S.MS.514A omits to mention the inclusion of the heir, Abu Ja'far, that occurs on the obverse of the coin. The English titlature for S.MS.530E states the caliph as being al-Rashid whereas it should be al-Mustaqfi; moreover, this coin then gets referred to, two lines further on, as S.MS.530D. Lastly, S.MS.549, 550, 551 and 552 are stated to be similar to S.MS.547B whereas they are similar to S.MS.547C.

While these errors are unfortunate and should be noted by anyone who buys the book, they do not detract from the value nor

the concept of this work. The book is well produced on good quality paper and with an attractive cover. The author is to be congratulated for putting the coins into their historical context in this way and it is hoped that he will consider following up this work with more of the same kind, detailing other series of Baghdad coinage, and perhaps even a complete catalogue of Baghdad coinage from the Umayyads to the Ottomans.

SG

The Ancient Greeks in Kashmir – Evidence of ancient Greeks found in Jammu Kashmir, Ladakh and in its Frontier Districts by Iqbal Ahmad

Dilpreet Publishing House, New Delhi 2011, 105 pages, 12 plates

This book just arrived from India. Its title promised some new evidence. Its author lives in the region and states that he is employed in the Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Archaeology and Museums, so something interesting was expected. Unfortunately not so. The book informs us of the Greek kings Euthy demons (sic p. 4) Demotrous, Helikels and Eucratides (sic p. 52) ruling Bacteria (sic p. 59), refers to works by Michel Mitchnar (p. 2) or is it Micheal Mitchner (p.9). Perhaps one should blame the printer, or is it the author? The information has been gathered without analysis or discrimination from Michael Mitchner's publication and various other sources, but perhaps not directly, as a bit of searching on line revealed that sections of the book were actually written by someone else for Wikipedia. I found the text presented on pp. 15–42 almost all taken from the Wikipedia entry for Indo-Greeks, and pp. 70-72 in the Wikipedia entry on Greco-Buddhist art (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Greeks>) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greco-Buddhist_art).

A few photographs at the end might be a saving grace, but they are of sculptures from the 5-8th century, a couple of Gupta period terracottas and a few coins. A silver tetradrachm of the Seleucid king, Antiochus XI, c. 93 BC is attributed to Philip II of Macedon. The connection between the sculptures and the Greek period appears to be their distant relationship with the art of Gandhara in the Kushan period.

Iqbal Ahmad has written many books: *Discoveries of Kashmir*, 2005; *Kashmir Under The Hindu Rajas*, 2007; *Kashmir Archaeology*, 2007; *Kushans in Kashmir*, 2011; *Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir*, 2007; *Ancient Coins of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and its Frontier Districts*, 2011 and maybe five others. They all sound interesting and useful, but a taste of his latest offering on Kashmir in the Indo-Greek period does not encourage one to find out.

Joe Cribb

Early Japanese Coins, by David Hartill, 140 pp. + index. Bright Pen, Sandy Bedfordshire, 2011. ISBN 978-0-7552-1365-8.

If you are looking for an English language guide to Japanese coins and how to identify them, this is the book. For over a century N.G. Munro's *Coins of Japan* (Yokohama, 1904) has been the most helpful guide, and Hartill's aim is to replace it. It is conceived, like Hartill's *Cast Chinese Coins* (2005, ISBN1-41205466-4) to help beginners/collectors/curators to understand the coins in front of them. The first 16 pages of Hartill's book provide an introduction to the subject: catalogue conventions; rarity and price guide; Japanese calligraphy; Japanese pronunciation, writing, names; Japanese numbers and other common characters; traditional units of measurement; era names of modern times; shoguns; method of manufacture; illustrating coins; map of Japan and neighbouring countries; the provinces of feudal Japan; map; and bibliography. The catalogue section is arranged in 9 parts: (1) Early coinage – the twelve antique coins; (2) *Bita sen*; (3) Momoyama and Early Edo periods; (4) Kanei tsuho coins; (5) Other Edo period coins; (6) Provincial coins; (7) Decorative coins, amulets and *e-sen*; (8) Gold coins and (9) Silver coins. My life would have been a lot easier if Hartill had published this book before we published the *British Museum Catalogue of Japanese Coins* in 2011 (BM Research Publication 174, ISBN 978-0-86159-174-9). But these

two volumes have very different aims, and it will be very useful to have them both.

It is not my intention to hijack this review, rather to congratulate David Hartill for producing this useful book and to show how it may be helpful in developing the subject. In the genuine hope that *Early Japanese Coins* will inspire more interest in Japanese coins, I have prepared a bibliography of Japanese numismatics, which is published in this issue of the *ONS Journal* (pp. 44-48) I would also encourage those wishing to develop links with Japan to pay attention to the work of Prof. Shin'ichi Sakuraki, of Shimonoseki University, who has been very active in Japanese numismatics. For an introduction to his work in English, see his articles 'A Brief History of Pre-Modern Japanese Coinage' in the *BM Catalogue*, 2010 (pp. 17-25) and 'New Developments in Japanese Numismatic History' in the International Numismatic Commission's *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002–2007* (INC, Glasgow, 2009, pp. 578–81, <http://www.muenzgeschichte.ch/inc/21001/index.html>). Prof. Sakuraki also worked closely with the late Mark Blackburn, Keeper of the Coin Dept at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, to draw more attention to Japanese numismatics and Japanese coin collections overseas. Having attended the International Numismatic Congress in Madrid in 2007, Prof. Sakuraki was keen to participate more actively in the INC in Glasgow in 2009, contributing not only to the *Survey of Numismatic Research*, but also by arranging for several Japanese scholars to come and present papers.

Helen Wang

Articles

A NEW MINT FOR 'ABD AL-MALIK'S "STANDING CALIPH" FULUS?*

By Nikolaus Schindel

It is always a fine thing for a numismatist to discover coins issued by rulers or mints formerly unrecorded. However, some caution is in place, since more often than not such new discoveries are the results of a misreading or other errors (especially methodological ones) by the author. With this in mind, I shall discuss here a "standing caliph" fals of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) which bears a mint mark which seems to be otherwise unattested.



Let us start with the coin itself. The obverse is heavily corroded so that nothing more than the basic outlines of the figure of the standing caliph holding a sword can be made out. The

* I have to thank Michael Bates, Stefan Heidemann and Lutz Ilisch for valuable discussion. They have emphasized the problems of my explanation of the coin laid out here; it is not due to a lack of respect of their judgement, but just in order to make this coin available to those interested in Early Islamic coins that I present this fals here together with my original, possibly wrong interpretation.

reverse shows the usual device (often called “transformed cross on steps”), to the left of it the Kufic legend **واف** (“full value”), to the right the mint name, and at 5 h an isolated letter, namely **و**, the only remnant of a circular legend. The weight is 2.93 g, the maximum diameter 19 mm, and the die axis 12 h.

While the coin is obviously poorly preserved, the mint name can be made out clearly and without any problems. Intriguingly enough, it does not correspond to any known rendering within the “standing caliph” series. Its first letter, not connected to the left, and only faintly visible, is a **ل**; the second, of the same height, clearly a **ل**. Then comes another letter not connected to the left, viz. a **ر** or **ز**. The fourth letter consists of a small circle above the base line and thus should be read as **ف** or **ق**, even if **م** is another, less likely possibility. The last letter clearly is a final **ه**. Even if unpointed Kufic permits various reading variants that are in theory possible, the obvious suggestion is **الرقه**, i.e. al-Raqqa, the classical city of Kallinikos by the Euphrates, in present-day Syria. This city ranks among the most important strategic places in this area. In Late Roman and Early Byzantine times, it was among the three cities in which commerce between Roman and Sasanian merchants was officially permitted.¹ As such, it is generally not an altogether unlikely candidate for having possessed – even for a short period – a mint.

Caution is in place, though; much caution, indeed. So far, no coins are known to have been struck in al-Raqqa before AH 181.² The earliest issues attested for this place do not bear the name of al-Raqqa, but rather that of al-Rafīqa. It was founded in AH 155, and its earliest coins were issued in AH 172.³ Thus, our fals would predate the undoubtedly attested sequence of al-Rafīqa/al-Raqqa by almost 100 Hijri years. There are no Umayyad post-reform coins bearing the name al-Raqqa; already John Walker has shown that fulus allegedly struck in al-Raqqa are nothing else but somewhat blundered issues from al-Ramla in jund Filastin.⁴ It has been suggested that the fulus the mint name of which was read as Balikh in Khurasan by Walker⁵ should be read as Balikh.⁶ However, as Heidemann has emphasized,⁷ the letter **ي** is missing from this name throughout. Apart from this, Balikh is the name of a river, and not of any settlement known so far, so this interpretation remains quite uncertain, to say the least. If we leave aside the equally uncertain Tanukh, all Umayyad mints in the Syrian area were named after actual towns. And the most prominent settlement along the Balikh is actually al-Raqqa, the place where the Balikh joins the Euphrates. An alternative explanation is that the mint name on these coins really reads Balikh, which at least offers no problems from a philological point of view. Certainly, the provenances are Syrian, and not Central Asian; but could it be that these fulus were issued in Early Abbasid times at a northern Syrian location which housed members of the new dynasty’s Khurasaniya troops and which was called Balikh in memory of their region of origin? Whatever the truth of the matter, there is no undisputed and reliable evidence for Umayyad post-reform minting activity at al-Raqqa to fill that gap of 100 years.

One might be tempted to read the mint name of our coin as al-Ruha, ancient Edessa and modern Şanlı Urfa in Turkey. It might appear easier to interpret the mint name as a blundered version of an already known one than as a new mint. Judging from the letters on our specimen, al-Ruha is the only candidate among the

“standing caliph” mints attested so far (for Sarmin/سرمين, we had to assume too many unique features on our coin). Edessa’s Arabic name is spelled **الرها**, and a writing variant with **ه** rather than **ل** in theory might be possible, as one might guess from post-reform fulus from Akko with the mint name **عكه** instead of **عكا**.⁸ However, the al-Ruha “Standing caliph” coins never bear the word **واف** on the reverse. Their reverse legends always start with **بسم الله**,⁹ whereas the presence of the clear letter **و** (a relict of the word **وحده**) on our coin proves that the legend began with **الله** **لا الا** at 12 h; faint traces of the last word are still visible. Apart from this, the fourth letter to me looks much more like **ف** or **ق** than **ه**, and I believe that the reading **الرقه** in fact does not involve any forceful distortion of what we can actually see on the coin. Due to the bad state of preservation, little details of the obverse can be made out. The al-Ruha coins invariably show the standing caliph with an unusually large head, whereas the proportions of head and body on our coins are much more in accord with the usual way of rendering, thus once more advocating against localising our coin in al-Ruha.

There is one big problem, however. In later geographers’ works Raqqa is always located in the region of Diyar Mudar, a part of al-Jazira. Its two mint towns in the “standing caliph” period, viz. al-Ruha and Harran, show a lot of distinct features, which clearly set them apart from the much more homogenous coin production in jund Qinnasrin. If we read the mint name on the present coin as what it looks like, i.e. as al-Raqqa, then we would have to assume that in the 70s of the Hijra, the city was – at least regarding coin production – attached to jund Qinnasrin, rather to the province of al-Jazira. For one thing, the word **واف** on the reverse is attested only on Qinnasrin coins.¹⁰ For this assumption, we certainly have no evidence: it rather contradicts the literary sources.

When we look at the patterns of minting in jund Qinnasrin, we notice that there are some mints in this province which are not very prolific, such as Jabrin, Qurus or Tanukh.¹¹ Clive Foss has emphasized that several mints in jund Qinnasrin are no large urban centres, but strategically very important places,¹² and this certainly is basically true also of al-Raqqa. Recently, a “standing caliph” fals allegedly from Sinjar has been offered in an auction sale,¹³ even if this attribution seems rather speculative to me; it certainly adds no weight to the interpretation of the coin discussed here.

In the end, it is not possible to establish with certainty whether or not really a short-lived Umayyad mint was established in al-Raqqa in the “standing caliph” period. As so often, a single isolated coin raises more questions than it answers. With all probability, the emergence of more material in the future will help us solve this question for good. Despite the uncertainties and problems of the present suggestion (the speculative nature of which I have to emphasize again), I decided to publish the coin here in order to open the discussion and possibly elicit further material.

¹ Codex Justinianus IV, 63, 4, 1.

² S. Heidemann, Die frühe Münzprägung von ar-Raqqa/ar-Rāfiqa als Dokumente zur Geschichte der Stadt, in: S. Heidemann/A. Becker (eds.), *Raqqa II. Die islamische Stadt*, Mainz 2003, p. 118, no. IV.

³ Heidemann (as note 2), p. 116, no. I.

⁴ J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, London 1956, p. 255, note 1.

⁵ Walker (as note 4), p. 239, no. 778–780 with note 1.

⁶ H. Bone, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: The Evidence of the Copper Coins* unpublished PhD thesis, Princeton 2000, p. 253 f.

⁷ Heidemann (as note 2), p. 116, note 3.

⁸ L. Ilich, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Palästina IVA Bilād aš-Šām I*, Tübingen 1993, p. 36, no. 410.

⁹ Walker (as note 4), p. 28, no. 92 f.

¹⁰ S. Album/T. Goodwin, *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford 2002, pl. 41–44.

¹¹ Bone (as note 6), p. 317.

¹² C. Foss, Anomalous Arab-Byzantine coins. Some Problems and Suggestions, *ONSN* 166, 2001, p. 9 f.

¹³ Steve Album, auction 12, January 12th, 2012, lot no. 57.

AN ARAB-BYZANTINE COIN TYPE WITH A PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION: A NEW SOLUTION

By Clive Foss



The coin type discussed here has some unusual aspects: it imitates a coin of Constantine IV (668-685); its prototype was struck in Sicily; and it bears an inscription which has recently been interpreted as a name written in Pahlavi.¹⁴

The vast majority of Arab-Byzantine coins that copy Byzantine types are derived from those of Constans II (642-668), whose regular issues circulated widely and in abundant quantities in the Levant. Finds of bronzes of Constantine IV, however are extremely uncommon: only five had been published from excavated sites by 2008, with three of them being of the Sicilian prototype of this coin.¹⁵ The prototype is the class 1 follis of Constantine IV (DOC 60), struck in Syracuse from 668-674.¹⁶ The only substantial difference is that the Byzantine original had no inscription on the obverse. The imitation, therefore, has a *terminus post quem* of 668, making it the latest of the whole imitative (or 'pseudo-Byzantine' now called 'Series 1') coinage, and most probably a product of the reign of the caliph Mu`awiya (660-680).

This type has attracted some attention recently. In 2009, Andrew Oddy's meticulous work revealed a series of die-links that showed this type to be related to coins that imitated types of Heraclius or Constans II.¹⁷ Without the die-links, these would probably never have been associated with such a late date. He concluded from the homogeneity of style that the six types he could identify were probably struck in relatively few years around 670, with the five Heraclius and Constans types preceding the Pahlavi-legend coinage. Very limited evidence for their provenance seemed to point to northern Syria rather than Palestine or Jordan. The inscription remained anomalous, though more probably Pahlavi than anything else, yet, as Oddy noted, '...it does seem strange that coins struck in the heartland of the Umayyad empire should bear a Pahlavi legend, albeit a blundered one.'¹⁸

Most recently, Nikolaus Schindel and Wolfgang Hahn have revisited the problems of this coinage in considerable detail and produced a novel interpretation.¹⁹ First, they confirm that the legend is Pahlavi, and to be read *mlt'n MLKA*, i.e. Mardān Shah, as proposed by M.A. al-'Ush in 1971.²⁰ This could be a name or a title 'Lord of Men'. They also list a few more examples of this

coin and its prototype that have been discovered in Israel, and note that Sicilian coins of Constantine IV appear much more often than those of Constans II. Their main contribution is a proposal that the 'men' in 'ruler of men', distinguished by speaking Middle Persian rather than Greek or Arabic, are to be identified with the Mardaites. These were well known as Byzantine allies who descended from the mountains of northern Syria to harass the Arabs in the late seventh century. This rather mysterious group was apparently not native to the region.²¹ Schindel and Hahn accept the postulate that they were Persian, their name derived from *mard*, 'man' and maintain that 'The use of Pahlavi and Middle Persian in Bilad al-Sham during the second half of the seventh century on the coins discussed here in our opinion can be explained only by this connection'.²² They speculate that the Mardaites could have been Sasanian troops who deserted to the Romans or came over as a consequence of the Arab conquest; and that the figure on the coins is their king, Constantine IV. They propose that these coins were struck after 676, when the Mardaites first appear in the region.

As for Sicily, Schindel and Hahn point to the well-attested Arab descent on Syracuse in 669 when the raiders seized enormous booty including masses of bronze that Constans II had taken from Rome.²³ They returned to Alexandria where the patriarch ransomed many of the captives. This is most likely the occasion when these newly-struck coins of Constantine IV, whether as loot or in the possession of captured Sicilians, reached the Levant. They would have been brought by sea to Egypt and the Levant and spread to the interior.

Association of these coins with the Mardaites is intriguing but highly speculative. There is no actual evidence that they were of Persian origin. In fact, Syriac sources (closest to the events) call them 'Romans'.²⁴ Nor is it necessary to interpret 'Mardān Shah' as a grandiose title or to take it literally as denoting a 'king of men'. In fact, Mardān Shah was a fairly common name among the Sasanian elite who were not at all averse to taking grandiloquent names. A cursory examination of the sources reveals the following examples:²⁵

- 1) youngest son of Chosroes II, executed 627: Theophanes 325-327
- 2) *padhospan* (second in command) of the province of the South, executed by Chosroes in 626 when he seemed to be gaining too much power: Tabari V.395-7
- 3) *marzban* (governor) of Babil and Khutnariyya late in the reign of Chosroes: Morony 148
- 4) Persian commander at the battle of al-Namariq, where he was killed in 634: Tabari XI.180, cf. 195, 205
- 5) also called Dhu-l Hajib, Persian commander at the battle of the Bridge (634) and at Nihavand, where he was killed in 642: Baladhuri 403, 410, 471-473

²¹ Add to the references cited by Schindel and Hahn the important work of Mohsen Zakeri, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Islamic Society* (Wiesbaden 1995).

²² Schindel and Hahn 225.

²³ *Ibid.* 226; for the date and full references, see Alexander Beihammer, *Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in arabischen Quellen (565-811)* (Bonn, 2000), 325. Note that the *Liber pontificalis* caps. 78-79 specifically mentions 'bronze decorations' and bronze roof tiles from a church: *The Book of Pontiffs*, tr. Raymond Davis (Liverpool 1989) 72.

²⁴ Schindler and 222f.; cf. Andrew Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool 1993).

²⁵ In the following, I refer to currently available translations as follows: Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, tr. Cyril Mango and Robert Scott (New York 1997); Tabari: *The History of al-Tabari* in 40 volumes with various titles and translators (Albany NY 1985-2007); Morony, Michael, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton 1984); Baladhuri: *The Origins of the Islamic State, Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, tr. Philip Hitti (New York 1916). For Theophanes and Baladhuri, I use the traditional page numbering, found in the margins of the translations.

¹⁴ Stephen Album and Tony Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean I* (Oxford 2002) 79; cf. C. Foss, *Arab-Byzantine Coins* (Washington 2008) 40f.

¹⁵ Foss 21.

¹⁶ Dated to 669-672 by Wolfgang Hahn in *Moneti imperii byzantini 3* (Vienna 1981) p.161.

¹⁷ Andrew Oddy, "Constantine IV as a Prototype for Early Islamic Coins", Andrew Oddy, ed., *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East 2* (London 2010) 95-110.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁹ Nikolaus Schindel and Wolfgang Hahn, "Imitations of Sicilian Folles of Constantine IV from Bilad al-Sham", *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17 (2009-10) 213-232.

²⁰ M. A. al-'Ush, "Traces du classicisme dans la numismatique arabe-islamique", *Annales archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 1, no.21 (1971) 308, a work ignored by numismatists till rediscovered by Schindel and Hahn.

- 6) M. al-Khasi, messenger between Persian and Arab forces at the Euphrates crossing in 634: Tabari XI.191.
- 7) ruler of Dunbawand in the region of Rayy, attested in 643: Tabari XIV.27
- 8) a *dihqan* (landowner) of Ahwaz, killed in 686 when he delayed paying his taxes: Tabari XXI.19
- 9) a Christian doctor who helped Muhammad ibn Marwan take Nisibis in 694 and was rewarded with administration of the city: subsequently killed by order of al-Hajjaj: Morony 131, 353; Palmer 202
- 10) Son of Zadan Farrukh, secretary of al-Hajjaj, governor of Iraq and the East, c.696: Baladhuri 466

In other words, Mardanshah could be the name of an army commander, government official, landowner or doctor - at any time in the seventh century. There is, however, no reason to associate any of the above with the coins that appear in the Levant.

There is actually a simpler explanation for all this, as suggested by a passage from al-Baladhuri:

“A body of Persians were transplanted in the year 42 by Mu`awiya from Baalbek, Hims and Antioch to the seacoasts of the Jordan, i.e. Tyre, Antioch and other places; and he transplanted in the same year, or one year before or after, certain *asawira* from Basra and Kufa and certain Persians from Baalbek and Hims to Antioch. One of the Persian leaders was Muslim ibn Abdallah...”²⁶

This refers to events early in the reign of Mu`awiya, between 661 and 664.

When the Arabs advanced to the conquest of Iraq and Iran., they faced the most powerful branch of the Sasanian army, the heavy-armed cavalry called by them *asawira* [singular *uswar*] and by the Persians *asbaran* - known to the Romans as cataphracts or *clibanarii*. These were the elite of the military, enjoying the highest rank and privileges. They and their horses were clad in armour rather like mediaeval knights.²⁷ Despite their status, many of them saw the handwriting on the wall and deserted to the victorious Arab forces that were conquering Iran. In the aftermath of the battle of Qadisiya, where the Persians suffered an overwhelming defeat in 636, 4000 *asawira* of the imperial guard deserted to the Arabs.²⁸ They requested and received stipends and permission to settle where they liked and to associate with any tribe they chose. Some allied with the tribe al-Tamim and settled in Basra; others moved to al-Dailam in Iran, then to Kufa. Both groups accepted Islam. *Asawira* helped to found Kufa in the next year and were granted exemption from the poll tax.²⁹ In Kufa, they were generally known as *hamra*.

Note that some of the *asawira* who settled in Iran were later transferred by Ziyad, Mu`awiya's governor of the East (c.670-673), to Syria, where they were called al-Furs (Persians), others were joined to the *asawira* of Basra.³⁰

In 638, as the Arabs were advancing in Khuzistan toward Susa, the Persian commander, Siyah al-Uswari, entered into negotiations with his adversary, who forwarded the proposed terms to Umar. The caliph agreed that the Persians should receive the highest stipend and not be obliged to participate in Arab intertribal fighting. Siyah eventually converted to Islam and settled in Basra where he was joined by other Persian soldiers who had converted.³¹

Conversion was not obligatory, however, for in 652, a Persian commander, Marwarudh, with his cavalry went over to the Arabs and received favourable terms - virtual autonomy except the obligation to pay the land tax, as well as freedom from

conversion.³² Likewise, it seems that at least some Persians, settled in Syria, maintained their traditional identity as late as the reign of Hisham (723-743).³³ They were still there in the late eighth century when al-Mansur transferred some of them from Antioch to the frontier outpost of al-Massisa in Cilicia.³⁴

In general, the *asawira* were of great value to the Arabs for enlarging their knowledge of the art of war.³⁵ They brought the use of heavy armour and skilled archery from horseback, transmitting the military traditions of the Persians to their Arab conquerors. Though their prime bases were Kufa and Basra, the administrative centres of Iraq and the East, their value was evident in other regions, especially those exposed to Byzantine attacks. Hence the actions of Mu`awiya in transferring many of them to the threatened Syrian seacoast and to inland bases like Baalbek and Homs.

Here, I believe, is the explanation for the Pahlavi inscription on the coins of the early 670s. Persian troops (who spoke Pahlavi) were stationed in exactly the area where these coins have been found and were there when they were issued. They remained in Syria long after these coins were produced, some of them maintaining their Persian names and religion. It seems most likely that our Mardanshah was commander of one body of these troops in Mu`awiya's time.

Although it is not obvious why Mardanshah alone put his name on the coins, there are parallels. An issue of the Standing Caliph coinage, struck in Sarmin in northern Syria in the 690's, bears the name of 'Abd al-Rahman, who cannot be identified.³⁶ Since the name of the caliph seems to be absent, the inscription has been taken to indicate some degree of independence from Damascus. A certain Sa'id appears on a square coin of the Constans II type, probably struck in Palestine in the 650s.³⁷ Recently, a similar square type inscribed *al-amir Sa'id* could suggest that he was a provincial governor.³⁸ The Muhammad named more frequently on this series may also have been an official or commander.³⁹ In other words, names of local figures do appear on the Arab-Byzantine coins, though in no case can they be identified.

Mardan Shah would fit perfectly well in this context. Writing his name in Pahlavi can be easily explained by the well-attested presence of the *asawira* in Syria, without having recourse to further speculation. I would then suggest the following scenario:

- Before 661: Persian cavalry forces sent to interior Syria
 661/664: Mu`awiya transfers Persian *asawira* from Basra and Kufa, Baalbek and Homs to Antioch, and some of these to the coast of Phoenicia
 668: Constans II assassinated in Syracuse; accession of Constantine IV; brief usurpation of Mzez put down by Constantine.
 669: Constantine IV brings fleet back to Constantinople; Arabs devastate Syracuse, bring back loot including much bronze
 c670/3: Mu`awiya reinforces Persian troops in Syria
 c670/5: Mardan Shah, commander of local (or provincial?) Persian forces strikes coins in his name using a workshop that had already produced more conventional types. His coins imitate the new issue of Constantine IV which had arrived with the raiders of 669.

²⁶ Tabari XV.103.

²⁷ Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: the Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge 1980) 237f. (note 362) citing Baladhuri 166.

²⁸ Baladhuri 165f.

²⁹ Morony 207, 210-213, 273, 301, 508.

³⁰ Tony Goodwin, "A Standing Fals Issued by 'Abd al-Rahman at Sarmin" in *Coinage and History* (above, n.3) 41-43.

³¹ Stefan Heidemann, "The Merger of Two Currency Zones in Early Islam", *Iran* 36 (1998) 95-112 at 98 with Plate XVI.4

³² Information kindly provided by Tony Goodwin; the coin was in the Gemini VII auction in New York on 9 January 2011.

³³ Foss p.34.

²⁶ Baladhuri 117, cf. 148.

²⁷ Zakeri 57-68.

²⁸ Baladhuri 280.

²⁹ Tabari XIII.78.

³⁰ Baladhuri 280.

³¹ Tabari XIII.143f.; cf. Morony 198.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED VARIETY OF GEORGIAN COUNTERMARK OF THE 12th-13th CENTURIES AND ITS PLACE IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF GEORGIAN COUNTERMARKS

By Giorgi Gogava

Introduction

In Georgian numismatics, the system of Georgian countermarking in the 12th-13th centuries and later in the 18th century is well known.⁴⁰ There are about fifteen Georgian countermarks⁴¹ but the meanings of only six of them have been definitively attributed.⁴² Three of them belong to Queen Rusudan⁴³, one to the 18th century King of Kartli and Kakheti, Teimuraz II, and two to his heir, Erekle II.⁴⁴

This article does not attempt to reveal the meaning and function of Georgian countermarks, a feature which has puzzled many researchers all through the history of Georgian numismatics. What it does is present a previously unknown variety of one of the most common Georgian countermarks and using various criteria formulates a classification for Georgian countermarks.

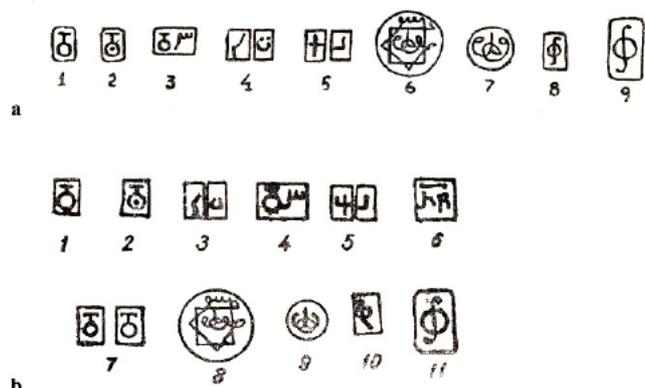


Fig. 1a-1b: Sketches of the Georgian countermarks of the 12th-13th centuries.

a – Y. Pakhomov, 1970, *Coins of Georgia, Chapter V, Countermarks of the 12th-13th centuries*, p.112;

b – D. Kapanadze, 1969, *Georgian Numismatics, Coins of the 12th Century and First Third of the 13th Century*, p.69.

The newly discovered variety

Introduction:

This countermark, a newly discovered variety, was used only on the irregularly struck coins of Queen Tamar.⁴⁵ This countermark is

included in figure 1 (nos. 1 and 2) of Georgian countermarks of the 12th-13th centuries first published by Pakhomov, and later by Kapanadze, as two different types.⁴⁶ Figure 1 presents the images as published by both authors.

Description of the countermark

The newly discovered variety is similar to countermark 2 shown in Figures 1a and 1b. The only difference is that the shape of its punch is not square as on other countermarks of this type, but assumes the outline of the *Asomtavruli* letter “*o*” [d] (see Fig.2). On the obverse of the coin in Figure 2, on the opposite side to the above-described countermark, there is a “small” countermark of Rusudan (see Figure 1b, pic. 9).⁴⁷



Fig. 2: The United Kingdom of Georgia, Queen Tamar (1184-12??), type of “irregular” copper (Pakhomov, type 56, Vol. 7, 118), AE, countermark “d” and Rusudan’s “small” countermark, weight 8.88 g, size 21-22 mm, die axis 9:30 h.

Conclusion

Despite the damage to the coin’s surface, there can be no doubt about the non-standard shape of the countermark. It would be interesting to know whether the production and usage of a relatively complex punch of this kind was typical⁴⁸ or the result of a creative master. It is also possible but less likely that it is the work of a forger, which we consider a subject for further research.

Types and varieties of Georgian countermarks

As already mentioned above, this article does not aim to explain the meaning and function of Georgian countermarks, which is one of the most difficult and significant goals of Georgian numismatics. Several works have been dedicated to the history of Georgian countermarks.⁴⁹ Our goal is to combine the accumulated rich material and classify it according to a scheme of our own.

In this part of the article we shall focus on the types and varieties of Georgian countermarks; analyse extraordinary examples of countermarks⁵⁰; single out such instances that,

Abramishvili: *Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum ...* p.105.

Apart from one doubtful exception, see D. Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics ...* pp.84-85.

⁴⁶ Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics ...* pp.84-85

⁴⁷ This case is one more vivid example of the observation, based on which Pakhomov and Kapanadze ascribed the use of the countermark “d” to an earlier period than other types of countermarks on the irregularly struck coins of Queen Tamar.

Pakhomov: *“Coins of Georgia ...* p.113.

Kapanadze: “Hoard Coins of the 12th-13th Centuries from the Village of Nichbisi”, Tbilisi, *Moambe of the Acad. S. Janashia Georgian State Museum*, 1969, Vol. 28-B, pp.81-82.

⁴⁸ It is clear that the countermark represents a less common variety of the type; the coin in fig. 2 is the only example known.

⁴⁹ It is worth noting that the various authors give slightly different information:

Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia ...* p.112.

Abramishvili: *Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum ...* p.103 and Table 1.

Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics ...* pp.84, 154.

Paghava, Lobzhanidze, Turkia: “Countermarking of Copper Coins in Late 18th Century Georgia”. *Caucasian Numismatics, Papers on the Coinage of Kartl-Kakheti (Eastern Georgia), 1744-1801. Supplement to Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society*, 197, Autumn 2008, pp.38-46.

⁵⁰ It should be noted that, based on our observation, there are clear calligraphic and stylistic differences in all Georgian countermarks. We believe that this is the result of multiple engravers being employed for each type.

⁴⁰ Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, pp.112-117 and 269-270.

Abramishvili: “Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum”, Tbilisi, *Messenger of the Acad. S. Janashia Georgian State Museum*, Vol. 22-B, 1961, pp.103-112.

Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics*, Tbilisi University, 1969, pp.83-86 and 153-154.

⁴¹ P.112 and Table XIX; p.113 and Table 1; pp.84 and 154.

⁴² We cannot share Bajashvili’s opinion about the classification of a number of countermarks: (Bajashvili: “Unknown Graphical Variations of Queen Rusudan’s Monogram”, *Matsne*, Georgian SSR Academy of Science, 1975, 4, pp.132-140; Bajashvili: “Content of One Georgian Double-Framed Countermark”, *Matsne*, Georgian SSR Academy of Science, 1973, 3, pp.140-144; Bajashvili: “Meaning of One More Double-Framed Countermark”, *Matsne*, Georgian SSR Academy of Science, 1978, 1, pp.112-115.)

⁴³ Kapanadze: “On the Definitions of M. Barataev and V. Langlois”, *Moambe of the Georgian SSR Academy of Science*, Vol. 18, 4, 1957, pp.491-494.

⁴⁴ Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics ...* pp. 153-154; Pakhomov Y.: *Coins of Georgia ...* pp.269-270.

⁴⁵ Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgi ...* p.112.

according to their visual characteristics, represent varieties of specific countermarks rather than separate types and try to formulate criteria which will help us to define the known varieties of countermarks. We shall then present a classification of the types and varieties of Georgian countermarks.

Discussion

In order to have a clearer picture of the classification of the countermarks presented below, we shall discuss several examples:

- From our personal observation, we conclude that the size of the quadrangular punched parts of countermark 1 (see Table 1) vary in size on different coins. Just on the specimens available to us their dimensions fluctuate between 3.5 mm to 6.5 mm. This variability⁵¹ makes defining varieties based only on the characteristic of size pointless.
- A different conclusion is drawn with regard to the “big” and “small” varieties of the well-known countermarks of Rusudan,⁵² known as “f”-countermarks (due to their resemblance to the Greek letter “Φ” [f]).⁵³ Their distinct size differences (not the incused quadrangle but the letter inside it) and differences in stylistic elements incline us to separate the countermarks into separate varieties of the same type (see Table 1, 9c and 9d).
- A relatively rare variety of the “big f” countermark with different calligraphy is noteworthy (Georgian State Museum, 6748g). A depiction of this variation can be found in Abramishvili’s article on Georgian countermarks (see fig. 3, pic. 11). Abramishvili attributes no particular importance to details of calligraphy, considering the countermark to be only a variation of the “big f” variety⁵⁴. We agree with this conclusion and do not treat the mark as a distinct variety.

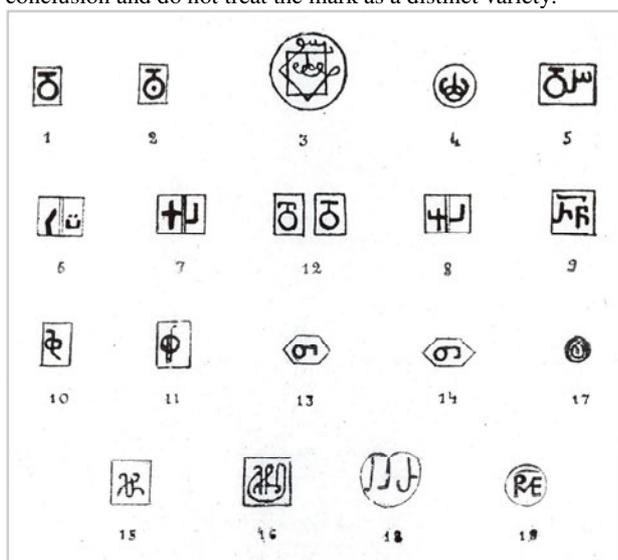


Fig. 3: Sketches of the Georgian countermarks of the 12th-13th centuries. Author: T. Abramishvili, Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum”, p.107; p.113, Vol. 1.

- The double-framed countermark used only on the obverse side of coins struck with the names of Tamar and Davit Soslan also requires discussion. In the sketches of Georgian countermarks by Pakhomov and Kapanadze it is presented as the fifth type

⁵¹ Similar variability can be seen in the monogram of the same countermark.

⁵² Abramishvili: Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum, countermarks of the second group, p.107”, 1961.

⁵³ Pakhomov: Coins of Georgia, p. 116.

The view of Bajashvili and his wish to see an Asomtavruli “Φ” [p] letter in this monogram needs to be noted; at the same time, we think he rightfully questions his own reading.

Bajashvili: Unknown Graphic Variations of Queen Rusudan’s Monogram,... p.132.

⁵⁴ Abramishvili: Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum,... p.107; p.113, Vol. 1, sketch 11.

(see Figures 1a and 1b).⁵⁵ In the sketches of both authors, despite small differences in the left segment of the countermark, it seems that one and the same countermark is being presented.⁵⁶ Though neither author comments on this issue. Abramishvili depicts the differences in the left segment and discusses them as different varieties (see figs. 3, pics. 7 and 8).⁵⁷ The meaning of the figures in the double-framed countermarks is unknown, though suggestions have been made.⁵⁸ It is possible that we are dealing with two different countermarks but at this stage we prefer a single variety as presented by Pakhomov (see fig. 1a, pic. 5) and consider the countermark as one type (see Table 1, pic. 3).

- Another disputed example is the Teimuraz II countermark, which Abramishvili divides into two different varieties based on a slight difference in the calligraphy of the *Mkhedruli* letter “თ” [t] (see fig. 3, pic. 13 and 14).⁵⁹ We think that there are no solid grounds for this distinction (cf. Paghava, Lobzhanidze and Turkia).⁶⁰

As to why the well-known countermarks of Erekle II deserve being singled out as separate types and not varieties, we will discuss the issue further when describing the countermarks themselves.

Conclusion

In our judgment, a distinct countermark type which notwithstanding variations in size, calligraphy, iconographic or artistic-stylistic details, clearly represents one and the same symbol, should not be divided into separate varieties.

Based on the conclusion drawn as a result of our analysis, we think the following six main criteria gathered in three groups should determine the categorisation of Georgian countermarks:

- Group One: 1. Ownership (emitter of the countermark)
- 2. Content (information engraved in the countermark)
- Group Two: 3. Proportion (dimensions of the countermark)
- 4. Design (shape of the countermark)
- Group Three: 5. Details (artistic-stylistic elements of the countermark)
- 6. Period (when in the period of issue the mark was used)

Based upon these criteria we have created a division of countermarks as separate types or varieties. Differences may exist in one or several criteria. In general if the countermarks are different based on the Group One criteria, it is doubtless that they belong to different types. If the difference is only in the criteria of Group Two, the countermarks represent different varieties. Differences in both Group Two and Group Three usually indicates different variants of countermarks. As for differences in Group Three only, we believe these are not sufficient to constitute separate varieties.

Taking into account these considerations and previous research, we would like to present the following classification of the Georgian countermarks identified thus far (Table 1). Different types are represented by numerals, and varieties by letters.

⁵⁵Bajashvili: “Meaning of One Georgian Double-framed Countermark”, *Matsne*, Georgian SSR Academy of Science, 1973, 3.

⁵⁶Bajashvili: “Meaning of One More Georgian Double-framed Countermark”, *Matsne*, Georgian SSR Academy of Science, 1978, 1.

⁵⁷Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, p.114.

Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics*, p.84.

⁵⁸Abramishvili: Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum, p.106

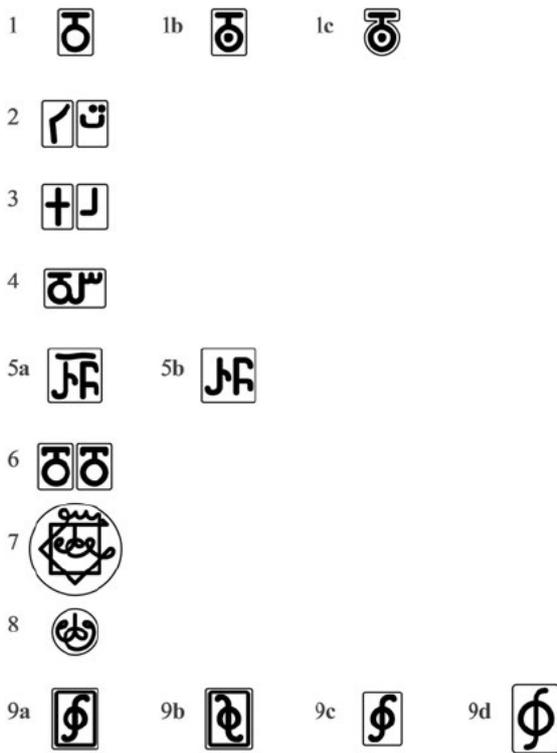
⁵⁹Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, p.114.

Abramishvili: Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum, p.106.

⁶⁰Abramishvili Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum pp.110, 113, Vol. 1, sketches 13-14.

Paghava, Lobzhanidze, Turkia “Countermarking of Copper Coins in Late 18th Century Georgia”,...~ p.39.

12th-13th century



18^h century

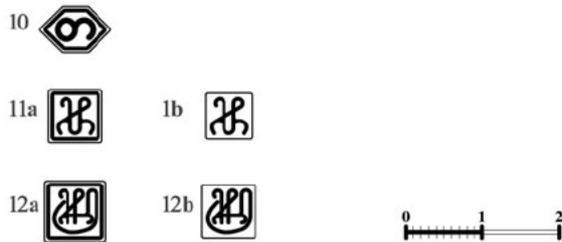


Table 1: Classification of Georgian countermarks. The table outlines twelve types of Georgian countermarks along with several varieties.

Brief description of countermarks based on the classification in Table 1

We have already written about the newly discovered variety of countermark 1; therefore, we only briefly describe it with a small clarification.

1c – incuse of the shape of the *Asomtavruli* letter “**⊖**” [d] and the *Asomtavruli* letter “**⊖**” [d] written with a dot inside the letter.

There are only a few coins with countermark 5.⁶¹ Despite the rarity of the countermark, it has two varieties:⁶²

5a – in an incused square, the *Asomtavruli* letters “**⊖**” [r] and “**⊖**” [n] under a tilde;

5b – in an incused square, the *Asomtavruli* letters “**⊖**” [r] and “**⊖**” [n].

This type of countermark is known only on the obverse of “regular” coppers of Queen Tamar and Davit Soslan. There is no known precedent of any other countermark being used with this one. It should be noted that out of the twelve specimens the authors examined directly⁶³ all of them were variety 5a. That clearly indicates the rarity of variety 5b.

Countermark 9 is one of Queen Rusudan’s countermarks and is quite common. As a rule, this countermark is encountered on the obverse⁶⁴ of copper coins of Queen Rusudan and on either side of her silver coins. There are multiple cases⁶⁵ of the countermark appearing on copper coins of non-Georgian origin. Here is a brief description of the varieties of this countermark (for pictures see fig. 4):

9a – in an incused square, a sign similar to the Greek letter “**ϕ**” [f] in a frame;

9b – in an incused square, a sign similar to a retrograde Greek letter “**ϕ**” [f] in a frame;

9c – in an incused square, a sign similar to a Greek letter “**ϕ**” [f];

9d – in an incused square, a sign similar a big Greek letter “**ϕ**” [f].



9a – United Georgian Kingdom, Queen Rusudan (1223-1247), (Pakhomov, type 66, Vol. X, 159), AE, countermark “f”, weight 5.20 g, size 26-22 mm, die axis 9:00 h.



9b – United Georgian Kingdom, Queen Rusudan (1223-1247), (Pakhomov, type 66, Vol. X, 159), AE, countermark “f”, weight 4.90 g, size 25-21 mm, die axis 10:00 h.



9c – United Georgian Kingdom, Queen Rusudan (1223-1247), (Pakhomov, type 66, Vol. X, 159), AE, countermark “f”, weight 6.40 g, size 23 mm, die axis 2:30 h.



9d – The Ildigizid (Ata Beg), Kizilarstan and Sultan Sanjar, AH 584-587, (Jalaghania, Vol. 33, 590; www.zeno.ru 81676; 81678) AE, countermark “f”, weight 4.90 g, size 24-25 mm, die axis 2:30h.

Fig. 4: Four varieties - 9a; 9b; 9c; 9d of the “f” countermark of Queen Rusudan (1223-1247), United Georgian Kingdom.

⁶¹ Kapanadze: “*Georgian Numismatics*”,...” p.84.

⁶² Pakhomov: “*Coins of Georgia*”, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, p.303, Table XIX 96 and 97.

⁶³ Seven of them belong to Georgian Fund of the Georgian State Museum.

⁶⁴ Only one example of the countermark was used on the reverse of a coin (of Queen Rusudan 245q) out of dozens of coins studied by us at the Georgian Fund of the Georgian National Museum.

⁶⁵ Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics*, pp.85, 86.

Countermarks 11 and 12 belong to the 18th century, in particular to the reign of Erekle II. They are referred to as “small” and “big” countermarks of Erekle II. As of today, each of them counts two varieties.⁶⁶ Here is a brief description of all of them:

11a – in a framed incused square, a short form of the royal monogram [Erekle] in *Mkhedruli* letters;

11b – in an incused square, a short form of the royal monogram [Erekle] in *Mkhedruli* letters;

12a – in a framed incused square, a longer form of the royal monogram [Erekle] in *Mkhedruli* letters;

12b – in an incused square, a longer form of the royal monogram [Erekle] in *Mkhedruli* letters.

Countermarks 11 and 12 are instructive examples that can illustrate which criteria best serve to distinguish and establish countermarks as different types. We will use the three groups of criteria presented above. For Erekle II’s countermarks both indicators of Group One are identical (ownership, content).⁶⁷ Differences appear in Group Two (design, proportion; see Table 1, no.11 and 12), alone this would not be enough to establish types, only to indicate different varieties of the same type. However, one indicator of Group Three (period) radically changes the situation – countermark no.11 was used on coins dated AH 1203 and earlier, while countermark no.12 is found exclusively on coins dated between AH 1201-10.⁶⁸ In our opinion, these criteria enable us to categorize 11 and 12 (countermarks of Erekle II) as distinct types.

Deciphering Erekle II’s countermark

The monogram on Erekle II’s countermarks 11 and 12 represents the signature of Erekle II.⁶⁹ In the case of 11 Pakhomov saw two *Mkhedruli* letters, “j” [e] and “r” [r], and in countermark 12 he discerned three letters from Erekle’s name – “j” [e], “r” [r] and “g” [e]. Paghava, Lobzhanidze and Turkia share the same opinion in their work.⁷⁰ According to them, the monogram used on countermark 11 (incused on the obverse of the coins issued jointly by Teimuraz II and Erekle II) is identical to a ligature of the letters “j” [e] and “r” [r] of the *Mkhedruli* alphabet. As for 12, it is a more complex, three-letter version. We think that the example they give refers to something different that does, indeed, form a monogram of only two letters “j” [e] and “r” [r] (see fig. 5), unlike the monograms used on 11 and 12 countermarks of Erekle II. We have carefully examined the countermarks of Erekle II and it seems to us that *all* the letters of his name are inscribed there. Kapanadze supports this view. For more clarity he makes a comparison with the sketch of Erekle II’s personal seal, which is a monogram consisting of all the letters of Erekle’s name and, doubtlessly, bears a resemblance to his countermarks.⁷¹ As a similar comparison, we present a sample of Erekle II’s signature from one of the documents kept at the National Centre of Manuscripts (see Figure 6d).



⁶⁶ Paghava, Lobzhanidze, Turkia: “Countermarking of Copper Coins in Late 18th Century Georgia”, p.38, 39.

⁶⁷ Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, p.270.

⁶⁸ Pakhomov: “Coins of Georgia”, p.270. (It is meant here that countermark 11 is not present on the 1210 Erekle II copper coin and is traced only on no.12, which is an important factor in favour of the version of using the countermarks for different purposes.)

⁶⁹ Abramishvili: “Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum”, p.110.

⁷⁰ Paghava, Lobzhanidze, Turkia: “Countermarking of Copper Coins in Late 18th Century Georgia”, p.38.

⁷¹ Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, pp.270, 346.

Fig. 5: *The Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti, Teimuraz II and Erekle II (1184-1762)*, (Pakhomov, type 132-133, Vol. XVII, 185), AE, AH 1168, weight 8.52 g, size 21-22 mm, die axis 10:45 h.

Before presenting the solution to both countermarks of Erekle II, we would like to make the following remarks:

1. Generally, in deciphering a monogram, we find violations of standard outlines and proportions acceptable. The deciphering of Queen Rusudan’s name by Kapanadze offers a vivid example of this flexibility.⁷²
2. In countermark 12 there are two small but clear calligraphic differences. In their sketches, Pakhomov and Kapanadze only show single specimens, different from one other (similar to what they do with regard countermark 3) for some reason (see fig. 6b and 6c). For a clearer picture, we present explanations of countermark 11 and two calligraphically different versions of countermark 12 (see Figure 6a, 6b, and 6c).

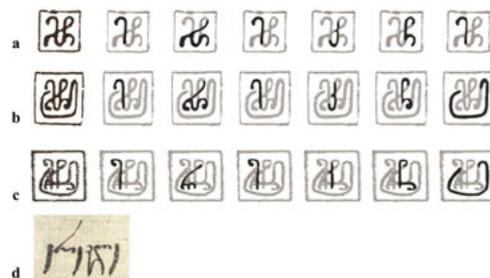


Fig. 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d: *Sketches of the Georgian countermarks of the 12th-13th centuries. Showing the components of monograms.*

Authors:

a – Pakhomov, “Coins of Georgia”, Chapter XV, Countermarks of the XVIII century, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, p.270; Table 19, 87.

b – Pakhomov, “Coins of Georgia”, Chapter XV, Countermarks of the XVIII century, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, p.270; Table 19, 88.

c – Kapanadze, “Georgian Numismatics”, Tbilisi University, 1969, p. 154, sketch A.

d – Fragment of a letter of Erekle II published by Tabaghua, “Georgia in the International Arena in the Second Half of the 18th Century”, Tbilisi, Metsniereba Publishing, 1979, pp.95-96, letter 17^b.

Note

In the article, we have not presented cases of countermarks that, despite their repeated use on Georgian coins, cannot definitively be proven to be of Georgian origin, and hence cannot be added to the list of Georgian countermarks.

A good example of these countermarks is the one described by Abramishvili, which looks like a letter “d” [a] of the *Mkhedruli* alphabet (fig. 3, no.17).⁷³ Other interesting specimens are countermarks on the obverse of “regular” coppers of Queen Tamar and Davit Soslan⁷⁴ and countermarks with Arabic inscriptions described by Kapanadze (see Figure 7).⁷⁵

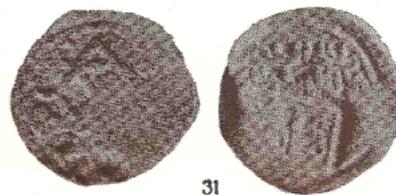


Fig. 7: *The United Kingdom of Georgia, Queen Tamar and Davit Soslan, type of “regular” copper, AE, unknown countermark, Pakhomov “Coins of Georgia”, Chapter XV, Countermarks of the XVIII century, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970, pp.112, 303, Table B, 31*

⁷² Kapanadze: *Georgian Numismatics, ...* p.81.

⁷³ Abramishvili: op. cit p.111.

⁷⁴ Zeno Oriental Coins Database 73706

⁷⁵ Pakhomov: *Coins of Georgia*, pp.112, 303, Table B, 31

Also, a proper study remains to be undertaken on the incuse countermark on the copper coins of the Ilkhanid dynasty, described by Irakli Paghava, Roland Spanderashvili and Severian Turkia.⁷⁶ It is a mark similar to the letter “q” of the *Asomtavruli* alphabet with spots on both sides placed in the circle.

Summary

We will be very glad if this article makes even a small contribution to the complicated and important issue of countermarks in Georgian numismatics. We hope that it will prompt researchers to study the issue more thoroughly and to find answers to still-unsolved riddles.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Department of Numismatics of the Acad. S. Janashia History Museum of the Georgian National Museum; Kirk Bennett; Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia.

Bibliography

1. Pakhomov Y.: *Coins of Georgia*, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1970.
2. Kapanadze D.: *Georgian Numismatics*, Publication of the Tbilisi University, 1969.
3. Kapanadze D.: “About Certain Definitions of M. Barataev and V. Langlois”, *Moambe of the Georgian SSR Academy of Science*, Vol. 18, 4, 1957.
4. Abramishvili T.: “Countermarks on Georgian and Byzantine Coins of the Georgian Museum”, Tbilisi, *Moambe of the Acad. S. Janashia Georgian State Museum*, Vol. 22-B, 1961.
5. Kapanadze, D. G.: “Hoard Coins of the 12th-13th Centuries from the Village of Nichbisi”, Tbilisi, *Moambe of the Acad. S. Janashia Georgian State Museum*, Vol. 22-B, 1969.
6. Paghava, I., Lobzhanidze, G., Turkia, S.: “Countermarking of Copper Coins in Late 18th Century Georgia”. *Caucasian Numismatics, Papers on the Coinage of Kartl-Kakheti (Eastern Georgia), 1744-1801. Supplement to the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 197, Autumn 2008.
7. Bajiashvili, S.: “Unknown Graphical Variations of Queen Rusudan’s Monogram”, *Matsne, Georgian SSR Academy of Science*, 1975, 4.
8. Bajiashvili, S.: “Meaning of One Georgian Double-framed Countermark”, *Matsne, Georgian SSR Academy of Science*, 1973, 3.
9. Bajiashvili, S.: “Meaning of One More Georgian Double-framed Countermark”, *Matsne, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences*, 1978, 1.
10. Jalaghania, I. L.: “Foreign Coins in Monetary Circulation in Georgia in the 5th-13th Centuries”, Tbilisi, Metsniereba, 1979.
11. Tabaghua, I.: “Georgia in the International Arena in the Second Half of the 18th Century”, Tbilisi, Metsniereba Publishing, 1979.
12. Zeno - Zeno Oriental Coins Database, <<http://www.zeno.ru/>>

ANONYMOUS COINS FROM THE TIME OF THE JALAYRID REBEL, KHWĀJA MARJĀN

A. Akopyan (Moscow), F. Mosanef (Tehran)

After the death of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg Jalayrid, his son, Shaykh Uways, succeeded him in AH 758. Shaykh Uways, who was faced with the threat of the Jūjīd ruler, Jānī Bek, at the beginning of his reign, accepted him as overlord and struck coins in his name in that same year. After the death of Jānī Bek and the execution of Malik Ashraf Chobānī (the ruler of Adharbaijān), Shaykh Uways attacked Adharbaijān twice, in AH 759 and 760, and eventually he defeated Akhījūq, the last Chopānid *sardār*, conquered Adharbaijān and added it to his territory.

After stabilising his rule in Adharbaijān, Shaykh Uways, who was confident about the loyalty of his governors in his territory, tried to extend his rule to Arrān and Armenia, but he was faced with the resistance of the Shirvānshāhs and their loyal local rulers. In the latter part of AH 765, when Shaykh Uways moved his army to attack Kawus Shirvānshāh, he received news from his capital,

Baghdād, about the disobedience and rebellion of Khwāja Marjān (خواجه مرجان), the governor of Baghdād. For Shaykh Uways this news was unexpected and he sent some of his people to investigate it.

Khwāja Marjān b. °Abd Allāh b. °Abd al-Rahmān al-Sultān Ūljāta-yī⁷⁷ was one of the people Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg trusted. Khwāja Marjān was one of the sultan’s advisers who advised him to stay in Baghdād during Malik Ashraf’s attacks in AH 748. He was a well-educated person who ordered the building of many buildings like schools and mosques including the Marjānī complex for charity in Baghdād. That Khwāja Marjān had been loyal to the Jalāyrids we know from the epigraph of AH 758 on the Marjānī complex.

The news of the revolt were confirmed by Shaykh Uways’ scouts. It seems that the long absence of Shaykh Uways from Baghdād and the hope of support from the Mamlūk sultan, Sha°bān II, had encouraged Khwāja Marjān to rebel against Shaykh Uways.

When Khwāja Marjān learnt that Shaykh Uways had left Tabrīz to fight against the Shirvānshāh, he decided that it was the best opportunity to announce his revolt. He asked the Mamlūks to send an army to help him and, in return, he promised to accept their suzerainty in Baghdād and °Irāq. Sha°bān sent Khwāja Marjān’s embassy back with two banners – one with sign of the sultan, the other with the sign of the caliph, and with the confirmation of him as governor in Baghdād. According to A. Markov⁷⁸, who cites al-Maqrīzī, Khwāja Marjān overthrew the rule of Shaykh Uways, recognised the suzerainty of Sha°bān II and ordered the *khuṭbah* to be read and coins to be struck in his name. Such coins, however, have not yet been discovered.

Shaykh Uways, feeling himself in great danger in his western territories, ordered his army to come back and moved his troops toward Baghdād. He also sent an embassy to Cairo and informed the Mamlūk sultān that Khwāja Marjān was a rebel against whom Shaykh Uways would be fighting, and if he was successful in defeating Khwāja Marjān, the latter should not be given asylum in Egypt or Syria. Sha°bān II, however, avowed his support of Khwāja Marjān, though he did not actually send any assistance to Baghdād.

Khwāja Marjān, when faced with the Jalayrid sultan’s threat, ordered the dams on the rivers to be broken. Because of the ensuing flooding, Shaykh Uways was not able move his army towards Baghdād. Instead, he moved his army to Wāsiṭ, in AH 766. He decided to attack Khwāja Marjān by river using boats. In the battle that was fought at the beginning of AH 766, Khwāja Marjān’s army was defeated by Shaykh Uways. Many of Khwāja’s amirs were arrested by the Jalayrid army and then executed, but Khwāja Marjān managed to escape to Baghdād. Khwāja Marjān ordered all the gates of Baghdād to be closed, because Shaykh Uways soon surrounded the city.

After some time, a group of imams, judges and well-known men of Baghdād came out and asked for mercy for Khwāja Marjān. Shaykh Uways forgave him, and, when the city was delivered to him, he entered it and stayed there for eleven months.

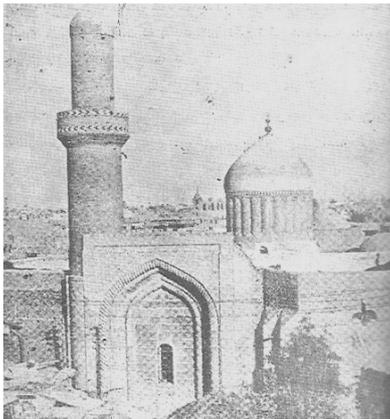
In AH 767 he chose Sulaymān Shāh Khāzan as the new governor of Baghdād. In AH 769 Sulaymān Shāh Khāzan passed away and Shaykh Uways, oddly enough, re-appointed Khwāja Marjān as governor of Baghdād despite his previous betrayal. This time Khwāja Marjān remained loyal to Shaykh Uways and ruled Baghdād for more than 6 years. He built many buildings for

⁷⁷ General sources on the history of Khwāja Marjān are as follows: Zayn al-Dīn b. Hamdallāh Mustoufi Qazvīnī, *Zayl-e tarikh-e guzīde*, Tehrān, SH 1372, p. 42–91; Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdatu al-tavarikh*, Vol. I, Tehrān, SH 1380, p. 389–392; Khwāndamīr, *Tarikh-e habīb al-siyar*, Vol. III, Tehrān, SH 1362, p. 240–241; Kamal al-Dīn °Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Matla° wa al-sa°dayn wa majma° al-bahrayn*, Vol. I, Tehrān, SH 1372, p. 384–386; Muḥammad b. Khāwand Shāh Balkhī (Mīr Khwānd), *Rawzat al-safā fī sirat al-anbiyā wa al-mulūk wa al-khulafā*, Vol. V, Tehrān, SH 1375, p. 984–985. Also important is the new research – Sh. Bayānī, *Ta°rikh Ale Jalāyer*, Tehrān, SH 1382, p. 41–358.

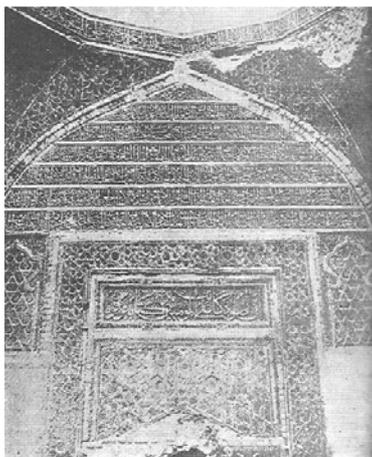
⁷⁸ A. Markov, *Katalog d°zhalaïridskikh monet*. Saint Petersburg, 1897, p. XII.

⁷⁶ Paghava, Panderashvili, Turkia: “A New Coin Type of Abu Sa°id from Georgia”.

charity during these years as he had done in his first period as governor. He died in late AH 775, having been the governor of Baghdād and all ʿIrāq in the Jalayrid state.



Marjānī Mosque in Baghdād⁷⁹



Inscription in the Marjānī mosque with the names of Shaykh Uways and Khwāja Marjān

Hitherto, no numismatical evidence of the rebellion of AH 765–766 has come to light. But recently we came across three anonymous silver coins, struck in Baghdād and dated AH 76x. All of them were made of silver (coin 1, fig. 1 – weight 1.34 g, diameter 15 mm, coin 2, fig. 2 – weight 1.43 g, diameter 15 mm, coin 3, fig. 3 – weight 1.76 g, diameter 17 mm) and have the same design:



Fig. 1. Coin 1, 2/3 dinar of Shaykh Uways' standard, [76]5 or [76]6 AH



Fig. 2. Coin 2, 2/3 dinar of Shaykh Uways' standard, date missing



Fig. 3. Coin 3, dinar of light-weight standard, AH 76[5] or 76[6]

Obv.: plain and dotted circles around a square with the Sunni shahāda:

لا إله إلا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Between the square and the plain circle are the names of the four orthodox caliphs: ابو بكر (top), علي (left), عمر (right), عثمان (bottom).

Rev.: inscription within plain and dotted circles:

الله هو
ضرب بغداد
المؤيد بنصره

And an additional legend around the central inscription: سنة (top), خمس or ست (left), وستين (bottom), وسبعمئة (right).

These three coins were struck from three different obverse dies, and two different reverse dies (the reverses of coins 2 and 3 are identical). Although only parts of the marginal legends on these coins are clear, the word خمس five or ست six is visible on coin 1; on coin 3 the words سبعمئة وسبعمئة and sixty and seven hundreds are clear (for the tens on this coin see fig. 4).



Fig. 4. The tens part of the date on coin 3, enlarged



Fig. 5. Coin 4, dinar of light-weight standard, AH 7[6]6

Another coin of this type was described in the Ashmolean collection as a coin of AH 7(5)7 (coin 4, fig. 5 – weight 1.75 g, diameter 16 mm).⁸⁰ But on close examination of the photo, we consider that the unit on this coin is not سبعة seven but ست six – too much attention should not be paid to the dot beneath the word as we consider this to be merely a decoration; more important is the absence of the medial letter ʿain ع in سبعة. As the tens on this coin are invisible they were tentatively restored as fifty, but thanks to these new coins of the same type we can say that the tens should be read as ستين sixty, and the whole date of this coin is AH 7[6]6.

As is known from the history of Baghdād, in the years AH 760–770's the only person to declare his independence from the Jalayrids was Khwāja Marjān. This is an important argument for dating all these anonymous coins to the 760's and not the 750's, as in the 750's, during the reign of Shaykh Uways, there were no

⁷⁹ Both photos listed in Sh. Bayānī, *Ta'rikh Ale Jalāyer*, Tehrān, SH 1382, p. 355 and 357.

⁸⁰ St. Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Vol. 9. *Iran after the Mongol Invasion*. Oxford, 2001. No. 371 and p. 93.

historical reasons for the appearance of any anonymous coinage. The numismatic data from newly discovered coins now suggests the date of Khwāja Marjān’s uprising as having taken place in AH 765–766 and not, as al-Maqrīzī states, that the uprising occurred in AH 767⁸¹. As coins of Baghdād struck in the name of Shaykh Uways in AH 765 and AH 766 are known,⁸² this anonymous coinage would have been struck at the end of AH 765 and beginning of AH 766.

These coins were struck in the middle of the reign of Shaykh Uways and are very interesting because the issuer of these coins removed the name of Shaykh Uways and replaced it with the sentence “الله هو المويد بنصره” which means *God, he affirms by His assistance*, a reference to part of Qur’ānic verse III:13 (... الله يويد بنصره ...). We agree with the opinion of Steve Album (with the exception of the persons, in plain type, inserted by us according to the new coins), when he comments on this sentence: “*I interpret this to mean that the new ruler sought to justify his legitimacy by a direct appeal to God, insofar as there was no longer an effective Jalayrid who could be invoked as a source of legitimacy. Interestingly, if the kāsra (هو) were replaced by a fatha (هو), then the translation would be, “God, he (Shaykh Uways or Khwāja Marjān? – v.s.) is affirmed by His (God’s) assistance”, which is also meaningful with more or less the same purport*”⁸³. This sentence, that invokes the hope of God’s help in the conflict, the absence of the name of Shaykh Uways, the anonymity, mintname and year on the coin – all together suggests that these coins may have been issued by Khwāja Marjān during his rebellion. On the other hand, the triumph over Khwāja Marjān and the recapture of the capital city, Baghdād, may also have been so important for Shaykh Uways that it was he who put the religious formulae on the coin instead of his own name.

There is another consideration in attributing these coins to Khwāja Marjān. As is known, Khwāja Marjān was a religious man, who became famous thanks to the construction of mosques and religious schools. For such a religious person, perhaps the main reason for his revolt was to restore the Abbāsīd caliphate in Baghdād. It could have been for this reason that he established special relations with the Mamlūks with the aim of inviting the Abbāsīd caliph from Egypt to Baghdād, their traditional centre, once the city had been added to the Mamlūk realms. From this aspect, perhaps the text on the coin *God, he (Caliph) affirms by His assistance*, was meant to refer to the Caliph.

The weight standard used at this time (AH 762–770) in the Baghdād zone was the dinar of 2.16 g of 12 nukhūds, equal to 6 dirhams.⁸⁴ Thus coins 1 (1.34 g) and 2 (1.43 g) are 2/3 dinars = 4 dirhams (8 nukhūd). Because of the weight, these coins attributable to Khwāja Marjān would have been easily identified by the people of Baghdād, as they were twice as heavy as the 1/2 dinar = 2 dirhams, the usual coin struck in the reign of Shaykh Uways.

The weight of coins 3 (1.76 g) and 4 (1.75 g) is more difficulty to explain. We cannot explain this weight by the weight of coins struck by the Mamlūks (if they were struck by Khwāja Marjān as a sign of his subordination to them), as the Mamlūk system had no fixed weight standard during the period under review and their coins correspond to various parts of the canonic dirham⁸⁵. *Ex facte* this coins look like 4/5 of a 2.16 g dinar. But we are of the opinion that there was no reason to strike coins in a denomination only 20% less than the basic denomination. Indeed 4/5 would be in a very complicated relation with the basic denomination – five coins of 4/5 would four dinars and have no rational expression regarding the basic unit of the *nukhūd*. In our opinion, it is more logical to assume that either Khwāja Marjān, because of the siege of

Baghdād, or Shaykh Uways, after recapturing Baghdād, reduced the weight of the dinar by 20% – from 2.16 g to 1.80 g, i.e. from 12 nukhūds to the dinār to 10. In that way coins 3 and 4 may provide evidence of a new weight standard, and were obviously struck later than coins of 2/3 dinar.

A BANKERS’ CACHE OF KOSALA/KASHI COINS

By Terry Hardaker

The practice of adding small additional marks (the so-called bankers’ marks) to circulating coins during the period of punchmarked coinage in the Indian subcontinent was widespread for over 300 years. It has been variously ascribed to money changers (‘schroffs’), members of the trade guilds, or officials of the mint regularly checking coins in circulation - the *rupadarśaka* of Kautilya, (Gupta 1969, 9, Gupta & Hardaker 1985, 14-15, Prasad 1937, 53-57). A definitive explanation of this phenomenon would seem unachievable from the ancient literature; therefore further detailed study of the coins themselves offers the best way forward. We consider here evidence from a new hoard of coins attributed to Kosala/Kashi that may shed light on the subject.

Bankers’ marks are of two different types: firstly the ubiquitous private bankers’ marks that occur on all series of punchmarked coins from the earliest *janapada* issues to the latest copper imitations of Mauryan coins of Sunga date (fig. 1A), and secondly the semi-official miniature replicas of official marks, and various other subsidiary marks, added on late Magadhan and Mauryan coins to the reverses of *karshapanas* (fig. 1B). The term ‘bankers’ marks’ is used here for convenience only, without any intended implication that the individuals were ‘bankers’.

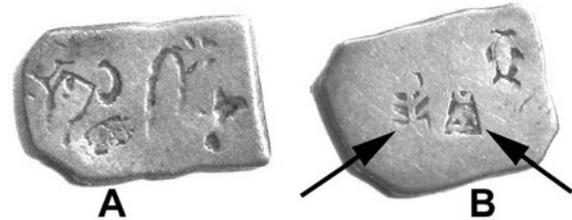


Fig. 1 (A) Typical bankers’ marks and (B) miniature replicas of official marks on Mauryan coins

Kosambi (1941-2) carried out a statistical study of the bankers’ marks on two major Mauryan hoards from Taxila and found that the number increased as the weight of the coins decreased – a clear indication that these marks were added progressively to coins in circulation. His conclusion that bankers’ marks were added once every twelve years, however, has since been discounted as more detailed evidence has emerged – a salutary warning that the use of statistics in isolation can sometimes suggest conclusions that are invalid.

Murphy (2001, 57-64) has drawn attention to the potential value of bankers’ marks for the chronology and regional separation of punchmarked coins, and has produced a useful table of some 600 varieties, but little practical work has been performed on the actual analysis of bankers’ marks on coins. The present author once suggested to P.L. Gupta that this line of research might be pursued but he did not think much useful information would come out. This new hoard presents an opportunity for more optimism on the subject.

One of the prerequisites for extracting useful information from bankers’ marks would be to extend Murphy’s tables to harness the thousands of designs, ranging from small and paltry to large and highly elaborate, taking note of the different series of coins on which they occur. My own studies of punchmarked coins conducted over a period of more than 45 years has led to the belief that there is plenty of information to be gained, but it is essential that we ask the right questions of this data. To some extent this

⁸¹ Al-Maqrīzī cited by A. Markov, *Katalog...*, p. LVI. A. Markov has accepted his opinion.

⁸² A. Markov, *Katalog...*, p. 7–8 (nos. 22, 24 and 25).

⁸³ S. Album, *Sylloge...*, p. 93.

⁸⁴ St. Album, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa (CA), 1998, p. 112.

⁸⁵ See for example P. Balog’s opinion about fractions of the Mamlūk coins (P. Balog, *The coinage of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt and Syria*. New York, 1964. P. 16–17).

requires an attempt to place oneself in the midst of a remote 5th century BC environment and try to imagine the social and commercial circumstances - surely a task that the sober historian would regard as risky. Yet without some imagination, we can rarely make the past come alive. The sheer abundance of the marks means that it is seldom possible to detect the same mark more than once, thus robbing us of the potential to discover chronological relationships. More intense study will be the key to progress.

It is the variation seen in bankers' marks that offers the best potential to yield information about aspects of chronology, economic circumstances, and geographic regionalism. These variations may be listed as follows:

1: Subject matter. There is a tendency for early marks to be "inanimate" (fig. 2A) – a word loosely used here to indicate geometric, abstract designs rather than recognisable objects. Although early bankers' marks occasionally use animate forms, they become much more common in later series, (fig. 2B) although the inanimate marks also persist. All this helps to corroborate the chronology suggested by other means. The designs can sometimes also be linked to those used on the official types, and this may suggest contemporaneity between coins of different states, when they copy subjects from other states.



Fig. 2 (A) Examples of inanimate marks and (B) an animate mark on Kosala coins

It also seems that subject matter can be divided into the paltry and the more developed. The vast majority of bankers' marks on punchmarked coins as a whole are small and of circular motif, such as an arrangement of dots or radiating lines, (as seen on fig. 2A), or sometimes just a vague blob (one such is visible in fig. 2A). When these marks become almost amorphous, it suggests that whatever their purpose, the subject matter was next to immaterial. Testing for metallic uniformity (i.e. lack of silver coating on a copper core) might be an appropriate function here. At the other end of the scale are exquisite marks, carefully executed, which rival the best in the official repertoire. Clearly such punches were the work of individuals who possessed skills equal to those of the mint engravers, and who definitely wanted their marks to be recognisable. A high proportion of the bankers' marks in this hoard are expertly engraved even though of simple design.

2: Size. The size of bankers' marks (from 2-10mm) can sometimes reflect local custom at a particular time in a particular region. As a general rule they begin large and get smaller as time moves forward, but this is not always the case. They occasionally appear in mixed sizes, perhaps suggesting such coins circulated between different states or regions or that the marks had different purposes. In the present hoard they cluster around 5mm in size.

3: Frequency. The number of bankers' marks observed on punchmarked coins ranges from 0 to over 20. Following Kosambi's work (Kosambi 1941-2) it is clear that the larger the number of marks, the greater the longevity of a particular issue, but the rate at which these were added is also evidently variable. Certain pre-imperial issues, which cannot have circulated for many years, display large numbers of marks, while some of the late Magadhan *karshapanas*, issued in a period of relative stability, have only a few.

The clearest evidence of the contemporaneity of different coins is the use of identical punches for bankers' marks, but it can seldom be detected. The hoard now under consideration is an

exception. Using these variables, there are two hypotheses that underlie research into bankers' marks:

1 where coins apparently of the same series or state show significant differences in the size, frequency or subject matter in their bankers' marks, they may be considered temporally (and/or on a local scale geographically) separate,

2 where coins apparently of the same series or state show significant similarities in the size, frequency or subject matter of the bankers' marks, they may be considered temporally (and/or geographically) identical.

These are of course guidelines rather than rigid rules. Distinguishing between temporal and geographical is enabled largely by detailed study of the coin types.

Description of the hoard

The appearance of a hoard of coins of Kosala type in 2011 offered the opportunity to carry out a close study on the use of bankers' marks. The hoard has two unusual characteristics: (1) it consists of only two types, both unrecorded until now, each with four different official obverse marks, and (2) all the coins have been stamped with same bankers' mark on the reverse.

For those unfamiliar with this series, the classification of 'Kosala-Kashi' coins begins with Series I which bear two pairs of identical official marks on a heavy weight standard of 4.25-4.85g, followed by Series 2 with one pair of marks and two different marks on a medium weight standard, or possibly more than one standard, at 3.6-4.75g, and finally Series 3 which have four marks, all different, on a suite of lower, decreasing weights (Hardaker 1992, Murphy 2001). Using this classification, the present coins would belong within Series 3.

There were 67 coins in the hoard, of which 57 were physically examined by the author and ten were seen as photos only. Although this may not comprise the total hoard, enough coins have been seen to allow comment.

These coins are described as of 'Kosala type' because they are found in a region roughly coincident with what is thought to have been the territory of ancient Kosala (fig. 3).



Fig. 3 map showing locations of names mentioned in the text

In the past they were all thought to share a common mark (fig. 4) which, because of its ubiquity, was called the 'Kosala mark'.



Fig. 4 The Kosala mark

Recent discoveries have shown there are many types, particularly earlier types of higher weight, which do not contain this mark, yet

share other characteristics with the ones that do, such as the use of four official marks all of much larger size that can be stamped separately on the flan. Ancient texts mention that Kosala annexed the neighbouring state of Kashi, probably before the time of the imperial expansion of Magadha under Bimbisara. As these 'Kosala-like' coinages belong to the pre-imperial period, it is surmised that some may actually be from the state of Kashi before it was absorbed into Kosala. The exact split cannot at present be discerned.

The two types in the hoard are shown in fig. 5. Sixty-five of the coins belong to 'Type 1', which does not contain the Kosala mark, and only two belong to 'Type 2', a different type which is not clear but does contain the Kosala mark. Both types are previously unpublished. As mentioned, all of the 57 coins examined contain a floral-shaped bankers' mark on the reverse, sometimes along with other marks. There is one broken coin where only the edge of this mark is visible.

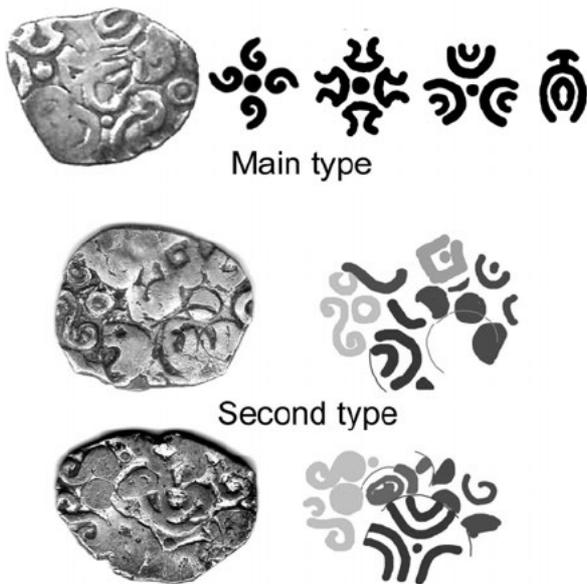


Fig. 5 The Main type in the hoard (above) and the two coins of another other type: the visible parts of the marks are drawn; the exact type is not fully defined but on each coin the Kosala mark is clear (light grey)

The weights of the 57 coins examined are shown in fig. 6. It indicates a normal distribution with the intended weight standard close to 3.15 g. Three coins weigh 3.15 g, the highest weight recorded. In relation to other Kosala coins this group would seem to represent a new weight standard within Series 3 (fig. 7).

Until this weight system gelled with the prolific Series 3C group, the weights of 'Kosala type' coins must have comprised a bewildering range embracing not only different weight systems but also a tolerance factor within each. The tolerance gradually became less, as if the mint was slowly learning to control it as time went by. The present group's tolerance lies between 2.71 and 3.15g, which in terms of the sequence of decreasing weight standards places them one step above the lowest (and latest) Kosala series at 2.4-2.8 g.

Magadha coins show a clear sequence of three weight systems before the *karshapana* (3.4 g) is adopted. The Kosala type coins show a more complex pattern with a much more fluid range of weights. If we include the early coins of the 'Kashi complex' (Mitchiner 2005, 762) struck to the Babylonian standard of 10.9 g, there may be upwards of seven different weight systems in use, which would support the theory that they may be the issues of more than one political unit.

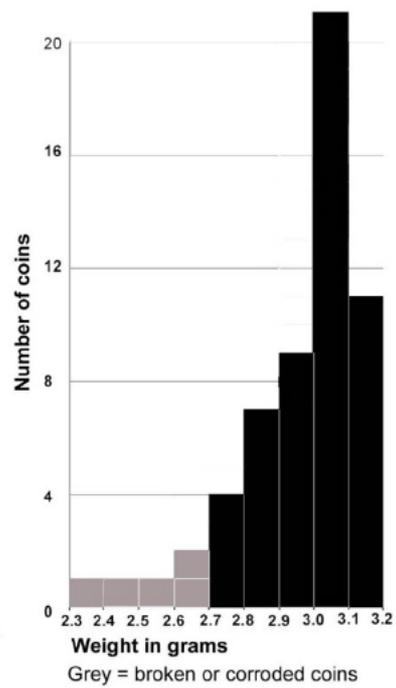


Fig. 6 Graph of the weights of the 57 coins examined

SERIES	WEIGHT IN GRAMS									
	4.5	4.25	4.0	3.75	3.5	3.25	3.0	2.75	2.5	2.25
3A										
3B										
Present hoard										
3C										

Fig. 7 Table of Kosala Series 3 weight ranges

Interpretation of the hoard.

In this hoard we see a 'moment in time' when a 'banker' assembled a number of current coins and stamped them with his own floral design. We can be sure that these coins were already in circulation because of the additional bankers' marks seen on them. The graph (fig. 8). shows no correlation between weight and number of bankers' marks in this hoard, suggesting that weight variation is more a function of mint tolerance than use wear. Thus the hoard appears to be composed of coins that had not circulated for long. This accords with many of the pre-janapada series which are seldom seen in worn out condition.

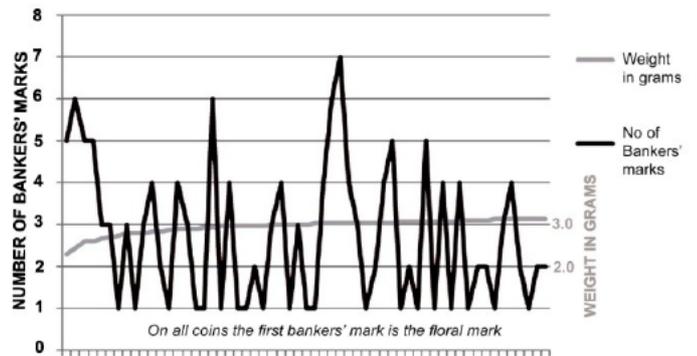


Fig. 8 Graph showing the relationship of weight to number of bankers' marks in the hoard

Close inspection of the punchmarks used for the floral design suggest they are probably all from the same punch (fig. 9). (On three of the coins, the floral design is not clear or complete, but enough is visible to suggest the same punch was used.)

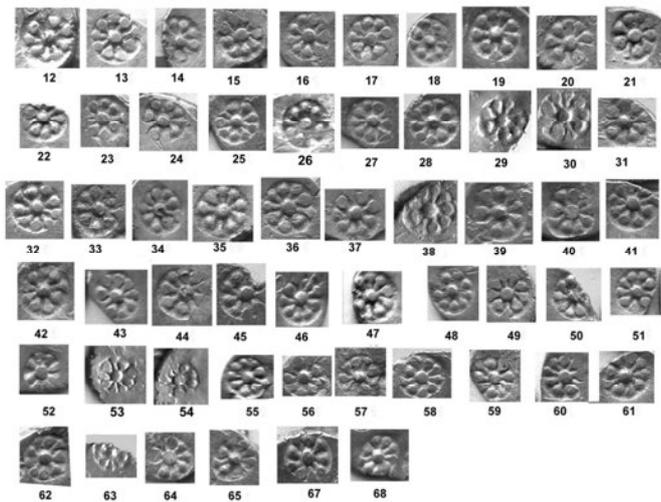


Fig. 9 Floral marks complete (the numbering begins at 12 because in the same lot were 11 coins not from this hoard)

The floral punch shows two distinctive features that help to identify it:

1. a nailhead-shaped petal is longer and narrower than its neighbours (fig. 10 - 1),
2. the petal to its right is noticeably shorter and rounder than any of the others (fig. 10 - 2).

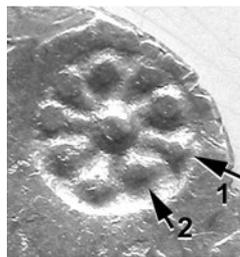


Fig. 10 Typical floral punch; detail showing distinctive characteristics

There is also a minute irregularity of silver on a segment of the outer edge of the central boss, too small to photograph but clear on deeply struck examples.

In addition to the floral mark, 37 of the coins display other bankers' marks (fig. 11). The greatest number on one coin is six additional marks. These other bankers' marks come in 52 different designs. Fourteen of these designs recur on more than one coin. Most comprise geometric motifs with circles, lines or shapes around a central point. Drawings of some of the more distinctive of these marks are shown in Fig 12. Mark 12 occurs on six coins, and marks 13 and 14 occur on three coins. Although the marks vary in size from 3-9 mm, most are in the middle of this range. Only one mark is certainly animate, (mark 16), although one other might be interpreted as such (mark 19).



Fig. 11 Selected reverses showing typical additional bankers' marks

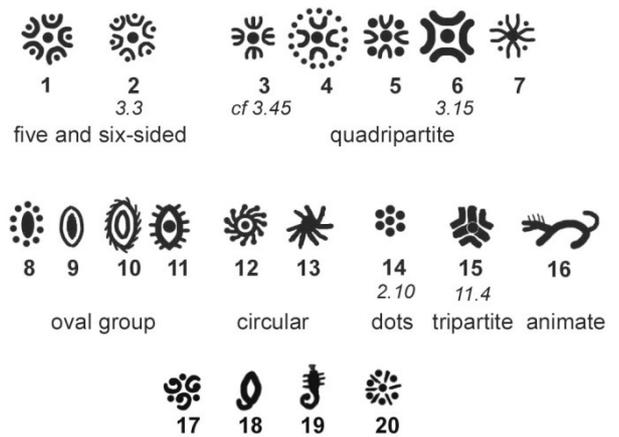


Fig. 12 Examples of additional bankers' marks. Numbers in italics refer to Murphy's (2001) classification

The predominance of one obverse type and the inclusion of the floral mark on all examples are unusual characteristics which prompt certain deductions. We have seen that these coins were taken from circulation. If the owner had deliberately collected coins of the same type before stamping them with his floral mark, he would have needed to be acutely familiar with the intricacies of the coinage because it is well-nigh impossible to identify the overlapping and incomplete official marks even with a magnifying glass (it took the author several attempts spread over several weeks). However, a benefit might be gained by collecting only coins of a particular *weight*, which may or may not happen to be of the same type. (The two coins of different type in this hoard weigh 2.95 and 3.15 g, which is within the tolerance of the others.) Bearing in mind the frequent changes to the weight systems in Kosala/Kashi, the owner will almost certainly have lived at a time when coins of quite different weight standards were circulating together. A plausible explanation is that he wished to stamp coins of like weight with his own mark, so that if they came along again he would not need to weigh them again. Had the mint issued their coins with clear marks in the first place, such a task would have been unnecessary.

Stamping coins with a distinctive mark implies that the person stamping them actually thought his coins might turn up again in the course of trade – which in turn suggests the number of such people and the total amount of currency in circulation were small. One of these individuals, a close contemporary of our floral motif gentleman, was presumably doing a similar thing but using mark 12, which recurs on six coins. But 39 of the 52 different bankers' marks on these coins do not recur at all, and this will certainly be only a very small proportion of the total number of bankers' marks being employed during this period in Kashi-Kosala. Can there really have been so many people all putting marks on coins to verify their weight? It seems unlikely, and there is of course another possible explanation as hinted above.

Almost from the beginning of coinage itself, forgeries occur in the punchmarked series. They usually consist of a silver coating on a copper core, but later they also occur as debased silver and light-weight pieces. One way to verify metallic consistency is to strike a deep punch into the metal. Sometimes smaller bankers' marks are deeply struck. Thus it is arguable that bankers' marks may have had at least two different functions: verifying weight and detecting plated forgeries. It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between the two kinds of marks, but of the 158 bankers' stamps seen on these coins, around 40 could be considered paltry marks that are well or deeply struck. That might indicate that forgery detection, although necessary, was not the paramount reason for marking coins at this time: plated forgeries of Kosala coins have never been noted by the author, although examples from other pre-imperial states are known.

So weight verification was probably the main purpose. If this hypothesis is correct, it can be tested by examination of other recurrent marks to see if they are always stamped on coins of the

same weight range. In the course of many years, the author has carefully recorded details of thousands of punchmarked coins that dealers and collectors have sent for identification. Trawling through these records, three instances were found.

On a hoard of 120 coins attributed to Vatsa State, 115 bear an identical mark (fig. 13A). Although 26 different coin types are represented in the hoard, all are struck to the *karshapana* weight standard of approximately 3.45 g (Hardaker 1981) with a range of 2.94-3.58 g. The owner of this mark was selecting coins of the same weight (within mint tolerance) but not necessarily of the same type, and stamping them. This mark has also been noted on a Kosala coin of Series 3B weighing 3.07 g.

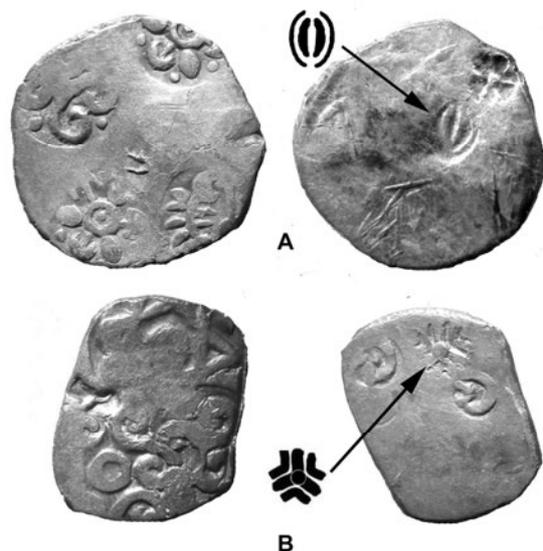


Fig. 13

A. One of 120 coins from a hoard attributed to Vatsa state, 115 of which all bear the same bankers' mark (arrowed). The coins are all on the same weight standard although numerous types are represented.

B. One of twelve coins from Kosala Series 3 in the author's collection all bearing mark 15 as seen on the present hoard (arrowed). The weight range of the twelve coins is 2.96-3.13 g, conforming to the weight standard of 3.15 g of the present hoard

Mark 15 from the present hoard (fig. 12 and 13B) is seen quite frequently on Kosala coins of Series 3C in the author's records, but no record of its appearance on earlier Kosala groups was noted. In the author's collection, out of 187 coins of 3C, twelve contain this mark.

In a hoard of 28 Kosala coins from 1979, comprising six coins of Series 2 and 22 of Series 3A, six coins of Series 3A are stamped with this same mark.

We thus have four instances, including those in the present hoard, where coins of the same weight standard have been stamped with the same bankers' mark, which is not seen on coins of any other weight standard. That would seem to offer fairly strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that some bankers' marks at least were to verify weight.

Did the bankers become familiar with the marks of their peers? Daily handling of coins would certainly increase awareness of the minutiae of their content. We may ask, for example, if the 'floral banker' could recognise mark 12 (recurring six times), and whether if he saw it he would trust it (bearing in mind that the two bankers may have known one another). In that case he would not need to stamp such coins with his own mark. But that is not the case – he has marked them all. Cooperation was not on this particular agenda. That is also apparent from the repetition of deeply struck paltry marks on many coins – the presence of one such mark on a coin was not taken as a guarantee of metallic purity – you had to test it again yourself. A society of mutual distrust is implied, perhaps a foretaste of the grim network of

government spies described in the *Arthashastra* (Kosambi 1966, 143, 147).

What does the hoard tell us of chronology? There are two lines of evidence here. As mentioned above, the coins bear four different official marks and their weight sits between Hardaker Series 3 Group B and C. The coins of Group C are correlated with the Magadha coinage of Series II/III (Hardaker 1992, 11). The second line of evidence concerns the correlation of the bankers' marks in this hoard with those on other series. It is best pursued not amongst the simple circular motif designs, which can be repeated by chance (such as mark 38, six dots round a central boss, widely seen on Kosala coins from the earliest series onward), but amongst the more elaborate marks which are unlikely to recur by chance. Here, as described above, there is but a single mark (mark 15) occurring on coins of the present hoard which has also been recognised amongst other Kosala Series 3 coins. That adds support to the case for the present hoard being dated to Series 3.

Apart from specific designs, there are themes within the bankers' marks, such as the oval shape (marks 10, 30, 31, 49 fig. 12), or cusps around a central boss (marks 4, 5, 13, 16, 26, 35, 56) which are also frequent in Kosala Series 3C. There is a thread of 'family likeness' running through most of the bankers' marks on punchmarked coinages which is spawned by an imitation process similar to the 'Chinese whispers' game, where a subject slowly transforms through time. Those whose job it was to think of designs for bankers' mark punches frequently drew upon the pool of designs already in circulation, often including adaptations from the official obverse marks, and only occasionally coming up with innovative ideas – a human tendency by no means restricted to banker's marks!

Negative evidence also plays a part in this analysis. Of the 158 bankers' marks seen on the present hoard, no example of the taurine symbol occurs. To establish whether the presence of a taurine symbol may embody a chronological message, the bankers' marks on coins in the author's collection from Series 3A and B were sampled. 126 bankers' marks were counted amongst which no taurines were seen. But amongst 267 bankers' marks sampled in Series 3C, 14 taurines were seen. The taurine is very rare as an official mark (and not known as a bankers' mark) on Kosala coins until Series 3C, when it is seen both as an official mark and as a bankers' mark. Although the current hoard conforms to Series C in having four different official marks, the lack of taurines would hint that the hoard belongs chronologically at the start of Series 3. That is in contradiction to the smooth sequence of decreasing weight systems shown in fig. 7 which would place it towards the end. It introduces the possibility that the coins which we are calling 'Kosalan' are either not all issued in decreasing weight sequence, or, more likely, they are actually the product of two different states in close proximity. The present hoard, mostly lacking the so-called 'Kosala mark', then might arguably be attributable to Kashi. Clearly more work on separating out these complex issues is needed before definitive proposals can be made.

Conclusions

Extracting useful information from bankers' marks requires extensive research into large numbers of coins. Ideally a database of all identifiable designs is needed, but the varieties seem endless; we will never achieve completeness. The present hoard offers an unusual opportunity because of the recurrence of the same bankers' mark on all examples, and because 55 out of the 57 coins are of the same type. It has been possible to suggest that owing to a lack of taurine symbols in the hoard, the types, which were unknown till now, can probably be placed chronologically at the start of Series 3C. Because this would render them out of sequence in the decreasing weight systems of Kosala, it is suggested that these types might instead be an issue from a proximal state, possibly Kashi.

It is suggested that the bankers' marks at this time may have had two quite different purposes, the prime purpose being to verify weight in a society that had multiple weight systems circulating

Now it is possible to assign the first two coins to a Variety A and this third coin to a Variety B. All coins of this type known so far weigh around 130 grains (8.40 g).

The reverse legend on all three of these coins is *kramaditya-* (in Var. B with *visargah*), which is the *biruda* (imperial title) of King Skandagupta. It is also important to note that the symbols closely resemble each other on all three of the coins.

Variety A: King standing to left, chubby attendant standing behind him, holding a *chhattra* (parasol) over the king's head. The muscular king, with hair in fairly bold curls, carries a sword hanging from his left side. He is adorned with a necklace and earrings. The king wears a dhoti and his right hand is extended to offer oblations onto the fire altar (off flan). His left hand rests on the hilt of the sword. The king's halo pushes the hood of the parasol off the flan. The attendant is much taller than usually found in earlier Chhattra type designs. His head is covered with small curls. He wears a dhoti and a double thin band has been tied around his prominent belly. The reverse shows the elegant and tall goddess standing to left, holding a curvaceous fillet with looped ends in her right hand and a lotus stalk in her left hand. This device closely resembles the design used on Chandragupta II's Chhattra type coins of Class II, Var. C.³ Only the left half of the halo has been engraved. The symbol on the reverse is identical to that found on the coins of Chandragupta II, Class II, Var. C. In Var. A the beads in the necklace and bracelets worn by the goddess are not as conspicuous as in Var. B. Two coins published so far: Bayana Hoard coin 1821 and CNG 72, Lot 109.

Variety B: Skandagupta stands to left, with a short-statured attendant holding a Chhattra (parasol) over his head behind him. He wears a dhoti. The king's left hand rests on his sword, while he offers oblations onto the fire altar, which is clearly shown here. The king wears a necklace, ear rings, and ornaments on the upper arms. His hairdo consists of delicate curls flowing down the nape of the neck. The king's halo was omitted, thus offering room for showing the *chhattra*'s hood. The attendant is much shorter than in Var. A, and his hairdo is smooth. The reverse shows the goddess standing to left. She wears a necklace, bracelets and earrings. She holds a fillet in her right hand and a long-stemmed lotus in her left hand. The fillet waves towards the goddess, but not in a curvaceous way as in Var. A. The symbol above resembles that in Var. A, but it has three prongs below the dots. One coin is known so far - the specimen illustrated above in Fig. 2.

¹The Horseman Type coin from the Bodleian Collection (no. 713) is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University, accession number HCR6581.

²This coin is now in the Pankaj Tandon Collection. Diameter 2.05 mm.

³This variety has been described in detail and illustrated as Var. II.3 among Chandragupta's Chhattra coins by Ellen M. Raven, 'Defining Gupta mint idioms: the Chhattra (Parasol) coins of Chandragupta II', in: *Fruits of inspiration: studies in honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, ed. by M.J. Klokke and K.R. van Kooij, Groningen: Egbert Forsten 2001, pp. 397-399, fig. 13.

SKANDAGUPTA – A new Lion-slayer Type

In his 1957 handbook, Altekar, while discussing the Lion-slayer coins of Chandragupta II, commented that one coin found in the Bayana Hoard weighed 136.5 grains (8.84 g). He referred to this coin as an issue of Chandragupta II. However, he did not include an image or give any other details. It concerns coin no. 1171, unfortunately not illustrated in the Bayana Hoard catalogue.¹ In all likelihood the coin is now in the National Museum collection, listed as no. 345 in the catalogue by Bahadur Chand Chhabbra under coins of Chandragupta II. It weighs 8.415g.² The legend on the obverse is not visible and the legend on the reverse is mostly off the flan. The attribution of this Lion-slayer coin awaits revision, while its mint-idiomatic context requires further investigation.

The average weights of Skandagupta's coins range from 8.40 g to 9.07 g. The coins of his father, Kumaragupta I, weigh between 7.65 g and 8.55 g on average.³

Coin distribution of Skandagupta coins:

<u>SKANDAGUPTA COIN TYPE</u>	<u># OF COINS⁴</u>	<u>AVERAGE WEIGHT</u>	<u>BIRUDA</u>
Archer Var. A geometric symbol	34	8.45 g	<i>sri-skandagupta-</i>
Archer Var. A <i>nidhi</i> symbol	14	9.06 g	<i>sri-skandagupta-</i>
Archer Var. B	137	9.12 g	<i>kramaditya-</i>
King & Queen	32	8.46 g	<i>sri-skandagupta-</i>
Chhattra	3	8.40 g	<i>kkramaditya-</i>
Horseman	1	9.07 g	<i>kramaditya-</i>
Lion-slayer	1	9.00 g	<i>kramaditya-</i>

Now we can add a Lion-slayer Type coin to Skandagupta's coinage. This coin weighs 9.0 g (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Skandagupta Lion-slayer Type - Shivlee Collection

The obverse legend seems to start with [*para][mabha]... similar to the legend on Skandagupta's silver coins and the *biruda* on the reverse contains ..*mad(i)tya* similar to the reverse on the Chhattra, Horseman and Archer coins. The design of the king's head, nose and hair matches those on his Archer Type, Var. A coins (fig. 5) and King & Queen coins (fig. 4). The weight of 9.0 g matches the weight of the Horseman Type (fig. 6) and fits into the weight range of Skandagupta's known coinage.



Fig. 4. Skandagupta King & Queen Type - Shivlee Collection

Obverse:

King standing slightly to his right but aiming at a lion to his left. He holds a bow in his left hand and shoots an arrow (invisible on the coin) with his right. The king is bare-chested, wearing a dhoti with a stylish sash tied and hanging down on his right side. The king's stance and sash are reminiscent of certain varieties of Chandragupta II's Lion-slayer coins. The lion is partly off the flan, falling on its back. The legend, starting from 1 o'clock, seems to read [*para][mabha...] which could possibly be part of *paramabhagavata sri-skandaguptah*, as found on his silver coins. The weight is 9.0 g.

Reverse:

Goddess seated on a lion reclining to left. The left leg of the goddess is pendant in what is known as the *lalitasana* posture. She holds a diadem fillet in her right hand and a lotus stem in her left

hand. A *nidhi* symbol with 12 dot-like coins (see below) is shown in the top left quadrant. The *biruda* is probably *kramadityah*.

This Lion-slayer coin matches the Archer (fig. 5) and King & Queen coins (fig. 4) in more mint-idiomatic details. In addition to physique, body style and weight, one of the key details tying this coin to Skandagupta's issues is the presence of the *nidhi* on the reverse. This *nidhi* symbol, shown in the top left quadrant on the reverse, is unique to coins issued by Skandagupta and is found on the reverse of his Archer (fig. 5) and Horseman coins (fig. 6) in addition to the Lion-slayer type presented here.

A *nidhi* is a Sanskrit term for a 'treasure' or 'receptacle', usually of the kind from which coins or pearls stream forth. The *nidhi* was a popular artistic motif in the Gupta period. On Skandagupta's coins it appears to be a kind of receptacle from which pearls stream forward forming a kind of lace. In sculptural art these *nidhis* take on various shapes, such as that of the lotus (the *padmanidhi*) and the conch shell (the *sankhanidhi*). Both are found depicted on gold coins of Kumaragupta I, but without the issuing pearls.⁵

The actual shape of the *nidhi* itself on the coins tends to take on slightly different shapes, as does the flow of coins streaming forth. On the Lion-slayer coin published here the receptacle itself is difficult to discern. On an Archer coin (Tody Auction 26, lot 43, here fig. 5) the artist has depicted a flower *nidhi*, on a short stem, perhaps meant to represent a lotus, from which 12 coins flow out. Slightly larger and wider, and not flower-shaped, is the *nidhi* on the solitary Horseman type coin in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University (fig. 6). A stream of 7 coins fills the upper left quadrant.



Fig. 5. Skandagupta Archer Type with *nidhi* – Tody Auction 26, lot 43

Although details on weight and size of the 14 specimens of Skandagupta's Archer coins with *nidhi* on record so far are highly incomplete, the few coins that come with such data suggest that they were to match the heavier coins of Skandagupta (of ca. 9.2 g) rather than those of 8.4 g.



Fig. 6. Skandagupta Horseman Type – Ashmolean Museum acc. no. HCR6581⁶

¹ A.S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957. Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, p. 105.

² Bahadur Chand Chhabra, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins of the Bayana Hoard in the National Museum*. New Delhi: National Museum, 1986.

³ These are the minimum and maximum average weights of some 56 different varieties of coins among the 12 types struck for Kumaragupta I, as distinguished by Raven in a mint-idiomatic analysis under preparation.

⁴ Ellen Raven Database as of June 2011.

⁵ See e.g., the Elephant-rider coins in the Bayana Hoard catalogue, fig. 31.1.

⁶ Photo courtesy of Dr Shailendra Bhandare. This coin is part of the display 'Ancient India: The Kreitman Gallery' of the Ashmolean Museum.

COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS OF HYDERABAD – NEW DISCOVERIES AND REATTRIBUTIONS

By Shailendra Bhandare

The lineage of the Nizams of Hyderabad was founded by Qamr ud-din Siddiqi, Chin Qilich Khan, Nizam ul-Mulk, styled 'Asaf Jah I', who was a nobleman of the Mughal court with an eminent Turkic descent. In December 1724, he defeated Mubariz Khan, the contender for the viceroyalty of the Deccan at the battle of Sakharkhedla and virtually declared his independence from the Mughals. He made the city of Hyderabad in the Deccan his capital, hence the name of the dynasty.

Asaf Jah I tried to maintain his influence in the politics affecting the Mughal court in Delhi, often emerging as a patron protagonist of the 'Turani' or the Central Asian Turkic (Sunni) faction against the 'Irani' or Persian (Shi'a) faction. When Nadir Shah, the king of Iran, invaded India in 1738-39, Asaf Jah I sent a contingent force to the Mughal emperor's aid. After the Mughal army was defeated by the Iranians, Asaf Jah I chose to withdraw from the Mughal court, concentrating more on affairs closer to his base in the Deccan such as those involving the British, the French and the Marathas. The most significant of the Nizam's opponents were the Marathas. He fought many battles with them, but was outmanoeuvred in most instances and lost either political influence, or territories, or both as a result.

Asaf Jah I died in 1748. His eldest son, Ghazi ud-Din, was engaged inextricably in court affairs in Delhi at the time. As a consequence, a period of succession disputes ensued at Hyderabad between the other sons of Asaf Jah I. This attracted interference from the French, the Marathas and the local Afghan Nawabs of Savanoor, Cuddappah and Kurnool. Murderous interventions by the Afghans saw violent ends to short reigns of two of Asaf Jah I's successors, namely his second son, Nasir Jang, and nephew, Muzaffar Jang. In 1752, the eldest son, Ghazi ud-Din, was poisoned to death in Delhi. This paved the way for Asaf Jah I's third son, Salabat Jang, to succeed as the Nizam. He was a weak ruler. The Marathas under Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao supported his bid to the throne, but also saw his weakness as an opportunity to settle old scores. In 1759, the Nizam's troops were defeated by the Marathas at Udgir and he was forced to cede a large chunk of territory to them. In January 1761, the Marathas were defeated at the Battle of Panipat by an Afghan coalition. Making the most of this debacle, Nizam Ali Khan, the fourth son of Asaf Jah I, deposed Salabat Jang in 1762 to bring an end to this period of anarchy. Nizam Ali proclaimed himself as 'Asaf Jah II' and ruled almost till the end of the century.

The Nizams's domains went through dramatic territorial changes throughout its 200-odd year's history. Asaf Jah II posed a serious threat to the Marathas in the first few years of his reign, especially when the Marathas were politically vulnerable following their defeat at Panipat. But he was defeated by the Maratha Peshwa Madhav Rao at Rakshas Bhuwan in 1766. After this severe setback, Asaf Jah II stayed out of the Marathas' way till 1795. In that year, the final engagement between the Maratha Confederacy and the Nizam took place at Kharda (details to be found elsewhere in this paper) where the Nizam's troops once again suffered a defeat.

The clashes with the Marathas amounted to territorial losses for successive Nizams. Some of them – like the concessions made after the Battle of Kharda – were won back through other diplomatic initiatives such as securing an alliance with the British. By the time the 18th century ended, the Nizam's domains were confined to the Marathwada region in central-western Maharashtra, the Telingana and Coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh and parts of the Rayalseema region that overlaps between Karnataka and south Andhra Pradesh. The coastal regions were ceded to the British by a subsidiary alliance treaty at the turn of the century. The province of Berar was added to the kingdom as a

reward for serving alongside British interests in their war with the Maratha rulers of Nagpur in the early 19th century, but taken back under British rule in 1853.

The kingdom of the Nizams evolved a system of governance of its own – a third of the domains was the Nizam’s private ‘estate’ and was termed *Sarf-i-Khās*. The income from another third was earmarked for government expenses; thus the tracts were called *Diwānī* territories. The remaining third of the kingdom was given away to nobles, who held the privilege of collecting revenue from the villages under their suzerainty. In return, they paid a *nazar* (‘gift’) to the Nizam amounting to a predetermined revenue share. The nobles and title-holders had differing political and fiscal control of the territory under their charge.

The nobility under the Nizams evolved mainly in the 18th century. Its hierarchy was articulated in titles awarded to the nobles – they ended in ‘ud-Daula’ (‘of the estates’), ‘ul-Mulk’ (‘of the realm’), ‘-Jang’ (‘in battle’) and ‘-Jah’ (‘having the quality of’, or ‘equal in status to’) and rose in promotion in that order. Titles ending in ‘-Jah’ were given only to the Nizam’s close and extended family, with rare exceptions. The nobility was largely Muslim, but there existed a group of Hindu courtiers as well. Prominent amongst them were local ‘Rajas’ whose dynastic roots went much deeper than those of their Muslim peers and suzerain. Some of them claimed land-rights from polities such as the Kakatiyas of the 13th century AD, who ruled prior to the Islamic conquest of the region. But many of them had emerged as minor rulers and feudatories under the Vijayanagara Empire during the 14th – 16th centuries. Their rights and tenures were honoured and continued under successive Muslim rulers such as the Qutbshahi and ‘Adilshahi Sultans and subsequently the Mughals.

The Nizam ‘inherited’ most of the ‘Rajas’ from the Mughals. They ruled over small ‘Samsthanas’ – literally their ‘own lands’. Two of the title-holders, namely the chiefs of Gadwal and Wanparthy, even held the title of ‘Maharaja’ but in effect none of them were more than large *zamindars*. While they held titles and positions in the Nizam’s court, they did not enjoy any status in the ‘Princely’ hierarchy articulated under the British Raj.

From a numismatic perspective, coins of the Nizams remain hardly studied. Most studies on the Nizam’s coinage remain focused on the 19th century. There is some information on it available in ‘Notes on the Hand minting of Coins of India’ by F K Viccajee (Hyderabad, 1908). There is an agreement over the fact that coinage in Hyderabad state operated on two levels – ‘Hali’ or ‘Hallee’ (‘standard’) currency, struck by the Nizam’s mint at Hyderabad and ‘Chalni’ / ‘Chulnee’ or ‘local’, struck by regional mints, like Wanparthy, Gadwal, Yadgir, Narayanpett etc. These mints functioned through farming the minting rights out. One of the agencies responsible for holding minting rights were the Rajas of the Samsthanas in which some of these mints were located. A few articles have appeared on some of these coins, thanks to numismatists like Amjad Ali and A H Siddiqui. The ‘Chalnee’ coinage was suppressed as a result of economic reforms instituted under Sir Salar Jang I, the prime minister (1853-1883) of Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VI.

The literature is largely silent about Nizam numismatics in the 18th century. Going by the ‘history-centric’ logic, the establishment of the Nizam’s kingdom in 1724 could well be regarded as a political marker for the attribution of coins. If this is accepted, a number of mints located in the Deccan which struck coins in the name of Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah Bahadur, ‘Alamgir II and Shah ‘Alam II, could be attributed to the Nizams. The coins published hereunder follow this methodology of attribution. Some of them are issues of hitherto unknown mints and many have surfaced thanks to the changing numismatic market in India, which is becoming more auction-oriented, making many interesting coins appear in the public domain.

Nanded

The coin published hereunder (fig. 1) was offered at an ‘Oswal Antiques’ Auction. It is described as follows:



Fig. 1

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines:

سکه مبارک بادشاه غازی (عالم گیر)

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī (‘ālamgīr)

Rev.: Persian legend in three lines:

مانوس میمنت) سنه ۷ جلوس ضرب ناندیر

mānūs maimanat sanah 7 julūs ṣarb nandair

A six-petal flower is placed within the letter ‘sīn’ of ‘julūs’ as an ornamental symbol.

‘Nandair’ of the reverse legend may conveniently be identified with Nanded, a large town situated in the south-western Marathwada region of Maharashtra, on the north banks of the river Godavari. Nanded is a historical site – a copper plate charter given by king Vindhyashakti II of the Vatsagulma (Washim) branch of the Vakataka dynasty, dated c. AD 355, mentions it by its Sanskrit equivalent ‘Nandikata’. But during the early medieval, particularly the Rashtrakuta, period (c. 8th – 9th century), Kandhār located near Nanded came to prominence as an important administrative and religious centre. Under the Bahmanis, Nanded re-emerged as an important town and was included in the administrative region of ‘Mahur Balaghat’. The Mughal prince Aurangzeb won control of the region in his campaigns against the Deccani sultanates as the viceroy of the Deccan (c. 1635-55). Under the Mughals, Nanded was the headquarters of an administrative sub-division (*sarkār*) of the same name under the province (*subāh*) of Bidar, alias Muḥammadābād.

Nanded’s greatest claim to importance came in 1708, when the last Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, escaping a Mughal pursuit, arrived there and breathed his last. Prior to his death, Gobind Singh abandoned the system of appointing a Guru as his successor to the Sikh creed; instead he chose to declare the ‘Granth Sahib’, the collection of scriptures, as a source of moral, temporal and spiritual authority for his followers. This marks a watershed moment in the history of Sikhism and the holy shrine (*Gurudwārā*) at Nanded is thus held in great reverence by the Sikhs.

No other coin minted at Nanded is known so far. The coin published here is struck in the name of ‘Alamgir II whose reign came to an end in its 6th year in November 1759 when he was murdered by his wazir, ‘Imad ul-Mulk. RY7 on the coin is thus a posthumous reference to it. Unfortunately the AH date is truncated to 117X, so the exact year in which this coin was struck cannot be ascertained; but it would appear that the coin was struck sometime in late 1759 or early 1760. ‘Imad ul-Mulk installed Shah Jahan III as the emperor following the regicide he committed and the coin should, therefore, have been struck in the name of Shah Jahan III – however, this is not the case. The reason for this may lie in the political proclivities of the reigning Nizam, Salabat Jang. The date of the coin indicates that it was struck during a period of turmoil for Salabat Jang. He had just lost to the Marathas at the Battle of Udgir and, as a result, was struggling to keep his position amongst disputes with his brothers. ‘Imad ul-Mulk was a cousin of Salabat Jang, being the son of his oldest brother, Ghazi ud-Din. The relationship between the brothers had been far from cordial and, although Ghazi ud-Din had been dead for a few years, in 1759-60 it is likely that Salabat Jang would not have acknowledged the new emperor installed by his estranged cousin.

It will be worth contextualising this coin with products of another mint in the region, namely Ausā. Coins of Ausā are rare, but the mint appears to have functioned with some regularity, for coins in the name of all emperors from Shah ‘Alam Bahadur to ‘Alamgir II are known. In terms of style of execution, the rupee of Nanded is particularly similar to the rupees of Ausā struck in the name of ‘Alamgir II and dated AH 1174/Ry8. Salient similarities include the arrangement of the obverse legend and the placement of the date after the word ‘mubārak’ in the lowermost line, the employment of a posthumous regnal reckoning and the appearance of the same symbol, a six-petalled flower in the ‘S’ of ‘julūs’ on the reverse.

Kandhār

The town of Kandhār is located to the south of Nanded in the Nanded district of the present-day Maharashtra State. Its coordinates are 18° 52' N, 77° 11' E. The town is steeped in antiquity – it is said to have been founded by Krishna I, the Rashtrakuta king of the 8th century, who named it after himself and made it into his capital. *Kandhāra-pura-wara-adhishwara* (Lords of Kandhār City) was one of the titles held by Rashtrakuta kings. In Islamic times, Kandhār came to prominence as a strategic location controlling the fertile Godavari River valley. A massive fort at Kandhār (fig. 2) bears testimony to its historical importance. After falling under the control of the ‘Adil Shahi rulers in the early 17th century, Kandhār was captured by Shahjahan’s Mughal army command in 1631.



Fig. 2 Kandhār fort

Early numismatic activity at Kandhār (spelled ‘Qandhār’ قندہار on the coins, in the same way as its homophonous counterpart in Afghanistan) was described first by Leo Kukuranov in JNSI vol. XVII, part 1 and then by Ken Wiggins in ONSNL 76 in a paper ‘Rupees of the mint of Qandahar in the Deccan during the reign of Shah Jahan I’. The aim of both these papers was to demonstrate that, since Qandahar in Afghanistan was firmly under the Safavid dynasty of Persia during the years borne by some issues of Shah Jahan with that mint-name, they must have been struck at a place with the same name but located elsewhere. Both Kukuranov and Wiggins were correct in their identification of this ‘Qandahar’ with Kandhār in the Deccan. Wiggins also mentioned the mint as being active in the reigns of Muhammad Shah and ‘Alamgir II (vide C R Singhal’s ‘Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India’, NSI, Bombay 1953) and noted, ‘...those later issues may not have been purely Mughal. It is more likely that (they) were struck during the period when the Nander district was under the control of the Nizam’.

A rupee of Kandhār mint in the name of Ahmad Shah was noted in a recent Todywalla Auction (Auction 59, Nagpur, lot no. 68). This nicely bridges the gap between known issues of that mint in the name of Muhammad Shah and ‘Alamgir II and it is, therefore, worth publishing all three here. The coins may be described as follows:

1. In the name of Muhammad Shah, AH 1159/Ry30 (fig. 3; Shatrughan Saravagi collection. A similar coin is illustrated on www.zeno.ru, #107471) –



Fig. 3

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines,

سگہ مبارک بادشاہ غازی محمد شاہ

sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī muḥammad shāh

with the ‘k’ of ‘mubārak’ forming the second divider. The AH date 115(9) is placed to the right of ‘muḥammad’ in the top line.

Rev: formulaic ‘julūs’ inscription with mint-name at the bottom

سنہ ۳۰ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب قندہار

sanah 30 julūs maimanat mānūs ṣarb qandhār

2. In the name of Ahmad Shah, AH -/RY5 (fig. 4; Todywalla Auctions)



Fig.4

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines,

سگہ مبارک بادشاہ غازی احمد شاہ

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī aḥmad shāh

with the ‘k’ of ‘sikka’ forming the second divider.

Rev.: formulaic ‘julūs’ inscription with the mint-name at the bottom

سنہ ۵ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب قندہار

sanah 5 julūs maimanat mānūs ṣarb qandahār

The RY detail is partly obliterated under a shroff-mark, but is just sufficient to ascertain that it is 5. Much of the mint-name is off the flan, but the top ends of ‘ha’ and the final ‘r’ are visible. Stylistically, the coin compares well with the rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah described above, which was struck only five or six years before.

3. In the name of ‘Alamgir II, AH -/RY3 (fig. 5; Shatrughan Saravagi collection)



Fig. 5

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines:

سگہ مبارک (بادشاہ غازی عالم گیر ثانی)

(sikkā mubārak) bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr thānī

The 'k' of 'sikka' forms the second divider. The incorporation of 'thānī' (meaning 'the second') after 'Alamgir is worthy of note.

Rev:

سنه ۳ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب قندہار

sanah 3 julūs maimanat mānūs ṣarb qandahār

Bidar

The town of Bidar is the headquarters of a district of the same name, located in the north-eastern corner of present-day Karnataka state, adjoining Andhra Pradesh. Although it dates back to the Chalukya period (c. 10th century AD), it rose to prominence in the 14th -17th centuries, particularly under the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan. It served as a capital of the Bahmanis along with Gulbarga and was renamed Muḥammadābād in honour of Sultan Muhammad I (1358-1375), the consolidator of the Bahmani power. Architecture flourished at Bidar under the Bahmanis with several important buildings, such as the 'Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan' (fig. 6), constructed under the Sultanate's patronage. After the Bahmani Sultanate fragmented in the 16th century, Bidar became the seat of the Barid Shahi Sultanate for a few decades. In the early 17th century, it was absorbed into the 'Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur, following the apportioning of Barid Shahi tracts between the 'Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi Sultanates.



Fig. 6 The Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar

In 1656, Aurangzeb, then the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, captured Bidar from the 'Adil Shahis. He renamed the town Zafarābād (Abode of Victory) to mark the occasion. Bidar remained a part of the Mughal empire until the first part of the 18th century, after which the Nizams held sway over it. It remained a part of the Hyderabad State until its accession to India in 1948.

There had been a mint at Bidar ever since the Bahmani period and coins were struck there with the mint-name Muḥammadābād. Under the Mughals, coins in the name of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb with mint-name Zafarābād were minted at Bidar. There exist rare issues in the name of Aurangzeb of Muḥammadābād' mint (RYs between 25 and 33 are noted). While there is no evidence as to which of the many places named or renamed Muḥammadābād these coins could belong to, there is a tendency to attribute these to Bidar. If so, one would wonder why the mint-name for Bidar reverted to the old alias midway in Aurangzeb's reign.

The name Zafarābād appears to go out of numismatic fashion with Aurangzeb's death in 1707. From the reign of Shah 'Alam Bahadur, we have coins with the mint-name Muḥammadābād which appears as the first line of the reverse inscription (on top). In terms of style and decorative elements employed, these Muḥammadābād issues are very similar to the Zafarābād coins struck under Aurangzeb, so there seems to be little doubt about their attribution to Bidar. The placement of the mint-name helps to distinguish between the Bidar issues from those of other mints

with the same alias such as Banaras. Coins of this type are known struck in the names of Shah 'Alam Bahadur, Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Shah Jahan II and Muhammad Shah. They are all rare, but like the mint at Ausā in the vicinity, the mint at Bidar appears to have functioned with a 'sporadic regularity' over the first three or four decades of the 18th century. Those bearing the name of Muhammad Shah and struck after 1724 can definitively be attributed to the Nizams. One such coin was documented in trade recently and is published hereunder (fig. 7):



Fig. 7

Obv.: legend in three lines:

سگہ مبارک باد شاہ غازی (محمد شاہ)

sikkā mubāarak bādshāh ghāzī (muḥammad shāh)

with the word 'sikka' forming the second divider.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' inscription with the mint-name appearing at the top:

ضرب محمدآباد سنه ۲۰ جلوس میمنت مانوس

ṣarb muḥammadābād sanah 20 julūs maimanat mānūs

It is worth noting that the final '-ābād' portion of the mint-name is engraved in a running (*shikastā*) hand, with the letters *be*, *alif* and *dāl* joined to each other in a single stroke.

No coins of Muḥammadābād mint post-dating Muhammad Shah were known until two specimens in the name of Shah 'Alam II were spotted – one in the 'Baldwin-Ma-Gillio-Monetarium' auction 35 (Hong Kong, 29 August 2002 - lot no 706; fig. 8), and the other in 'Todywalla Auctions', No. 53 (Hyderabad, 30 July 2011 - lot no. 120; fig.9). As these coins advance the history of the mint at Bidar by two decades, they are worth publishing. They also have significant numismatic aspects that deserve a comment. Both coins have the name of Shah 'Alam II on the obverse, and while the obverse legend is truncated, it is most likely to be –



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

سگہ مبارک بادشاہ غازی شاہ عالم

sikkā mubāarak bādshāh ghāzī shāh 'ālam

- with the 'K' of 'mubārak' forming the second divider. But the most significant aspect so far as the legends are concerned occurs on the reverse of these coins. The reverse legend is –

سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب محمدآباد بدر

sanah julūs maimanat mānūs zarb muḥammadābād bidar

Here the inscription includes the native name of the town 'Bidar' along with the Islamic alias 'Muḥammadābād' – the former appearing as the last line and the latter as the top line, with the rest of the inscription between the two, with the words 'maimanat' and the 'B' of 'zarb' forming the second and the first dividers, respectively. It is noteworthy that the word 'Bidar' is spelled with a short 'i', and should have had a *pesh* below the first letter 'be' – however, as is the usual case, it has been omitted.

The two coins, although very similar in their inscriptions, have some major differences. Firstly, the Todywalla coin bears a date (RY2) which helps us to place the issue of the coin around 1761-62, just around the time when Nizam 'Ali Khan deposed Salabat Jang and proclaimed himself the Nizam and 'Asaf Jah II'. The Baldwin specimen has the part of the legend where the RY would have appeared truncated beyond restoration (and so is the 'Muḥammadābād' bit of the reverse legend), but it bears a differentiating mark – a downward pointing curved scimitar – on the obverse in the second line of the inscription. The Todywalla coin is clearly devoid of this feature. If one is to assume the appearance of the symbol as an 'evolved' feature, it would indicate that the Baldwin coin was struck after the Todywalla coin, i.e. sometime after 1762.

There exists one more coin that deserves a discussion in context with the 'Bidar' coins just described. It appeared in Baldwin's Auction no. 71 (29 Sept 2011 – lot 1390; fig. 10) The mint-name on this coin is Muḥammadābād and because of the fact that it appears at the top on reverse and that the calligraphy matches that of other similar rupees of Bidar, there can be no doubt that this coin is also of Bidar. Unfortunately, it bears no chronological details so we cannot determine when it was struck with any certainty. While the cataloguer has attributed it to Shah 'Alam Bahadur, the obverse legend bears no trace of the crucial title 'Bahādūr', which is seen in the second line of the obverse inscription in confirmed issues of Shah 'Alam Bahadur of the Muḥammadābād-Bidar mint (fig. 11; this coin from Todywalla Auctions 35, Mumbai, 24 April 2009, lot no. 127). Also, there appears a trace of a further letter just after 'Ālam' in the top line of the obverse inscription. It could well be that the top line obverse inscription thus reads 'Shāh 'Ālamgīr' instead of 'Shāh Ālam' and the coin could be an issue of 'Ālamgīr II, rather than Shah 'Alam Bahadur.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

If the coin is indeed of 'Ālamgīr II, it would bridge the gap between the issues in the name of Muhammad Shah and those in the name of Shah 'Alam II. Another interesting feature this coin has is on the reverse – there seems to be a tiny bit of an inscription

to the left of the mint-name 'Muḥammadābād'. It is tempting to hazard a guess that it is the beginning of the word 'Bidar', the visible bit being the beginning of 'B' and the rest truncated. If this is indeed the case the coin would also bridge the 'native + Islamic' occurrence of the mint-name between the issues of Muhammad Shah and Shah 'Alam II.

Zafarābād

As described above, 'Zafarābād' was also an Islamic alias of Bidar, but in a numismatic sense it was forgotten after the reign of Aurangzeb and coins minted at Bidar continued to bear the older Islamic alias of the town, 'Muḥammadābād'. Two facts testify to this - that the post-Aurangzeb issues of Bidar bear close resemblance in style and decoration with the 'Zafarābād' issues of Aurangzeb and have a stylistic imprint of their own, and that the latest issues from the mint at Bidar bear both the Islamic and native names of the town.

It was a matter of considerable interest, therefore, when a rupee of Muhammad Shah bearing the mint-name 'Zafarābād' was recently noted (fig. 12; Todywalla Auctions, no. 48, New Delhi, 23 Oct 2010, lot No. 67). This coin is dated AH 1141/Ry11 and, thus, falls comfortably in the years after the battle of Shakkarkherla to be attributed to the Nizam. The coin may be described as follows:



Fig. 12

Obv: Persian legend in three lines

سگه مبارک باد شاه غازی محمد شاه

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī muḥammad shāh

The date 1141 appears in the top line just below 'shāh'.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' legend in three lines with the mint-name at the bottom

سنه ۱۱ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب ظفرآباد

sanah 11 julūs maimanat mānūs zarb zafarābād

The RY is rubbed off but a closer examination suggests it could be 11 or 12. 11 fits better with the AH date on the obverse.

Coins of Zafarābād mint are also known bearing the name of 'Ālamgīr II. One such is described hereunder (fig. 13; private collection, Mumbai):



Fig. 13

Obv: Persian legend in three lines

سگه مبارک بادشاه غازی عالم گیر

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī 'ālamgīr

The word 'sikka' forms the second divider and the date AH (1)171 appears following the 'K' of 'mubārak' in the last line

Rev: formulaic 'julūs' legend in three lines with mint-name at the bottom

سنه ۵ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب ظفر اباد

sanah 5 julūs maimanat mānūs zarb ṣafarābād

The RY is obliterated under a shroff mark on this coin, but from other known specimens it can be safely concluded that it is 5. The coin was, therefore, struck sometime in 1758-59.

With the foregoing discussion on Bidar in mind, we can safely surmise that the alias of choice as far as Bidar was concerned was Muhammadābād during the years both these coins were struck. The 'Zafarābād' of these coins is therefore not Bidar and one would wonder where to locate it.

The answer points in the direction of a town presently known as 'Jafrabad', which is the headquarters of an administrative subdivision (*tālūkā*) of the same name in the Jalna district of Maharashtra state. It is located about 42 km north of Jalna, at 20°11'N 76°01'E, near the confluence of the Khelna and Purna rivers, both of which form the tributaries of the Godavari. Jafrabad is a fortified medieval town; 'Google Earth' reveals extensive octagonal fortification with several bastions (*burz*) lining the walls. The District Gazetteer states there are seven mosques and temples in Jafrabad. The principal mosque has a Persian inscription recording its construction under the orders of Aurangzeb by Riazat Khan in AH 1076 (AD 1664). There is a large water cistern within the fortifications with an inscription stating that it was built at the command of Shah Jahan by Mustafa Khan, the Turkoman in AH 1040 (AD 1630).

There appears to be some confusion about the name of the town and its foundations – although spelled in modern Marathi as 'Jafrabad', it could derive its name either from 'zafar' ظفر (victory) or 'ja'afar' جعفر (saffron). The District Gazetteer alludes to its founder being one 'Jafar Khan', who held it in *jagir* from Aurangzeb. No diacritics are provided so we do not know if the name of the khan was either of the two Arabic/Farsi words. The 'Imperial Gazetteer of India', however, ascribes its foundation to Ahmad Shah II, the Bahmani Sultan who is accredited with constructing the fort with two others in the surroundings further west, namely Narnala and Teliya Garh. The name mentioned in the Imperial Gazetteer is 'Jafarābād', with a careful macron placed on the 'a' after the 'r'. This indicates that name was Zafarābād derived from 'Zafar' or 'Victory' rather than Ja'afarabad, derived from 'Ja'afar' – if it were the latter, the spelling would have been 'Jāfarābād', with two macrons instead of one, as the first vowel is pronounced 'long'. It is therefore quite possible that the name of the town was Zafarabad which was then corrupted into Jafrabad.

There exists a Mughal mint-town named 'Zafarnagar' which veteran numismatist S H Hodivala identified with 'Taimarni' ('Notes and Queries regarding Mughal Mint-towns', Numismatic Supplement, XXXIV, 1920, pp. 241-246). This is the present-day 'Tembhurni', situated only a few kilometres to the south of modern Jafrabad across the river Purna. Although the reference he quotes makes it clear that the fortified town was situated 'on this side of the river' from Taimarni, he suggests that 'Zafarnagar' was an alias of Taimurni. It is perhaps possible that, although presently the towns of Tembhorni and Jafrabad are situated distinctly apart, in historic times no distinction was made between the fortified town 'Zafarnagar' and its not-so-grand neighbour, Taimarni. In fact, going by the discussion so far it would not be unreasonable to suggest that 'Jafrabad' is a modern vestige of the historic name 'Zafarnagar'.

When 'Zafarnagar' became 'Zafarābād' (to come to be called 'Jafrabad' in modern times) is a good question, but it appears to have happened through an intermediary name, to which coins bear some testimony. Numismatic evidence suggests that firstly coins were minted at 'Zafarnagar' in the name of Jahangir soon after the Mughals took over the region from the Nizam Shahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar in the second decade of the 17th century. The mint at Zafarnagar was in all likelihood a 'campaign mint', producing coined specie for the consumption of Mughal troops whenever

they were operating in the vicinity. It thus appears to have run through the Deccan campaigns against the Nizam Shahis, 'Adil Shahis and Qutb Shahis, conducted by Shah Jahan and his son, Aurangzeb, as the viceroy of Deccan.

No coins of 'Zafarnagar' are known in the name of Aurangzeb. As we have seen, he renamed Bidar 'Zafarābād' and initiated a Mughal coinage there, first in the name of his father, Shah Jahan, and then in his own name as the emperor. There is, however, another mint named 'Zafarpūr' known for Aurangzeb. The location and identity of this mint is not discussed, nor satisfactorily ascertained, but it is very likely that 'Zafarpūr' was the same as the old 'Zafarnagar'. No coins of 'Zafarpūr' mint are known for any other king following Aurangzeb.

If the present name of the town is 'Jafrabad', derived from 'Zafar' as we have seen, it must mean that at some juncture in the past 'Zafarpūr' must have given way to 'Zafarābād'. The coins described above could suggest the transformation to have happened in the first half of the 18th century when the town came to belong to the Nizam. The issues described above are, therefore, most likely to the last 'gasps' of a mint that had once operated under the names 'Zafarnagar' and 'Zafarpūr'.

Amarchintā

Amarchinta is nowadays a small village situated in the Atmakur administrative subdivision (*mandala*) of the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. It is located 5 km from Atmakur, the headquarters of the administrative subdivision. Its co-ordinates are 16° 22' N, 77° 47' E.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India describes Amarchinta as 'a *Samasthān* or tributary estate in Hyderabad State, consisting of 69 villages, with Atmakur as its headquarters'. It was located close to another *Samasthān*, namely Gadwal, with the Krishna River flowing to its south and separating it from the Gadwal tracts. The fort of the Raja of Amarchinta was located at Atmakur and was reputedly 'in a good state of preservation' when the Gazetteer was compiled. The Raja at the time paid an annual tribute of 6363 rupees to the Nizam. Amarchinta and Atmakur were both famous centres of textile industry noted for 'fine muslins woven in the shape of handkerchiefs, dhotis and turbans with gold and silk borders'.

No coin of Amarchinta has hitherto been published, but the name of the mint appears as 'Umerchinta' in Appendix B of 'Notes on the hand minting of Coins of India' by F K Viccajee (Hyderabad, 1908), which is a tabular 'statement showing the towns within the Nizam's Dominions (before 1853) where the State and Private Mints were established'. The rupee published hereunder is, therefore, of particular significance (fig. 14) as it corroborates Viccajee's information. It is described as under:



Fig. 14

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines –

... (باد) شاه غازی عالم گیر ثانی

...(bād)shāh ghāzī 'ālamgīr thānī

Although the legend is truncated, it is likely to be preceded by the usual 'sikka mubārak' in the last line. Like the coin of Kandhār described above, here we see the word 'thānī' ('second') incorporated into the legend.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' inscription followed by the mint-name in the last line –

(مانوس میمنت) سنہ جلوس ضرب امرچنتا

(*mānūs maimanat*) *sanah julūs zarb amarchintā*

There exists a number '11' to the right of the word 'julūs' where there should be the regnal year in numerals. Going by the fact this coin is struck in the name of 'Alamgir II, the regnal year would not be more than 6 or 7. Thus, the number '11' must be taken as a remnant of an AH date. Also, there are traces that the first character 'zar' in 'zarb' is engraved right after the last character 'sīn' of 'julūs'; this is presumably to accommodate the rather long mint-name 'Amarchintā' as a third line in its completeness. There is a shroff-mark on the knot at the beginning of the 'm' in 'Amar' obliterating it partially, but the rest of the mint-name is preserved in detail good enough to make a reading possible.

Like the coins of Nanded and Zafarābād mints, this coin was also minted during the reign of Salabat Jang as the Nizam, during a period of turmoil. It is likely that the Raja of Amarchinta, taking advantage of the Nizam's weakness, took upon himself the right to mint coins. However, as this coin is so far the only one reported, this must have been a very short run for the mint. In subsequent years though, the mint at Gadwal became quite productive and produced the 'Chulnee' rupees of Gadwal in copious numbers.

Mushīrābād

When I joined the Ashmolean Museum almost a decade ago, Prof. Nick Mayhew, then the Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room, took me to a table at the far end of the coin store. Underneath the table was a large coin cabinet. It had a Latin name stuck on it – 'Desperanda Orientalia', alluding to the desperation successive curators had had going through its largely oriental numismatic contents. Much of the cabinet was the remainder of the collection of T B Horwood, an early 20th century collector of oriental (Indian and Islamic) coins. The coin being published here was discovered in that cabinet. Like the previous one, it brings to light a completely new mint-name – Mushīrābād – and is, again, the only known example from this mint. The coin is described as follows (fig.15):



Fig. 15

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines,

سگه مبارک بادشاه غازی ...

sikkā mubāarak bādshāh ghāzī...

The word 'sikka' forms the lower divider, with 'mubāarak' placed in its entirety as the last line. Although the name of the emperor is truncated except for very small traces, those are enough to identify it as that of Shah 'Alam II.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' legend giving the mint-name at the bottom,

سنہ جلوس (میمنت مانوس) ضرب مشیرآباد

sanah julūs (mānāt mānūs) zarb mushīrābād

There are two interesting marks on the reverse – one is the letter 'mīm' (م), placed across the 'b' of 'zarb', and the other is the symbol of the palm of a hand, held upright, within the 's' of 'julūs'.

Unfortunately, the coin bears neither the AH date nor the regnal year so its exact date of issue remains unknown. However, the

mint-name 'Mushīrābād' itself provides us with some clues as to when the coin might have been struck.

Mushīrābād is presently a part of Hyderabad city. It is named after Musheer ul-Mulk, the prime minister of Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II from 1776 to 1804, who constructed a palace and a garden there in 1785 and named them after himself. The locality formed a part of the *jāgir* presented to him by the Nizam. Musheer ul-Mulk was a Shi'a Muslim of Persian descent and his full name was Ghulam Sayyad Husain Khan. Other titles conferred upon him included 'Mu'in ud-Daula' and 'Azam ul-Umarah'. He was also called 'Arastu Jah' ('equal in quality to Aristotle') for his political and diplomatic wisdom. He was the only person outside the Nizam's family to be awarded a title ending in '-Jah', an honour usually reserved for the Nizam's family members.

Musheer ul-Mulk managed the affairs of Nizam's kingdom through the crucial last two decades of the 18th century, forming significant diplomatic alliances with the British and the Marathas. He played a crucial and instrumental role in the 3rd Anglo-Mysore War of 1789-1792. His temporary downfall came in 1795 when he incurred the wrath of the Marathas by supposedly staging a charade of the Peshwa and his ministers in the presence of the Maratha ambassador to the Nizam's court, while the Hindu festival of Holi was being celebrated. The outcome was a Maratha campaign against the Nizam and the defeat of his troops at the battle of Kharda. As part of the treaty concluded afterwards, Musheer ul-Mulk was taken captive to the Maratha capital Pune, where he spent the next two years. But in July 1797, he managed to get the treaty cancelled taking diplomatic advantage of the succession disputes that erupted in the Maratha ranks following the death of the Peshwa, Madhav Rao II. He then returned to Hyderabad and resumed his position as the prime minister until his death in 1804. An important decision he took after his return to Hyderabad was to engage the Crown Prince, Sikandar Jah (who was married to his grand-daughter), as regent for the old and senile Asaf Jah II. During this period, Hyderabad entered a 'subsidiary alliance' with the British, who exploited it to defeat Tipu Sultan in the 4th Anglo-Mysore War, as well as rid Hyderabad of the last French influence by disbanding a corps of troops formed by Monseigneur Raymond, a French military adventurer.

Going by the career of Musheer ul-Mulk, it is very likely that the rupee of Mushīrābād published here may have been struck in the period when his power was absolute, i.e. between his return from Pune in 1797 and his death in 1805. The symbolic details the coin bear corroborate its attribution to Musheer ul-Mulk – the 'mīm' on the reverse in all likelihood is his initial while the 'palm of the hand' is a revered emblem in Shi'ism (alluding to Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Hussain, the *Ahl-i-Bayt*, or the People of the Prophet's Household), the religion Musheer ul-Mulk followed.

It is worth noting here that, in Appendix B of 'Notes on the Hand minting of Coins of India', F K Viccajee lists a mint named 'Surunagar' as one of the mints that existed in the suburbs of Hyderabad. This is conceivably a corruption of 'Surūr Nagar' ('city of happiness'), which was founded by Musheer ul-Mulk as his pleasure palace within his *jāgir* of Mushīrābād. It is, therefore, plausible that the mint that produced the Mushīrābād rupee was actually situated in Surūr Nagar.

Kalyān

Kalyān is presently known as 'Basavakalyan' and is the same as 'Kalyani', which leant its name to a branch of the Chalukya dynasty of c. 9th – 12th centuries as their capital. It is located in Bidar district of Karnataka, about 80 km west of Bidar, and its co-ordinates are 17°16'N 76°57'E. The prefix 'Basava' in its name refers to Basaveshwara, the 12th century religious reformer who was also the prime minister of the Chalukya kings.

The history of Kalyān during the Islamic period is not much different from that of Bidar. It changed hands from the Bahmani kingdom to the Barid Shahi Sultans of Bidar, then to the Mughals, via a short occupation by the 'Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur. It

formed a part of the Nizam's kingdom after he seceded from the Mughals in 1724.

Towards the end of the 18th century, Kalyān became the seat of a local Muslim Nawab lineage. It was founded by Mir Kalan Khan, titled 'Najm ud-Daula', who was the superintendent (*qildār*) of the fort of Bidar. His son, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, styled 'Qiyam ul-Mulk', was married to a daughter of the first Nizam, Asaf Jah I. Ibrahim Khan died in 1776 and was succeeded by Nawab Khair ud-Din Husain Khan, a.k.a. Sayyid Shah, styled 'Imtiyaz ud-Daula', 'Qiyam ul-Mulk', and 'Mumtaz Jang'. Khair ud-Din was married to a daughter of Basalat Jang, the fifth son of Asaf Jah I, and continued to be the Nawab of Kalyān till his death in 1822. He was succeeded by his son, Mu'in ud-Din Husain Khan, styled 'Ghaznafar Jang', along with the lower family titles of 'Qiyam ul-Mulk' and 'Imtiyaz ud-Daula'.

A short article titled 'Coins of the Nawabs of Kalyani' discussing the coinage at Kalyān was contributed by M. Amjad Ali in Numismatic Digest, vol. IV, part 1, June 1980, pp. 70-72. In it, he quotes a reference from a *qaulnāmā* (charter) in the *daftar-i-divānī* (administrative archives) of the Nizam dated AH 1186 that Khair ud-Din Khan was allowed to issue coins from Kalyāni mint. He also quotes from a *farmān* (order) dated 16 Rabi II, AH 1202, of which he possesses a copy, that a fresh sanction was given to revive the mint at Kalyān to strike silver rupees. He concludes from the evidence of these two references that the mint at Kalyān must have begun operating in or soon after AH 1186 and then stopped, only to be revived in 1202. He also concludes, on the basis of the evidence from the *farmān*, that 'no where (sic) any mention is available of minting gold or copper coins...nor any source reveal (sic) that any silver coin of any denomination other than *rupayā* was ever minted'.

Ali then published five coins of Kalyān mint – they are all rupees and have a curious design, with the Islamic *Shahāda* or Profession of the Faith appearing in a *mihrāb* (prayer-niche)-shaped cartouche on the obverse and the motif of a tiger, seated or standing, with the mint-name on the reverse. The coins do not make any acknowledgement to the Mughal emperor. He distinguishes two types – those with an initial 'khe' خ for the Nawab's first name 'Khair ud-Din' and those without. Also evident from the illustrations is the fact that the tiger is depicted seated on those without the initial and standing on those with it. The dates Ali notes for the coins are 1212, 1221 and 1226 – coins bearing 1212 and 1221 bear no initial whereas coins of 1226 come in both types, with and without the initial. Ali comments that the introduction of the Nawab's initial must have been 'in imitation of the practice of Asaf Jahi coins', where the initial of the regnant Nizam, Sikandar Jah Asaf Jah III, was placed on the obverse.

Ali's contention that 'no other coins than, nor fractions of, the silver rupee was ever minted at Kalyan' was corrected by Ken Wiggins, who in ND vol. V, part 2, published a 1/8 rupee of Kalyān. Then in ONSNL 158 (Winter 1998/99), Lawrence Adams reported a gold mohur of Kalyān mint from his collection (p.24).

Ali takes the dates on these coins to be AH. However, Kalyān being situated in the Deccan could well have used the 'Fasli' era on its coins, which was in vogue in the region. The correspondence to Fasli era would date these coins to c. 1802 – 1816, which is a few years later than the period which Ali ascribes to these coins. This may account for the lack of acknowledgement to the Mughal emperor.

An entirely new type of Kalyān rupee was noted in a private collection in India and is published hereunder (fig. 16; I am extremely grateful to Sanjay Gosalia of the 'Bombay Coins and Stamps Library', Mumbai, for providing a picture of this coin). Unlike all issues of Kalyān known so far, this coin is struck in the name of Shah 'Alam II, the Mughal emperor. It may be described as follows:



Fig. 16

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines

سگه (مبارک باد) شاه غازی ۱۱۸۷ (شاه) عالم

sikkā (mubārak bād)shāh ghāzī 1187 (shāh) 'ālam

with the word 'sikka' forming the second divider. The similarity in the layout of the legend with that on the 'Mushrābād' rupee published above is worth noting.

Rev.: formulaic inscription in three lines

سنه (؟۳) ۱۱۸ جلوس مینت مانوس ضرب کلیان

sanah 118(3?) julūs maimanat mānūs zarb kalyān

The coin has many interesting features. Firstly it has a date placed on either side – on the obverse it is clearly 1187 and as such happily postdates the charter dated AH 1186 mentioned by Amjad Ali. The date on the reverse is curious – 118 is very clear but the last digit has its top part missing off the flan. The visible lower portion indicates it could only be 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 or 9. With any of these digits it would create a variance with the obverse date. If the obverse date is reckoned in AH and the date of the charter is to be believed, then it would follow that the reverse could only be 9 and it would mean the coin is a product of two different dies, one dated AH 1187 and the other dated AH 1189, and thus a mule. While this is not impossible, there is one more way to explain this curiosity. AH 1187 corresponds to the Fasli year 1183. The last digit of the date on the reverse could thus be '3' and it is possible that the obverse bears an AH date while the reverse bears its Fasli equivalent. Judging by the fact that the Fasli calendar was in vogue in the Deccan this is certainly plausible. Both these dates mean that the coin was struck in AD 1773-74.

Next to the date on the reverse is a symbol – it appears to be an arrow pointing to the right. This is a symbol unique in the repertoire of symbols encountered on Hyderabad and related coinages. Then between the 'L' and 'S' of 'julūs', just above the knot of the 'U', there is a small 'spectacle'-like mark, very similar to one encountered on the Maratha rupees of Pune (cf. Wiggins and Maheshwari, 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', Nasik, 1989, p. 86, T2 and T3) and Aḥmadābād (ibid., p. 40, T5).

On the obverse, the coin bears another interesting detail. As the word 'sikka' forms the second divider, one would imagine the word 'mubārak' to come in the last line of the obverse inscription. However, just below the vertical stroke of 'sikka' a horizontal line with five/six small vertical projections underneath it is visible – this is certainly not part of a Persian inscription. It is very likely that this is a symbol of the 'striped tiger', similar to that seen on the subsequent 'Shahāda'-type issues, except that they all bear the tiger with his tail curled up, while this one appears to have it hanging down (and thus truncated out of the flan).

Tahniyatnagar (Lalaguda)

In ONSNL 92-93 (October-December 1984), Ken Wiggins presented a curious Mughal rupee with a complete but unreadable mint-name, struck in the name of Shah 'Alam II (fig. 17) and dated AH 1215 with a 'sun-face' symbol on the reverse. Wiggins asked readers' opinions on what the mint-name was. No response followed and the coin was consigned to oblivion for a decade or so. Then in the 'IIRNS Newslines' No. 11 of July 1996, D. Moin,

Dilip Balsekar and L. Verma contributed an article 'A New Mint for Shah Alam II?' illustrating a similar coin (fig. 18). The authors read the date/R.Y combination on the coin to be 1221/48. They also discussed the orthography of the Persian inscription denoting the mint-name and, based on alternate articulations, proposed the mint-name to be 'Mahant Nagar' or 'Maihrat Nagar'. The authors were, however, unable to suggest a location for either of these mint-towns.



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

This coin elicited a chain of responses, first by Devendra Handa (IIRNS Newline, no. 13, January 1997) and subsequently by A H Siddiqui and Ken Wiggins (IIRNS Newline no. 15, July 1997; I am grateful to your Editor for digging out these obscure issues for my reference). Handa proposed to read the mint-name as 'Mahipat Nagar' rather than 'Mahant Nagar / Maihrat Nagar' but could not provide a location for his version of the mint-name either. The authors of the original paper took his suggestion on board, albeit somewhat unconvincingly, in a note that appeared immediately after Handa's. A H Siddiqui quoted one of his unpublished papers to corroborate 'Mahipat Nagar' and, although he did not provide any explanation as to where it was located, he suggested the name might have something to do with a certain Raja Mahipat Rao, an administrative officer in the service of Asaf Jah II, who had a *jāgir* in the province of Berar (modern western Vidarbha region of Maharashtra State). In Siddiqui's view, 'Mahipat Nagar' had to be located somewhere in Berar.

Ken Wiggins' response was more extensive than Handa or Siddiqui. He referred to his contribution to ONSNL 92-93 when he first brought such a coin to light. Further, he corrected M/s Moin, Balsekar and Verma's reading of the chronological detail on the IIRNS Newline coin – according to him, this coin was also dated AH 1215, like the one he had brought to notice, and not 1221 as contended by Moin-Balsekar-Verma. The RY was similarly rectified by Wiggins to 42 or 43, as against 48 proposed by the previous authors. Both coins were thus struck in 1799-1800. Wiggins also noted that they shared the same obverse die.

Wiggins further contended, on the basis of a better picture of the coin published in IIRNS-Newline, that the mint-name was most likely to be 'Mahrat Nagar', which he proposed to identify with a place variously called Mahrat, Mahroth, Marot, Mahrot etc located to the north of Sambhar in Rajasthan. He also alluded to the coin being a 'copy' of Indore or 'Malhar Nagar' rupees, inasmuch as they had a similar mint-mark ('sun-face') and the mint-name ended in '-Nagar'. He then contended the coins were perhaps an issue of a makeshift mint run by the unorganised 'Pindari' militias under the Sindhias and Holkars, so that the soldiery could be paid whilst the bands ravaged Marwar and Rajasthan.

Wiggins also reproduced a drawing (fig. 19) of a similar rupee that he had come across in a manuscript in the British Library's India Office Collections (Mss. EUR. D636). This drawing confirmed the AH/R.Y combination to be 1215/42 but did not have the mint-name visible in sufficient detail to verify it further.



Fig. 19

The discussion about this elusive mint rested with Wiggins' contribution. To sum up - Each of the contributions has its drawback: Moin-Balsekar-Verma, and Handa could not justify their claims with a location for their readings 'Mahant/ Maihrat Nagar' and 'Mahipat Nagar'. None of them could fully ascertain the identity of some of the letters in the way they were engraved, as well as the dots or *nuqtas* placed around them, which is an important element in their reading. While Siddiqui partially justified 'Mahipat Nahar' by linking it with a historic person, he could not prove in which capacity this person was linked to the mint, nor could he provide an exact location for the place named after him, apart from indicating it might have been in Berar. Wiggins, while correctly ascertaining the AH/R.Y dates, took the locational context of the coins much away from what Siddiqui had suggested.

Evidently, none of these contentions are conclusive so far as reading the mint-name is concerned. I had a chance to examine a couple of other specimens of the same type in a private collection in Mumbai, but regret the fact that they could not be documented. However, I was able to make certain observations –

1. While all previous commentators took the first word to begin with a 'mīm' or 'M' this was an illusion arising from the thickened end of the character creating its shadow when the coin was photographed. The way it is engraved suggested it could be a 'be', 'te', 'se' or 'nūn' (B, dental T, dental S, or N).
2. The letter following it was most certainly an 'H', and the last letter was equally certainly a 'te', or dental 'T'. How to render the engraving of what comes between these two was where the debate ensued!
3. It was quite certain that there is no 'R' in the name – the stroke that links the rest of the word to the final 'te' joins it at almost a third along its base and therefore creates an impression of an 'R'. Thus 'Maihrat Nagar' amongst the names suggested in the discussion can be safely ruled out.

Considering these aspects, and the way the word flows in its engraving, makes one wonder if the word is 'Bihisht' (compare the name of the Ilahi month 'Ardibihisht' seen frequently on coins of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) which means 'heaven'. Thus the reading 'Bihisht Nagar' makes sense and it was more or less accepted amongst numismatists for the mint-name on these coins, although it was never published as such in print. It did, however, make an appearance in a list of Mughal mint-names published by R D and Sheetal Bhatt in 'Numismatic Studies', vol. 5 (ed. Manmohan Kumar, New Delhi, 1997).

Stylistically, the coins are very convincingly issues from a mint located in the Deccan, more precisely in the Nizam's domains. A comparison with the 'Mushrābād' rupee published above would exemplify this. The quest for locating 'Bihisht Nagar' would, therefore, be confined to the Nizam's kingdom, but no confirmed reference to any place named or aliased as such could be found.

A look through Appendix B of F K Viccajee's 'Notes on the Hand minting of Coins of India' reveals a place named 'Lalaguda' as one amongst those located 'in the suburbs around Hyderabad' where a state-run mint was located. The name 'Lālāgorā' also appears in James Prinsep's 'Useful Tables' as the name of a silver rupee; Prinsep is ostensibly confused about this and connects it to Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, a French general who made a part career in South India in the mid-18th century, by leaving a remark against the entry "coins by General Lally?", ending in a question mark ('Useful Tables', J. Prinsep, Calcutta, 1834, Table IX, p. 45).

Perhaps implicit in this doubt is Prinsep's awareness that these rupees originate from the south of India, as the French never had an influence in the north, excepting Chandernagore near Calcutta. Viccajee makes the same remark in 'Appendix C' of his book, presumably deriving the information from Prinsep; however, he leaves Prinsep's question mark out.

Lalaguda is presently a part of Hyderabad city, but it had an Islamic name, too – Tahniyatnagar. It was named as such after Tahniyat un-Nisa Begum, the wife of Asaf Jah II and the mother of Sikandar Jah, who went on to become Asaf Jah III. It was inhabited in the late 18th century as a suburb of Hyderabad under her patronage. Tahniyatnagar was thus also known as 'Bibinagar'. The native name, Lalaguda, is said to have come from Lala, the architect who was responsible for constructing many of its historic buildings, '-guda' being a Telugu suffix meaning 'township' or 'borough'.

Another look at the orthography of the mint-name on the so-called 'Bihisht Nagar' rupees reveals that it matches perfectly well with 'Tahniyatnagar'. The first letter, as we have discussed above, could be a 'te', followed by a 'he', then by 'noon', and then by 'ye' which joins with the final 'te'. The coin illustrated by Wiggins in ONSNL 92-93 clearly shows the two small dots of the 'ye' below the penultimate curve of the word – a fact that does not satisfy either the 'Mahant' or 'Mahipat' readings proposed by earlier commentators. This, combined with the two conclusive references we have on hand to prove that there was a mint at Lalaguda which was also known as 'Tahniyatnagar' leaves little doubt that the mint-name on these coins is indeed 'Tahniyatnagar' and these are the 'Lalagora' rupees mentioned by Prinsep. The coins therefore may be described as follows –

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines

سگه مبارک بادشاه غازی شاه عالم

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī shāh 'ālam

with the word 'sikka' forming the second divider and the date 1215 placed in the 'k' of 'mubārak' as the last line of the inscription.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' inscription in three lines followed by the mint-name at the bottom

سنه ۴۲ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب تهنیت نگر

sanah 42 julūs maimanat mānūs ṣarb tahniyatnagar

The only aspect of the coins this discussion and reattribution leaves out is explaining the symbol of the 'sun-face' that appears in the 'sin' of 'julūs' on the reverse. There is no reason to believe, as Wiggins did, that it has anything to do with the Holkars, or indeed the coins of Indore (Malhar Nagar) mint. After all, the 'sun' is a universal symbol of royalty and was employed as a mark on many other mints, such as some Maratha issues of Nasik and those of the Murshīdābād mint under the Nawabs of Bengal and subsequently the East India Company. There is a chance that a leading member of the most eminent noble family under the Nizam, namely the Amirs of Paigah (discussed below), might have had something to do with the running of the mint at Tahniyatnagar – the Amir held 'Shams ul-Mulk' and 'Shams ul-Umarah' ('Sun of the realm' and 'Sun amongst the nobles', respectively) as titles, amongst many others, and perhaps the 'sun' symbol is a reflection of that.

Imāmnagar

No coins of Imāmnagar mint have been published so far, although the name occurs amongst the list of Mughal mints published by R D and Sheetal Bhatt ('Numismatic Studies', Vol. 5, ed. Manmohan Kumar, New Delhi, 1997). A rupee of Imāmnagar mint was recently offered in Classical Numismatic Gallery (Ahmedabad)'s Auction 5, (14 Aug 2011, Ahmedabad, lot no. 450). Two other specimens exist in the Stevens Collection, c/o

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. All three are illustrated here (fig. 20, fig. 21, fig. 22 – the first two from the Stevens Collection and the last from the Classical Numismatic Gallery auction). While the mint-name is partially truncated on all three specimens, a comparison between the three helps to reconstruct with certainty. The coins have the following inscriptions:



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

Obv.:

سگه مبارک بادشاه غازی شاه عالم

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī shāh 'ālam

Rev.:

سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب امام نگر

sanah julūs maimanat mānūs ṣarb imāmnagar

These coins are struck in the name of Shah 'Alam II. The Ahmedabad auction specimen bears traces of RY9; one of the Stevens Collection rupees bears very clearly the AH date 1189 and RY1X while the other bears traces of AH (11)90. Unfortunately, the RY on this last coin is quashed under the blow of a shroff mark. Judging by these details, the mint at Imāmnagar appears to have been active during the decade 1770-1780.

All coins share the chief distinguishing symbol, a 'flower' mark placed on the reverse. on the Ahmedabad auction coin, it is five-petalled whereas, on the Stevens collection pieces, it has six petals, each resembling a miniature fleur-de-lys arranged around a central boss. The coins from the Stevens collection have better calligraphy and just near the word 'Nagar' bear another symbol – that of an upright fly-whisk or a fan.

In their execution and symbolic choice, these coins are very similar to issues from other mints such as Khujista Bunyād (Aurangābad) and Daulatābād located in the Nizam's domain. This makes it certain that Imāmnagar was located somewhere in the Nizam's territory, but precisely where is the question. Unfortunately, there is as yet no conclusive answer to this but the following discussion will help to contextualise the coins with certain possibilities and thus provide directions for future research.

In all likelihood, 'Imāmnagar' is an alias. Aliases in the case of mint-names on Nizam coins are mostly formed by names and titles of the Nizam or his family. Examples to this effect include Raichur, alias Fīroznagar and Yadgir, alias Fīrozgarh (both named after Firoz Jang, the title held by the father of Asaf Jah I),

Lalaguda alias 'Tahnayatnagar' after the Nizam's wife as we have just seen and Kurnool alias 'Qamarnagar' from Qamr ud-Din, the *laqab* of Asaf Jah I. Going by this logic, 'Imām' in the mint-name Imāmagar could well be a part of a title – mostly ending in '-daulah', '-mulk', '-jang' or '-jah' as was the hierarchical order of denoting nobility under the Nizams.

'Imam Jang' is indeed one such and it was held by none other than the most eminent noble family under the Nizam, the Amirs of Paigah. Their title meant they were the leaders of the Nizam's household troops. The founder of this line, Muhammad Abu'l Khair Khan was titled 'Imam Jang' and the title was held by at least two of his successors – his eldest son, Baha ud-Din Khan, who predeceased him and his grandson, Fakhr ud-Din Khan, were styled Imam Jang II and Imam Jang III respectively.

It is, therefore, plausible that an Amir of Paigah was responsible for issuing coins at a place named Imāmagar after the family title. Judging by the dates the coins were struck, the contender could be the successor of Abu'l Khair Khan, Imam Jang I, namely Abu'l Fath Khan Tegh Jang, also styled 'Shams ud-Daula', 'Shams ul-Mulk' and 'Shams ul-Umarah'. He became the Amir of Paigah after the death of his father, Imam Jang I, in 1752 and continued to hold the position until his own death in 1791. He was succeeded by his son, Fakhr ud-Din Khan Imam Jang III.

The question now is which of the places – amongst more than 3500 villages and towns held in *jagir* by this aristocratic family – would best fit the bill to be named Imāmagar. One possible contender is the town presently known as Viqarabad (also spelled Vicarabad), named after Fazl ud-Din Khan, titled 'Viqar ul-Umarah' and 'Iqtidar ul-Mulk', the Amir of Paigah and the prime minister of the Nizam from 1894 to 1901. There is a likelihood that, before being named as such, this important town in the Paigah realms had the name Imāmagar. Identifying where Imāmagar was located is thus largely a conjecture, but its links with the Amirs of Paigah through their family title 'Imam Jang' is certainly an 'educated guess'.

Qamarnagar (Kurnool)

The city of Kurnool is situated in present day Andhra Pradesh about 225 Km to the south of Hyderabad. It is the headquarters of the district bearing the same name and its co-ordinates are 15°50'N 78°03'E.

In the 18th and 19th centuries Kurnool was ruled by a lineage of Afghan Nawabs. The founder of the line was Khizr Khan Panni, an Afghan adventurer who first sought employment with the 'Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur and then pledged his troops to the Mughals under Aurangzeb. His son, Dawood Khan, rose to be a powerful noble under Aurangzeb and enjoyed being the Nawab of Arcot for a while. Dawood's brothers, Ibrahim Khan and Alf Khan, secured the territory around Kurnool and established themselves there in the early decades of the 18th century. When the first Nizam, Asaf Jah I, virtually declared his independence in 1724, the kingdom of Kurnool came under his influence, and the Nawabs became tributaries of Hyderabad. Alf Khan was succeeded in 1733 by Himayat (variation – 'Himmat') Bahadur Khan, by far the most influential of the Kurnool Nawabs in the mid-18th century. Together with his kinsmen, the Miyana Nawabs of Savanoor and Cuddappah, he formed an Afghan coalition which played a crucial role in regional politics, mainly the succession struggles at the Hyderabad court following the death of Asaf Jah I in 1748. He was indirectly responsible for the death of Muzaffar Jang, the second claimant to the Nizam's throne following Nasir Jang, the successor to Asaf Jah I, who was also killed in a skirmish with the Afghan coalition. Salabat Jang, the successor to Muzaffar Jang, finally quelled this rebellious group with the help of his mentors, the Marathas, by storming Kurnool in 1752.

The estate was restored to Munawwar Khan, the brother of Himayat Khan in 1762 by Nizam Ali, Asaf Jah II against payment of a tribute. The Nawabs of Kurnool remained tributaries to the two powerful kingdoms on either side of their territory, namely the Nizam's Hyderabad and Mysore under Haidar Ali, for the rest of the 18th century. Munawwar Khan ruled till his death in 1792 and

was succeeded by Alf Khan II (1792-1815). During his reign, the last Anglo-Mysore War took place and Tipu Sultan of Mysore was defeated and killed. The Nizam allied himself with the British in this conflict and thus managed to secure tribute rights over Kurnool. But he surrendered these rights to the East India Company, making the Nawab of Kurnool a direct tributary to the British. When Alf Khan died, his brother, Muzaffar Khan, launched a rebellion to usurp the nawabship. This called for British intervention and Munawwar Khan II, the son of Alf Khan II, became the Nawab, following Muzaffar Khan's defeat. When Alf Khan II died in 1823, Muzaffar Khan's claims were once again set aside in favour of Ghulam Rasul Khan. His career as Nawab was marred by mismanagement and he aroused suspicion in the British ranks by buying large quantity of arms. In 1839, a commission of enquiry deposed Ghulam Rasul Khan and Kurnool lapsed to British rule following a brief military action.

The mint at Kurnool struck coins with Qamarnagar, its Islamic alias, as the mint-name. It is not known exactly when Kurnool was renamed as such, but it is likely that it was named after Qamr ud-Din, the *laqab* of Asaf Jah I, probably in 1688 when he accompanied his father, Ghazi ud-Din Firoz Jang, as a young boy on the victorious expedition to Adoni, a major fortress presently located in Kurnool district. Judging from extant specimens, the mint at Kurnool appears to have been active sometime during the latter half of Muhammad Shah's reign. There are issues in the name of Shah 'Alam Bahadur and Farrukhsiyar attributed to Qamarnagar mint, but there are reasons to believe (I will not go into details here) that these do not belong to Kurnool. The earliest coin of Qamarnagar is dated RY11 of Muhammad Shah (c. 1732-33) – one can be seen on www.zeno.ru, #107467 (fig. 23). As this date is close to the inception of Himayat Bahadur Khan's reign as the Nawab, it is tempting to infer that the mint was started by him. Further issues dated RY20 and 27 are shown here (fig. 24, fig. 25) – both were offered at Baldwin's Auctions no. 26, 9 May 2001 as lots no. 1440 and 1439, respectively. In the case of coins in the name of Muhammad Shah, the word 'sikka' forms the lower divider on the obverse and the AH date is placed in the 'k' of 'mubārak' in the last line of the obverse inscription.



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

The legends on Qamarnagar coins are standard – 'sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī' followed by the emperor's name on the obverse and the 'julūs' formula with the mint-name at the bottom on the reverse. It is worth noting that all coins of Qamarnagar mint have a trefoil mark on the obverse and/or reverse and follow a characteristic 'style' in terms of the execution of the legends.

The mint continued to operate during the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur and 'Alamgir II – a rupee in the name of Ahmad Shah offered at CNG electronic auction no. 142, 28 June 2006 as lot no. 271 is shown here (fig. 26). Coins of Ahmad Shah come in two varieties – one with the word 'shāh' written as a divider below 'Ahmad Bahādūr', as evident on the CNG coin, and second where it comes in the middle of 'Ahmad' and 'Bahādūr'. A coin of this latter type is shown here (fig. 27; reproduced here from the 'Coin Cabinet' of www.southasiacoins.org).



Fig. 26



Fig. 27

As we know, Kurnool was sacked by Salabat Jang in 1752 and was handed back to the Nawabs only in 1762 by Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II. Beyond the issues of 'Alamgir II, there was no record of the mint being active, but some coins in the name of Shah 'Alam II, offered at recent auctions help to rectify this. These coins are described and illustrated as under (fig. 28, Todywalla Auctions 36, lot 174; fig. 29, Todywalla Auctions 43, lot 206; fig. 30, Todywalla Auctions 58, Part-II, lot 338):



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines

شاه عالم (ثانی؟) بادشاه غازی سنه

shāh ālam (thānī?) bādshāh ghāzī sanah...

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' legend with mint-name at the bottom, followed by the AH date:

مانوس میمنت جلوس ضرب قمرنگر سنه

mānūs maimanat julūs zarb qamarnagar sanah

It is interesting to note that the last line on the obverse is only the word 'sanah' followed by the date; the usual words 'sikka mubārak' appear to have been omitted. The second divider is the 'ye' ('i') of 'ghāzī', as seen on fig. 30. That would make the first divider inexplicable, unless we assume the word 'thānī' ('second') somewhere after 'Shāh Ālam' in the first line of the legend and have its final 'i', or 'ye', as the first divider. The AH date is repeated on the reverse after the mint-name. From the coins illustrated above, we know of AH 1179, 1184 and 1186. There also exists a specimen dated AH 1183 that I have recorded from a private collection. The coins dated 1184 and 1186 shown have the mint-name truncated but after a comparison with the one dated 1179 there can be little doubt that they are of Qamarnagar mint.

Parendā

'Parendā' is presently known as 'Parāndā' (परानदा) and located in the Osmanabad district of Maharashtra State. Its co-ordinates are 18°15'N 75°25'E. It is a town dating back to the early medieval period and a dynasty named as the 'Sindas' is known to have ruled there as feudatory to the imperial houses of the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyani. Under their rule Parendā was known as Pratyandaka.

Parendā rose to prominence under the Bahmanis. Mahmud Gawan the prime minister of the Bahmani Sultans constructed an impressive fortress at Parendā in the 15th century AD (fig. 31). Curiously enough, it never saw action in the half millennium of its existence! Locally, therefore, it is often called the 'Barren Fort'.



Fig. 31 The fortress at Parendā

In the first decade of the 17th century, Murtaza II Nizam Shah (1600-1610) of Ahmadnagar moved his court to Parendā, when he lost his capital to the Mughals. After the eventual fall of the Nizamshahi Sultans, the town and fort of Parendā was taken over by the 'Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur and ultimately, towards the end of 17th century, by the Mughals.

With the secession of the first Nizam, Asaf Jah I, the area around Parendā became part of the Nizams' domains. It remained a part of Hyderabad State until 1948. The 'Imperial Gazetteer of India (Provincial Series) – Hyderabad State' (Calcutta, 1909), mentions Parendā as the headquarters of a tālukā (administrative division) of the same name, located in the Osmanabad district of the Gulbarga Division of the Nizam's Dominions. It was a 'Crown' or Sarf-i-Khās subdivision, with its entire revenue collection contributing towards the Nizam's personal wealth.

The earliest numismatic activity at Parendā took place while it was the temporary capital of Murtaza II – he struck copper coins there with the mint-name Dār al-Mulk Parendā (G&G N40-N43, p. 329). A Mughal mint began to produce silver and gold coins there towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, in the early 18th century, plausibly to supply money for the payment of troops engaged in battles against the Marathas. Coins struck in the name

of almost all successive rulers till Muhammad Shah are known but they are rare, or at best scarce, indicating the sporadic activity of the mint. Copper coins are also known for some rulers like Shah 'Alam I, Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar.

The coins of Parendā post-dating the secession of Asaf Jah I in 1724 should be attributed to the Nizam. Three such coins are published hereunder, all offered at 'Todywalla Auctions'. Two of them are in the name of Muhammad Shah – a silver rupee and a copper 'Fulus', while one is in the name of 'Alamgir II. In terms of their fabric and calligraphy, they all bear vestiges of not being issues of an imperial Mughal mint.

The rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah (fig. 32) was offered at Todywalla Auctions' 'Budget Sale Auction no. 1' (23 April 2010, Mumbai), lot 934. It is described as under:



Fig. 32

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines

سگه مبارک باد شاه غازی محمد شاه

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī muḥammad shāh

with the 'k' of the word 'mubārak' forming the second divider. The AH date is placed to the right of the word 'Muḥammad', but is obliterated by a shroff mark, leaving only '11' legible.

Rev.: formulaic inscription with mint-name at the bottom –

مانوس میمنت سنه ۹ جلوس ضرب پریندا

mānūs maimanat sanah 9 julūs zarb parendā

As the RY here is 9, the coin must have been issued between 23-11-1726 and 13-11-1727. The AH date may therefore be restored to 1139.

The copper fulus or paisa (fig. 33) was offered at Todywalla's Auctions no. 56 (24 Sept 2011, Mumbai), lot no. 852. It weighs 13.6 g and is described as follows:



Fig. 33

Obv.: Persian legend in two lines

فلوس مبارک محمد شاه (ه)

fulūs mubārak muḥammad shā(h)

The letter 'k' in the word 'mubārak' forms the divider.

Rev.: Persian legend in two lines

ضرب پریندا سنه ۶ (۱۱)۴

zarb parendā sanah (11)46

The letter 'b' in the word 'zarb' forms the divider and there is a die-flaw running diagonally across it. It is worth noting that, just above the mint-name, there is a floral symbol – it is also found on the rupee described above to the right of the mint-name on the reverse in its exactness. The symbol might, therefore, have had a

'mint-mark'-like function. The date AH 1146 would mean the coin was struck between 3-6-1733 to 23-5-1734.

It should be noted that a similar copper coin was published by Dilip Balsekar and Sanjay Sahadev as of 'Purandar' mint and attributed to the Marathas ('Purandar: a New Maratha Mint', in 'IIRNS-Newsline', no. 45, January 2005). This was ostensibly because the last *alif* in the mint-name is engraved slightly curved and therefore looks like the letter 're' or 'R'. The mint-name had similarly confused early numismatists like Charles Rodgers, S. Lane-Poole and R B Whitehead – see discussion in PMC vol. II, p. Ixii, where the mint-name is read as 'Purbandar'. Whitehead assigned a silver rupee of Shah 'Alam I (PMC no. 2034) to this mint, identified as the port city of Porbandar in Gujarat. A look at the illustration provided in plate XII proves beyond doubt that it is a rupee of Parendā mint, not 'Purbandar'.

The coin in the name of 'Alamgir II is so far unique (fig. 34) and it was offered first at Todywalla Auctions no. 49 (18 December 2010, Mumbai), lot 185 and again in auction no. 56 (24 September 2011, Mumbai), lot 987. It may be described as follows:



Fig. 34

Obv.: Persian legend in three lines –

سگه مبارک باد شاه غازی عالم گیر ثانی

sikkā mubārak bādshāh ghāzī 'ālamgīr thānī

The letters 'i' in the words 'thānī' and 'ghāzī', in their *majhool*, or 'extended' forms, make the first and second dividers, respectively.

Rev.: formulaic 'julūs' legend in three lines -

مانوس میمنت سنه ۴ جلوس ضرب پریندا

mānūs maimanat sanah 4 julūs zarb parendā

The mint-name is inscribed with the 'end' bit between 'par' and the final 'ā' elongated excessively. As a result the 'Par' part of it is engraved below the elongated part and is, therefore, partly truncated. The final 'ā' or alif is also not visible on the coin. In spite of such incompleteness the mint-name can safely be restored to 'Parendā' owing to its orthography.

RY4 of 'Alamgir II suggests this coin was struck between 1-5-1757 and 20-5-1758. The reigning Nizam at this time was the weakling, Salabat Jang.

Internet resources utilised for this article

1. 'A History behind Street Names of Hyderabad & Secunderabad' by Muhammad Raheem, first published in 'Primetime Prism, the Complete Magazine', December 2006 issue; accessed at http://discover-telangana.org/wp/2009/07/12/history_behind_hyderabad_secunderabad/

2. for information about the Nawabs of Kalyani, the Nawabs of Kurnool and for the Amirs of Paigah – <http://www.royalark.net/India/hyder.htm>
<http://princelystatesofindia.com/Extinguished/kurnool.html>
<http://www.royalark.net/India3/paigarh.htm>
(Please note that the website address says 'paigarh' instead of 'paigah')

3. for Hyderabad *Samasthans* – <http://princelystatesofindia.com/Extinguished/hyderabadbig.html>

SUMMARY OF NUMISMATIC RESEARCH IN CHINA, 2010

QIN Huiying, YANG Jun, HUANG Wei, ZHAO Yunfeng, '2010 nian Zhongguo qianbixue yanjiu zongshu', *Zhongguo Qianbi / China Numismatics* 2011.2, pp. 72-78. // 秦慧颖, 杨军, 黄维, 赵云峰:《2010年中国钱币学研究综述》,《中国钱币》2011.2. Translated by Helen Wang.

The two key areas of numismatic research in 2010 were the pre-Qin period and the late Qing-early Republic. Highlights include work on the spade-money with three holes inscribed 建邑 *Jian yi*; the quantity of coins minted in the Tang dynasty; the authenticity of the Song dynasty printing plates for paper money (交子 *jiaozizi*) found at Dongzhi; and the use of the Huoshen Hui account books to study the circulation of money and price changes in Beijing. There have also been developments in the study of modern and contemporary machine-struck coins, and in the application of scientific methods to numismatics.

(1) ON NUMISMATICS

1. Dai Zhiqiang — An outline of numismatics — writes that numismatics opens up research on coins from the cultural perspective, the aims of that research being study of the coins themselves and the background behind them. In terms of methodology, he states the importance of continuing to use and develop traditional methods of studying coins, and the necessity of bringing in additional relevant subjects such as the theory of money, history, archaeology, palaeography, minority languages and scripts, folklore, art history, and science and technology. DAI Zhiqiang, 'Qianbixue gaishu', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.3. // 戴志强《钱币学概述》,《中国钱币》2010.3.

2. Yang Jun — A few words on the past, present and future of appraising China's ancient coins — urges the application of archaeology, history, palaeography, casting technology, study of materials, chemistry and other disciplines, in order to bring a more scientific approach to appraising coins. He urges numismatists to join forces to spot and report high quality forgeries as they appear. YANG Jun, 'Zhongguo gu qianbi jiating de lishi, xianzhuang he weilai de shuolue', *Shenzhen jinrong - Shenzhen qianbi*, 2010. // 杨军《中国古钱币鉴定的历史、现状和未来说略》,《深圳金深圳钱币》2010年增刊

(2) ON ANCIENT COINS

3. Huang Xiquan — A new type of spade money with three holes inscribed Jian yi — introduces a new type, and through textual analysis, deciphers the inscription as 建邑 *Jian yi*, referring to the ancient city of 建城 *Jiancheng*, in the territory of the Zhongshan state, in modern-day Hebei. HUANG Xiquan, 'Jieshao yi mei xin pin san kong bu Jian yi', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.1. // 黄锡全《介绍一枚新品三孔布建邑》,《中国钱币》2010.1.

4. Hu Jinhua — On the hollow-handle spades unearthed at the Lingshou city site of the Zhongshan state — studies the pointed-shoulder pointed-foot hollow-handle spade money unearthed during archaeological excavations at the Lingshou city site, of the Zhongshan state. They are similar in size to those unearthed at Anyang (Henan) and Houma (Shanxi). Hu believes these spades date from the late Spring and Autumn Period to the very early Warring States period, that they were cast in the Jin state, and that this deposit is most probably associated with the Jin conquest or occupation of Lingshou. HU Jinhua, 'Zhongshan Lingshou cheng zhi chutu kongshoubu jixiangguan wenti yanjiu', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.1. // 胡金华《中山灵寿城址出土空首布及相关问题研究》,《中国钱币》2010.1.

5. Chen Changfeng — A study of the knife-money of the Ying state — looks at Boshan and Yingbang knife-money, coin-

moulds, and recent research. Chen believes that 'Ming' knives with flat reverse, and square-ish calligraphy were cast at the Yingcheng mint, that they were the most numerous of the knives of the Ying state, that they circulated in the Shandong and Hebei areas, and that they predate the large knives of the Qi state. He believes that the large knives of the Ying state came after the smaller 'Ming' knives, but were not numerous owing to the demise of the Ying state.

CHEN Changfeng, 'Yingguo daobi huikao', *Xibu jinrong - Qianbi yanjiu*, 2010. // 陈长峰袁常奇《营国刀币汇考》,《西部金融·铅笔研究》2010年增刊

6. Yuan Changqi — Excavated tianping throw light on monetization of gold in the Chu state — writes about the *tianping* weights unearthed in tombs of the Chu state, in Changsha (Hunan), suggesting that they appeared when gold money was circulating in Chu, that before the mid-Warring States period gold money had already been in circulation for a long time in the Changsha area, and that by the mid-Warring States period gold money was not restricted to royalty, but was also part of everyday life for ordinary people.

YUAN Changqi, 'Cong chutu tianping kan Chuguo de huangjin huobihua', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.1. // 袁常奇《从出土天平看楚国的黄金货币化》,《中国钱币》2010.1.

7. Zeng Yongxia, Xia Yun — The hoard of Shu-Han wuzhu coins unearthed in Pujiang County — having studied the coins in this hoard, the authors compare and contrast Shu-Han wuzhu with Western Han *junguo wuzhu*, worth-100 wuzhu and Western Jin wuzhu.

ZENG Yongxi, XIA Yun, 'Pujiang xian chutu de jiaocang "Shu Han wuzhu"', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.1. // 曾咏霞 夏晕《蒲江县出土的窖藏“蜀汉五朱”》,《中国钱币》2010.1.

8. Zhong Xinglong — A study on the quantity of coins cast during the Tang dynasty — looks at the quantity of coins produced during the reigns of Xuanzong, Daizong, Dezong and Xianzong, noting that the total quantity follows a downward trend, particularly in the Jianghuai region after the Tianbao reign period. However, coins cast in the Jianghuai region appear to represent an ever higher proportion of the total number of coins cast, indicating the growing importance of the Jianghuai region for coin production.

ZHONG Xinglong, 'Tangdai zhubi liang kao', *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 2010.2. // 钟兴龙《唐代铸币量考》,《中国经济史研究》2010.2.

9. Yang Wenqing — Another look at the inscription on the Gaochang jili coins — confirms that the inscription on these coins is Chinese, and not Turkish represented in Chinese script; also that *Gaochang* refers to the Gaochang kingdom, and *jili* is a positive/celebratory message.

YANG Wenqing, 'Gaochang jili qianbi mingwen zaitan', *Xinjiang qianbi*, 2010.2. // 杨文清《高昌吉利钱币铭文再探》,《新疆钱币》2010.2.

10. Wang Yikang — The eastward flow of Sasanian silver coins and the Turkic peoples in the Tang dynasty — looks at the links between the eastward flow of Sasanian silver coins and the Turkic peoples. He notes that the regulations of 737 (Kaiyuan 25) requiring foreigners (including Turkic people) to pay taxes in silver coins may have been a contributing factor in the eastward flow of these coins. The coins played an important role on the trade routes, and in the collection of silver by the Tang government.

WANG Yikang, 'Sashan yinbi dong shu yu Tangdai Tujue nei fu zhu zu', *Zhongguo lishi wenwu*, 2010.1. // 王义康《萨珊银币东输与唐代突厥内附诸族》,《中国历史文物》2010.1.

11. Li Xiaoping — A study of the different forms of money and banks in the Southern Song — writes that the banks (铸 *pu*) bought and sold gold and silver, made it into ingots, appraised it, and also played a role in the government monopoly of certain

goods by issuing security notes (鈔券 *chaoyin*) on behalf of the government, managing the buying and selling of these goods, and of exchange. They also facilitated exchange between gold, silver and copper cash, and trade in gold and silver, and were the first financial organ operating between the state and the people.

LI Xiaoping, 'Nan Song jin yin yan chao jiao yin pu yanjiu', *Zhongguo qianbi*, 2010.2. // 李小萍《南宋金银盐钞交引研究》,《中国钱币》2010.2.

12. Liu Sen — Some thoughts on the authenticity and date of the guanzi paper money printing plates from Dongzhi — believes that the printing plate pieces from Dongzhi were probably forgeries of Song dynasty *guanzi* printing plates made in Jiangnan in the early Yuan dynasty.

LIU Sen, 'Dongzhi guanzi chaoban zhenwei de ji dian sikao — jian lun guanzi ban de niandai', *Zhongguo qianbi*, 2010.2. // 刘森《东至关于钞版真伪的几点思考 — 兼论关子版的年代》,《中国钱币》2010.2.

13. Zhang Wenfang — The regulations relating to rewards and punishments printed on Yuan dynasty notes and the motivation to prevent forgeries of currency during that period — looks at these regulations on the notes and at anti-forgery sections in the Yuan dynasty currency law, and compares them with those of the Song and Jin dynasties.

ZHANG Wenfang, 'Lun Yuandai chao mian yin zhi shangfa lüling ji dui dangdai fan jia huobi de qishi' Nei Menggu jinrong — Qianbi zeng kan, 2010.3, 4. // 张文芳《论元代钞面印制赏罚律令及对当代反假货币的启示》,《内蒙古金融: 钱币增刊》2010.3, 4.

14. Tong Yu — A new study on the location of the mints producing Shunzhi tongbao coins — having studied Qing dynasty archives, Tong believes there are errors in the *Qing chao tongzhi* (清朝通志) and that the Shunzhi coins with *Ning yi li* (宁一厘) on the reverse was minted at Jiangning (江宁), *Chang yi li* (昌一厘) was minted at Wuchang, Hubei (湖北武昌), and *Jiang yi li* (江一厘) was minted at Nanchang, Jiangxi (江西南昌).

TONG Yu, 'Shunzhi tongbao qianzhudi xin kao', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.3. // 佟昱《顺治通宝钱铸地新考》,《中国钱币》2010.3.

15. Jia Yanmin, Zhang Yu — On Qing dynasty silver ingots associated with Shanghai — look at silver ingots in Shanghai and note that different kinds of ingots were preferred in the 12 areas of Shanghai: for example, the *er qi baoyin* in the southern market where the coin shops (钱庄 *qianzhuang*) were; and other types of ingots in the northern market where the foreign concessions were.

JIA Yanmin, ZHANG Yu, Qingdai Shanghai diming yinding mantan', *Qianbi bolan* 2010.3. // 贾雁民, 张煜《清代上海地名钱谱漫谈》,《钱币博览》2010.3.

16. Zhang Huoding, Zhang Jingfeng, Zhang Shaofeng — The date of the origins of the Hubei piaohao banks — write about the appearance of *piaohao*-banks in Hankou early in the 1820s (early Daoguang). Hankou was the location of the Xi Yu Cheng dyeworks (predecessor of the famous Ri Sheng Chang) and the origins of the Ri Sheng Chang Bank [the first draft bank in China]. During the Daoguang reign period, Hankou developed a large banking sector, and had exchange operations with the *piaohao*-banks in Hunan.

ZHANG Huoding, ZHANG Jingfeng, ZHANG Shaofeng, 'Hubei piaohao qi yuan shijian kao', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.3. // 张或定, 张劲峰, 张峭峰《湖北票号起源时间考》,《中国钱币》2010.3.

(3) ON MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY MONEY

17. Zhu Jianguo — Chinese credit guilds (*qianhui*) and the notes they issued — writes that these were voluntary associations, established for mutual assistance not for profit, and that they were

often family or local organisations, and sometimes secret. He also examines different types of paper money by *qianhui*.

ZHU Jianguo, 'Lun Zhongguo qianhui ji qi xinyong piaoju', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.2. // 储建国《论中国钱会及其信用票据》,《中国钱币》2010.2.

18. Peng Kaixiang — The circulation of money and price changes in Beijing as seen in the account books of the Huoshen Hui ['God of Fire' association] — looks at the circulation and use of money, and changes in price structure, in Beijing, 1835-1926. There were different forms of money: tangible and intangible, and the transformation and collapse of the Beijing money system brought continued inflation.

PENG Kaixiang, 'Jindai Beijing huobi xingyong yu jiage bianhua guankuan — jian du Huoshen Hui zhangben (1835-1926)', *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu*, 2010.3. // 彭凯翔《近代北京货币行用与价格变化管窥 — 兼谈火神会账本(1835-1926)》,《中国经济史研究》2010.3.

19. Bai Qinchuan — The coinage reforms of the late Qing — comments on Peng Xinwei's *A Monetary History of China*, 1954 and 1965 editions, and says that the reform of the shape of the coinage was essentially the capitalist system of money victory over the feudal system of money. There was a revolution in the technology of coin production, and the new designs had to meet the aesthetic requirements of the new era.

BAI Qinchuan, 'Dui Qing mo qianbi xingzhi gaige de renshi', *Zhongzhou qianbi* 18. // 白秦川《对清末钱形制改革的认识》,《中州钱币》总第18期

20. Ye Shichang — The Shanghai assay offices — writes that historical records indicate that the first assay office in Shanghai was established in 1850 (Daoguang 30) by WANG Yuanzhi of Huizhou. Prior to 1876 (Guangxu 2) Shanghai had two assay offices, in the Northern and Southern Markets, respectively; and thereafter only in the Northern Market. Records state that the commission was 2 fen 4 li of silver per ingot, but in the early period they also accepted payment in cash coins and machine-struck copper coins.

YE Shichang, 'Shanghai gongguju de jige wenti', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.4. // 叶世昌《上海公估局的几个问题》,《中国钱币》2010.4.

21. Wen Hanyu — Lijin tax ingots in Sichuan in the late Qing — looks at the history of the *lijin* tax, the different kinds of ingots (goods tax, *lijin* tax, transport costs), and the different administrative levels (provincial, prefectural/county and city/town) recorded on goods tax ingots.

WEN Hanyu, 'Qiantan Sichuan lijin yinding', *Qianbi bolan*, 2010.2. // 文汉宇《浅谈四川厘金银钱》,《钱币博览》2010.2.

22. Zhou Xiang — Heilongjiang's plans to produce silver dollar coins in the late Qing — writes that between 1896-98 (Guangxu 22-24), Heilongjiang twice asked the Hebei silver dollar bureau to make coins, and had plans to purchase machinery to strike its own coins, but the Boxer Rebellion, especially the Russian invasion of Heilongjiang, meant that Heilongjiang did not mint silver dollar coins during the Qing dynasty. He also doubts the authenticity of copper patterns for Heilongjiang silver dollar coins.

ZHOU Xiang, 'Heilongjiang zhuxing yinyuan kao', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.4. // 周祥《黑龙江铸行银元考》,《中国钱币》2010.4.

23. Zhou Xiang — Were silver dollar coins minted in Shandong in the modern period? — writes that when Zhang Rumei (governor of Shandong), Yuan Shikai and Zhou Fu were in power, although they had permission from the government to set up a mint to produce silver dollars, this never actually happened. In 1907 (Guangxu 33) when Yang Shixiang (governor of Shandong) requested permission to mint silver dollar coins, the government refused, thus Shandong never minted silver dollar coins.

ZHOU Xiang, 'Shandong yinyuan zhuzao kao', *Qianbi bolan*, 2010.3. // 周祥《山东银元铸造考》,《钱币博览》2010.3.

24. Wang Yunting — Types of banknotes issued by the Hsin Ch'eng Bank (Xin Cheng yinhang) — discusses the establishment, operation and closure of the bank, and also the banknotes it issued. These include four different types: silver dollar coin notes of 1907 and 1908 (Guangxu 33 and 34), silver liang/tael notes of 1908 (Guangxu 34) and silver dollar coin notes of 1912 (Republic 1).

WANG Yunting, 'Qian xi Shanghai Xin Cheng yinhang zhichao banshi', *Qianbi bolan*, 2010.3. // 王允庭《浅析上海信成银行纸币版式》,《钱币博览》2010.3.

25. Qian Yu — The two types of ingots issued by the Central Mint — has looked at the government documents and regulations relating to the context in which the first two types (甲乙) of Central Mint ingots were issued, and to the materials (testing, composition, smelting, finishing) that were used, and the quantity that was produced.

QIAN Yu, 'Minguo Zhongyang zaobichang jia yi liang zhong changtiao kao', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.3. // 钱与《民国中央造币厂甲乙两种厂条考》,《中国钱币》2010.3.

26. Zhu Renhe — On the Yuan Shikai/wreath silver dollar coins of Gansu — focuses on the Yuan Shikai dollar minted in Gansu, noting that the silver content was about 70%, and never exceeding 82%, and that there was great disparity in weight. He identifies 20 different types.

ZHU Renhe, 'Yuan xiang jiahe yinbi Gansu banbie tanxi', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.4. // 朱仁和《袁像嘉禾银币甘肃版别探析》,《中国钱币》2010.4.

27. Jia Zichen — on the Yuan Shikai silver dollar coins of Xinjiang — believes that these were produced at the Shuimogou machine mint in Dihua (modern-day Urumqi) and at the Kashgar mint, and that there were 9 types and 16 varieties.

JIA Zichen, "Xinjiang datou" zai tan ji qi banshi yanjiu', *Xinjiang qianbi* 2010.3. // 贾子辰《新疆大头再探及其版式研究》,《新疆钱币》2010.3.

28. Yang Huai — Abbreviations on Shaanxi copper coins — looks at the Shaanxi province 1-fen and 2-fen copper coins of 1941 (Republic 30) and suggests that the abbreviations IMTYPIF and IMPTEF on the coins refer to the 1928 romanisation system, and expand to read 一枚铜元平(银元) 'copper coin worth 1 fen [of a silver coin]' and 一分 and 一枚铜元平(银元) 二分 'copper coin worth 2 fen [of a silver coin]', respectively.

YANG Huai, 'Shaanxi tongyuan shang de suoxie pinyinzi', *Xibu jinrong — qianbi yanjiu* 2010. // 杨槐《陕西铜元上的缩写字音字》,《西北金融: 钱币研究》2010年增刊.

29. Kang Jinli, Yi Mianyang — On the paper money reforms during the period of the Beijing government — write that the reforms were positive, met China's economic needs, and were in line with developments in the rest of the world. Banknotes issued by the provincial banks were exchanged for exchange-notes of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications. But the failure to set up a full Central Bank system meant that the reforms failed.

KANG Jinli, YI Mianyang, 'Lun Beijing zhengfu shiqi de zhibi gaige', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.4. // 康金莉, 易棉阳《论北京政府时期的纸币改革》,《中国钱币》2010.4.

30. Zhou Xiang — Banknotes of the Zhongguo kenye yinhang (Land Bank): printing, types, issue and circulation — having looked at records in the Shanghai City Archives as well as banknotes, clarifies the history of this bank commissioning Waterlow & Sons Ltd to print its banknotes, and also writes about the types, issue and circulation of these notes.

ZHOU Xiang, 'Zhongguo kenye yinhang zhibi yinzhì, banshi ji faxing', *Qianbi bolan* 2010.1. // 周祥《中国垦业银行纸币印制版式及发行》,《钱币博览》2010.1.

31. Zhang Huoding — The 2-yuan note of the Liudong Co-operative is not Communist! — writes that, strictly speaking, this is more of a cheque than a banknote. It was not issued by the Communists as previously thought, but by a local co-operative or smaller organisation in Hunan at the time of the Northern Expedition or the Wuhan National Government.

ZHANG Huoding, ZHANG Jingfeng, ZHANG Shaofeng, 'Hunan "Liudong shengchan fanmai hezuoshe changyang 2 yuan piao" bing fei "hongse zhengquan huobi"', *Jiangsu qianbi* 2010.2. // 张或定, 张劲峰, 张哨峰:《湖南“浏东生产贩卖合作社常洋2元票”并非“红色政权货币”》,《江苏钱币》2010.2.

32. Li Yin — The Luozhong branch of the Beihai Bank and the notes it issued — looks at the establishment of the Luozhong branch, and the notes issued in the three regions of Luzhong, Binhai and Lunan, and writes that the Luozhong branch issued over 58,000,000 in Beihai currency, over 10 different types, including the 1-yuan, 5-yuan, red 5-yuan and 10-yuan notes of 1943, and the 5-jiao note of 1944.

LI Yin, 'Beihai yinhang Luzhong fenghang de chengli ji fenqu faxing qijian yinfa de Beihai bi', *Zhongguo qianbi* 2010.4. // 李银《北海银行鲁中分行的成立及分区发行期间印发的北海币》,《中国钱币》2010.4.

33. Wang Xiaoguang — Liaodong's no. 1 numismatist: Cui Jiaping — writes about Cui Jiaping of Dalian, who collected and researched coins in the Republican period, and was involved in founding the Dalian Coin Friends, and publishing China's first numismatic journal *Rubbings/illustrations from the Dalian Coin Friends*.

WANG Xiaoguang, 'Liaodong di yi quan jia — Cui Jiaping', *Nei Menggu jinrong yanjiu: qianbi zeng kan* 2010. 3-4. // 王晓光《辽东第一泉家 崔家平》,《内蒙古金融研究: 钱币增刊》2010年第3-4.

(4) COIN FINDS

34. Liu Yuli — The recent discovery of large hollow-handle spades in Luoyang and the questions it raises — describes the spades as having long handles, flat shoulders, arched feet, with a raised circular bump on handle. They are quite thin, slightly wider at the base, with rims on the edges, have three parallel lines running from top to bottom, and a single character inscription, and were probably issued in the domain of the Zhou kings.

LIU Yuli, 'Luoyang xin faxian yi pi daxing kongshoubu ji qi xiangguan wenti', *Huaxia kaogu* 2010.1. // 刘余力《洛阳新发现一批大型空首布及其相关问题》,《华夏考古》2010.1.

35. Li Hequn — Spade-money of the Wei state unearthed in Tongxu, Henan — reports on a find of 507 spades. They fall into 5 types: (1) no outer rim, inscription 梁正尚百当守; (2) outer rim, inscription 梁正尚百当守; (3) outer rim, inscription 安邑一斤; (4) outer rim, inscription 安邑二斤; (5) outer rim, inscription 梁一斤. There are also 88 illegible spades.

LI Hequn, 'Henan Tongxu chutu yi pi Weiguo bu bi', *Wenwu* 2010.7. // 李合群《河南通许出土一批魏国布币》,《文物》2010.7.

36. Dang Shunmin — On the coin inscribed Xiang yin er found a hoard of Qin banliang coins — notes that this coin was found in a hoard of Qin banliang in March 2008 in the Huayang area (Shaanxi), and that it was probably issued by a lord, but the name of the lord, the location and the meaning of *er* need further research.

DANG Shunmin, "'Xiang yin er" qian shi Zhanguo Qin feng jun zhu qian ji xiangguan wenti tansuo', *Xibu jinrong: Qianbi yanjiu* 2010. // 党顺民《“襄阴二”钱是战国秦封君铸钱及相关问题探索》,《西部金融: 钱币研究》2010年增刊.

37. Zhangjiakou shi Xuanhua qu wenwu baoguan suo — Short report on the excavation of the Warring States period tomb in Xuanhua district, Zhangjiakou — reports that 54 spades were unearthed, all of which were ming knives of the Yan state: one

type has a fairly straight back; the rest are mostly late period ming knives (with a sharp angle along the back, like a chime).

Zhangjiakou shi Xuanhua qu wenwu baoguan suo, 'Hebei Zhangjiakou Xuanhua qu Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao', *Wenwu* 2010.6. // 张家口市宣化区文物保管所

《河北张家口宣化区战国墓发掘简报》,《文物》2010.6.

38. Yangzhou shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo — Short report on the excavation of Liu Wuzhi's tomb, of the Western Han period, in Yangzhou — reports on the 25 rectangular clay pieces, slightly convex on the top, with traces of gilding and inscriptions, found in a tomb of the Wu kingdom of the early Han dynasty. They are burial money, made in imitation of the gold squares of the Chu state.

Yangzhou shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Jiangsu Yangzhou Xi Han Liu Wuzhi mu fajue jianbao', *Wenwu* 2010.3. // 扬州市文物考古研究所《江苏扬州西汉刘毋智墓发掘简报》,《文物》2010.3.

39. Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo — The Han dynasty pictorial stone tomb in the Yongtai area of Nanyang — reports that 146 late Western Han wuzhu coins made of clay were found in this tomb. They are made of fine clay and are decorated with a silvery powder. A sample clay coin measures 23 mm in diameter and was 4 mm thick. 10 bronze wuzhu coins were also found in the same trench, and the rubbing suggests it was a late Western Han wuzhu.

Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Henan Nanyang shi Yongtai xiaoqu Han huaxiang shi mu', *Huaxia kaogu* 2010.3. // 南阳市文物考古研究所《河南南阳市永泰小区汉画像石墓》,《华夏考古》2010.3.

40. Xiangfan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo — Short report on the excavation of the Three Kingdoms tomb at Caiyue, in Fanshi (Hubei) — reports that gold and silver ingots were found in the tomb. The gold ones resemble Western Han gold ingots. Coins were also found in the tomb: Eastern Han wuzhu, huoguan, and clipped wuzhu.

Xiangfan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Hubei Xiangfan cheng Caiyue Sanguo mu fajue jianbao', *Wenwu* 2010.9. // 襄樊市文物考古研究所《湖北襄樊城隍庙三国墓发掘简报》,《文物》2010.9.

41. Wu Jin — The large hoard of huoguan coins unearthed on Pengcheng Road, Xuzhou — writes that the hoard was found in December 2009, about 10 m below surface level, occupying a space about 2.4 m long x 0.5 m wide, with slate sides. There were strings of coins piled up to a height of about a metre, and weighing about 3000 jin [unclear whether this is 1500 kg or 3000 kg]. A sampling was taken – these were all huoguan coins.

WU Jin, 'Xuzhou Pengcheng lu chutu daliang jiaocang huoguan', *Jiangsu qianbi* 2010.2. // 吴进《徐州彭城路出土大量窖藏货泉》,《江苏钱币》2010.2.

42. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Shanghai daxue lishi xi, Xia Xian bowuguan — Short report on the excavation of the Han dynasty kiln at Shifeng in Hua Xian (Shanxi) — reports that stacked clay moulds for late Western Han wuzhu coins were excavated here. Some fragments had been fired, but had not been used for casting coins; and some had been used for casting coins. It seemed that there had been problems with inadequate firing. It was a late Western Han private workshop for making unofficial/illicit coins.

Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Shanghai daxue lishi xi, Xia Xian bowuguan, 'Shanxi Xia Xian Shifeng Handai yaozhi fajue jianbao', *Kaogu* 2010.4. // 山西省考古研究所, 上海大学历史系, 夏县博物馆《山西夏县尹冯汉代窑址发掘简报》,《考古》2010.4.

43. Liu Jianping — Broken moulds for Liang dynasty wuzhu coins found for the first time in Huzhou — The broken moulds for Liang dynasty *Liang er zhu* wuzhu coins were found at a construction site in Huzhou in March 2010. They had been

smashed into small pieces after the casting of coins. No such coins or remains of casting (eg crucibles, slag etc) was found at the site. LIU Jianping, 'Huzhou shou ci faxian Nan chao Liang er zhu wuzhu sui tao fan', *Jiangsu qianbi* 2010.3. // 刘建平《湖州首次发现南朝梁二柱五铢铸范》,《江苏钱币》2010.3.

44. Li Xianzhang — A specially marked hoard of wuzhu coins — reports on a Northern Dynasties coin hoard unearthed in Changping, Beijing, buried about 1 metre deep in farming land. Four to five clay urns of coins had been deposited. The earliest coins were Ming yue 明月 coins of the Yan state (round coins with a square hole); the latest were Northern Zhou buquan 布泉 coins.

LI Xianzhang, 'Teshu biaoji de jiaocang wuzhu qian', *Jiangsu qianbi* 2010.1. // 李宪章《特殊标记的窖藏五铢钱》,《江苏钱币》2010.1.

45. Taiyuan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo — The three Tang tombs with murals in Jinyuan, Taiyuan — reports that one gold Byzantine coin, of Heraclius, was found here.

Taiyuan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Shanxi Taiyuan Jinyuan zhen san zuo Tang bihuo mu', *Wenwu* 2010.7. // 太原市文物考古研究所《山西太原晋原镇三座唐壁画墓》,《文物》2010.7.

46. Liu Linhai, Meng Lingjing — The Liao dynasty hoard of coins at Balin Zuoqi 13 Aobao zhen, Inner Mongolia — report that 143 kg of coins were found, consisting of 37,025 coins. The coin-types were from the Western Han to the Five Dynasties, also from the Tang, Song and Liao dynasties. The earliest coins were 8-zhu banliang coins; the latest were Liao dynasty Tianqing yuanbao. The majority of coins (70%) were from the Song dynasty. Liao dynasty coins represented (0.1%) of the total hoard.

LIU Linhai, MENG Lingjing, 'Balin zuoqi shisan ao bao zhen Liaodai jiaocang qianbi', *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* 2010.1. // 刘林海, 孟令婧《巴林左旗十三敖包镇辽代窖藏钱》,《内蒙古文物考古》2010.1.

47. Liu Anhong, Liu Xiaojuan — The hoard of ancient coins found at the construction site close to the Xianling Middle School in Hua Xian (Shaanxi) — report on the hoard of Song dynasty coins found in December 2010. About 4 tonnes (tons?) of coins were found, mostly from the Northern Song. The coins were deposited in an irregular oval pit, not lined with bricks, but the coins were covered with bits of stone and brick.

LIU Anhong, LIU Xiaojuan, 'Hua Xian Xianlin zhongxue menqian nongmao shichang jianzhu gongdi faxian jiaocang gu qianbi', *Xibu jinrong: Qianbi yanjiu* 2010. // 刘安红, 刘小娟《华县咸林中学前农贸市场建筑工地发现窖藏古钱》,《西部金融: 钱币研究》2010年增刊.

48. Anhui sheng qianbi xuehui, Chizhou shi qianbi xuehui — Yongfeng jian ketizu — Zhihe yuanbao coins produced at the Yongfeng mint found underwater in Changsha — report that in June 1994 a special team investigating the Yongfeng Mint found underwater a large quantity of coins and a cedarwood board from a ship. The 40 kg of coins appear to be Northern Song coins: all are 1-cash Zhihe yuanbao coins written in regular or seal script. As they are all of one reign period, and without signs of wear, they were probably made at the Yongfeng Mint in Chizhou and were being transported elsewhere by the boat that sank.

Anhui sheng qianbi xuehui, Chizhou shi qianbi xuehui — Yongfeng jian ketizu, 'Changjiang taizi ?shuicheng chu shui Yongfeng jian zhu Zhihe yuanbao qian', *Anhui qianbi* 2010.3. // 安徽省钱币学会, 池州市钱币学会, 永丰监整理组《长江太子矶水域出水永丰监铸至和元宝钱》,《安徽钱币》2010.3.

49. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Fenyang shi wenwu liuyouju — Short report of the excavations at the Song and Jin cemetery at Donglongguan, Fenyang (Shanxi) in 2008 — report that lots of clay coins were found in pottery vessels in the tombs of the middle of the Jin dynasty, apparently made by taking impressions from coins - Dading tongbao and Chongning zhongbao – that were in circulation.

Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Fenyang shi wenwu liuyouju, '2008 nian Shanxi Fenyang Donglongguan Song Jin mudi fajue jianbao', *Wenwu* 2010.2. // 山西省考古研究所, 汾阳市文化旅游局 《2008年山西汾阳东观宋金墓地发掘简报》,《文物》2010.2.

50. Jiang Yong — Jin dynasty hoard of silver found in Shuangcheng (Heilongjiang) — reports that the hoard contained 4 silver ingots with inscriptions, and believes they predate the Jin dynasty *Cheng an bao hu*. The inscriptions read: (1) 滨州邢家真花钱锭 / 金源 / 伍拾两, (2) (on the right side) 行人(押记)用 / (on the left side) 重伍拾两, (3) (on the right side) 伍拾两 / (on the left side) 行人李甲, (4) fragmentary, only 行人 / 朱琦 is legible. JIANG Yong, 'Heilongjiang sheng Shuangcheng shi Jindai yinqi jiaocang', *Beifang wenwu* 2010.3. // 姜勇 《黑龙江省双城市金代银器窖藏》,《北方文物》2010.3.

51. Ding Enhong — The large quantity of struck copper coins unearthed in Dongning Xian — reports on the unprecedented find of 3000+ struck copper coins unearthed at a construction site in Dongning Xiang (Heilongjiang). About one-third of the coins are 20-wen coins; the rest are 10-wen coins. Over 20 mints are represented. There are also 6 Japanese/Korean coins, 46 privately minted 10-wen coins, 9 privately minted 20-wen coins, two 10-wen blanks, and two 20-wen blanks. DING Enhong, 'Dongning Xian chutu pi liang tongyuan jianxi', *Xibu jinrong: Qianbi yanjiu* 2010. // 丁恩洪 《东宁县出土批量铜元简析》,《西部金融: 钱币研究》2010年增刊

(5) MINTING TECHNOLOGY

52. Zhang Jibao — Revisiting bai jin san pin : with special reference to the silver horse coin discovered in Xi'an — writes that he tested the silver horse coin that was found in 2007 (EDS spectrometer, non-destructive chemical analysis). Results showed that it has a silver content of 86.7%, copper 4.6%, mercury 8.8%. Zhang believes this is one of the *bai jin san pin* horse coins. This is essentially a surface result, and suggests that a deeper analysis would show that this is silver-plated copper. Previous known examples have been made of lead.

ZHANG Jibao, 'Zai lun "bai jin san pin" — cong Shaanxi Xi'an xian "bai jin san pin" zhi yinzhi ma bi shuoqi', *Xibu jinrong: Qianbi yanjiu* 2010. // 张吉保 《再论“白金三品”: 从陕西发现“白金三品”之银质马币说起》,《西部金融: 钱币研究》2010年增刊.

53. Huang Wei, Winfried Kockelmann, Evelyne Godfrey, David A. Scott, Wu Xiaohong — Using neutron diffraction techniques on Song dynasty iron coins

HUANG Wei, Winfried Kockelmann, Evelyne Godfrey, David A. Scott, WU Xiaohong, 'Songdai tie qian de zhong zi yan she yanjiu', *Beijing daxue xuebao (ziran kexue ban)* 2010 juan 46, no. 1. // 黄维, Winfried Kockelmann, Evelyne Godfrey, David A. Scott, 吴小红 《宋代铁钱的中子衍射研究》,《北京大学学报(自然科学版)》2010年第46卷第1期

54. Xia Dongqing, Qin Huiying, Mao Zhenwei, Jin Pujun, Dong Yawei — Analysis of corrosion on brass coins unearthed in Ezhou (Hubei) — report that they used X-ray diffraction and X-ray fluorescence to look at the 'moth-type' corrosion on brass coins, and found that it is probably related to a high level of chloride in the environment in which they were buried.

XIA Dongqing, QIN Ying, MAO Zhenwei, JIN Pujun, DONG Yawei, 'Hubei sheng Ezhou chutu huangtong qianbi de fushi chanwu ji jili fenxi', *Fushi kexue yu fanghu jishu* 2010 juan 22, no. 3. // 夏冬青, 秦慧颖, 毛振伟, 金普军, 董川巍 《湖北省鄂州出土黄铜钱币的腐蚀产物及机理分析》,《腐蚀科学与防护技术》2010年第22卷第2期

55. Yang Yingdong, Wang Ning — Analysis and anti-corrosion treatment of a group of silver coins unearthed in Qiongxia (Sichuan) — report that they analysed Qing dynasty and Republican silver coins and found they contained 80-97%

silver and 3-19.8% copper, and that the corrosion was mainly related to the copper. They outline the method they used to treat the corrosion.

YANG Yingdong, WANG Ning, 'Sichuan Qiongxia yi pi chutu yinyuan de fenxi yu chuxiu baohu', *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 2010.3. // 杨颖东, 王宁 《四川岷峡一批出土银元的分析与除锈保护》,《文物保护与考古科学》2010.3.

56. Lian Haiping, Yang Getao — Computer simulation of coin casting in the Han dynasty — report that they did various experiments, and found that in terms of filling the moulds, clay moulds were best, then metal moulds, then stone; also that a combination of metal and clay moulds was better than a combination of metal and metal moulds.

LIAN Haiping, YANG Getao, 'Handai zhuqian guocheng de jisuanji moni shiyan', *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 2010.3. // 廉海萍, 杨戈涛 《汉代铸钱过程的计算机模拟试验》,《文物保护与考古科学》2010.3.

(6) IMPORTANT BOOKS

57. Highlights of the China Numismatic Museum

PANG Zeyi, HUANG Xiquan (eds-in-chief), *Zhongguo qianbi bowuguan cangpin xuan*, Wenwu chubanshe, Beijing, 2010. // 庞则义, 黄锡全主编 《中国钱币博物馆藏品选》, 北京文物出版社 2010年 [ISBN 9787501030033]

58. Appraisals by experts: Appraising coins

DAI Zhiqiang, *Mingjia tan jianing: qianbi jianing*, Jilin chubanshe, 2010. // 戴志强 《名家谈鉴定: 钱币鉴定》, 吉林出版集团有限责任公司, 2010年 [ISBN 9787546302171]

59. Studies on Song, Jin and Yuan dynasty money – Monetary policy formation in the Yuan dynasty

TAKAHASHI Hiromi, WANG Yongzhao (ed.), LIN Songtao (trans.), *Song Jin Yuan huobi yanjiu – Yuan chao huobi zhengce zhi xingcheng guocheng*, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Shanghai, 2010. // 高桥弘臣(著), 王永照(编), 林公涛(译): 《宋金元货币研究—元朝货币政策之形成过程》, 上海人民出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787532554096]

60. Cast coins of the Zhizheng reign period of the Yuan dynasty

LUO Wei, *Yuan dai Zhizheng nian zhubi*, Wenwu chubanshe, Beijing, 2010. // 罗卫 《元代至正年铸币》, 文物出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787501029846]

61. Appraising and collecting Qing dynasty Xianfeng coins

WANG Wenliang, *Qing dai Xianfeng qian jianshang yu jicang*, Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2010. // 王文良 《清代咸丰钱鉴赏与集藏》, 岭南美术出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787536242241]

62. Catalogue of machine-struck copper coins – revised edition

DUAN Honggang, *Zhongguo tongyuan pu (xiuding ben)*, Zhonghua shuju, 2010. // 段洪刚 《中国铜元谱(修订本)》, 中华书局, 2010年 [ISBN 9787101074185]

63. A large collection of Chinese machine-struck copper coins (colour catalogue) (vol. 2)

DAI Xiaobo, *Zhongguo tongyuan da ji (caituben) (di er ji)*, Hunan renmin chubanshe, 2010. // 戴晓波 《中国铜元大集(彩图本)(第二集)》, 湖南人民出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787543864290]

64. Illustrated catalogue of precious Chinese money: banknotes

YU Liuliang, ZHU Yongkun, *Zhongguo zhenxi qianbi tudian: zhibi juan*, Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, Shanghai, 2010. // 余榴梁, 朱勇坤 《中国珍稀钱币图典: 纸币卷》, 上海科学技术出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787547800577]

65. Illustrated catalogue of money of the Sichuan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area

ZHANG Jianxin, YAN Dengfa, *Chuan Shaan geming genjudi huobi tulu*, Bashu chubanshe, 2010. // 张建新, 阎登发《川陕革命根据地货币图录》, 巴蜀出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787807527169]

66. Anecdotes of famous people in the coin world

MA Chuande, *Qianbi jie mingren yishi*, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Shanghai, 2010. // 马传德《钱币界名人逸事》, 上海人民出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787208093485]

67. Chinese name-card: renminbi

MA Delun, *Zhongguo mingpian: renminbi*, Shijie tushu chuban gongsi, 2010. // 马德伦《中国名片: 人民币》, 中国金融出版社, 2010年 [ISBN 9787504954503]

68. Money of ancient Judaea and Israel

XU Long, *Youtai he Isielieguo qianbi*, Shijie tushu chuban gongsi, 2010. // 徐龙《犹太和以色列国钱币》, 世界图书出版公司, 2010年 [ISBN 9787510028052]

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JAPANESE NUMISMATICS, 1960–2011

By Helen Wang

This bibliography is based on the *Survey of Numismatic Research* (which is produced every five years by the International Numismatic Commission) for the years 1966–2008. The references have been copied from the seven surveys listed below (but have not been checked for accuracy or consistency of transliteration, etc). A few extra publications have been added, including some sourced from *Numismatic Literature* nos 145–9 (published by the American Numismatic Society, and available on its website <http://numismatics.org/Numlit/Numlit>), Sakuraki *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum* (2010), and Hartill's *Early Japanese Coinage* (2011).

For Japanese numismatic publications before the 1960s, readers are referred to the bibliography by H. Kozono, 'Numismatic Works in Japanese' and 'Numismatic Works in Western Languages' in A.B. Coole, *Encyclopaedia of Chinese Coins, vol. I: A Bibliography on Far Eastern Numismatology and a Coin Index*, published by the author, printed in Mission, Kansas, 1967, pp. 149–273 and pp. 274–392, respectively.

Surveys of Research on Japanese Numismatics 1960–2008

- Miles, G.C., 1967. 'Far East' in K. Skaare and G.C. Miles (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1960–1965*, International Numismatic Commission, Copenhagen, vol. II, pp. 288–9.
- Brown, H.W.M., 1973. 'Japan' in J. Yvon and H.W.M. Brown (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1966–1971*, International Numismatic Commission, New York, vol. II, p. 341.
- Cribb, J.E., 1979. 'Japan' in R. Carson, P. Berghaus, N. Lowick (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1972–1977*, International Numismatic Commission, Berne, and International Association of Professional Numismatists Publication 5, p. 488.
- Cribb, J.E., 1986. 'Japan' in M. Price, E. Besley, D. Macdowall, M. Jones, A. Oddy (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1978–1984*, International Numismatic Commission, and International Association of Professional Numismatists Special Publication 9, vol. II, pp. 820–22.
- Cribb, J., 1991. 'Japan', in T. Hackens, P. Naster, M. Colaert, R. van Laere, G. Moucharte, F. de Callatay, V. van Driessche (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1985–1990*, International Numismatic Commission, and International Association of Professional Numismatists Special Publication 12, vol. II, pp. 698–701.

Ohkubo, T., 1997. 'Japan' in C. Morrisson, B. Kluge (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990–1995*, International Numismatic Commission, and International Association of Professional Numismatists Special Publication 13, Berlin, pp. 807–9.

Sakuraki S., 2009. 'New Developments in Japanese Numismatic History', in M. Amandry and D. Bateson (eds), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002–2007*, International Numismatic Commission, and International Association of Professional Numismatists Special Publication 15, Glasgow, pp. 578–81.

Bibliography

- Akasaka I., 1994. *Nihon no esen* [Japanese Coins with Illustration], Tokyo.
- Amino Y., 1994. 'Kahei to shihon' [Currency and Capital], *Iwanami Koza: Nihon tsushi* 9/3 Tokyo.
- Author unknown, 2003. *Okane hajimete monogatari*, Ibaragi. [Tales of the beginnings of money]
- Author unknown, 2004. *Heijokyo shutsudo kodai kansen shusei*, Nara: Nara Bunkazai Kenkyusho. [Ancient government coins excavated from Heijokyo, I]
- Author unknown, 2005. *Okane – kahei no rekishi to Hyogo no shihe*, Hyogo. [Money – the history of coinage and the paper money of Hyogo]
- Aoyama R., 1972. *Nippon no kahei* [Coins of Japan], Tokyo.
- 1982. *Sintei kahei techo* [New Coin Handbook], Tokyo.
- Bank of Japan, 1977. *A Brief History of Money in Japan*, Tokyo.
- Bank of Japan's Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies [IMES], 1972–6. *Zuroku Nihon no kahei*, 11 vols, Tokyo. [Japan's Currencies and Coins]
- 1987. *Kahei hakubutsukan*, Tokyo (revised edition 1995) [Currency Museum]
- Banning, T. 1976. 'Mints of medieval Japan', *CNJ* 21, 5 (May), pp. 187–92.
- Boling, J.E., 1984–5. 'Fakes, Fantasies and Furbelows', *JCCCN* (Aug 1984), pp. 1–4; (Nov 1984), pp. 1–4; (Feb 1985), pp. 6–8; (May 1985), pp. 1–4; (Nov 1985), pp. 1–5.
- 1987. 'They're tougher by the dozen, varieties of Japan's 1953 100-yen notes (P-90)', *International Banknote Society* 26, 3, pp. 80–81.
- 1988. 'Building a National Currency – Japan 1868–99', *International Banknote Society* 27, 1, pp. 5–13 and 22.
- Brumann, C., 1997. 'Ein japanisches Münzgeschenk', in B. Zäch, S. Klaasen and D.U. Ball (eds) *Münzen und Medaillen aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Die numismatische Sammlung des Kantons Aargau, hrsg. vom Historischen Museum Aargau*, Lenzburg, pp. 121–9.
- Bunka Zaidan, 1995. *Shinshu no shihe* [Catalogue of Paper Currency in the Shinshu Area in the Edo Period], Nagano.
- Cribb, J.E., 1980. Review of Takekawa 'Gold and silver Japanese coins', *East Asia Journal* 7, pp. 16–19.
- 1980. 'Some Japanese forgeries', *East Asia Journal* 7, pp. 20–6.
- 1987. *Money in the Bank – An Illustrated Introduction to the Money Collection of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, London (esp. pp. 167–72).
- 1987. 'Mezumikin ('rat gold') – a group of Japanese coin imitations' *Swiss Numismatic Revue*, 1987, pp. 205–216, pl. 35–6.
- Cribb, J., Cook, B., and Carradice, I., 1990. *The Coin Atlas*, London (esp. pp. 206–8).
- Cummings, M.L., 1975. *Modern Japanese Coinage, 1870–1975*, Key West, Florida.
- 1978. *Modern Japanese Coinage*, Tokyo (second edition).
- 1978. 'Monetary disorder in late Tokugawa Japan', *FEJ* 1, 12 (Jul–Aug), vol. 1, pp. 4–5; vol. 2, pp. 12–13.
- 1978. 'The origin of Japanese coinage', *FEJ* 1, 6 (Dec), pp. 48–9.
- 1979. 'Japan — the age of imported coinage', *FEJ* 1, 7 (Jan), pp. 55–7.
- Daiwa Bank, n.d. *A Glimpse of Money in Japan*, Osaka.

- Delgado, J.P., 2003. 'Relics of the Kamikaze', *Archaeology* 56.1 (Jan/Feb), pp. 36–41.
- Denis, G.C., 1987. 'WWII Washington counterfeits of Japanese occupation currency for the Philippines', *International Banknote Society* 26, 3, pp. 68–73.
- Denis, G.C., Koike, W.P.E. and Simpson, R.L., 1987. 'Counterfeit Philippine JIM – Update', *International Banknote Society* 27, 2, pp. 51–3.
- Dupont, M.-L., Hennebert, A.J. and Sermon, C., 1989. *Japanese Art-Medal 19/10/89–11/11/89*, Brussels.
- Enomoto Munetsugu, 1969. 'Kinsei zenki kaheishi ni okeru kakkann no mondai – Ryugoku kahei no chushin toshite', *Nippon Rekishi* 248 (Jan), pp. 34–40. [Problems in the history of clans of the early modern period – concerning the local coins of the feudal clans]
- Enomoto S., 1980. 'Domain coins in the early Edo Period', *Acta Asiatica* 39, pp. 42–60.
- Friedman, H.A., 1985. 'American propaganda banknotes of World War II', *International Banknote Society* 24, 2, pp. 41–4.
- Fujii, K., 1991. *Wado Kaichin* [Wado Kaichin], Tokyo.
- Furuta, N., 1998. *Shin Kan'ei tsuho zue*. Sapporo. [New Kan'ei tsuho]
- Gaines, T., McGrath, E., Langrill, R. and Benvenuto, M., 2001. 'Chemical compositions of some of the Japanese Kanei-Tsuho coins via energy dispersive X-Ray fluorescence', *Numismatic Chronicle* 161, pp. 308–17.
- Geng Zongren, 1985. (in Chinese) 'The twelve coins of ancient Japan', *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses 3*, Beijing, pp. 37–38.
- Giedroyc, R., 2003. 'Ancient Japan has its "12" Coins to Collect', *The Celator* 17.9 (September), pp. 26–31.
- Gowland, W., 1977. 'Metals and metal working in old Japan', in B. Hickman (ed.) *Japanese Crafts, Materials and their Applications*, London, pp. 59–168.
- Gunji I. 1981. *Nippon kahei zusetu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated catalogue of Japanese money]
- Hara M., 1973. *Okayama no kahei*, Okayama. [Coins of Okayama]
- 1978. *Nippon kodai kaheishi no kenkyu*, Tokyo. [A study of ancient Japanese monetary history]
- 1979. *Kocho junisen shi*, Tokyo. [A history of the twelve ancient coins]
- Hartill, D., 2011. *Early Japanese Coinage*, Sandy, Bedfordshire.
- Hashizume T., 1979. *Zusetu Kyushu shohan chuzokahei no kenkyu*. Beppu. [A study of coins minted by clans in Kyushu]
- 1981. *Bungo no kuni Okahan kahei no rekishi*, Beppu. [Monetary history of the Oka clan of Bungo Province]
- 1984. *Illustrated Kyushu Clans' Paper Money*, Oitaken.
- Heath, H.B., 2001. 'Sukeichi Oyama, Security Engraver: His Work for Japan and the U.S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing', *International Bank Note Society. Journal* 40.2 (July), pp. 8–14.
- Hinoki M. et al., 1985. *Kiishu shiheishi no kenkyu*, Tsu. [Research on Kii Province Paper Money History]
- Hirao S., 1974. *(Shintei) Showa senpu* [(Newly edited) Showa coin book], 4 vols, Tokyo (reprint of 1931–40 edition).
- Hisamitsu J., 1976. *Nippon kahei monogatori* [Stories on Japanese coins], Tokyo.
- Honda H., 2006. *Sengoku shokuhoki no kahei to kokudakasei* [Currency and the kokudaka system in the late sixteenth century], Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.
- Honmi Y., 1984. Owari clan rice-based silver notes and promissory notes classified, Handa.
- Ichiko S., 2004. *Shindai kaheishi ko*, Tokyo: Otori Shobo.
- Ike S. (ed.), 2001. *Senka – senkindai nihon no kahei to kokka*, Tokyo. [Copper coins and the state in pre-modern Japan]
- Imamura K., 2001. *Fuhonsen to nazo no ginseng*, Tokyo. [The riddle of Fuhonsen and Japanese silver coins]
- Ito T., 1968. 'Hosokawa Kokurahan no kozan to kahei', *Nippon Rekishi* 247 (Dec), pp.70–86. [Mines and coins of the Kokura clan of Hosokawa]
- Jacobs, N. and Vermeule, C.C., 1972. *Japanese Coinage*, New York (revised edition).
- Jacobs – *The Dr Norman Jacobs Collection of the coins and banknotes of Japan and Korea*, sale catalogue, Heritage Auctions (World Coin Auction 3015), Long Beach, California, 8 September 2011.
- Japanese Art Medal Association, 1990. *JAMA 20th Anniversary Volume*, Tokyo.
- Japanese Numismatic Dealers Association, annual. *Nihon kahei sho kyodo kumiai: Nihon kahei katarogu*, Tokyo. [JNDA Japanese currency catalogue]
- Jones, R.M., 1981–. *Japanese Cash Collectors*, New York: Syracuse and Gloversville.
- 1984. *Attribution Guide to Shin Kanei Tsuho*, Seattle.
- 1985. *Ana-aki sen zufu: A Catalog of Japanese Cash Coinage*, Gloversville, NY.
- 2007. *History and guide to the copper cash coinage of Japan*, Kearney, NE.
- Kagawa T., 1983. *Jotosen*, 2 vols, Takarazuka. [Raising the ridge pole coins]
- Kamikoza Kaizuka Furustao Rekishi no Hiroba, 1997. *Maizosen no monogatari – hutsudosen kara mita chusei no sekai*, Ibaragi. [Tales of buried coins – the medieval world as seen through excavated coins]
- Kenjiro and Mari, 1997. *The gold and silver wraps of the Edo period*, Bank of Japan's Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies [IMES], Discussion Paper 97-E-10.
- Kimura S., 1969. *Nanba Tenpo senza*, Tokyo. [The mint of Tenpo Tsuho coins at Nanba]
- Kobata A., 1970. 'Edo zenki no chiho ryutsu no gin', *Nippon Rekishi* 260 (Jan), pp.1–9. [Local silver coins circulating in the early Edo Period]
- Kobayashi S. (ed.), 1984. *Bunkyo Eiho Bunruipu*, Tokyo. [Classified catalogue of Bunkyo Eiho coins]
- Kokuritsu S., 1993. *Edo-jidai no shihei*, Tokyo. [The catalogue of paper currency in the Edo Period]
- Kornicki, P., 2010. 'European interest in Japanese coins before 1853', in Sakuraki et al., *Catalogue of Japanese Coins (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174, London, London, pp. 27–32.
- Kozo Y. and Tetsuo K., 1983. 'Silver mines and Sung coins — a monetary history of medieval and modern Japan in international perspective', in J.F. Richards (ed.) *Precious Metals in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, Durham, North Carolina, pp. 329–62.
- Krause, C.L. and Mischler, C. (ed. by Bruce, C.), annual. *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Iola, Wisconsin.
- Kromann, A. and Jensen, J.S., 1987. 'William Bramsen's japanesiske monter', *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 1987*, Copenhagen. [The Japanese coins of William Bramsen]
- Kuagarahara T., 1973. *Toyo kosen kakaku zufu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated priced catalogue of Oriental coins]
- Kudo, Y., 1994. *Tohoku, Hokkaido no kahei*, Sapporo. [Catalogue of Coins and Paper Currencies in the Tohoku and Hokkaido Area]
- 1998. *Shin Kan'ei tsuho zue*, Sapporo. [Illustrations of new Kan'ei Tsuho coins]
- Ma Dingxiang, 1985. 'Bu shuo Riben san da qianpu Bei Song qian', *Zhongguo qianbi lunwenji 3* [A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses 3], Beijing, pp. 10–17. [Correcting the record of Northern Song coins in Japan's three most important coin catalogues]
- Masuo, T., 1971. *Ko Kanei senshi*, Tokyo. [Old Kanei coin encyclopaedia]
- 1982. *Honpo bita-sen zufu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated catalogue of our country's bita-sen]
- Mikami R., 1996. *Edo no kahei monogatari*, Tokyo. [The story of money in the Edo Period]
- 1998. *Kahei no tanjo: kochosen no hakubutsushi*, Tokyo. [The birth of money: the ecology of the ancient coinage of Japan]
- 2001. *En no rekishigaku*, Tokyo. [The history of the yen]
- Mikami Y., 2005. *Nihon kodai no kahei to shakei*, Tokyo. [Money in early Japanese society]

- Mikolajczyk, A., 1979. 'Old Chinese and Japanese paper money in the new numismatic exposition of the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Lodz', *Folia Orient* 20, pp. 195–200.
- Ministry of Finance, 1994. *Nihon no okane*, Tokyo. [Japanese coins and currencies after the Meiji Restoration]
- Mitchiner, M.B., 1984. 'Magatama: Primitive currency or jewellery?', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 90–91, p. 7.
- Miyake T., 2005. *Chugoku no umerareta senka*, Tokyo: Doseisha. [Buried coins of China – a study of the coins of the Qing dynasty]
- Miyamoto M. and Takashima M. 1991. *Shomin no ayunda kin'yushi*, Fukutoku Ginko, 1991. [Monetary history of the People]
- Miyazawa T., 2007. *Chugoku dosen no sekai – senka kara keizaishi e*, Kyoto, 2007. [The world of Chinese copper coins – from currency to economic history]
- Mizuhara S., 1969. *Nanbu kaheishi*, Morioka. [A history of the coins of the Nanbu clan]
- Nader, A.F., 1989. 'Still more Republik Islam Indonesia (update)', *International Banknote Society* 27, 3–4, p. 101.
- Nader, A.F. and Soesantio, A., 1986. 'Republik Islam Indonesia JIM Overprints — Two Perspectives', *International Banknote Society* 25, 4, pp. 108–10.
- Nagahara K., 1993. *Ise shonin to Eirakusen kijun tsukaken*, Chita Hanto no Rekishi to Genzai 5 (Tokyo). [Merchants in the Ise Area and the standard currency area of Eirakusen coins]
- Nagai, K., 1994. *Chusei no shutsudosen – Shutsudosen no chosa to bunrui*, Hyogo. [Excavated coins of the Middle Ages – research and classification]
- 1996. *Chusei no shutsudosen – hoi I*, Kobe. [Excavated medieval coins – supplement 1]
- 1997. *Kinsei no shutsudosen – ronkohen*, Kobe. [Excavated early modern coins – essay]
- 1998. *Kinsei no shutsudosen – bunruizuhanhen*, Kobe. [Excavated early modern coins – illustrations]
- 2002. *Chusei shutsudosen no bunrui zuhan*, Tokyo. [Excavated medieval coins – classified illustrations]
- Nakajima K., 1992. 'Nishi to Higashi no Eirakusen' [Eirakusen in Western and Eastern Japan], in Ishi S. (ed.) *Chusei no mura to ryutsu*, Tokyo. [Medieval villages and distribution]
- Nakamura S., 1986. *Nihon no koin*, Osaka. [Japanese coins]
- Nanbu G., 1989. *Nihon Shihei Korekuta-ya Tebikisho*, Chiba. [Japanese paper money collectors' guidebook]
- Ogawa H., 1964–5. *Nippon kahei zushi*, Tokyo. [Illustrated history of Japanese coins]
- 1972. *Kanei Tsuho senpu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated catalogue of Kanei tsuho coinage]
- 1974. *Kokahei kakaku zufu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated catalogue of old coins]
- 1975. *Tenposen zufu*, Tokyo. [Illustrated record of Tempo coins]
- 1983. *Nippon kokahei hensenshi*, Tokyo. [A history of old Japanese coins]
- Ogawa K., 1961. *Tempo Tsuho kanshiki to tebiki*, Tokyo. [Guide to Tempo coins]
- Ogawa, Y., 1987. *Shin Kanei Tsuho*, Japan. [New Kanei tsuho]
- Ogawa Y., Kozono H. and Bolin, J.E. (eds), 1987. *Paper Money of Japan*, International Banknote Society Catalogue Series Paper Money of the Twentieth Century, 4B, St Louis.
- Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1997. *Okane no tamadebako – senka no retto 2000 nenshi*, Chiba. [Two thousand years of coins in the Japanese archipelago]
- Okudaira M., 1974. *Toa senshi*, 5 vols, Tokyo. [Far Eastern coin record]
- Osaka Mint, 1971. *Zohei 100 nen*, Osaka. [100 years of coinage]
- Otaka K., 1977. *Kekkansen I Sjiru hon*, Tokyo. [The error book]
- Prigg, E., 1985. 'A study of lookalike 100 Yen banknote', *International Banknote Society* 24, 4, pp. 110–11.
- 2001. 'Interesting notes on hansatsu and non hansatsu of Japan', *International Bank Note Society. Journal* 40.1 (April), pp. 6–11.
- Qiu Sida, 1985. 'Ri ren Qin Baolou Xiaotuan Haohe Xinding Beisong Fuhe Quanzhi', in *Zhongguo qianbi lunwenji* 3, Beijing, pp. 18–20. [The Japanese author Ogawa Hiroshi and his newly edited Northern Song Matched Coin Catalogue, in A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses 3]
- Rekishigaku Kenkyukai (ed.), 1999. *Ekkyo suru kahei*, Tokyo. [Border-crossing money in East Asia]
- Rhodes, N.G., 1988. 'A Japanese pattern multiple cash', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 112, p. 8.
- Riko M., 1983. *Kokahei Yawa*, Tokyo. [Stories about old coins]
- 2002. *Koheika shichijubanashi*, Tokyo. [Seventy tales of old coins]
- Robertson, J., 1986. 'Newly issued Japanese 1000 Yen banknote', *International Banknote Society* 25, 1, pp. 17–18.
- 1985. 'Son of samurai on new 5000 Yen banknote', *International Banknote Society* 24, 4, pp. 116–17.
- Robinson, M. 1985. 'Allied forgeries of JIM for South East Asia', *International Banknote Society* 24, 4, pp. 99–100.
- Saito, Takahashi and Nishikawa, 1998. *Chemical study of the medieval Japanese mochu-sen*, Bank of Japan's Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies [IMES], Discussion Paper 98-E-13.
- Sakaehara T., 1980. 'Coinage in the Nara and Heian Periods', *Acta Asiatica* 39, pp. 1–20.
- Sakai H., 1981. *Zusetsu Bungo Genyu no Kenkyu*, Beppu. [A study of the Genyu Tsuko minted in Bungo Province]
- Sakamoto M., 1985. *Jisha fukusen kinensen takeueishu*, Nishinomiya. [Collected rubbings of charms and commemorative coins of temples and shrines]
- Sakudo Y., 1960. *Kahei taiheiki*, Tokyo. [History of currencies]
- 1970. *Dai-Nippon kaheishi bekkanshu*, Tokyo. [History of Japanese currencies].
- 1978. *Okane no Nihonshi*, Tokyo. [Japanese History of Currency]
- 1980. 'Domain paper currencies and money merchants in the Tokugawa Period', *Acta Asiatica* 39, pp. 61–77.
- Sakurai E., 1996. 'Origamisen to jugo seiki no zoyo keizai', in Katsumata S. (ed.) *Chusei jin no seikatsu sekai*, Tokyo. [A list of gifts used as money and the gift economy in the fifteenth century, in People's Life in the Middle Ages]
- Sakuraki, S., 2010. 'A brief history of pre-modern Japanese coinage', in Sakuraki et al., *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174, London, pp. 17–25.
- Sakuraki, S. 2001. 'Japanese coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge', *Shimonoseki City University Review*, vol. 45, no. 2 (Sept 2001).
- Sakuraki, S., Wang, H., Kornicki, P., Nobuhisa, F., Screech, T., Cribb, J., 2010. *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 2010. 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as collector and numismatist', in Sakuraki et al., *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174, London, pp. 49–50.
- Sato S., 1962. *Akitahan tsuka hensenshi*, Akita. [History of the coins and paper currency of the Akita clan]
- 1972. *Akita kaheishi*, Akita. [History of the coins of Akita]
- Screech, T., 2010. 'Kutsuki Masatsuna — a life', in Sakuraki et al., *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174, London, pp. 33–47.
- Seno, M., 1996. *Wagakuni shihei seido no genryu ni suite – Yamada Hagaki*, Bank of Japan Discussion Paper Series [Yamada Hagaki and the History of Paper Currency in Japan]
- Shizuoka Izumi Kai, 1992. *Kan'ei tsuho*, Tokyo. [The Catalogue of Shin Ka'nei Tsuho]
- Smith, L., Harris, V. and Clark, T., 1990. *Japanese Art. Masterpieces in the British Museum*, London, pp. 134–7.
- Suzuki K., 1992. *Shutsudo Bichikusen to Chusei Koki no Senka*

Ryutsu, Tokyo: Shigaku. [Excavated Coins Reserved and Currency Circulation in the Late Middle Ages]

— 1999. *Shutsudo senka no kenkyu*, Tokyo. [A study of excavated coins]

— 2002. *Zeni no kokogaku*, Tokyo. [The archaeology of money]

— 2007. *Kahei no chiikishi*, Tokyo. [The regional history of Japanese money]

Suzuki M., 1972. *Aizu kaheishi gaisetsu*, Aizuwakamatsu. [General survey of monetary history of Aizu]

Tadai Y., 1983. *Currency Operations in Occupied Territories*, Tokyo.

Taguchi I. and Ozaki Y., 1995. *Michinoku no kin*, Tokyo. [Gold in the Michinoku area]

Takahashi H., 2000. *Gencho kahei seisaku seiritsu katei no kenkyu*, Tokyo. [A study of the formation of currency policy in the Yuan dynasty]

Takakusa K., 1967. *Kokan-ei takuei senpu*, Okayama. [Illustrated book of old Kan'ei Tsuho coins before AD 1668]

Takekawa H. (trans. by M. Shibata), 1981. *Gold and Silver Japanese Coins*, Paris.

Takizawa T., 1980. 'Early currency policies of the Tokugawas, 1563–1608', *Acta Asiatica* 39, pp. 21–41.

— 1996. *Nihon no kahei no rekishi*, Tokyo. [History of Japanese Currencies]

Takizawa T. and Nishiwaki Y. (eds), 1999. *Nihonshi shohyakka – kahei*, Tokyo. [Encyclopaedia of Japanese coinage]

Tani K., 1981. *Nagato no kuni chusen: Eiraku Tsuho to Kanei Tsuho*, Niihama. [Eiraku Tsuho and Kanei Tsuho Coins minted in Nagato Province]

Tashiro K., 1982. 'Foreign relations during the Edo Period' *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Seattle), 8, 2, pp. 283–306. [Particular reference is made to the use of silver coins in trade with Korea.]

Tatewaki K., 1987. *Zai-Nichi gaikoku ginko shi*, Tokyo. [A history of foreign banks in Japan]

Taya H., 1980. 'The modernisation of the Japanese currency system', *Acta Asiatica* 39, pp. 78–94.

Teikichi I., (in progress). *Kozen daizen*, 10 vols, Tokyo. [Old coin catalogue]

Terada C., 1987. *Nihon no gumpyo 1877–1945*, Tokyo. [Japanese military currency 1877–1945]

Thierry, F., 1986. *Les collections monetaires II – Vietnam, Japon*, Paris, pp. 78–89, pl. 95–106.

Thunberg, C.P., 1984. *Intrastadial om de myntsorter sonn ... blifvit slagne och varit gangbare uti kejsaredomet Japan* (with an introduction by I. Wischn), Goteborg, 1984 (first printed 1779). [Coins struck and used in the Japanese Empire]

Tohoku Chusei Kokogakkai (ed.), 2001. *Chusei no shutsudo senka*, Tokyo. [Excavated medieval copper coins]

Tomata, M., 2000. The First Commemorative Bank Notes of China, Taiwan and Japan', *International Bank Note Society Journal* 38.4 (January), pp. 39–42.

Tono Haruyuki, 1997. *Kahei no nihonshi*, Tokyo. [A history of money in Japan]

Tsuchiya, T. and Yamaguchi, K., 1973. *Zuroku Nihon no kahei*, 11 vols, Tokyo. [Currencies of Japan]

Tsukamoto, T., 1972. *Nippon kaheishi*, Tokyo, 1972 (reprint of 1925 edition). [A history of Japanese coins]

Ueda, M., Taguchi, I., and Saito, T., 1996. *Edo-ki koban no hin i o meguru mondai to hi-hakai bunseki kekka ni tsuite*, Bank of Japan Discussion Paper 96-E-26. [Non-destructive analysis of the fineness of kobans in the Edo Period]

Uemura, T., 1985. *Osatsu to kitta no hanashi*, Tokyo. [A history of banknotes and postage stamps]

Uranagase T., 2002. *Kinsei nihon kahei ryutsushi*, Tokyo. [The history of the circulation of coinage in early modern Japan]

Van Gelder, E., 1988. *De Japansche Regeering, haar papieren betaalmiddelen uitgegeven in Nederlandsch-Indie, 1942–45*, Heerlen.

Wang, H., 2010. 'A history of the Japanese coin collection at the British Museum', in Sakuraki *et al.*, *Catalogue of the*

Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum, BM Research Publication 174, London, pp. 1–12.

— 2010. 'How did Kutsuki Masatsuna's coins come to the British Museum', in Sakuraki *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, BM Research Publication 174, London, pp. 13–16.

Warren, W., 1983. 'When American paper money went to war', *Coins* 3, 3, pp. 63–69.

Yamada K., 2000. *Kahei no chugoku kodaishi*, Tokyo. [A history of the ancient coinage of China]

Yamaguchi, K., 1996. *Edoki Ginme Tegata ni tsuite*, Bank of Japan Discussion Paper Series. [Bills denominated in silver coins in the Edo Period]

— 1996. *Edoki tsutsumi kingin ni tsuite*, Bank of Japan Discussion Paper Series. [Packages of gold and silver coins in the Edo Period]

Yamamoto T., 1981. 'Kanei Tsuho varieties', *NI* vol. 15, no. 11 (Nov), pp. 343–5.

Yanaga Y., 1977. *Hakodate Tsuho chuzo no tenmatsu*, Sapporo. [A history of the minting of Hakodate Tsuho coins]

Yoshihara K., 2003. *Edo no zeni to shomin no kurashi*, Tokyo. [Money in Edo-Period Japan and everyday life]

Yoshikawa, K., 1991. *Tokugawa hoken keizai no kaheitaki kiko*, Tokyo. [Currency system of the Tokugawa feudal economy]

Numismatic journals in Japan

Most numismatic articles in Japan tend to be published in local history journals or general historical journals. The following two journals are devoted solely to research on coins:

Shutsudo senka 1–25 (1993–2008). [Excavated coins. A 2008 issue contains articles on coins excavated in the Ryukyu islands (Okinawa), on Vietnamese coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum and on Chinese coins as evidence of contacts between Sakhalin and the mainland.]

Shushu 1, 33–10 (1977–2008). [Collecting. A journal aimed mainly at collectors. A 2008 issue includes an article on the classification of Kan'ei Tsuho]

The following journals have special issues devoted to coins:

Ajia yugaku 18 (2000). [Studies in Asia. Special issue on 'The world of Song coinage – the international currency of East Asia']

Kokogaku 78 (2002). [Archaeology. Special issue on 'The cutting edge of research on excavated coins']

Kokogaku janaru 526 (2005). [Archaeological journal. Special issue on 'Studies of excavated copper coinage']

Catalogues

Okane no tamadebako – senka no rettō 2000 nenshi, Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Chiba, 1997. [Two thousand years of coinage in the Japanese archipelago].

Maizōsen no monogatari – shutsudosen kara mita chūsei no sekai, Kamikōzu Kaizuka Furusato Rekishi no Hiroba, Ibaragi, 1997. [Tales of buried coins – the medieval world as seen through excavated coins].

Kudō Yūji, (ed.), *Shin Kan'ei tsūhō zue*, Hudson Tōyō Chūzō Kahei Kenkyūsho, Sapporo, 1998. [Illustrations of New Kan'ei Tsūhō coins].

Okane hajimete monogatari, Kamikōzu Kaizuka Furusato Rekishi no Hiroba, Ibaragi, 2003. [Tales of the beginnings of money].

Heijōkyō shutsudo kodai kansen shūsei I, Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, Nara, 2004. [Ancient government coins excavated from Heijōkyō, I].

Okane – kahei no rekishi to Hyōgo no shihei, Tatsuno Shiritsu Tatsuno Rekishi Bunka Shiryōkan, Hyōgo, 2005. [Money – the history of coinage the paper money of Hyōgo].

Websites

Bank of Japan: www.imes.boj.or.jp/cm

British Museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx

Fitzwilliam Museum: www.fitzwilliam.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins

Robert Jones: www.Japanesecashcoins.blogspot.com

Zeno: www.Zeno.ru

Luke Roberts: www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/roberts/coins/Japancash.html

CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 210

	Page
ONS news – General Meeting, London	1
ONS meeting, Cologne, 2011	1
ONS meeting Tübingen, 2012	2
ONS study day, London, November, 2011	2
New members, and lists received	3
New and recent publications	3
Auction news, including the earliest known portrait of Sultan Mehmed II	4
Other news, including Coinex Pune, 2011 and problems at the Geldmuseum, Utrecht	6
Book reviews	8
A new mint for ‘Abd al-Malik’s “standing-caliph” fulus? By N. Schindel	9
An Arab-Byzantine coin type with a Pahlavi inscription: a new solution, by C. Foss	11
A newly discovered variety of Georgian countermark of the 12-13 th centuries and its place in the classification of Georgian countermarks, by G. Gogava	13
Anonymous coins from the time of the Jalayrid rebel, Khwaja Marjan, by A. Akopyan & F. Mosanef	17
A bankers’ cache of Kosala/Kashi coins, by T. Hardaker	19
A new type and variety in coins of Skandagupta, by S. Kumar & E. Raven	24
Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad – new discoveries and reattributions, by S. Bhandare	26
Summary of numismatic research in China, 2010, translated by H. Wang	39
A bibliography of Japanese numismatics, 1960-2011, by H. Wang	44

Officers of the Society

Secretary General: Joe Cribb, [REDACTED]

Regional Secretaries:

General: Mr. R. Senior, [REDACTED]

Europe: Mr. J. Lingen, [REDACTED]

U.K. & Eire: Mr. P. Smith, [REDACTED]

America: Mr. C. Karukstis, [REDACTED]

South Asia: Dr Dilip Rajgor, [REDACTED]

Pakistan Chapter: Mr. S. M. Mirza, [REDACTED]

Annual Subscription: UK: £25; rest of Europe €30; American continent \$35; for other areas please consult the appropriate Regional Secretary

Website: www.onsnumis.org