



### Obituaries

#### *Bhupendra Narayan Shrestha (1943 – 4 September 2012)*



*B.N. Shrestha, 4 March 2008*

It is with great sadness we have to inform the numismatic community that the foremost expert in Tibetan and Nepalese coins in Nepal, Bhupendra Narayan Shrestha, known to his friends as “Nati” passed away on the morning of 4 September 4 2012.

Also known by his abbreviated name as BNS among western collectors, Shrestha was the son of a family of money changers. He was introduced to the world of Himalayan and Indian coins by looking over the shoulder of his grandfather and father who had a money-

changer stall in Ason Tole, in the centre of the old part of Kathmandu. Already as a boy he started to put to one side all the Nepalese and Tibetan coins which seemed to be rare or interesting to him, keeping one example for himself and offering duplicates to foreign collectors, most of whom were temporary residents in Kathmandu working for some foreign organisation, like the North American collectors, Gilbert Richardson and Gary Damkoehler.

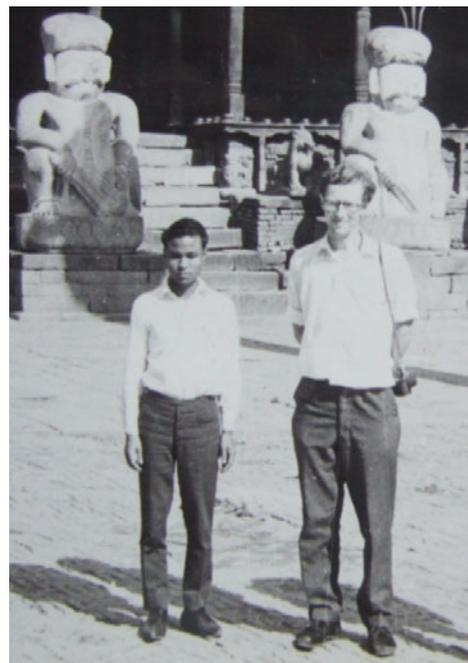
From the early 1960s, B.N.Shrestha was in touch with the Italian marquese, Carlo Valdetaro de la Rocchetta (1921-1988), who was residing in Calcutta (now Kolkata) as representative of an Italian firm involved in electrification projects. Whenever Valdetaro could spare a few days he flew to Kathmandu and met B.N. Shrestha who shared the new discoveries in the field of Nepalese and Tibetan coins with the Italian gentleman, who soon became a close friend. On two occasions, B.N. Shrestha visited Carlo Valdetaro in Calcutta, these journeys being among the very few which Shrestha made abroad. While B.N. Shrestha informed Valdetaro about all existing coins and their variants which he had acquired or had seen with other persons, Valdetaro taught B.N. Shrestha how to photograph and record coins systematically. These early efforts soon evolved into a project of a Corpus of Nepalese coins which, from about 1965, was supported by Nicholas G. Rhodes (1946-2011) who had visited Nepal as a student. B.N. Shrestha, Carlo Valdetaro, Nicholas Rhodes and, some years later, the German collector and veterinarian, Karl Gabrisch (1927-1995), and myself all became friends of B.N. Shrestha, and they all benefited from his unmatched knowledge in the field of Nepalese and Tibetan numismatics. The fruit of this cooperation among friends was the standard work “The Coinage of Nepal”. The reason why B.N. Shrestha is not mentioned as co-author in this book is

that he did not want his name published out of precaution. By the time this book had been published, B.N. Shrestha had become almost an “institution” in Nepal and no serious foreign collector and student of Nepalese and Tibetan coins could bypass him without losing a unique chance of increasing his understanding and knowledge of these subjects.

Apart from the coins, B.N. Shrestha began to collect Tibetan banknotes as soon as these became available in Nepal in the 1960s. He studied the Tibetan notes systematically, tried to understand their legends, including their dates, the system of numbering and the symbolism found among the various design elements on the notes. The result of his efforts was a pioneering book entitled *Tibetan Paper Currency* which was published only in 1987 in the U.K., although he had already completed the manuscript several years earlier.

B.N. Shrestha shared the honour of being the world’s leading expert in Nepalese and Tibetan numismatics only with Nicholas Gervase Rhodes. I always considered it a privilege that I was able to spend long hours with B.N. Shrestha at his home, discussing coins and enjoying his and his wife’s warm hospitality, and I will treasure the memory of a great friend and of an outstanding numismatic guru.

I would like to express my heartfelt sympathy to his widow Mandira, his daughter and two sons and to his grandchild.



*B.N.Shrestha with Nicholas Rhodes in Bhaktapur in the 1960s*



*Karl Gabrisch with B.N. Shrestha in the 1980s*

*B.N. Shrestha's Publications*

Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan and D. D. Rajbhandari: "Coinage of Jisnu Gupta of Nepal", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. 28, part I (1966), p. 96-97.

Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: "Coinage of Yoganarendra Malla to Indra Malla of Patan", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. 33, part II (1971), p. 93-113 and plate 50.

Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *Tibetan Paper Currency*, Transatlantic Authors Ltd., St. Albans, Herts., U.K. 1987.

Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan and Nicholas G. Rhodes: "The Earliest 10 Srang Tibetan Banknote?" *International Banknote Society Journal*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1991), p. 20-21.

In addition to these published works, B.N. Shrestha left three articles as manuscripts, one on the Tibetan coinage in the name of Xuan Tong, one on cut coins of Tibet and one on varieties of Kong par tangkas.

Wolfgang Bertsch

**Dr Ruud Schüttenhelm**  
(1942 – 2012)

It is with great sadness that we have to report the passing away of Dr Ruud Schüttenhelm on 7 October 2012 due an extremely aggressive and incurable form of cancer that took him away from us in the course of only a few months.

Ruud was a very active member of the ONS and was always present at our annual meeting, whether in Leiden or later in Utrecht.

Besides his professional activities as a geologist, Ruud developed a wide interest in art and culture and, particularly, numismatics. It was in the early seventies that, on a visit to the legendary coin shop of Jacques Schulman on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam, Ruud bought his first Mongol coin. Fascinated by its design and the historical background of this poorly documented series, he was soon able to expand his collection at an auction by Dr Busso Peus in Frankfurt. He had prepared a wants list as well as a list of secondary choices for the auction. These lists were entrusted to Jacques Schulman and, after the auction, it seemed that not only had the coins of the main wants list been obtained but also the coins on the list with the secondary choices. And all this within the budget he had put aside for the main wants list.

From that moment, his passion for this series of Mongol coinage and the culture and history of Central Asia really blossomed. In a period of well over 40 years a remarkably coherent collection of coins of the Mongols and related dynasties was built-



up, comprising almost 2500 coins in gold, silver and base metal, covering much of Central Asia and present-day Iran.

The collection of Mongol coins is particularly strong in the series of the Ilkhanids and Timurids, where coins were selected by ruler, mint, date and variety.

Multiple countermarks are often found on the coins of the Timurids, which provides much information about the period the coins concerned were in circulation and also about their geographic spread. Thus, it appears that certain countermarked silver dirhams circulated for almost a century. Those countermarked coins received his particular attention and are well represented in his collection. Last year, on 12 November 2011, he presented a paper on this subject at the ONS meeting in Cologne. Who could predict that this would be our last trip together with Ruud, to the meeting in Cologne?

He was frequently present at the ONS promotion stand at the coin fairs in the Hague, Assen and Herentals (Belgium) to answer questions and attribute coins for visitors. This tradition is now, with Ruud's untimely death, abruptly broken.

Those who were acquainted with Ruud, will agree that he was a very friendly gentleman, erudite, enthusiastic and helpful. We will cherish his memory.

Our thoughts are with his wife, Anna Marie, and children, to whom we convey our sincere condolences.

Jan Lingen

**ONS NEWS**

***ONS Study Day at the British Museum 6 October 2012***

ONS members met at the study room of the Department of Coins and Medals for a study day. Joe Cribb introduced the day, which was divided into two parts, chaired by Robert Bracey in the morning and Stan Goron in the afternoon.

The first talk, by Dr Vesta Sarkosh-Curtis, was on "The living world: man and beast on Arab-Sasanian copper coins". This lecture was given, as is traditional for the ONS, in memory of Michael Broome, the Society's founder. Vesta introduced to the audience a series of copper coins minted in the south west of Iran shortly after the Arab conquest and featuring figural representations. She critically appraised the evidence for the date of the series and suggested they should be dated earlier than had previously been the case. Her talk was followed by a lively discussion which focused on the relationship between political centres and provincial mints and how novel iconography appears on coinage.



*ONS Members listen with rapt attention*

Paul Stevens, author of the recently published *The conage of the Hon. East India Company; part 1 Coins of the Bengal Presidency*, gave the Ken Wiggin's Memorial lecture on 'Coins of the Bombay mint around the turn of the nineteenth century'. This was an opportunity for Paul to present the early part of his research on the archives of the mint, including some radical re-appraisal of when the mint was open. Before lunch, François Joyaux gave a talk on "R. Mercier, a French coin engraver and collector in Indochina (1927-1946)". He also introduced the newly released journal, *Numismatique Asiatique*:

Numismatique Asiatique No.1 March 2012 featuring an article 'Recherches relatives à quelques monnaies rares d'Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est' by Daniel Cariou

Numismatique Asiatique No. 2-3, June-September 2012 featuring an article 'René Mercier Graveur de monnaies et nimismate en Indochine (1927-1946)' by François Joyaux



*François Joyaux shows the audience an engravers work*

After lunch there were a series of short presentations by members. Wannaporn Rienjang reported on a recent visit to Pakistan in which she had attended a conference at Hazara on the ancient history of Gandhara and her visit to the site museum at Taxila. Sanjeev Kumar gave a talk on the repoussé Garuda-type coins of the Guptas. He presented arguments for a classification system for this rare group based on examples in the Shivlee collection, <http://www.shivlee.com/kumaraguptai/klgarudatypecoins.html>.

This was followed by a presentation on Gupta coins by Ujjwal Saha & Akshay Jain in which they presented new varieties and types for the consideration of the audience.



*Akshay takes questions from the audience*

Joe Cribb gave the last talk of the day. He discussed 'Royal images on Kushan coins', presenting the audience with a remarkable array of parallels for the clothing the king wears, from the Iranian world and the steppes of Asia, but also from the borders of China and coins of the Roman Empire. He showed how the image of a chair depicted on a coin of Augustus could appear in a Hun burial on the Chinese border, and how the Kushan emperors identified themselves with Iranian culture but also carved out a distinct identity from the Parthian kings of Iran.

Readers who are interested in the talks but did not have an opportunity to attend the event can find the Michael Broome and Ken Wiggins lecture and the talk by Joe Cribb on the Money and Medals Network site (<http://www.moneyandmedals.org.uk/> click on 'Audio and Video') The talks will be available until the next UK ONS study day in early 2013.



*Tune into the podcast to hear what Paul is so excited about*

The next UK meeting will be on Saturday, **2 March 2013** at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. More details will be available nearer the event.

### **ONS meeting Utrecht 20 October 2012**

The annual ONS meeting in the Netherlands again took place at the Geldmuseum in Utrecht. Some 30 members, including members from Belgium, Germany and the U.K. attended the meeting. After introductory refreshments in the museum café the programme started, this time in the spacious library of the museum.



*Waiting for proceedings to begin*

The meeting commenced with a commemoration and a moment of silence in memory of Ruud Schüttenhelm, who passed away on the October 7<sup>th</sup>. See obituary above.



*Dick Nauta pointing out something on the map of the Yemen*

Dick Nauta opened the series of presentations with a talk about the 'Ottoman silver coinage of Zabid, in the Yemen, struck in the name of Sultan Suleyman I'. The interesting feature of this series is that it comprises both *maydins* of original Mamluk weight (av.

1.14g) struck from AH 932 to 936 and, after that, coins of approximately half the maydin weight (av. 0.54g) up to AH 941. This may have been an attempt by the Ottomans to reform the then current Mamluk standard coinage by introducing the Ottoman *akçe* standard in their Yemen domains. Though admittedly the weight of this *Uthmani* in Yemen is rather lower than that of the *akçe* elsewhere in the empire, which ranged between 0.6 - 0.7g, using half the weight of the *maydin* might have made its introduction more readily acceptable and facilitated conversion for accounting purposes. The distance between the Yemen and other parts of the empire would to some degree prevent the undesirable mixing up of this lighter currency with standard weight *akçes* elsewhere.

Another feature of this coin series is that from AH 932 to 965 the coins are dated with the actual year of minting, unusual in Ottoman minting practice at the time. Thus we can follow the decline of these coins in terms of weight, purity and workmanship. A decrease in weight is observed after AH 941 - coins are struck to an average of 0.44g up to AH 957, when there is a sudden increase in coin weight to an average of 0.58g again. Sometime AH after 965 coins were struck with the year of accession, 926. These are generally of very poor workmanship. An analysis of the silver content of this coin series is desirable. From visual observation, the later coins have a lower silver content.

Over the years, some nine distinct obverses can be distinguished, combined with another nine reverses. Further research will need to determine in how far these changes in obverses and reverses tie in with local political events, such as change of governors etc. Following the Ottoman conquest of Sana'a in AH 954 and its establishment as their capital in Yemen, the importance of Zabid and its mint declined.

An interesting link with Cairo mint is that the design of obverse dies from Misr mint for *maydins* struck in AH 930-931 was used in the Zabid mint for *maydins* struck from AH 933-936.

Another feature worth further investigation is that Ottoman "*akçes*" from Zabid have been found to have been circulating in the Adal Sultanate (Harrar) and elsewhere on the African side of the Red Sea, as reported by European explorers in the 1880s. Elsewhere, finds of very small coins of Zabid design with average weights of 0.23g, and of very poor workmanship and low silver content have come to light recently. It is as yet unknown whether these are of local manufacture and circulation, or whether they may be considered in the light of the Ottoman's Ethiopian territory, "Habesh Eyaleti".



*Shailendra Bhandare pointing out something on the map of India*

Shailendra Bhandare presented a paper on the "Jubilees and royal celebrations during the Raj in a numismatic light". Shailendra pointed out that, in the late 1980's, historian Bernard Cohn presented an anthropological study of how authority was represented in Victorian India. Situating the objects broadly within the inquiry parameters Cohn set out with, this paper sought to place coins and medals from India (British and Princely States issues) into their historical context with a view to understanding the purpose of their issue and their function in terms of

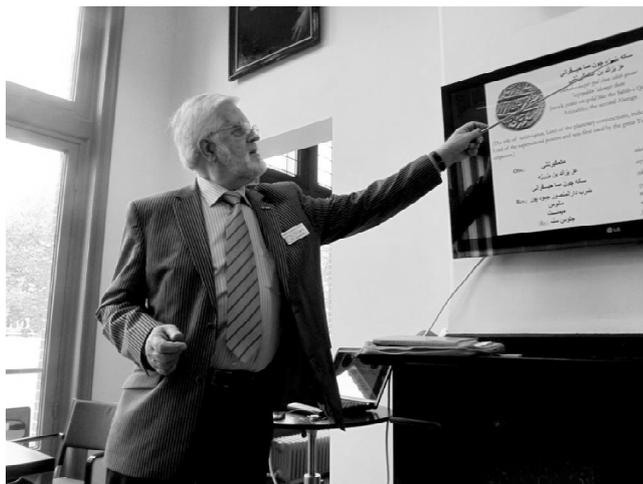
commemorating celebrations of royal events such as jubilees and 'Darbars'. It explored how the ideas involved in rituals, protocols, commemoration and communication were represented on and through the issue of coins and medals.

Tjong Ding Yih proceeded with a presentation and discussion of his paper 'Tin cash imitations from Palembang (former Dutch East Indies); genuine local imitations or modern counterfeits?', which was published in JONS 212, pp 32-36.



*Tjong Ding Yih listening to attentively remarks and suggestions from the audience*

After the lunch break Jan Lingen presented his recently published book, *Marwar: Jodhpur State, History and Coinage* (for review see JONS 212, p. 7). For the occasion, the Geldmuseum had provided facilities to display a representative selection of coins of Jodhpur State in the showcase in the entrance hall of the museum.



*Jan reaching out to explain some of the legends of the coins of Marwar*

The session of lectures was brought to an end by Wybrand Op den Velde with a presentation on the 'Metal composition of Korean cash coins'. Early and medieval Korean cash coins were made of bronze with a very variable copper, tin and lead content. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the majority of Korean coins were of brass, although their copper:zinc ratio showed a very wide range. Sometimes bronze was used, or a copper/lead alloy. During the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the copper content decreased in combination with an increase of lead and iron. A milled trial coin from 1884 was made of pure brass. Some lead forgeries from the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were also being met with. The composition of 'mother' coins differed from the ordinary specimens. Compared to contemporary Chinese coins, the alloy of Korean issues was evidently less strictly standardised.



*Wybrand Op den Velde providing an insight into the metallurgy of Korean coinage*

Then after a tea break, there followed the traditional auction of oriental coins and related books, which raised a welcome amount of around 800 Euros for ONS funds. Our thanks are due to those who supplied and donated material for the auction as well as those participating in the bidding.

After the meeting some 16 participants enjoyed a particularly nice Chinese meal at a nearby restaurant.

We are very grateful, once again, to the Geldmuseum, which despite its present financially difficult situation, enabled us to make use of the facilities for this meeting. Next year's meeting is also being planned for the same venue, the Geldmuseum, Leidseweg 90, Utrecht, on Saturday 19 October 2013. Those members interested in attending are invited to make a note of the date in their diaries.

Jan Lingem

### ***Annual Meeting of the Pakistan Chapter***

The annual meeting of the Pakistan Chapter of the ONS Society was held at the Marriott Hotel, Islamabad on 9 Sept 2012. It was attended by eight members. Due to a strike and other problems, and interruptions to transport, members from other areas were not able to attend. The meeting was presided over by Mirza Shafqat Mehmud, the Chapter's Secretary. Coins from the collection of the late Mirza Manzoor Hussain were displayed, as were coins belonging to other members, particularly some rare types of Indo-Greek copper coins in very nice condition. There was a discussion on how to increase ONS membership in Pakistan and how to introduce the hobby to more people. The meeting was followed by a dinner.



*Naeem Raja, Col Syed Nasir Hussain, Sarkees Najam ud din, Mirza Shafqat Mehmood, Muhammad Yousaf, Haroon M.K.Tareen, Dr Kaiser Ejaz Mughal*



*Naeem Raja, Muhammad Yousaf, Mirza Shafqat Mehmood, Haroon M.K.Tareen, Dr Kaiser Ejaz Mughal, Col Syed Nasir Hussain*

### ***Rasmir: Oriental Numismatics 2012 Conference in Odessa, Ukraine***

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Rasmir: Oriental Numismatics conference was organised under the auspices of the ONS by the RASMIR website of Oriental Numismatics (www.rasmir.ru), Zeno Oriental Coins Database (www.zeno.ru), and the I.I. Mechnikov Odessa National University (Ukraine). The University kindly hosted the event at its premises on 9-11 August, 2012.

This year's conference was sponsored by Socar Energy Ukraine – the representation office in Ukraine of the State Oil Company of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Around 20 participants from the Russian Federation, Slovakia, Moldova, Azerbaijan and Ukraine attended the presentations, given by the researchers. A number of the participants had the opportunity to watch the live video stream of the conference, organised by the IT department of the university and were able to participate in the discussion, using the live chat option.

A number of numismatic discoveries were reported:

- i. Andrey Bragin presented a previously unknown golden coinage of the Shaybanid ruler, Kuchkunji Khan;
- ii. Dr Alexey Alyoshin presented a Shirvanshah (3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty) copper coin of AH 882 struck in Baku;
- iii. Yevgen Lemberg presented a ½ (thulth) AR dirham of Arran AH 202, which was a new denomination for the 'Abbasid silver coins of this province.

The other papers presented were:

- “An unusual Sasanian drachm of Hormazd IV, 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year, mint of Zuzun” by Vadim Yuklanyuk
- “A new type of Ordu Bazar coin of Ulu-Muhammad” by Alexander Kazarov and Roman Bespalov
- “Silver coins of Toqtamish minted at Azaq” by Leonid Dobromislov and Andrey Sizganov
- “An unknown Safavid abbasi of AH 1106, mint of Ganja” by Sergey Kudin
- “On the question of the variability of the titles used on the coins of the Timurid Sultan Husayn” by Andrey Bragin
- “A die for producing Ottoman coin-like imitations, found in Çufut Qale, Crimea, Ukraine” by Andrey Boyko-Gagarin
- “Timurid coin finds from the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan” by Andrey Bragin and Oleg Batrakov
- “Juchi bilingual dangs of Ulu Muhammad from Lower Julat (North Caucasus) – by Valentin Lebedev and V. Sitnik
- “False Spanish coins of the XVII century in Ukrainian finds” by Andrey Boyko-Gagarin

At the end of the conference, Leonid Dobromislov made a presentation of his newly published book *Copper issues of Khan*

*Kildibek at the Golden Horde town of Azaq*" (published in Russian).

All the presentations and reports sparked lively and interesting discussions. The video footage of all the proceedings was uploaded to a video hosting service and is available upon written request to the organisers of the conference.

The participants attending the conference in person enjoyed joint lunches and excursions to the museums and historical sites of Odessa, including the Museum of Numismatics and the Archeological Museum. The participants also had an opportunity to taste some very special Caucasian cuisine in a local Georgian restaurant.

The proceedings of the conference are due to be printed within 6 months of the completion of the conference. The collected articles will be published in Russian with the summaries in English.

The organising committee is looking forward to inviting all interested parties to the next Rasmir: Oriental Numismatics conference in 2013.



*Participants at the Rasmir 2012 conference*

### **ONS meeting Cologne 2012**

This year's meeting took place on 10 November at the usual venue of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, with 14 members attending. The proceedings started rather unexpectedly with Prelate Linse handing over a present of an Indian 5 paisa coin with the legend "Saint Alphonsa Birth Centenary. This coin had been issued in honour of the canonisation of Sister Alphonsa. The only person of Indian origin to have been canonised by the Catholic church, she had been born in 1910 as Anna Muttathupadathu in Travancore, into a poor family. Overcoming the early death of her mother and illness, with an iron will she succeeded in becoming a teacher. She died in 1946 at the age of only 35.

After that, Heinz Bons gave a well-illustrated talk on Mysore with the main focus on Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. This included references to the many forgeries that continue to bedevil the market and how to recognise them.

With the aid of old pictures and photos, Jan Linggen commented further on the areas that Heinz had referred to in his talk. This led to a discussion on Tipu's banner and the way it was depicted on the coins and ended with photos of the mausoleum in which both rulers were buried.

Bernhard Rhode then talked about currency problems, especially counterfeiting and debasement, referring to various non-coin currency like cowries, grain, cigarettes, and asking about the continued survival of gold coinage with examples from India.

After lunch, Jan Linggen spoke about the Danish colony of Tranquebar. Those who had heard Mr Brockmeier's talk on this subject back in 2007 would have been surprised by the extra information now provided. Jan had been able to read the diary of the captain in charge of the first boat crossing, as they had been written in Dutch. The talk was accompanied by old and new photos of the area and those present were pleasantly surprised by the number of different coin issues, many undated, and the effort required to build up a collection of them.

Lastly, Reinhard Hüther provided information about a previously unknown Ottoman copper coin with the depiction of an elephant, saying how much research had been necessary to identify it.

It was agreed that the next meeting would take place on 9 November 2013 at the same venue.

N. Ganske

### **New Members**

#### *European Region*

- 2006 Hadrian H. Darmajuwana, [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Interests: Pre colonial Indonesia; Java, Aceh, Sumatra, Makassar, Mojopahit, Mataram, etc.
- 2007 Drs. Ans ter Woerds, [redacted] Netherlands.  
[redacted]  
Interests: Tibet, Mongolia, Asia in general, incl. books.

#### *North American Region*

- 2008 Stephen Giles, S[redacted]  
[redacted]

#### *General Regions*

- 2005 Tatsuya Fujiwara, [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Interests: Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythian coinage

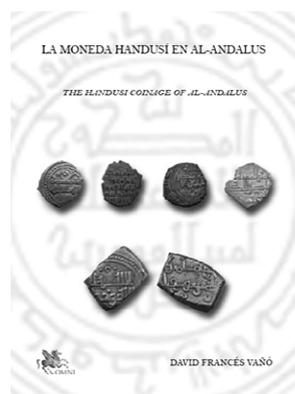
### **Revised Addresses**

- 804 Hans Herli, Ventimiglia, Italy. E-mail: [redacted]
- 1574 Bernd Czolbe, [redacted]-mail:  
[redacted]
- 1671 Tim Wilkes, P [redacted] [redacted]  
[redacted]
- 1737 Mr. René van den Hooff, [redacted]  
[redacted]
- 1739 Dr. Aram R. Vardanyan, [redacted]  
[redacted]

### **Lists Received**

1. Early World Coins ([redacted] [redacted] www.earlyworldcoins.com) list 53 of reasonably priced oriental coins.
2. Tim Wilkes (P [redacted] [redacted] www.wilkescoins.com; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 17 (winter 2012) of oriental coins.

### **New and Recent Publications**



*La Moneda Handusí en al-Andalus* by David Frances Vañó, Valencia, Spain, 2012, Editorial Omni; pp. 160, with drawings and 19 coloured plates. Price: €35 plus postage.

"This is the first specialist catalogue of Hispano-Arabic fractions, devised as such. There is no other similar work devoted to these small pieces. This work was born out of the need and conviction on the part of the author to rescue from oblivion

and give due importance to these small issues, traditionally designated Taifa fractions.

Their rather unattractive appearance, the sparse bibliography on the subject, as well as the difficulty in ascertaining the correct reading of their legends, have hitherto made it difficult to determine the proper place of these pieces with any certainty within the turbulent period that was the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Andalucia.

Starting from the need to undertake a profound revision of this series, the author includes new types, places other already published types in their appropriate geographical context and, from his many observations, explains to us the manner of striking of

these Handusí dirhams, which were coins conceived originally for low-value transactions. In addition, important light is thrown on the way they circulated both by weight and by tale. In all, some 427 pieces are catalogued.”

The book is available from the publisher, editorialesOMNI@gmail.com

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Valiantsin RABTSEVICH, Mikalai PLAVINSKI, Aleh Ioï, Брыльёўскі скарб / *The Bryli Hoard*, Minsk, Belaruski Dom druku, 2011. 112 p., illustrations. ISBN 978-985-6587-95-8

This book is a kind of photo album, showing each of the coins and fractions, which were found in the described Bryli Hoard. This Hoard was reported in 2000 as found near Bryli village of Veselovski selsovet Borisovskiy rajon Minsk oblast Belarussia. The complete hoard was 290 dirhams and fractions, 10 weights for weighing silver and a Frankish sword of type H (fragmented). The coins of the hoard represent the following dynasties: Umayyads - 6 coins (2.07%), Abbasids (from al-Mansur to al-Mu'tamid) -240 coins (82.76%), 1 Saffarid ('Amr bin al-Layth), 1 Rulers of Naysabur (Ahmad bin 'Abdallah al-Khudzhistani), 1 Alids of Tabaristan (Al-Hasan bin Zayd), imitations - 27, non-attributed Kufic coins - 9, Silver flans without any trace of stamp - 5. The coin of the Alids of Tabaristan is reported as unique.

There is a brief historical essay at the beginning of the book, giving the context of the hoard within the material history of Belarussia. Every single item of the hoard (i.e. every coin, fraction, weight, part of the sword, etc.) is photographed and numbered separately, coins at actual size. Attributions are given for all of them, including size and weight. All photos are in full colour of high quality.

The book is in Belarussian and Russian. There is a 3-4 page summary in English.

Leonid Borisovich DOBROMYSLOV, Myednaya emissiya hana Kildibeka zolotoordynskogo goroda Azaka / *Copper coinage of Khan Kildibek at the Golden Horde town of Azaq*, Regionalynaya obschestvennaya organizaciya Tambovskoe obschestvo lyubitelej kraevedeniya. "Centr-press", 2011; p72: ISBN 978-5-89773-130-5

This relatively small book describes the issue of copper coins by Kildibek of the Golden Horde in Azaq (modern Azov). There is a very brief historical background given at the beginning. The main part of the book is dedicated to a die study of the coinage, where the author has taken the copper puls of Azaq minted during the short reign of Kildibek as a good sample for testing the die analysis methodology developed by the author. The sample size is 267 different coins.

The author describes the coins and determines the number of dies used for the issue. He distinguishes 25 obverse and 46 reverse dies. Each die is portrayed as a black and white image and a catalogue of the coins is given, arranged according to the obverse dies, i.e. for each obverse die the author provides photos of the known coins with the various reverse dies, so forming die pairs. After that, the catalogue of the reverse dies is given.

In the final part of the work, the author shows how his method helps to build a chronology of the die usage and gives a graphical chart of the die links. He also builds a chart of "frequency of occurrence" of the different obverse and reverse dies.

All text is in Russian only. The book has a soft cover, almost like a brochure. Despite these limitation, the book is an indispensable resource for the serious researcher of Golden Horde coinage and the proposed methodology may be used for the estimation of the production and size of issues of the different mints and dynasties.

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*Illustrated Coin Dating Guide for the Eastern World* has been re-issued by Krause Publications.

“With this book, collectors, dealers and researchers can learn how to identify inscriptions and determine dates on eastern coins. With many images, charts and conversion tables, this book provides the

user with all of the resources needed to identify eastern coins. It features 250 images of coins and close-up details for recognising key elements of coins from all over the eastern hemisphere; conversion tables and charts for calculating dates and translating numbers and letters in Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew and other languages.”

For more information visit [www.sellcoinbooks.com/world-coin-books/illustrated-coin-dating-guide-for-the-eastern-world](http://www.sellcoinbooks.com/world-coin-books/illustrated-coin-dating-guide-for-the-eastern-world).

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*Fulus of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, by Alexander Koifman, pp150 plus 50 plates, published Maalot, English text. Very limited edition, for more information please see <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=115742>

Michael Fedorov & Andrew Kuznetsov “On some previously unknown Khwarizmian drachms and the names of rulers on them” in *Iran* XLIX, 2011, pp79-88, published by the British Institute of Persian Studies.

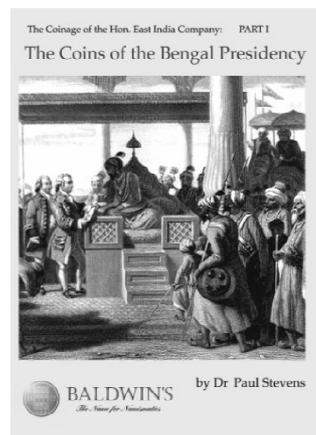
Issue 2-3 (June–September 2012) of *Numismatique Asiatique*, published by the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, France, is devoted to articles about the coin engraver and numismatist, René Mercier, who was active in French Indochina during the period 1927-1946. For contact details please see Journal 212.

## Book Reviews

*The Coinage of the Hon. East India Company: Part I – The Coins of the Bengal Presidency*, by Dr Paul Stevens, London 2012, published by AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd; case-bound, 6½ x 9¾ ins. (140 x 250 mm), pp 564, illustrated throughout. ISBN 978-0-906919-25-5. Price: £50

A paperback edition has also been produced for the Indian market, distributed by FS Todywalla.

Readers of this Journal cannot fail to have noticed the various articles written by Paul Stevens over the past few years on the coinage of the East India Company, particularly with regards the Bengal Presidency. This has been the result of many hours spent poring over primary source documents in the British Library as well as input from numismatic colleagues. It all started over 12 years ago when the late Ken Wiggins enlisted the help of Paul and Bob Puddester to



produce a listing of additional East India Company coin types that had been identified since the publication of Major Pridmore's catalogue of coins of the Indian Presidencies. Pridmore's work had appeared in 1975 and, together with the subsequent book on the Uniform Coinage, published in 1980, was the most comprehensive catalogue of British Indian coinage that had appeared.

Ken Wiggins' untimely death in 2000 and Bob Puddester's subsequent decision to leave the project because of other activities, left Paul with the task of carrying the work forward largely on his own, but with the encouragement and input from others who shared his interest in this area. Far from being limited to a simple listing of new coin types, the project developed into something much more comprehensive. Research in the British Library threw up all sorts of information about the Company coinages, mints, mintmasters etc that was not contained in Pridmore's work. Pridmore, for some reason, had omitted to include any references to primary sources that he had consulted, making it quite difficult for any subsequent researcher to check those sources and verify his information. That the information needed to be verified became clear to the author of the book under review when he found

Company documents contradicting what Pridmore had written in certain areas or indicating that he had misinterpreted the data.

This new book, on the Bengal Presidency, is the first in what is now a planned series of three to cover all the presidencies. The bulk of the book comprises ten chapters:

1. Calcutta mint, early years, 1757-1760
2. Calcutta mint, 1761 to 1790
3. Pulta mint 1780-1786
4. Calcutta mint, 1790 to c1802
5. Other mints in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa
6. Calcutta mint, c1800-c1830
7. Benares mint 1775-1830
8. Mints in the Ceded & Conquered Provinces
9. Calcutta mint. Coinage with steam-driven machinery c1818 to 1835
10. Soho mint

The other mints covered in chapter 5 include Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Monghyr and Cuttack, with mention also of Tripura and Garhwal, while the mints covered in chapter 8 include Ajmir, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Dehli, Farrukhabad, Gwalior, Hathras, Najibabad, Saharanpur, Saugor and Sohagpur. Much of this was not covered at all by Pridmore.

Each chapter follows a similar format: after a short summary, there is a detailed review of background information including relevant quotations from the source documents. This is followed by a well-illustrated catalogue of the coins discussed, and then a full list of references. In the catalogue part of each chapter, the coins are illustrated greater than actual size so that they can be easily viewed. The Persian legends, nicely drawn by Dr Bhandare, are provided alongside each illustration, as is their transliteration and translations. Weights (both official and as actually measured), diameter and other relevant information is also provided in each case. A catalogue proper is provided for each coin issue in the form of a 7-column table detailing: Stevens catalogue number; Pridmore catalogue number (where appropriate); denomination, status (e.g. whether currency issue, proof etc); edge; comments; rarity estimate. It should be noted that there is no price catalogue in the book: the author has gone far more sensibly for an estimate of scarcity for each entry, ranging from C for common to Unique where only one example is known. In those cases where it was not possible to determine the scarcity, NR (not rated) is used. All this is well laid out with clear illustrations and with the end-user in mind.

In addition to the ten chapters, there is a short but useful introduction to the book, which sets the scene and provides some basic information for those readers not acquainted with the subject. While at the end of the book, there are some useful appendices: an AH/AD/R.Y concordance; a glossary of Indian words and abbreviations found in the extracts from the records; a concordance of Pridmore numbers with the Stevens catalogue numbers; and the mint names and rulers' names as they actually appear on the coins. The book ends with a four-page general index.

I have already mentioned that this book covers in chapters 5 and 8 a range of mints not dealt with in Pridmore's work. There are various other important pieces of information which the new research has brought to light. It is worth mentioning a few of them here.

The "Murshidabad" rupees (and mohurs) became an important coinage type for the Company in Bengal. The original coins were issued by the Nawab of Bengal from his mint in Murshidabad. Pridmore thought that, though permission had been received from the Nawab to coin such rupees at the Company's Calcutta mint from 1761, from that year until 1777 the principal silver coinage struck at Calcutta was the Arkot rupee with Murshidabad rupees being struck in insignificant quantities possibly either for political or presentation purposes, this being based on "the few mint records traced" (Pr. p 200). So insignificant did he consider the quantities to be that he did not start his Murshidabad rupee listing until AH 1179 year 7 of Shah 'Alam II (Pr. p 237), thereby implying that rupees with earlier dates of that ruler were not Company ones. Stevens, on the other hand has found ample source material which

demonstrates that striking of the Murshidabad rupee at the Calcutta mint started already in 1761 at the end of the reign of 'Alamgir II and continued as a significant coinage there right from the start of Shah 'Alam's reign. The problem, however, was how to distinguish the Company's "Murshidabad" rupees from those of the Nawab in these early years. (St. pp 9-11).

Some years later, production of machine-struck "Murshidabad" rupees was undertaken at four mints: Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. These coins from different mints have small privy marks on them as a means of identification. Pridmore's attribution of these privy marks to the four mints has been generally accepted since his book was published, but Stevens argues convincingly that two of the attributions, those of Dacca and Patna, need to be reversed (St. pp 217-219).

The district of Banaras was ceded to the Company in 1775, together with its mint. For the next 30 years the mint was run by local native officials without direct management from Calcutta. During this period, gold, silver and copper coins were struck. Pridmore lists only two dates for the gold mohurs, AH 1209/37 and AH 1213/41, saying that "earlier and later hijri and julus years should occur" (Pr. p 248). Stevens, however, has found a table from a contemporary source detailing the gold coinage at the Banaras mint from 1775 onwards, apart from a few years for which records were incomplete or missing. The mintages varied considerably: almost 20,000 in 1784/85 (AH 1198/99 year 26), 27,000 in 1795 (AH 1210/11 years 38/39) to as low as 5 solitary mohurs in 1801 (AH 1216/17 years 44/45) (St. pp 306-7).

Many other fascinating pieces of information could also be mentioned but they are all in the book and that is where they should be sought. Production values are excellent. The book has been well edited and laid out, on good quality paper with strong binding. The author is to be congratulated on the results of all his research and Baldwin's, the publishers, are also to be congratulated on the quality of the finished product.

All in all, this book is a mine of information and an essential reference work for anyone interested in this period of Indian history, British colonial history and East India Company coinage. It will surely be the standard work for many years to come. We look forward to the next instalment of this three-part series.

SLG

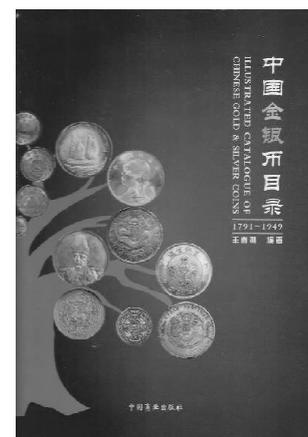
Wang Chun Li: *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Gold & Silver Coins: 1791-1949 (Zhong guo jin yin bi mu lu)*, Zhong guo shang ye chu ban she (China Trade Publishing House), Beijing 2012. ISBN 078-7-5044-7683-8. Price: 286 Yuan.

There are several predecessors for this type of catalogue which is the reason why one may ask: "why yet another catalogue of Chinese Gold and Silver Coins?" However, I think that there are some good reasons for it.

The earliest western attempt to catalogue China's modern gold and silver coin by Edward Kann is still the most comprehensive presentation of this subject, but suffers from poor illustrations of the coins and some outdated information.

Jang Huey Shinn's catalogue, which was published in 1988 and in revised form in 1994, is an attempt to publish a cheaper catalogue for the Chinese market, largely following Kann and replacing the poor photographs by yet poorer rubbings.

Dong Wencho edited an impressive volume on the same subject which has better reproductions of coins than those given by Jang Huey Shinn, but still many of the images are based on rubbings rather than on photographs. Rubbings may be helpful for the reproduction of Chinese cash coins, but cannot satisfactorily replace photographs of gold and silver coins.



The new catalogue presents all the coins as photographs, most of them being of very good quality and follows in this respect the example given by the catalogue of Lin Gwo Ming, which is edited and published by Ma Tak Wo. Wang Chun Li's catalogue is much more comprehensive than the work of Lin Gwo Min and, therefore, represents a considerable advance on all the catalogues which I have just enumerated.

The new catalogue is printed on glossy paper, has 350 pages and is illustrated with colour photographs throughout. The texts are in English and Chinese. Although the author asserts in the foreword that the coins are reproduced in actual size, this is not always the case. Unfortunately neither the diameter nor the weight of the illustrated coins are recorded. Prices are given in Chinese Yuan for the illustrated coins in up to six grades.

The catalogue is divided into three main parts which deal with the Imperial, the Republican and the provincial silver and gold coinage respectively. The third part on the coinage of the provinces is naturally by far the largest and starts with "Tibet Province", disregarding the fact that Tibet is not a province but an autonomous region of China. The same goes for Xinjiang which is also listed as a "province".

Since I have some experience in this field I would like to review the chapter on Tibet in some detail. The starting date, 1791, given in the title of the catalogue refers to Tibet, where the first silver coins were minted for general circulation long before they were issued in mainland China. However, the author also illustrates some early undated tangkas of Tibet, which are believed to have been struck as early as 1763/64 and 1785.

A fairly comprehensive overview of the different denominations of Tibetan silver coins is presented and some interesting variants have been given consideration and are pointed out with brief explanations.

It is worth pointing out a few errors in the captions to the illustrated coins:

The reverse of the very rare sho of the 57<sup>th</sup> year of Qian Long no. WS0195 is described as bearing "the designs of the 8 lucky objects". In fact the reverse does not feature any lucky symbols, but eight squiggles which some experts have described as "lotus hands". These are copied from the Kong par tangkas which had already been issued a year earlier, examples of which are illustrated as nos. WS0189, WS190 and WS0192.

The Kong par tangka illustrated as WS0191, considered by the author to be an early piece, is actually of the third late variety (called by the author the "second revised edition), believed to have been struck in about 1850 although it bears the frozen date 13-46 (= AD 1792).

No. WS0199 is described as 1 Sho of Qian Long of the 58<sup>th</sup> year, but the illustration shows a half sho of the same date.

No. WS0212 is described as 1 Sho of Jia Qin 3<sup>rd</sup> year, but it is a half sho of the same date. This very rare coin until recently was only known from an illustration by Kalgan Shih from where the Standard Catalogues of Krause publications had taken it. The illustrated coin is possibly unique and was auctioned in Beijing in December 2011 by Poly Auctions (lot 8920) for 575,000 Yuan, which represents the highest price ever paid for a Tibetan coin.

On page 79 coin no. WS 0232 is a 1 sho of the third year of Xian Feng (Hsien Feng) and WS0232, a 1 sho of the second year of Tong Zhi (Tung Tzi) which are listed by the author as very rare coins deserving five stars; in fact they are very dubious pieces which are illustrated by Dong Wenchao as no. 1280 and 1281 under "Silver Fabrications". Edward Kann had already listed and illustrated the sho of the third year of Xian Feng as no. B 78 (plate 218) under "Chinese Forgeries and Fantasy Coins."<sup>1</sup> The author notes that the Xian Feng coin of the third year which he illustrates is the only Sino-Tibetan coin type of this ruler which has been found so far. In fact a shokang and a half sho silver coin, dated to the first year of Xian Feng, exist in the Palace Museum in Beijing

and are believed to be genuine. They were published recently in the ONS Journal.<sup>2</sup> It should be mentioned that there also exists a half sho of the third year of Xian Feng which is similar in style to the full sho coin illustrated in the book under review and which was published as most probably being a forgery by Nicholas Rhodes.<sup>3</sup>



*Probably a forgery (fantasy) of half sho, third year of Xian Feng. Illustrated enlarged.*

*Collection Nicholas Rhodes (Ex Money Company Auction, 5-6 Sept. 1986; ex Spink New York: "Ancient, Foreign and United States Coins and Banknotes", New York, Monday 11 & Tuesday 12 December 2000, lot 111). Weight: 1.79 g. Diameter: 22 mm*

Coins WS0237 and WS0239 are described as 1 sho coins; in fact they are 2 sho coins.

No. WS0241A and WS041B are not Gaden tangkas, but early tangkas with the syllable "dza" (ja) appearing eight times on both sides.

The tangka with Ranjana script illustrated as WS0266 is not undated, but bears the date 15-40 (AD 1906). Coin no. WS0267 does not have the date 15-40, but the meaningless date 16-61.

On p. 92-95 Wang Chun Li gives a quite comprehensive breakdown of the 5 sho silver coins.

He describes the coins with the lion looking upwards as "lion with raised head" and the ones with the lion looking backwards, believed to have been struck in the Mekyi Mint, as "lion over looking". But in some captions he confuses the two variants:

No. WS0 0290 is not a coin with "lion with raised head", but with a lion looking backwards ("over looking").

No. WS0 293 is the variant with "lion has raised head" (lion looking upwards).

No. WS0 295 features a lion which is looking backwards and no. WS0 297 a lion with raised head (i.e. looking upwards).

When identifying the two variants it may be helpful to point out the following: all the 5 sho silver coins which feature the lion looking backwards ("over looking") of the Mekyi Mint have a small cross above the lion's back, while the coins which feature the lion looking upwards ("with raised head") do not feature such a small cross.

The section on the Sichuan Province includes both the Lukuan and the Sichuan rupees (p. 194-202). The major variants of the Sichuan rupees are illustrated and explained in very useful captions. Two pages are dedicated to the rupees with countermarks, which were most probably applied in Tibet. Nearly all countermarks which are believed to be genuine are illustrated. In addition, one Sichuan rupee with the mark of a Western figure "5" is illustrated as no. WS0771. This countermark has so far not been recorded in any previous publication on this subject. However, another Sichuan rupee with two countermarks of a different variant of western figure "5" was published recently in a book on Sichuan rupees. The two marks were applied to a "large head" variety Sichuan rupee and appear along with a third rather suspicious countermark. The reviewer has great doubts regarding the authenticity of these two types of countermarks featuring the western figure "5".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rhodes Nicholas (edited by Wolfgang Bertsch): "The Tibetan Coins in the Palace Museum, Beijing". *ONS Journal*, no. 208, summer 2011, p. 34-37.

<sup>3</sup> Rhodes, Nicholas: "Some Sino-Tibetan Forgeries". *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 11 (November 1986), p. 254-257.

<sup>4</sup> Zhang Cheng Guang (responsible editor), Zhao Weng Sheng, Tu Hong Qiu, Zhang Ming Cong and Wang Tian Fu (authors): *Sichuan Zangyang*. Si

<sup>1</sup> Dong Wenchao: *An Overview of China's Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages - the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing, 1992, p. 771. Kann, Edward: *Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins (Gold, Silver, Nickel and Aluminium)*. Los Angeles, 1954. Second Edition, Mint Productions, New York, 1966, p. 48 and plate 218.

At the end of the book one finds a section on Chinese fantasy coins and one on foreign coins which circulated in China. Among the foreign coins, most of the trade dollars are listed, except for the US trade dollar, which also circulated widely in China. Another dollar-size coin which circulated widely in China during the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the Mexican 8 Reales coin, known in the English speaking world as “cap and rays”; this is not mentioned in the section on foreign coins which circulated in China.

In view of the numerous modern forgeries of Chinese and Tibetan silver coins, a section on these would certainly have been highly desirable and should be appended to a future edition of the catalogue.

Despite a few shortcomings and errors, I can recommend this new catalogue as a very useful guide for the collector of Chinese or Tibetan silver and gold coins, particularly because it is easy to identify a certain coin, even for the less experienced collector, owing to the mostly clear photographs and to the succinct explanations of variants.

Since the book does not include a bibliography I will list a few titles which I have mentioned in the review and which should have been listed at the end of the catalogue:

Dong Wenchao: *An Overview of China's Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages – the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing, 1992.

Jang Huey Shinn: *Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins (Silver, Gold, Nickel, & Aluminium)*, Taipei, 1982.

Jang Huey Shinn: *Catalog of Chinese Coins*. Tair Yang Publishing Co., Chong-Ho City, Taipei, 1994.

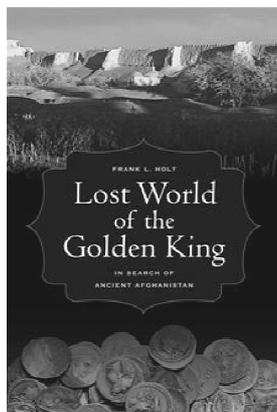
Kalgan Shih: *Modern Coins of China*. Chinese and English editions. Shanghai 1949. Reprint of the Chinese edition: Shanghai, 1989.

Kann, Edward: *Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins (Gold, Silver, Nickel and Aluminium)*. Los Angeles, 1954. Second Edition, Mint Productions, New York, 1966.

Lin Gwo Ming (author) and Ma Tak Wo (editor): *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Gold & Silver Coins. Ching and Republican Issues*. Ma Tak Wo Numismatic Co. Ltd., 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, Hong Kong 2008.

Ma Fei Hai (general editor): *Zhong guo li dai huo bi da xi (The Great Series of Chinese Money)*, vol. 8, Silver Ingots and gold, silver and copper coins of the late Qing and Republic, Shanghai, 1998.

Poly Auctions International: Ma Dingxiang Sale, 8<sup>th</sup> December 2011.



**Lost World of the Golden King – In search of ancient Afghanistan,**

by Frank L. Holt, University of California Press. ISBN 9780520273429

Professor Frank Holt, author of *Thundering Zeus*, here returns to a favourite subject; how the forgotten history of Hellenistic Bactria was unearthed by coin collectors and archaeologists. Bactria was a Hellenistic kingdom centred on northern Afghanistan, which became independent c. 250 BC, and

eventually succumbed to nomad invasions roughly a century later.

Bactrian history has been largely reconstructed from its coins, many of which are highly renowned for their artistic ruler portraits. Bactrian coins were collected by adventurers serving the European empires in the ‘Great Game’ of colonialism, often at great personal risks. These adventures are vividly described by Holt, including the dramatic purchase of the gold medal of Eucratides I.

One difficult question about Hellenistic Bactria has always been whether its history belongs to the Greek world or whether Greek influence was just a shallow coating over essentially Iranian and Indian societies. With only few references in classical sources, there was ample room for speculation about the glorious conquests and fiery passions of these kings, what Holt refers to as “narrative numismatics”. The champion of this school was W.W. Tarn (1869-1957) who constructed a detailed history where Demetrius I of Bactria was a new Alexander, and Eucratides a member of the Seleucid royal house. But as Holt points out, very few of these lofty ideas could now bear scrutiny, and have largely been abandoned – or should have been: there are still examples of modern works based on Tarn’s outdated speculations.

But while Holt’s treatise is very informative on what the older historians did wrong, he may not acknowledge enough that today we have a more reliable chronology. In Tarn’s days, many kings were misdated, which means that he and other “narrative numismatists” were wrong by default. Also, they introduced speculative ideas without basis in Hellenistic kingship. After so many failures, Holt, and many scholars with him, are generally sceptical about trying to reconstruct the relations between the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings. For instance, Holt criticizes my first article from 2007, where I suggested some such relations.

Against this, Holt supports “new archaeology” (the term “cognitive numismatics” is also used) – a more comprehensive outlook on societies as a whole, rather than their top echelon. But Hellenistic societies were, perhaps more than any other epoch, shaped by kings and dynasties. The study of Hellenistic kingship is well developed – could it not be applied, with due care, to Bactrian history?

To take one critical example, Hellenistic princesses were routinely married off to seal dynastic alliances, which led to multiple marriages and predictable familial feuds. In this context, could the murder of Eucratides by his joint regent son (Justin, *Epitome* XLI:6) justly be regarded as “inexplicable”, as Holt states? After Philip II tried to kill Alexander (but fell over drunkenly) at the very wedding to a younger queen, Hellenistic history has recorded at least five<sup>5</sup> almost identical conflicts where older sons (and queens) were pushed aside. My point here is that to acknowledge that the political framework was personal to its nature is not the same as speculating about the personalities of the rulers, which Holt rightly criticizes many older scholars for.

After this, Holt surveys the collapse of Hellenistic Bactria, epitomized by the fall of Ai Khanoum. Holt presents the painstaking work by Professor Bernard’s team in excavating this remarkable city of the Asian steppes, which could well have been built on the Greek mainland. Combined archaeological and numismatic efforts have enabled a closer understanding of the disaster: surprisingly, the Greeks seem to have abandoned Ai Khanoum’s fortified walls to the nomads without much fighting. This happened either in the reign of Eucratides or shortly after. So how could this have happened?

Here, it would perhaps be suitable to make a comparison with the contemporary collapse of Hellenistic Media and Babylonia (c.150-129 BC), a conflict where weaknesses in the wider Hellenistic society played a lesser part. The Parthians were able to conquer the eastern Seleucid empire chiefly because the Seleucid dynasty was paralysed by devastating civil wars. The murder of Eucratides, and the many kings who appear after him, hint at a similar crisis of leadership in Bactria. Perhaps Ai Khanoum was

*kron bod dngul (Sichuan Tibet money = Sichuan Rupee)*. Zhong guo guo ji wen yi chu ban she (China International Art Publishing House), n.p. (Beijing?), 2011. ISBN 978-988-19593-0-0/W. 697, p. 161.

A Sichuan rupee countermarked with the western figure “2” also exists and was published by Gabrisch and Bertsch. This countermark is also a modern creation, possibly originating in Northern India. Cf. Gabrisch, Karl and Bertsch, Wolfgang: “Chopmarks on Sichuan Rupees and coins from Tibet”, *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 26, no. 3, March 1991, p. 57-65.

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy I, Lysimachus, Nicomedes of Bithynia and Antiochus I all disowned /killed their oldest son after remarrying; Antiochus II was probably poisoned by his senior queen.

abandoned and fell to the nomads simply because the dynastic faction who held the city did not control the Bactrian army? In that case, it would be difficult to know whether the changes to Bactrian society at the time, as well as the movements of the invading nomads, were responses to such a dynastic crisis – or whether it was the other way around.

Holt then compiles the rare epigraphic evidence from Bactria (even translating one difficult poem himself) and presents an interesting analysis of the language of Bactrian administrators, by going through the misspellings on coin legends. These increased gradually, which contradicts the idea that the Greek civilisation collapsed in one sudden catastrophe.

Catastrophe is, however, the theme of the book's seventh chapter: the chaotic situation in Afghanistan has led to enormous amounts of coins and other antiquities being looted and sold on the black market. Numismatists struggle to record new varieties and hoards before their origin is lost. Though it may seem trivial compared to the human suffering, in the long run the task of saving the historical heritage of Afghanistan, the ancient crossroad between East and West, is highly important.

Lost World is an attractive and well-written book by a leading expert, and while there may be scholars who wish to debate some of Holt's conclusions, he puts a welcome focus on the pitfalls and speculations of the past – the labour pains, as it were, of the birth of Bactria's history. Osmund Boppearachchi is working on a similar book regarding the Indo-Greeks. Holt's book includes comprehensive notes and references, plates and maps.

Jens Jakobsson

## Other News

The Tatar Academy of Science and CANI are jointly sponsoring a numismatic conference in Kazan on 19-20 March 2013. The topic is archaeology, history and numismatics of the steppe in the Middle Ages. Particular topics will be the Golden Horde, new methods in archaeology and advancements in scientific technology. Papers are invited. Please contact Pavel Petrov, the administrative organiser, Email: ppn@zmail.ru, for additional information.

## Corrigendum

Regarding the article "Some Rare Varieties of Tibetan Tangkas" by Wolfgang Bertsch (Journal of ONS, No. 212, p. 31), In the first line of the last paragraph one should read "B-group" instead of "F-group".

The first line of the caption to Fig. 5 should read:  
"Right: Rhodes type B iv. Struck on large flan of 31.16 mm. Weight 4.63 g"

## Articles

### NEW MONETARY MATERIAL FOR THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF 'ALĪ B. JA'FAR, JA'FARID EMIR OF TIFLIS, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By Irakli Paghava and Kirk Bennett

In 2009 one of the authors of this article published a previously unknown and unique early coin of 'Alī b. Ja'far<sup>6</sup>, a representative of the Ja'farid dynasty ruling the Tiflis Emirate in eastern Georgia. This discovery supplemented the six previously known coin types of this late Ja'farid emir<sup>7</sup>, constituting the 7<sup>th</sup> one. However, the research of the monetary history of 'Alī b. Ja'far's rule remains far

<sup>6</sup> Paghava I, Turkia S, "A New Early Coin Type of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis, Citing the Caliph Al-Tā'ī li-llāh", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 199 (2009): 7-9.

<sup>7</sup> Japaridze Gocha, "On the Coins of the Tbilisi Amīr 'Alī b. Ğa'far". *Bulletin D'Études Orientales* L (1998): 97-107.

from complete. Three years later we happened to discover yet another (the 8<sup>th</sup>, for the moment) coin type of this 11<sup>th</sup> century Ja'farid emir.

We are pleased to publish this new coin type here and will briefly review its historical significance. The aforesaid coin type is so far represented by a single specimen (Fig. 1). Its provenance is unclear, but according to third-hand information, it was dug up somewhere near the northern coast of the Black Sea - i.e., some distance from Georgia.<sup>8</sup> The coin is as follows: weight 0.82 g, dimensions 9 x 10 mm, die axis 7:00; AR / billon or a coin with silver-enriched surface (*de visu*, no alloy composition analysis could be performed);



Fig. 1 (enlarged)

Obv.

... الله ال  
لله وحده  
لا شريك له  
... قادر بالله

i.e. standard obverse formula for the late Ja'farid coinage:

لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / القادر بالله

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Rev. :

???  
... مظفر ابو ال...  
... على بن جعفر...  
?

i.e. the ruler's formula enunciating his name and title:

المظفر ابو ال... [الحسن] / على بن جعفر

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Both dies applied were much bigger than the flan. The surviving fragments of the obverse and, particularly, the reverse legends make this new coin type almost identical to the AH 394 or 404 type of 'Alī b. Ja'far<sup>9</sup>; however, the latter has a line of circles above

... المظفر ابو ال...  
whereas there is some legend in the aforesaid location on the specimen described above. The new coin type exhibits some semblance with the AH 413 and 418 types of 'Alī b. Ja'far's currency<sup>10</sup>; however, the reverse legend is as follows on both of the latter coin types:

المنصور ابو الحسن  
على بن جعفر

whereas the title "victorious" (المظفر) is featured in another line of the reverse legend. We, therefore, have to conclude that the coin we describe above constitutes a new, previously unpublished coin type, differing from all the other (seven) coin types described before.

It is virtually impossible to establish when exactly this new coin type was issued. The extant fragments of the legends do not contain any indication; the date could possibly be in one of the marginal legends, if there were any. Potentially the coin could have been issued at any time during the entire reign of 'Alī b. Ja'far, who was the Emir of Tiflis from at least 996/7 and died in 1028-1030. However, the calligraphy and, particularly, the physical appearance of the sole available coin are analogous to the late, AH 413 and 418 coinage of 'Alī b. Ja'far. These characteristics reflect

<sup>8</sup> Now it is preserved in a private collection.

<sup>9</sup> Japaridze, "On the Coins of the Tbilisi Amīr 'Alī b. Ğa'far".

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

the degradation of the Tiflis Emirate currency and presumably point to the last years of 'Alī b. Ja'far's reign.

In view of the recent discoveries<sup>11</sup>, it would not be inexpedient to revise the list of 'Alī b. Ja'far's coin types, as well as the type conformity guide with references to G. Japaridze's fundamental work on 'Alī b. Ja'far's coinage (cf. the Table<sup>12</sup>).

In terms of historical significance, the appearance of the new, only slightly different coin type of 'Alī b. Ja'far may seem to be unsubstantial; however, it makes a modest contribution toward clarifying the complex numismatic history of the Tiflis Emirate in the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of now no less than eight different coin types testifies to the relatively high activity of the Tiflis mint; the introduction of the new types apparently did not imply the recoinage of the circulating currency of the previous type/s (at least the coins of both AH 413 and 418 types are combined in the Tbilisi/Metekhi and Kvakhvrelī hoards<sup>13</sup>). Hence we may conjecture that the issue of the new types reflected the continuous demand for *supplementary* money, and the money circulation within the emirate was still vigorous enough in this epoch. Moreover, if the new coin described above was, in fact, unearthed on the northern shore of the Black Sea, it would suggest continued commerce on the part of the Ja'farids even in the waning years of the Tiflis Emirate.

Table. 'Alī b. Ja'far's coinage, type sequence and designations (conformity guide)

[Conjectural] type sequence according to the new data	New designations proposed:	According to G.Japaridze	Caliph Acknowledged
I	AH 386	I	at-Tā'ī' li-llāh
II	AH 386-394	-	at-Tā'ī' li-llāh
III	AH 394 or 404	II	al-Qādir bi-llāh
IV	mansūrī	V	al-Qādir bi-llāh
V	victorious ( <i>new type</i> )	-	al-Qādir bi-llāh
VI	AH 413-like	VI	al-Qādir bi-llāh
VII	AH 413	III	al-Qādir bi-llāh
VIII	AH 418	IV	al-Qādir bi-llāh

#### References

- Japaridze Gocha. "On the Coins of the Tbilisi Amīr 'Alī b. Ğa'far". *Bulletin D'Études Orientales* L (1998): 97-107.
- Paghava Irakli, Turkia Severiane. "A New Early Coin Type of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis, Citing the Caliph Al-Tā'ī' li-llāh." *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 199 (2009): 7-9.

## EARLIEST KNOWN FRACTIONS OF A VENAD COIN

By Beena Sarasan

The earliest known coins of Venad (the latterday Travancore ) are the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD silver coins of Vira Kerala<sup>14</sup> (c. AD 1127-1156), Udayamarthanda (AD 1175-1195) and the anonymous issues with the Nagari legend 'swastisrijayasimhasya'<sup>15</sup> attributable to around

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Paghava-Turkia, "A New Early Coin Type of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis, Citing the Caliph Al-Tā'ī' li-llāh".

<sup>12</sup> It is probable that even more new types belonging to the relatively long reign of 'Alī b. Ja'far will show up over the course of time.

<sup>13</sup> Japaridze, "On the Coins of the Tbilisi Amīr 'Alī b. Ğa'far".

<sup>14</sup> N. Lakshminarayana Rao, *Thirty one silver coins of Virakerala Varma*, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, 1947, p.97

<sup>15</sup> Beena Sarasan, *Traversing Travancore through the Ages on coins*, Poorna Publications, 2008, Calicut, p.10,21,22,

the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Coins of Vira Kerala bear on the obverse a two-line Nagari legend "sri vira keralasya" with a crocodile/makara between the lines. The reverse depicts a spider between the two-line Nagari legend "srigandarankusasya". These coins are not uncommon and several coin hoards have been reported. Although variations in size and weight are noticed among these coins, none of the hoards have brought to light a coin that can definitely be considered a smaller denomination. But recently, two coins have come into my possession that can definitely be classified as small fractions of the Vira Kerala coins. The first of these is illustrated below as coin no.1 and is understood to have been recovered from the Tamraparni riverbed<sup>16</sup>. Close on the heels of this discovery, a second coin, reportedly from the vicinity of Ambasamudram, was acquired by me and is found to be an even smaller denomination of the Vira Kerala coin and is illustrated as coin no.2 These two coins show different styles in execution of the emblem of the spider and script. To facilitate a comparative study, coins of Vira Kerala that have distinct styles in the depiction of the spider and the script are illustrated below as coins 3 & 4. (All illustrations enlarged)

#### Coin 1



Metal: silver; weight: 0.3gm; diameter: 8.5 mm

**Obv:** Two-line Nagari legend *Sri ga / nda ra* , crocodile or *makara* between the lines

**Rev:** Two-line Nagari legend *ku sha / sya* , spider inbetween the legend.

#### Coin 2



Metal: silver; weight: 0.2gm; diameter: 7mm

**Obv:** *sri ga / nda* in two line Nagari followed by a spider (in the place of a fourth letter)

**Rev:** *ra ku / sha sya* in two-line Nagari legend. (*sya* is clearly as in coin 4)

#### Coins 3 and 4



<sup>16</sup> As informed by S. Raman, Chennai. I thank him for this information

**Obv:** *Sri Vira Keralasya*, crocodile/ *makara* between the Nagari legend

**Rev:** *Sri Gandarankushasya*, spider between the Nagari legend  
The script on coin 4 has the “nail-headed” form.

Coins 3 & 4 of Vira Kerala are silver and the best examples of these coins have a weight approximating 2.5g with diameters ranging from 16-19 mm. The style of the script varies.

On coin 1 Vira Kerala has the title “*sri gandarankusa*” and his name is omitted as apparently the small flan of the coin cannot accommodate both the legends found on the bigger coins. Since the best examples of the big coins are found to have a weight of 2.5g (half *kazhanju*), coin 1 with a weight of 0.3g can be considered to be the  $\frac{1}{8}$  or the *Arai-kkal* denomination of the Vira Kerala coins. Coin 2, being smaller, depicts only a single emblem viz. a spider and the title “*sri gandarankusa*” The weight of 0.2g and its worn condition, resulting in weight loss, suggests it could be a  $\frac{1}{10}$ <sup>th</sup> fraction. The fact that Vira Kerala preferred to place his title rather than his name on the fractional coins, permits one to draw the inference that the title “*sri gandarankusa*” was easily identifiable and attributable to him. This title, according to L.N. Rao, means elephant god to the heroes. A coin hoard running into almost a thousand coins has been reported recently from Ozhigunassery, a place which is very near Chalapuram, a suburb of Nagarkoil, where the earliest stone inscription<sup>17</sup> of Vira Kerala is found. Several other hoards have been reported earlier. This fairly prolific issue with the difference in dies and style in scripts that we come across, suggests that these coins were struck from different mints in large numbers to advertise his title. What could be the incident/occasion that warranted the assumption of this title and what does it signify?

It has been suggested that these coins were issued by Vira Kerala “to advertise to his people and especially his army that he, the king of Venad, was now the rightful ruler and that the Kulasekhara dynasty had come to end,”<sup>18</sup> i.e. to advertise his independence. This has been the popular and hitherto accepted belief. But an in-depth analysis of the history of the period would show that Venad in this period was subordinate to the Cholas, more correctly to the Chola-Chalukyas (Eastern). The Tamil Poem, *Kalingattu parani*, of the days of Kulothunga Chola I (who combined in himself the Chola and Eastern Chalukya crowns) enumerates the Kupakas, the rulers of Venad, among the subject races that paid tribute to the emperor<sup>19</sup>. This subordinate position of Venad continued during the period of his immediate successors. The list of feudatories described in the *Vikramachola-ula* also includes the king of Venad.<sup>20</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising to find Vira Kerala making an endowment and assigning revenues arising from the *devadana* lands at Vadasserri, to the temple of *Rajendracholeswaramudaiyar mahadeva* that had been constructed around AD 1020 by an officer of Rajendrachola I at Kottar (Nagarkoil) alias *mummudicholanallur* This is the Chalapuram inscription referred to above. The subordinate position of Vira Kerala’s immediate successor, Koda Ravi Varma, is also clear from an inscription at the Ranganathswamy temple at Srirangam<sup>21</sup>. This record registers a gift of a golden lampstand with a ruby set in it to the God Ranganatha and a sum of  $68\frac{3}{8}$  *achchu* for lighting the lamp on all days of the year. The gift was made by Kodai Ravi Varman, “one of the *Venattadikal*” of Malainad in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Rajaraja II and corresponds to 19 Nov, AD 1156. In discussing this inscription, Sri. K.G. Krishnan notes that, “in connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Venad and the Chola monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaseri near Nagercoil in Venad. It states that in Kollam 340 (AD 1165) some members of

the Chola military establishment stationed at Kottaru, which is also near Nagercoil, in the same territory, in association with some members of two other Chola regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravaseri. It is evident that military cantonments at many places, including Kottaru, established by Kulottunga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, Venad was far from independent. It was subordinate to the Cholas and continued to be so even in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century for *Venadudaiyar* is mentioned as an officer under Virarajendradeva alias Kulottunga III whose latest year is AD 1217<sup>23</sup>.

Having found that Venad was subordinate to the Cholas during this period, we have to look for some other reason for Vira Kerala assuming the grandiose title. In deliberating on this unique title, L.N. Rao notes that “*Gandaraditya* and *Gandaraganda* are well known *birudas* in the Chola and Chalukya families, but I have not met with *gandarankusa* anywhere else although another variant of it in Kannada viz. *Kaligal-ankusa* is an appellation applied to certain chiefs of the Kannada country.”<sup>24</sup> Here it is noteworthy that, while in Tamil records the terms *Kali* and *Kali arasar* are used to refer to the Kalabhras or Kalachuris, in the *Vikramachola-ula*, the king of Venad is described as one who banished Kali from the earth. This suggests that Vira Kerala must have rendered outstanding service to the Cholas in their incessant battle against the Western Chalukyas of the Karnataka region, whose general/ *mahamandaleswara* around this time was the Kalachuri, Bijjala. His nephew significantly bears the name Kalideva or Kandara<sup>25</sup>. Thus the title *Gandarankusa* may be a reference to “banishing Kali from the earth” which essentially meant overcoming the Western Chalukyas and their Kalachuri general/ chieftains. Interestingly, one the battalions which continued to be stationed at Kottar in KE 340 (AD 1165) was called “*satyasrayakulakala-terinda-villikal*”.<sup>26</sup> Apparently the victory over the *Satyasrayakula* (chalukyas) must have been a noteworthy achievement meriting mention in the *Vikramachola-ula*, and the Venad ruler who was instrumental in this victory, issuing coins with the title that may have been conferred by the suzerain or assumed by the Venad ruler himself. It may be noted that, in the absence of a centralised government, the subordinate rulers could issue coins in their respective territories.

The emblems of the spider and the crocodile/*makara* have special significance to the Cholas and Eastern Chalukyas respectively (the latter bore the title *makaradwaja*) and indicate the association of the Venad rulers to their suzerains, who were also their marital allies<sup>27</sup>. According to the *Periyapuramam*, the Cholas treated the spider with reverence as their ancestor, Kochenkannan, was considered to have been a spider in his previous birth and significantly, the Kannada poet Pampa’s *Bharata* and the Parbhani Plates employ the analogy of the ferocious crocodile to the capture of the Eastern Chalukya ruler, Bhima I<sup>28</sup>. The Eastern Chalukyan connection with Venad is evident from an inscription<sup>29</sup> of the Eastern Chalukya prince, Sarvalokasraya sri Vishnuvardhana maharaja, alias chalukki Vijayadityan Vikkiannan, who came far into the south in c. AD 1029 to make an endowment to the Chalapuram temple in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Sundarachola Pandya, the son of Rajendra Chola

The coins of Vira Kerala have sometimes been referred to as *Virakerala panam*. This nomenclature is at variance with contemporary records. The coins mentioned in the records of this period are the *kasu*<sup>30</sup>(AD 1127) and *achchu*<sup>31</sup> (AD 1156 & 1168),

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.160, TAS Vol. V11. no.7

<sup>23</sup> Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy, 1914, p.89

<sup>24</sup> Supra n.1., p.100

<sup>25</sup> B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, AES Reprint 1986, p.81, footnote.

<sup>26</sup> TAS Vol.V11, No.7, p.13

<sup>27</sup> Beena Sarasan, *A Reappraisal of Vira Kerala coins*, SSIC, Vol XIX, p.87

<sup>28</sup> G. Yazdani, Ed., *The Early History of the Deccan*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, p.508

<sup>29</sup> TAS vol VI, p.8

<sup>30</sup> TAS, Vol. IV, p.18

<sup>31</sup> TAS, Vol V, p.63, supra n.8

<sup>17</sup> *Travancore Archaeological Series*, (TAS) Vol. IV, p.17

<sup>18</sup> M. Mitchiner, *The Coinage and history of southern India*, Hawkins Publications, 1998, Part I.1, p.159

<sup>19</sup> P. Sundaram Pillai, *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, Reprint, 1986, p.38, footnote-vide verse 8, Chapter XI, *Kalingattu Parani*

<sup>20</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, University of Madras, Reprint, 2000, p.347

<sup>21</sup> K.G. Krishnan, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, p.159-161

*salaga*<sup>32</sup> (a contemporary Kadamba gold coin?) and *azhagachchu*<sup>33</sup> (AD 1173). On the other hand, *panam* is found mentioned for the first time only in AD 1184 along with *salaga* and *azhagachchu*.<sup>34</sup> The endowment made in AD 1156 by one of the *Venattadigal*, Koda Ravi Varma, at Srirangam providing for lighting of the lamp with ghee and camphor was made in *achchu*, the coinage of the Venad territory. The corresponding coinage of the Chola country was the *kasu*.<sup>35</sup> and the rate of exchange is enumerated to be 9¼ *kasu* for one *achchu*. The *kasu* under reference was apparently a debased/low-weight variety. The capital deposited by the Venad prince in the Srirangam treasury was 68<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> (*aru-patt-ette-kale-arai-kkal*) *achchu* yielding an interest rate of slightly more than 18½ % per annum. Thus, we find that the ¼ fraction of the *achchu* or *arai-kkal achchu* was then part of the Venad currency. Since Ravi Varma has been referred to as one of the *Venattadigal* in AD 1156, it is presumed he was then a junior prince and, considering no coins of Ravi Varma have been reported<sup>36</sup>, the coins deposited at Srirangam could well have been the coins of Vira Kerala – the contemporary *achchu*. The *arai-kkal achchus* deposited at Srirangam may thus have been the *arai-kkal achchu* of Vira Kerala, similar to coin 1 under discussion; although the possibility of a gold version cannot be ruled out.

A comparison of coins 1 & 2 shows a difference in the style of depiction of the spider and also in the script. This difference is also reflected in coins 3 & 4. This suggests that coins 1 & 3 that are similar in style, are from one mint whereas coins 2 & 4, are from a different mint. The fact that the small-denomination coins retain the emblem of the spider in preference to the crocodile/ *makara* perhaps indicates that the Chola affiliation was more important to Venad rulers than the Eastern Chalukya connection.

## LATE-MUGHAL ZODIAC RUPEES OF ORCHHA NAGAR MINT

By S. Bhandare, J. Deyell and J. Lingen

In recent years Shailendra Bhandare has come across a few specimens of an exciting but hitherto unknown series of late-Mughal zodiac rupees issued by local rulers rather than by imperial functionaries. These are not another example of the very popular unofficial re-issues of Jahangir's zodiac coins, noted by so many contemporary travellers. Rather, they are proper issues in the name of Shah Alam II in his 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1764/5) but dated AH 1177 (AD 1763/4). They were evidently issued by the Bundela Rajput ruler of Orchha, during a brief period of political and military turbulence when Maratha, Imperial (Awadhi) and local (Gosain) interests jostled for the possession of Jhansi and its neighbouring tracts in Bundelkhand.

This note was occasioned by John Deyell's acquisition of a purported "temple token" from an old collection, which subsequently proved to be a new type in this short series. Jan Lingen has been kind enough to provide in-depth historical background from his ongoing researches into the numismatics of the region. Hence this tripartite report.

<sup>32</sup> Since the *Ana Achchu* of the Western Gangas was widely current in Venad, it is possible that gold coins of the Kadambas were also accepted. Perhaps *Salaga* relates to coin 3 p.48, *Karnataka Numismatic Studies* by Ganesh and Girijapathy

<sup>33</sup> TAS Vol 1, p.418, date corrected in Vol.1V, p.27

<sup>34</sup> TAS Vol.111, p.52

<sup>35</sup> K.G.Krishnan, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX111, p.160

Dr. Nagaswamy has drawn our attention to this record in his Presidential address at the South Indian Numismatic society conference in 2010. I thank him

<sup>36</sup> The attribution made in SSIC Vol. V111, p.84 is a mistake. The author may be contacted at beenasarasan@gmail.com

Catalogue (illustrations slightly enlarged)

### 1. Normal (non-zodiac)



Silver, unpatinated, reported as normal rupee diameter and weight.

Obv: (only partially visible):

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar, sāyah faẓl-ilah; hāmī-dīn muḥammad shāh 'ālam bādshāh. 11xx*

(Coin struck in the seven climes in the shadow of divine favour; the defender of the faith of Muhammad, emperor Shah 'Alam).

Symbols: pataka (banner) above "īn" of "dīn" in the 2<sup>nd</sup> line of the inscription, gada (mace) above "kishwar" in the 3<sup>rd</sup> line of the inscription.

Rev: Standard Mughal reverse inscription:

*sanah jalūs maimanat mānūs 6*

(regnal year 6 associated with prosperity)

and below:

*ẓarb aūnrchhā nag[ar]*

(struck at the city of Orchha).

Traces of two letters above, which some have read on clearer specimens as "[r]o[shah]n [akhtar]"

Provenance: Zubair Khan collection. Photo courtesy of Zubair Khan. Rare.

### 2. Taurus (Vrisabha)



Silver, lightly patinated, diameter and weight awaiting confirmation.

Obv: (Jumbled):

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar, sāyah faẓl-ilah; hāmī-dīn muḥammad shāh 'ālam bādshāh. 1177*

(Coin struck in the seven climes in the shadow of divine favour; the defender of the faith of Muhammad, emperor Shah 'Alam).

Symbols: pataka (banner) above "īn" of "dīn" in the 2<sup>nd</sup> line of the inscription, gada (mace) above "kishwar" in the 3<sup>rd</sup> line of the inscription.

While the wording and layout of this obverse inscription is the same as found on the rare non-Zodiac rupee of the same date (i.e. no. 1, above), this is a different die with slightly superior engraving.

Rev: Standing bull facing right, solar rays in arc above, legend to right “*sanah jalūs 6*” (regnal year 6) and below, “*zarb aūnrchhā nagar*” (struck at the city of Orchha).

Provenance: British Museum (photo used with permission of the Trustees). One of the two known.

3. *Same*, but second specimen



Silver, darkly patinated, diameter and weight unknown.

Obv: Image unavailable. Presumed identical to no. 2, above, but this is unconfirmed.

Rev: Exactly as 1 above. Looped. Quite possibly same die as no. 1

Provenance: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University (photo courtesy S. Bhandare). One of the two known.

4. *Cancer (Karkata)*



Silver, lightly patinated, about 28 mm, 11.25 g.

Obv: Exactly as on 2, above. Same die, but full border details because of large flan size.

Rev: Crab centre. Solar rays in full circle around.

Provenance: Dr. Suresh Kawale collection (ex Spink Auction Zurich 1991 lot 521). Photo courtesy Dr. Kawale. Unique.

5. *Sagittarius (Dhanus)*



Silver, darkly patinated, diameter and weight unknown.

Obv: Image unavailable. Presumed identical to no. 2, above, but this is unconfirmed.

Rev.: Centaur archer (horse lower body, man upper body) standing, facing right, holding bow in lowered left hand and arrow in raised right hand. Solar rays in arc left and right.

Provenance: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University (photo S. Bhandare). Unique.

6. *Aquarius (Kumbha)*



Silver, darkly patinated, 26 mm, 11.16 g.

Obv: Exactly as on 2 and 4, above. Same die.

Rev: Woman kneeling in shallow boat, facing left, holding bowl and lamp. Solar rays in arc above.

Provenance: Deyell collection (ex Hack, 1938). Photo J. Deyell. Unique.

**Discussion**

Are these coins or tokens? Given their close adherence to the rupee weight standard, and given the very close similarity of their obverse to the “normal” rupee of Orchha Nagar mint name, it has to be agreed that they were produced in an official mint, and hence were official issues. Several of the specimens show signs of wear, and hence must have passed at least briefly into circulation; i.e. were accepted as rupees.

Who produced them, and why? The inclusion of the Orchha raja’s typical “gada” symbol and the use of the Orchha mintname, leaves little doubt that they were issued by the Orchha raja, but which one? The Bundela ruler of Orchha, Sawant Singh (1752-65), who had been more or less steadfast in his loyalty to his Maratha overlords, died in 1765. His successor Hate Singh (1765-8) was forced by Holkar to pay a substantial sum to assure his recognition by the Maratha court at Pune (Das Gupta 1987, 145-6).

Such a carefully engraved set of zodiac coins were produced for a ceremonial purpose; the inclusion of the Maratha “pataka” symbol suggests they may have been intended to affirm a subordinate relationship, at a time when formal sovereignty was being contested between the Marathas (the subahdars of Malwa) and the subahdar of Awadh.

Putting these meagre facts together, it appears possible that the zodiac coins were struck by Hate Singh as part of his accessional ceremonies or the formalities of confirmation by the Marathas.

Were they struck in Orchha itself? One difficulty is that there were no coins with this mint name struck immediately before or after this period, so it is unlikely a mint existed. J. Lingen believes serious consideration must be given to the possibility that the coins, although mint-named Orchha, may have been struck elsewhere, in a mint known to have been active in this period: Jhansi is the prime candidate. This knotty issue will be investigated in a second, follow-up article.

S. Bhandare believes that the use of a single obverse die could well indicate that the whole series was struck at a single time, perhaps as a presentation set. In this case, we would eventually expect to see more of this zodiacal series emerge, now that they have been identified.

J. Deyell favours the interpretation that the coins were minted sequentially over a period of time, with the zodiacal signs representing the month of issue. He notes that while a single die was used for all the issues, this could simply indicate a very small mintage over an extended period of time. Despite a common die, the coin blanks varied considerably in size, which was not likely to happen if all were struck at the same time. No. 4 (Cancer) shows a full nazarana-type flange with complete circle of dots; no. 6 (Aquarius) shows a slightly narrower flange with the circle of dots only partially showing; no. 2 (Taurus) has a still-narrower flange, with none of the circle of dots visible.

Given the lack of reporting of this series over the last century or so, the present four types may well be the only ones produced; i.e. they were only struck as and when needed, and in very small

quantities. Time, and possible further discoveries, will eventually settle this issue.

### Chronology

Assuming, for the sake of argument, the coins were produced in their month of zodiacal representation, the table below charts the succession of their production.

AH 1177 commenced on 12 July 1763 (Codrington 1904, 220), which was during the solar sign Cancer, and terminated on 30 June 1764, also in Cancer. However, Shah 'Alam II's 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year started on 6 October 1764 (Hodivala 1923, 288) during the solar sign Libra. In any date clash, the later date obviously is the more trustworthy (an earlier obverse die may have been paired with the later reverse dies). The zodiacal precession for that 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year (Gregorian calendar or New Style), is as follows:

Zodiac sign	Indian sign	Ilahi month	Dates (Gregorian)	Orchha issues
Libra	Tula	Mihr	23 September to 22 October 1764	
Scorpio	Vrscika	Aban	23 October to 21 November 1764	
Sagittarius	Dhanus	Azar	22 November to 21 December 1764	✓(?)
Capricorn	Makara	Dai	22 December 1764 to 19 January 1765	
Aquarius	Kumbha	Bahman	20 January to 18 February 1765	✓
Pisces	Mina	Isfandarmuz	19 February to 20 March 1765	
Aries	Mesha	Farwardin	21 March to 20 April 1765	
Taurus	Vrisabha	Ardibihisht	21 April to 20 May 1765	✓
Gemini	Mithuna	Khurdad	21 May to 20 June 1765	
Cancer	Karkata	Tir	21 June to 22 July 1765	✓
Leo	Simha	Amardad	23 July to 22 August 1765	
Virgo	Kanya	Shahrewar	23 August to 22 September 1765	

A study of the surviving monthly-marked (Ilahi) silver coins of Akbar and Jahangir from Ahmadabad and Tatta mints in treasure trove hoards, has revealed that the imperial minting process followed an annual rhythm (Strnad 2001, 200-1). Production was lowest during the north Indian monsoon (July-August-September), reached a maximum in October-December, and experienced a final surge in May-June. There were a number of factors influencing this cycle. For one, the arrivals of silver on the west coast in European ships tended to crest from October onwards, while the southwest monsoon winds were still blowing, but the storms had abated; likewise with the coastal trade from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Overland shipments from Persia tended to arrive on the western frontiers once the snows of winter had passed in the Hindu Kush, i.e. April onwards, as did maritime shipments from

Japan via Java and/or Malacca, on the north-east monsoon. So the price and availability of silver on the domestic Indian market tended to follow annual highs and lows, in the days of sail.

One of the main reasons to mint silver rupees was to meet the payroll of armies. Traditionally the monsoon season was a slack season for military activities, while the winter was high season especially for cavalry operations. So we would expect the mint in a state facing military pressure (as the Bundela state was from both Awadh and the Marathas in the 1760s), to have a higher demand for coinage in the campaigning season. The monthly pattern shown by these zodiacal coins of Orchha, apparently conforms to this cycle: Sagittarius (November-December) to Cancer (June-July).

Of course, given the rarity of these coins (hitherto unpublished after some two centuries of dedicated reporting), we cannot make much of the issue of coinage volume or its likely impact on army recruitment; clearly very few were struck. Still, even if the coins were special ceremonial or presentation issues, their timing was subject to the silver availability cycle as well as the campaigning season, the period when the ceremonies of loyalty and largesse were most active. Further research in the Maratha records at Pune might well indicate if the timing of their striking relates in any way to the confirmation of the accession of Raja Hate Singh Bundela.

### Artistry

The renditions of both Sagittarius (Dhanus) and Aquarius (Kumbha) show the strong influence of late Mughal artistic conventions. Dhanus, clad in a front-pleated dhoti and wearing a small rearward-sloping turban, resembles dozens of portraits of notables found in later Mughal scrapbooks of miniature paintings. Likewise, the rendition of the seated female representing Kumbha, legs tucked under with a sari hem showing, dupatta trailing behind, hair tightly braided, is redolent of the many serving women and women offering puja, in miniatures of the same period. It cannot be said there is any European influence in these portraits, despite the late date.

While these renditions of the constellations show considerable originality within a well-defined aesthetic tradition, there remains a very significant artistic link between these coins and the renowned zodiacal coins of the emperor Jahangir: the common background of solar rays. Virtually all the Jahangiri zodiacs in both silver and gold used this solar symbolism, as indeed was totally appropriate for stellar constellations defined by the seasonal progress of the sun.

Of these four Orchha zodiac coins, the closest to a Great Mughal original is the Taurus, which is strikingly similar to the Taurus mohur of Agra mint in the British Museum (Whitehead pl. VIII-2). The Cancer, while similar in body design to the Jahangir Ahmadabad Cancer rupee (Whitehead pl. VII-8), differs considerably by being completely within the circle of solar rays. This particular style is only known on the rare Lahore mohurs issued by empress Nur Jahan, now located in the Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg museum collections (Whitehead pl.X-8 to X-11). This layout, however, tended to be extensively copied in later generations by those creating sets of zodiacal mohurs for the art market.

The Sagittarius, being two-legged, is quite original and quite different from Jahangir's four-legged Sagittarius (Whitehead pl. X-9 and X-10). The Aquarius is quite unique and unrelated to any of Jahangir's representations of a water-carrier. This was always the rarest and most imperfectly-rendered of all of Jahangir's zodiacal coins. The originals being so rare, it appears that many different fantasy renditions were invented in subsequent centuries to enable complete sets of twelve to be formed. Since few if any engravers had seen genuine Aquarius mohurs, their imaginations ran riot. Only two specimens, in Paris and St. Petersburg, offered a rendition of Aquarius that respected the norms and tenets of Mughal miniatures (Whitehead pl. VII-1). In that case, Aquarius was a water carrier in normal Muslim dress, pouring water out of a kumbha. By way of contrast, this Orchha Aquarius is quite unique in being in a boat taking part in a water-borne ceremony rather than carrying water itself. I wonder if the occasion is not Diwali,

with the maiden floating on the water bearing a diya (lamp)? If so, the symbol of Aquarius is close to portraying a river as well.

In this, we must admit that the fresh local artistic style is as strong here as the remnant Imperial tradition. Interestingly, this emergence of a fresh aesthetic parallels the development of a Hindu-themed miniature tradition in Rajput courts, about the same period. We may with confidence state, that the creation of these unique zodiacal coins mirrored the emergence of a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultural elements, during a period of considerable social, political and economic transition.

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## THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S COPPER COINAGE AT DHOLARAH AND ITS CIRCULATORY CONTEXT: A STUDY IN 'KACHCHAFICATION'

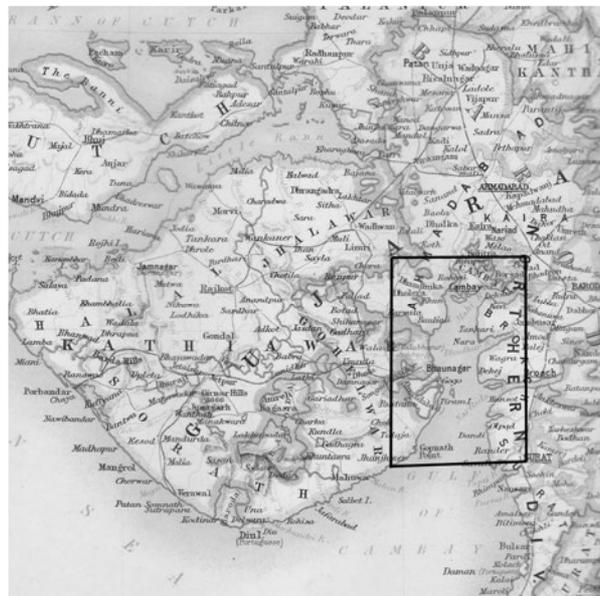
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### Introduction

Dholarah or Dholera is an old port city, located in Dhandhuka Taluka of Ahmadabad district in the modern state of Gujarat. It is presently being developed as a 'Special Investment Region' by the Government of Gujarat. However, Dholera's commercial importance dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The creek on which it stands was then open to shipping, so it was quite an important, though small, port on the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay). This part of the Kathiawar peninsula first came into the possession of the EIC in 1802 as a result of treaties signed with the leading political powers in the region, namely the Gaikwads of Baroda and the head of the Maratha Confederacy, the Peshwa. During the American civil war (1862-65), Dholera emerged as the chief port for cotton exports in Gujarat, supplying cotton from upcountry cotton-growing regions to Bombay. However, by the end of the nineteenth century the port had silted up and was no longer in use. Attempts to revive it are under way.

### Archival References

In 1816 the Collector of Kaira (Mr Rowles), the district under which Dholera was jurisdictionally located, wrote to the Governor in Council at Bombay informing him that there was a shortage of copper coins in the area and asking to be allowed to re-establish a 'pice manufactory'<sup>1</sup>:



*I request you to represent to the Right Honble the Governor in Council that the copper currency within the Kaira Collectorship is extremely bad and that the lower orders of society, whose labor is compensated by a daily payment in pice, are considerable sufferers from this circumstance.*

*In addition to the badness of the pice, a further inconvenience is experienced arising from the different degrees of value set upon them, and not only in different towns and villages are pice of different weights and value in circulation, but even in the same place.*

*The class of society that benefits from this want of uniformity in the copper circulation are the many changers who speculate with the commodity, as a merchant with any article of traffic, and thus obtain an advantage in addition to what they are justly paid on exchanging copper for silver or vice versa.*

*The copper currency in the districts subordinate to the Guicowar, the Peshwa, the Nawab of Cambay and in fact throughout the province generally, with the exception of this jurisdiction, is brought under control, either by the establishment of manufactories or by sanctioning such pice only to pass in circulation as are of a certain weight, which is ascertained at an office fixed for that purpose and the approval is notified by a stamp.*

*The pice in circulation in this jurisdiction are chiefly manufactured at Bhownugur by a class of people called Purjea*

Soonees, and are of a very inferior description with regard to the metal they are composed of, as well as their weight. Consequently they are much cheaper than any other pice, and the poor person who may receive payment by a given number of pice, instead of a certain proportion of a rupee is a material sufferer from the depreciation.

The reason why no measure has hitherto been adopted to remedy this evil within the Kaira jurisdiction, originates in a measure proposed by the Honble the Court of Directors, communicated in their letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> September 1808, and replied to by my predecessor on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1809, when it was suggested that 50,000 rupees worth of pice of British manufacture should be forwarded for the use of these districts, but the suggestion has not since been adopted.

Under date the 25<sup>th</sup> August 1810, I had the honor to submit a petition relative to the establishment of a pice manufactory at Dollerah, to which the sanction of Government was communicated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the following month permitting me to make an experiment of the plan proposed.

The manufactory was accordingly established and about four hundred and nineteen maunds of copper were worked into pice and circulated at the proposed rate of 64 for a rupee.

As the experiment was only extended to Dollerah and its vicinity, this quantity of pice proved sufficient for the circulation and I stopped the manufactory, fearful that a more extensive issue might tend to detract from the value of the pice and thereby not only be productive of a loss but also baffle that part of the object which was to keep the exchange at a given number of pice for a rupee of a given value.

The pice above stated to have been manufactured for Dollerah are now become inadequate to the demand and it would be expedient to set the manufactory again on foot, provided the objective is not extended and rendered applicable to the whole of the jurisdiction.

A sense of the benefit that will accrue, both to Government and to the Public, from the establishment of a regular pice manufactory, makes me solicitous to submit the subject for the consideration of the Right Honble the Governor in Council, and to request his sanction to the introduction of a manufactory at this place for the use of the jurisdiction generally.

The Governor passed the request to the Bombay mint committee who replied that they were not in favour of copper coins being produced anywhere in the Presidency except in the Bombay mint but that they would like to have specimens of all the copper coins in the Dholera district sent to them<sup>2</sup>:

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1<sup>st</sup> instant giving cover to the copy of one from the collector of Kaira and desiring us to suggest the most advisable means to be adopted for supplying the collectorship of Kaira with copper pice.

In reply we request you will have the goodness to state to the Right Honble the Governor in Council that in our opinion it is not desirable to sanction private coinages of any description and that as all our other mints are now abolished, not only the Kaira Collectorship, but all the districts subordinate to this Presidency should in future be supplied with copper pice from the Bombay mint.

To ascertain how this might be effected in the best manner, it was necessary that we should inform ourselves of the actual value of what Mr Rowles appeared to consider the best description of Pice in circulation in the Kaira district and we have accordingly been endeavouring, but in vain, to trace any account on our records of the expense or outturn of the four hundred and nineteen (419) maunds of copper stated, in the eighth paragraph of that gentleman's letter, to have been coined into pice at the pice manufactory at Dollera in 1810.

Under these circumstances we beg to recommend that the collector be directed to send down by an early opportunity specimens to the number of sixty four (64) of each sorts of the different kinds actually current within his district for examination, and in the meantime, judging from the description Mr Rowles has

given of them, we may state that we have little doubt that a superior coinage may be introduced of a weight sufficient to secure a regular supply from this mint without incurring loss even in the event of the price of copper becoming much higher than it is at present.

A copy of this was passed to the Collector at Kaira with instructions to send examples of the copper coins in circulation there, to Bombay.

In December of 1816, the assistant collector of Kaira replied to the mint committee's request and sent the copper coins as ordered<sup>3</sup>:

I have the honor in reply to your letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> August last, with copy of a letter to your address under date the 24<sup>th</sup> of that month from the mint committee, on the subject of a coinage of pice for this jurisdiction, to transmit specimens to the number of sixty four of each sort of the different kinds of pice now current within this collectorship.

I beg leave to refer the Right Honble the Governor in Council for every information which seems requisite in regard to these specimens (ten in number) to the annexed memorandum.

In reference to the 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph of the Committee's letter to your address, I have the honor to submit a statement exhibiting the result of the manufacture of pice which Mr Rowles, in the 8<sup>th</sup> para of his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> July last, reported to have been carried out at Dholera, under the authority of Government dated 25<sup>th</sup> August 1810. The quantity of copper coined did not exceed 330 maunds, 1 quarter, 1 pennyweight...

In the same letter he provided a list of the different types of pice sent to Bombay:

Bhaunagar, old  
Bhaunagar, new  
Goga\*  
Dhundroka\*  
Dollerah\*  
Dholka  
Kaira  
Mondheh  
Nerriad  
Naupar

He stated that those marked with a \* were of the Dolerah coinage of 1811 & 1812. They are place names, marked on the map as Dhandhuka and Gogo (as well as Dholera). Exactly what this means is not entirely clear, but we shall discuss it further. He also added a statement of the number of pice produced:

330 maunds 11¼ [gr] copper coined into pice at 64 per rupee, yielding 725,990. Value rupees 11,343 . 2 . 37

This whole event provoked considerable discussion within the Bombay mint committee about the necessity to improve the coinage of Bombay, but as far as the Kaira copper coinage was concerned, it was eventually decided that 50,000 rupees worth of pice should be sent to Kaira from Bombay<sup>4</sup> and no further pice coinage took place at Dholera.

### The Coinage

A couple of years ago, the copper coins with mint-name 'Bandar Dholarah' were identified by one of us (SB). Although the legend was read with certainty and the location of the mint satisfactorily ascertained, a secondary corroboration for the minting activity undertaken at Dholera was lacking. The archival reference that the other author (PJES) has been able to track is, therefore, a very welcome addition to our knowledge of this short-lived coinage. However, the reference is also useful because it sheds an important light on the circulation of copper currency in the region of the Gulf of Cambay. In the following pages, we will attempt to outline it in the context of the available numismatic evidence. However, first, it is necessary to describe the coins of the Dholera mint as they have not as yet been published properly. We are grateful to M/s Ganesh

Nene (Mumbai), Jan Lingen and Jan Lucassen (the Netherlands) for allowing us to access coins from their collections for this study, in addition to coins from the Stevens collection. The coins are illustrated here as Figs. 4-12.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

The coins are rather crudely struck specimens on which, as is usual, only part of the legend can be seen. The date is rarely visible, but we have been able to find specimens with clear dates AH 1225 (Fig. 5) and AH 1226 (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7), both of which match exactly with the duration of the functioning of the 'manufactory' as indicated in the archival reference reproduced above. The coins all weigh about 8-9g and have a diameter of about 19.5-21.5mm. A full-die impression, showing the complete obverse and reverse dies, can be created after studying the available specimens and it is shown here as Figs. 1- 3.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

From these, we can see that the obverse carries a Farsi/Hindustani inscription *sarkār kampanī bahādūr* followed by the date, and the reverse carries a legend *bandar dholārah*. Both inscriptions are enclosed within circular borders – on some coins it is composed of a saw-toothed inward edge. On one coin, the saw-teeth are replaced with semicircles. There appears to be a difference in placement of legends – on coins dated AH 1225, the word 'bahādūr' appears at the top, 'kampanī' and 'sarkār' in the word 'sarkār' appear below it and the date is placed right at the bottom of the design, beneath a divider formed by the 'sar...' of 'sarkār'. On coins dated AH 1226, the word 'bahādūr' appears after the word 'sarkār' and it seems the word 'kampanī' forms the last horizontal divider at the bottom. Contrary to the issues of the previous year, the date 1226 appears right at the top. Depending on this variation, the coins may be classified as 'Type 1' and 'Type 2'.

There is also a noteworthy degradation noticed in surviving specimens of both types. On some coins, the legends are executed in retrograde (See Fig. 11 and Fig. 12 for retrograde reverse), on some others the words 'sarkār', 'kampanī' etc. are ill-executed, the 'ka' looking more like a large Indian numeral '4' (see Fig. 8 and Fig. 10). This observation would seem to be at odds with the reported fact that the 'manufactory' was run for a relatively short time only as an 'experiment', during which one would presume the issue was not long enough lived to induce so many die-variations and executorial changes in the design.

Another significant aspect to be noted is that at least two of the coins illustrated here are counterstruck (Fig. 9 and Fig. 11). The undertype in the case of Fig. 11, is identifiable – it is either a copper fulus, struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar II, issued by the Maratha government mint at Ahmedabad, or a 'transitional' British issue, which immediately succeeded the Maratha coinage, when the city of Ahmedabad came under British control. The Maratha issue is listed as T6 for the Ahmedabad mint by

Maheshwari & Wiggins ('Maratha Mints and Coinage, Nasik, 1989, p. 41). It is plausible that one of these two is also the undertype for the coin shown in Fig. 9, although it is not as clearly identifiable as in the first instance. This is interesting inasmuch as both coins have the 'Dholarah' overtype of reasonably crude calligraphy. The Maratha undertype is listed by Maheshwari & Wiggins as bearing RY9 and AH 1232/R.Y10. It appears to have been struck during a period of a temporary re-occupation of the city by the Peshwas after almost ten years of control by the Gaikwads of Baroda (for further discussion on Ahmedabad coins, see Shailendra Bhandare - 'Maratha Issues of Ahmedabad', *ONSNL* 184, 2005 and Alfred Master - 'The post-Mughal coins of Ahmedabad, or a Study in mint-marks', *JASB-NS*, vol. XXII, 1913). The British undertype was first reported by Ken Wiggins in *ONSNL* 73 (August 1981), where it bears the AH date 1234. The fact that one of the plausible undertypes is dated to AH 1232 and the other to AH 1234, clearly indicates that the issue of 'Dholarah' coins went on for at least seven or eight years after the Company's 'manufactory', situated there, struck coins first in AH 1225 and 1226. The observation that the counterstruck coins are of a crude execution is also interesting, as we shall see below.

### The circulatory context of the Dholarah coinage

It is evident from the first four paragraphs of the letter from the Collector of Kaira, quoted above, that the situation regarding a circulating copper currency was far from satisfactory in the littoral surrounding the Gulf of Cambay. Not only was there a shortage of copper coins, their issue appears to have been ad-hoc, and "pice of different weights and values" existed in circulation. These coins circulated at "different degrees of value set upon them", a malpractice that extended not only between towns and villages, "but even in the same place". The root of this evil rested largely in the practice that the local polities, namely "The Guicowar, the Peshwa and the Nawab of Cambay" would sanction circulation of pice, which "were of certain weight" in areas under their respective controls, through offices which would ensure this with their approval "notified by a stamp". However, the system was largely thwarted by the fact that a certain class of people from the neighbouring area of Bhaunagar were flooding the market with "cheaper pice" which were apparently of "a very inferior description with regard to the metal they are composed of, as well as their weight".

The process described here is an early 19<sup>th</sup> century classic – that involving what monetary historian Frank Perlin named 'Gimcrack' copper coins and Barry Tabor identified as 'Kachcha Paisas' (See Frank Perlin - 'Money-use in Late Pre-colonial India', in *Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India*, ed. J. Richards, OUP-India, 1987, p. 291); Barry Tabor - 'Theories of Kachchans', *JONS* 205, 2010). They were ostensibly struck by private moneyers without any explicit political sanction, but no doubt under the umbrella of local political authorities who were implicit in it inasmuch as a share of profits made through the manipulations of issue and circulation of such currency ultimately reached them. These 'authorities' could come with various degrees of control and importance – from higher up the political hierarchy such as landed barons, warlords, and title-holders, sliding into lower echelons of power, through a cascade of intermediaries ending in petty *zamindars*, or even community or caste leaders. One of us (SB) would venture to name this process '**Kachchafication**' – where a large quantity of seemingly unattributable copper coins show various degrees of executional standards, but in most instances traceable to a 'prototype' circulated entirely through intermediaries that rendered them 'circulatable' for the masses. As the report of the collector states, the class that profited did so not only by taking advantage of fluctuating exchange rates but also causing the fluctuations artificially by speculating in the coins, just "as a merchant with any article of traffic". The report names 'Purjeea Sonis' – a sub-caste of goldsmiths – from Bhaunagar as the manufacturers of these 'Kachcha' coins but there is little doubt that most mercantile communities in the region were involved in this monetary chaos, making the most of it.

One reason why the situation had become so dire was the political turmoil in the region. In the middle of the preceding century, Gujarat had been brought under the control of the Marathas. As a Mughal province, the region had enjoyed almost a century of stability and had been prosperous. In its hinterland, the ruling elite was comprised of scores of Gujarati feudatory chiefs, whose existence as the landed aristocracy of the realm had gone practically unchallenged for the past several centuries of Islamic rule. As the control of the Mughal administration waned steadily in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the wealth of Gujarat lured the Marathas into launching a series of tribute-exacting raids into the province. The final onslaught came in 1752 when the combined troops of two Maratha grandees, namely the Peshwa and Damaji Gaikwad, won over Ahmedabad, the capital of the province, from the Mughals. The province was subsequently apportioned between the Gaikwad and the Peshwa, each carving out his 'zones of influence' in order to collect tributes from the feudatories. However, this was not an easy task, particularly after the descendants of Afghan 'soldiers of fortune' who served as Mughal governors, also established themselves in the province at critical geographic locations such as Junagarh, Cambay, Bharuch and Surat, as local 'Nawabs'. The history of the province for the rest of the 18<sup>th</sup> century thus became a saga of tribute-collecting campaigns by the political overlords (Marathas, Gaikwads, the Nawabs), the failure of opportunistic feudatories ('Thakores', 'Rawals', 'Ranas' etc. belonging to a 'Rajput' order) to pay up, and the military tussles which took place to keep these processes within checks and balance. The situation also evolved with respect to the political dynamics between the parties – the Gaikwads were virtually alienated from the Peshwa after a succession dispute following Damaji's death in 1766 and sought to rely more on the British to bolster their own political agendas.

In 1802, the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, concluded a 'subsidiary alliance' treaty with the British and accepted the Company's protection in lieu of territorial concessions, some of which were in Gujarat. About the same time, the Gaikwads under Anand Rao gave concessions to the British in the region of the Gulf of Cambay. The Gulf, bordered by the littoral controlled by the Nawab of Cambay, the Peshwa, the Gaikwads and territories belonging to the Thakore of Bhaunagar, now had a new political entity added into the fray.

The fact that copper coins were either manufactured locally or countermarked to indicate their passing into circulation, is mentioned in the collector's report. We have a number of examples that fit the second sort mentioned – rectangular bits of copper, of varying weight, bearing one or more small mark(s). Some such are illustrated here as Figs. 13 to 19.



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

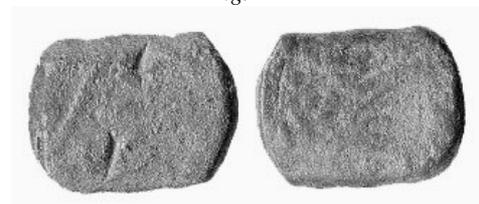


Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

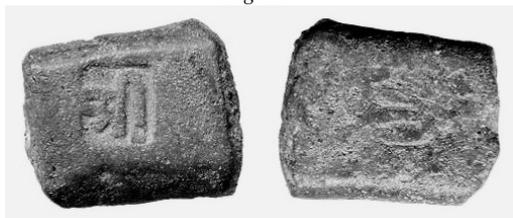


Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Some of them are struck on unrecognisable older copper coins, while some appear to have been manufactured out of fresh bits of copper. In general they betray a typical appearance. The marks, as attested by the reference, show 'affinity' with the local political powers – namely "the Guikowar, the Peishwa and the Nawab of Cambay". This observation is further strengthened by the fact that similar marks occur on contemporary (and later) coins of these political entities. Thus, the 'sword' (Fig. 14) can be identified as a mark of the Gaikwads as its presence is a constant feature on coins of Baroda from its inception in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, the 'Trisul' (Fig. 16) can be seen as the mark of the Peshwa; a similar mark is seen on the copper coins of the Ahmedabad mint, described above, as the undertype for one of the Dholarah coppers. The Nawab of Cambay's mark is the Farsi word 'shāh' (Fig. 19), and it continues later on 19<sup>th</sup> century coins of Cambay. The two political authorities the report does not mention is the Thakore of Bhaunagar and the many Muslim feudatories that belonged to the extended 'Babi' family which had its stronghold at Junagarh. But their marks are evidently present in the repertoire. The letter 'shrī' (Fig. 18) is seen on many contemporary and later Bhaunagar coins, and is ostensibly a Bhaunagar mark. Similarly, the letter 'bā' (Fig. 13) could well be taken as a mark for the 'Babis', much as it is seen on coins of Junagarh.

Some such coins were published by Maheshwari & Wiggins in their monograph, in the 'miscellaneous and unattributed' section, p. 194, T20 *et infra*, ostensibly because of their misunderstanding that all such coins were issued under Maratha authority alone. The discussion so far, as well as the evidence found in the Collector of Kaira's correspondence, indicates that these are not 'Maratha' coins, but types of 'Kachcha Paisa' that circulated in the Gulf of Cambay region. T24, T25 and T26 show a rectangular incuse stamp with the words 'shrī sāwa' inscribed within. This is a version of a symbol seen on Bhaunagar coins where it is shown as 'shrī' followed by the Gujarati numeral sign for '1¼', which is an

auspicious number-letter combination. In the case of the coins illustrated by Maheshwari & Wiggins, this is rendered fully in words, 'sāwa' standing for 'sawwā', meaning '1¼' in Gujarati.

As the coins circulated from regions under the control of one political authority to the other, marks with respective 'affinity' were added onto them and as such it is possible to have coins showing marks denoting multiple political authorities. Thus T22 shown in Maheshwari & Wiggins (op.cit.) has 'shrī' of Bhaunagar on the obverse, and the Maratha 'trisul' on the reverse. T20 has both these symbols, in addition to the letter 'bā', which as we have already seen, could well stand for the Babi family of Junagarh. T26 clearly shows the 'shrī sāwa' mark counterstruck over a 'shāh', suggestive of a Cambay issue.

#### 'Kachchafication' of Dholarah Coins?

Comparing the evidence of the circulatory context of the surviving Dholarah issues with some of the details that the archival reference furnishes, brings forth a few interesting observations about what was going on in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the region of the Gulf of Cambay. As we have seen, the copper coin circulation in the region was dominated by 'Kachcha' issues, with fluctuating values bringing misery to the poor labourers who were paid their wages in these coins. The very fact that wage payment at a lower level in the labour market was being done through coined specie is indicative of 'Deep Monetisation' of the economy. It would be a matter of interesting research in monetary history to investigate how this 'Deep Monetisation' was achieved in the first place, but this is too short a paper to deal with the genesis of such a phenomenon. However, it does offer us an insight into how the issue of 'Kachcha' coins, with its perpetrators, fed on this phenomenon and how the British East India Company tried to remedy the situation.

The correspondence quoted at the beginning of the paper was already four years after the 'manufactory' at Dholarah had been set up as an 'experiment' in around 1811-12. The AH dates on the coins perfectly corroborate this. The collector in charge, clearly indicated that he stopped the issue of pice, "*fearful that a more extensive issue might tend to detract from the value of the pice and thereby not only be productive of a loss but also baffle that part of the object which was to keep the exchange at a given number of pice for a rupee of a given value*". However, judging by the fact that some of the 'Dholarah' pice available to us are counterstruck on other coins dated 1816-17, it is evident that 'Dholarah' coins were being manufactured even when the original issue had been suspended sometime before. The communication involving sending the circulating coins to Bombay for their examination is dated in 1816 and it suggested two other 'mints' apart from 'Dollarah', namely 'Goga' and 'Dhundroka', which produced coins that were of the Dolarah coinage of 1811 and 1812. This, taken with the evidence of the surviving crude coins of the Dholarah mint, indicates that the Dholarah coins must have been copied at local mints in Ghogha and Dhandhuka, respectively, as another version of 'Kachcha' pice.

The purpose for the 'experiment' which the British authorities made in 1811-12 against the process of 'Kachchafication' of the currency was thus not only defeated, but the coins they issued at Dholarah were themselves subsumed by the process! This fact is not very clear from the archival reference alone, but it can be ascertained only after a careful study of the actual numismatic evidence. This not only sheds light on an interesting monetary phenomenon in 19<sup>th</sup> century India, but also underlines the methodological importance of combining archival evidence with numismatic analysis.

#### References

- <sup>1</sup> Bombay Mint Proceedings. IOR P/411/37 (1816). p. 31. Letter from collector at Kaira (Mr Rowles) to Government, dated 9<sup>th</sup> July 1816.
- <sup>2</sup> Bombay Mint Proceedings. IOR P/411/37 (1816). p. 44. Letter from the mint committee to Government, dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1816.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay Mint Proceedings. IOR P/411/37 (1816). p. 52. Letter from the assistant collector at Kaira to Government, dated 14<sup>th</sup> December 1816

<sup>4</sup> Bombay Mint Proceedings. IOR P/411/37 (1817). p. 8. Letter from the mint committee to Government, dated 15<sup>th</sup> February 1817.

### SOME CORRECTIONS FROM MR LEYTEN

In January 2008, the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society published its Yearbook 91 for the year 2004. This was entirely devoted to a single subject: *Gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh: Their origin, name and weight in a historical context*, by our member J. Leyten. A review of this publication was published in JONS 194. Inevitably after some time, some errors have been discovered. The author has provided the following list of corrections.

On page 8, the 10<sup>th</sup> line from the top reads: **هر ملك الظا**, this should be: **ملك الظاهر**

On page 47, the 6<sup>e</sup> line from the top reads: "According to Scholten all the coins of Sultan Salah ad-Din bear this legend". This should be: "All the coins of Sultan Salah ad-Din bear the legend according to Scholten."

On page 52, in the 10<sup>th</sup> line from the top, the word "Malayu" should be after the word "Sejarah", so that it correctly reads "Sejarah Malayu".

On page 61, footnote 166 reads: "A-pu-sai is door Cowan (1938, page 205) translated as Abu Zaid."

It should read: "A-pu-sai is translated by Cowan (1938, page 205) as Abu Zaid"

On page 66, the 4<sup>th</sup> line below the fig. of the coins reads: "See no. 9 and no. 18 in Figure 15 on page 2."

This should be: "See no. 9 and no. 18 in fig. 15 on page 72."

On page 144 under SP 1c the superscription is given as:

Ahmad Malik az-Zahir, and: **احمد ملك الظاهر**

This should be: Ahmad abd al-Wahid, and: **احمد عبدالوحد**

The meaning of this title is: Slave of the One.

On pages 152 en 153 under coins SP 9a, SP 9b, en SP 9c is written: **عبدالله ملك الظاهر**. This should be: **عبدالله ملك الظاهر**

On page 175 under A 15e is written: **سر سكتان راج اسكندر مود**

This should be: **سر سلطان راج اسكندر مود**

On page 178, fig. A 17b is repeated instead of fig. A 18

Fig. A 18 should be the following:



On page 195 the first line of the table reads: "SP 6 Ahmad II (1270-1295)." This should be: "SP 1 Ahmad I (1270-1295)"

At the top of figure 24 the first column "SP 6", should be "SP 1".

In fig. 27 on page 197 "SP 6 Ahmad II", should also be "SP 1 Ahmad I".

In the table on page 203 is: "100 Candarin = Liung = Pala = Tael = 579.84 37.7 7.572"

This should be: "100 Candarin = Liung = Pala = Tael = 579.84 37.7 37.572"

On the back page is "Hulshof Pol"; the correct name is Hulshoff Pol.

## COIN CIRCULATION IN PALEMBANG (SUMATRA), UNTIL CIRCA AD 1710 INCLUDING COINS MADE IN BANTEN, SIAK, KAMPAR, INDRAGIRI, JAMBI, PALEMBANG AND BATAVIA

By Michael Mitchiner

### Introduction

Palembang, the seat of a former sultanate, is a port city in eastern Sumatra. It is situated at the head of the delta of the river Musi. Offshore, to the north-east, is the island of Bangka, which used to be part of the Palembang Sultanate. During recent years, dredging operations at Palembang have brought to light large numbers of coins and other artifacts, which have been reaching the general numismatic market since around 2009. This study focuses on the base metal coinage minted in leaded copper and tin alloys.

Palembang's early importance declined with the demise of the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya. For a while during the early fifteenth century, Palembang was controlled by Chinese pirates. The two major regional powers at this period were the declining Javanese kingdom of Majapahit and the sultanate of Malacca. The Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511. Refugees and expatriate traders from Malacca were an important influence in spreading Islam eastwards across Sumatra, Java and southern Borneo. By the 1520's, Moslem sultanates had been established in many places, including Palembang, Banten (Bantam) and Cirebon (Cheribon).

The coins found at Palembang include large numbers of tin pitjis made in Palembang and bearing Malay inscriptions whose script ranges from literate to corrupt. Smaller numbers of pitjis circulating in Palembang were made in Jambi, Siak and Banten, as well as in Cirebon. Jambi is another port city in Sumatra, situated several miles inland from the sea. It is beside the river Hari, which flows northwards to the sea, and is the next major river north-westwards from Palembang. Jambi, like Palembang, lost its early importance with the demise of Srivijaya and became the seat of a Moslem sultanate in the sixteenth century. The English established a factory there in 1613.

Banten lies to the east of Palembang, and is situated on the north-west corner of Java. Banten was founded from Demak as a vassal Moslem sultanate during the 1520's. It became independent of Demak in 1546 and prospered, particularly from its role in the spice trade. The English established a trading post at Banten in 1602, followed by the Dutch in 1603. During its heyday, the Banten Sultanate possessed extensive lands on each side of the Sunda Straits. Banten's position was compromised when the Dutch founded their headquarters at Batavia (Jakarta) in 1619, a port on the north coast, some fifty miles from Banten. Banten's decline was confirmed when the Dutch conquered Malacca in 1641. This provided a Batavia-Malacca axis from which the Dutch were able to impose trading monopolies on the port cities of northern Sumatra (and elsewhere), to the detriment of Banten's trade. Banten remained a substantial state until disastrous conflicts with Batavia during the years 1676 to 1684.

Further east, Cirebon (Cheribon) is a port on the north coast of Java. During the early seventeenth century, the major powers in Java were Banten and the south-easterly kingdom of Mataram. Cirebon came under the sway of Mataram in 1625 and was later a pawn in the power struggle between Mataram and the Dutch, until it came under Dutch suzerainty in 1677. Cirebon did not issue a distinctive local coinage. The local coins were ever more degenerate derivatives of the Chinese Xianping cash, often characterized by an extremely large central hole. Cirebon will not be discussed further in the present paper.

Moving on to the eighteenth century, the most important economic innovation in the Palembang sultanate was the opening up of the tin ore mines on Bangka Island around 1710. Millies described the general organisation. Mining operations were supervised by a group of seven mixed race officials, called Teko, who lived in Palembang and were answerable to the sultan. Each

supervised the mining activities of the various Kong-sse (mining societies) in his particular part of Bangka Island. The eighteenth century was the heyday of Palembang's prosperity. The majority of local coins are best dated to this period, which came to an end when the Dutch divested Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II of his powers in 1821 and exiled him to Ternate. The sultanate was formally suppressed when Palembang came under direct Dutch administration in 1825 (Hall 1968, 576). In addition to local coins of Palembang, many cash-type tin coins issued by the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island also circulated at Palembang.

Most of the coins catalogued in this paper belong to a specific and fairly transient phase in the history of the region. This was the period when Banten city was the principal market in the regional pepper trade. Pepper grown across the sultanates of northern Sumatra and north-west Java was marketed at Banten, and the major traders who purchased the pepper at Banten were the Chinese, whose ships arrived each January. Banten had reached this important status during the 1560's. When the Chinese traders came to purchase pepper at Banten, they paid with trade coins, porcelain and fabrics. These trade coins were diminutive and fragile imitations of Northern Song dynasty Chinese cash. The Chinese trade coins, supplemented by local copies, provided the currency of market-place commerce at Banten, and across the region. Early Dutch travellers described this. Meanwhile, Banten introduced its own coinage of much heavier weight and finer execution to service the business of the ruler and his administration. At a date close to 1600, Banten's trading partners, notably Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang, introduced their own coinages at a similar weight to the current coinage of Banten. The commercial situation, with Banten at the hub of the regional pepper trade and the Chinese as the principal purchasers, was progressively dismantled during the 1620's to the 1640's. The Dutch, with their existing base at Batavia and the conquest of Malacca in 1641, rapidly dominated trade across the region, which included the sultanates of northern Sumatra, and they imposed Dutch monopolies on the pepper trade. The commercial supremacy of Banten was broken for ever. The sultanates of northern Sumatra no longer sent their pepper to Banten for marketing, and Chinese traders no longer came to Banten with their diminutive trade coins.

Banten's phase of supremacy in the regional pepper trade was a transient, but important, episode in commercial history whose understanding is fundamental to interpreting the numismatic history of the region. This phase is the focus around which the present paper is based. Nearly all the coins catalogued here have been found at Palembang. Some relevant issues not noted by the author among the Palembang finds, have been described from Millies' catalogue and from Dr Yih's records.

### 1. Chinese cash and diminutive, imitation Chinese cash

Large numbers of Chinese cash flooded into the region until the time when large-scale state-sponsored Chinese trading expeditions ended in the 1430's. In his maritime geography of AD 1225, Zhao Rugua (Chao Ju-kua) included in the description of China's trade with Java, the statement "There is a vast store of pepper in this foreign country and the merchant ships, in view of the profit they derive from that trade, are in the habit of smuggling (out of China) copper cash for bartering purposes" (Wicks 1992, 284). Cash replaced earlier forms of local coinage in Java during the fourteenth century (Wicks 1992, 290-297).

#### *Small size cash circulating around 1430*

The composition of a shipwreck hoard datable to around 1430 illustrates the characteristic composition of such hoards. Mitchiner (1986) examined two thousand cash from a shipwreck off the coast of Thailand. Nearly all the coins were Chinese cash of the Northern Song dynasty. Also present were a few Tang dynasty cash and about a dozen Ming dynasty cash bearing the Hongwu (Hung-wu 1368-98) and Yongle (Yung-lo 1403-24) reign titles. Particularly significant to the present discussion was the inclusion of five small-size cash of Javanese form. The inscriptions were

written in literate Chinese and copied those on early Northern Song cash. The legends were as follows (numbered according to Mitchiner 1986):

#### *Obverses*

- Nos. 18-20: Xianping (Hsien-p'ing yuan-pao 998-1004): 2.50, 2.25 and 2.36 g, diam. 22 mm  
 No. 21: Xiangfu (Hsiang-fu t'ung-pao 1008-16): 2.14 g, diam. 22 mm  
 No. 22: Tianxi (T'ien-hsi t'ung-pao 1017-22): 2.30 g, diam. 22 mm

*Reverse.* A rim in low relief is visible on most coins.

The early Javanese cash of this period are respectable coins. Their fabric is fairly robust and their alloy compares well with that of genuine Chinese cash. Analyses of genuine Chinese cash show the metal to be a heavily leaded copper alloy containing some tin (Bowman, Cowell and Cribb 1989; Mitchiner 2004, 5754-68). Leaded bronze is an appropriate term. There is no reason to suppose that the alloy of early Javanese derivative cash is different. It is reasonably likely that genuine Chinese cash were often 'multiplied' by melting them down and reissuing coins in the form of a greater number of small-size local cash. It is significant that the reverses of these early cash imitations usually show low relief rims in the margin and around the central hole.

The Javanese cash in this hoard confirm that Javanese type small-size cash were being made by circa 1430. At this period, small-size cash could have been made intermittently in more than one place whenever, and wherever, the supply of genuine Chinese cash became insufficient to meet local needs. The view that some small-size cash were specifically manufactured in South China as an export commodity is discussed later.

The early small-size cash, with this fabric and weighing above 2 g, had passed out of circulation by the time the local market place currency of diminutive cash was circulating around 1600.

#### *The period circa 1430 to circa 1600*

During this long period, there was a tendency for the size of small cash to become even smaller. Although the diameter did not change significantly, the coins became progressively lighter, thinner, and fragile. In the case of coins made of copper, the alloy was debased by the addition of much more lead. Many coins were made in tin-lead alloy. Mitchiner (1986) made some comments on the changes.

#### *The poor state of Javanese cash around 1600*

By around 1600, diminutive cash appear to have completely replaced genuine Chinese cash in circulation across Java and Eastern Sumatra. Millies (1871, pp. 38-41) gave a description of the local coinage referenced to early Dutch traders writing during the decade before and after 1600. Mandelslo (1659, pp. 346-348) gave a very similar description, which probably also originated with the early Dutch traders. Mandelslo wrote of the money of Java "which one calls *Cas in Malay and Pity in Javan*. It is current, not only at Bantam, and through all the Isle of Java, but also in all the neighbouring Isles. It is a base metal piece made of lead and of dirty copper, and it appears so fragile, that one cannot let fall a string of cash, without breaking ten or twelve". "It has a square hole in the middle, through which one can pass a thread of straw, and one thus makes a string of two hundred cash, which is called *Sata*, and which is worth around nine deniers, money of France. Five *Sata*, tied together, make a *Sapocou*".

#### **Diminutive Chinese-style cash of the form circulating around AD 1600**

Dr. Yih (2012) has recently published an analysis of many diminutive cash recovered during recent years from the River Musi at Palembang. The average size is in the order of 21 mm, and weighing 1 to 1.5 g. Like the small number of coins catalogued here, they are consistent with descriptions given by early Dutch travellers writing around 1600. By comparison with the early Javanese cash described above, the flans have a comparable

diameter, but they are much thinner, and the reverse is completely flat. The weight has been reduced by around 50%, and the alloy of the copper pieces is much more heavily leaded. They are thin fragile coins.

Yih observed that coins bearing three inscriptions occur much more frequently at Palembang than other issues. These are:

1. Huangsong yuan bao (seal script) 48 coins, mean size 21.2 mm, 1.16 g
2. Kaiping yuan ba 46 coins, mean size 20.3 mm, 0.86 g
3. Xianping yuan bao 37 coins, mean size 21.3 mm, 1.40 g.

A few fragile cash from Palembang are catalogued here. They are three copper alloy and three tin-lead alloy cash of Xianping type, plus three even more diminutive, copper alloy cash of Kaiping type. The nature of the alloy is not always apparent from simple inspection. A tiny nick was made on the edge with a sharp scalpel blade, sufficient to differentiate between hard metal with a bronze colour, and soft metal with a greyish colour.

### Specimens circulating in Palembang (Sumatra) bearing Northern Song reign titles

Emperor Zhenzong (Chen Tsung 998- 1022). Reign title Xianping (Hsien P'ing 998-1004)

Obv. Xianping yuan bao  
Rev. Flat

Made in copper-lead alloy

1. 22 mm, 1.32 g, ex Palembang
2. 23 mm, 1.47 g, ex Palembang
3. 21 mm, 1.76 g, ex Palembang



Made in tin-lead alloy

4. 22 mm, 1.25 g, ex Palembang
5. 21 mm, 1.25 g, ex Palembang
6. 21 mm, 1.35 g, ex Palembang



This is the most popular authentic inscription on Chinese-style small-size Indonesian cash circulating around 1600 across the whole Java-Sumatra region. Most descriptions have hitherto referred to cash found in Java (Bosco 1979, Wicks 1983, 413, Mitchiner 1986, Yih 2012 on Tegal). The pieces catalogued here are similar coins, but they were found in Sumatra (see also, Yih 2012), a region where Xianping is only the third most popular inscription.

### Bearing mixed Chinese reign titles

The inscription on the two cash that follow reads Kai (top), Ping (right), Yuan (below), Bao (left). Read in the order just cited, the inscription can be read as a modification of the Xianping yuan bao legend on the cash catalogued above, with Kai substituted at the top. When the inscription is read in the order top-bottom-right-left, the resulting Kai Yuan Ping Bao legend can be interpreted as a modification of that found on the Kaiyuan cash of the Tang dynasty. Both prototype legends feature on genuine Chinese cash, which had earlier circulated in the region. The reign title Kai Ping

had been used on extremely rare coins of the short lived Later Liang Dynasty (907-923), but imitation of these coins outside China is very unlikely (Yih 2012). Many diminutive cash of Kai Ping type have been found at Palembang and the derivation of this inscription remains open to debate.

Obv. Kai ping yuan bao / Kai yuan ping bao

Rev. Flat

Made in copper-lead alloy

7. 20 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang
8. 20 mm, 0.87 g, ex Palembang



These diminutive and poorly made cash are significantly smaller than local cash in the Xianping group just described.

Yih has further specimens from Palembang and presented them at the ONS East Asian Study Day (2012). XRF analysis of one Kai Ping coin showed a tin content of 95.7%, with 3% iron and only 0.2% lead (Yih 2012). It is apparent that coins bearing this Kai Ping inscription, like those of the previous group, were sometimes made in copper alloy, and sometimes made in tin alloy.

The period of these two groups of Chinese style cash found at Palembang spans the period of the Dutch descriptions written around AD 1600. The question of how long cash of this type continued enjoying a significant role in local commerce seems to have varied from one place to another. Mandeslo's description of trade at Banten suggests that these kinds of cash were providing the local currency of the Banten market place in the early seventeenth century. At Palembang, the use of cash bearing Chinese reign titles evolved into the manufacture of tin alloy cash bearing phonetic Chinese legends citing either the Pangeran, or the Sultan. The introduction of the Sultan coins at Palembang is dated in later discussion to circa 1600. Further to the east, at Cirebon, the progressive deterioration of the weight, fabric and legibility of diminutive cash bearing Chinese reign titles (mainly Xianping) was to continue well into the eighteenth century. This late date for Cirebon was discussed by Dr Yih (2012) in his paper on coins from Tegal (east of Cirebon) in the van Rede collection (see also Yih and de Kreek 1995).

Where were these diminutive cash made? They were easy to manufacture, so were they made in the various sultanates that used them? Or was manufacturing more centralised? The coins, themselves provide some evidence. There is a degree of uniformity among the cash that can reasonably be dated to the period around 1600. An important feature is the widespread preference for use of the Xianping inscription. The Xianping inscription is one of the commonest legends on diminutive cash found from Palembang in the west to Cirebon (Bosco 1979; Wicks 1983, 412), Tegal (Yih 2012) and eastern Java (Yih 2002). These points favour some degree of centralised manufacturing during the period focussed around 1600. In Dutch eyes, these cash were the general coinage of the region, which in Dutch eyes comprised Java and the neighbouring islands. Within their area of circulation, there is contemporary documentation of locally made coins 'cast in tin or lead called pitis' in Brunei circa 1590 (Wicks 1992, 299). For the period around 1600, it is a mixed picture of local manufacture on the one hand, and some unification of manufacture on the other hand.

The explanation of this coinage given to early Dutch traders, as reported by Millies (1871, 39-41) and by Mandelslo (1659, 347-8), was that these coins were a Chinese export commodity. "The Chinese make the greatest commerce (of all foreign peoples) .... They come into the country and buy all the pepper they find .... The ships arrive at Bantam in the month of January, eight or ten in number, and each forty-five to fifty tons. It is also these that bring

*the money that one calls in Malay, cas, and in Javanese, picy, which are current not only at Bantam, and across all the isle of Java, but also across all the neighbouring islands .... It is made in the town of Chinceo in China, and was the invention of Wantay, king of China, who lived around the year 1590 .... (the Chinese did not want the coins) .... The king Hammion, successor of Wantay, corrupted them to the state one sees today. The coin has a square hole in the middle through which one can pass a thread of straw (quoted above) .... The Chinese also bring porcelain, which they sell at a very good price. They also bring the silk, satins and damask of their country” (Mandelslo).*

The principal trade goods brought by the Chinese were diminutive cash coins, porcelain and fabrics. The main product they sought in exchange was pepper. The Chinese had been using cash coins as an export commodity since the period of the Song dynasty. More recently, the export of genuine Chinese cash coins had been replaced by the export of specially manufactured cash-type coins of diminutive size. The report given to Dutch traders that Chinese exports of cash coins only dated back to around 1590 is clearly erroneous (as Millies also commented). The Chinese use of specially made small cash coins as an export commodity was not restricted to Java and the surrounding region. The small-size cash coins found in Vietnam (Annam) are well documented (Toda 1882; Mitchiner 1971; Smith 1983). “*The coins required were partly cast in the country itself and partly in the Southern provinces of China, as Kuang-tung and Kuangsi, also Fukien, and brought direct to Annam in Chinese junks*” (Schjoth 1929, p. 71). Annamese coins were also made in Macao (Schjoth p. 71; Smith p. 23). As recently as the nineteenth century, there were prosecutions in Hong Kong for making false cash for export to Annam (Smith p. 25). The Chinese export cash made for the Annamese market had a form suitable for use in Annam, and the Chinese export cash made for the Javanese market had a different form, suited to the requirements of the market in Java and adjacent regions.

The comments that have just been made in respect of Chinese coin exports to Java-Sumatra refer specifically to the period before circa AD 1650. That was when the maritime trading scene changed fundamentally in the Java-Sumatra region. Banten had flourished as an intermediary in the pepper trade and the largest purchasers of pepper were the Chinese merchants. Following the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641, the Dutch had bases at both Batavia and Malacca. From these two bases, the Dutch were soon able to dominate the pepper trade across Java and Sumatra. In 1658, the Dutch forced Palembang to grant the Dutch exclusive rights to purchase pepper grown in Palembang (Hall 1968, 321). In more westerly sultanates, the new Dutch monopoly in the pepper trade is exemplified by the Painan contract of 1663 (Hall 1968, 349-351), according to which the Dutch were given a pepper monopoly in exchange for protection. Banten had by now declined and it was effectively a Dutch protectorate by 1684 (Hall 1968, 324-325). The rise of Dutch power in the region effectively curtailed Chinese trading interests, and it certainly excluded the Chinese from the lucrative pepper trade.

It is reasonable to suggest that Chinese merchants sold diminutive cash to Java-Sumatra as a trading commodity until around the 1640's. The rise of Dutch power meant that the Chinese did not export specially made coins to this region after the 1640's.

When one looks at the diminutive cash from Palembang catalogued here, it is reasonable to make some suggestions. Cash bearing the Xianping inscription, with their long period of use (1430-1600) and wide geographical radiation (Palembang to East Java), would have been prominent among the cash-type trade coins exported from South China to Java-Sumatra. At Cirebon (Cheribon), coins of Chinese manufacture were supplemented, and later replaced, by locally made coins bearing ever cruder derivatives of the Xianping inscription. What was the situation at Palembang? Yih has suggested that Palembang's Xianping cash were probably made locally. In support of this view, he pointed out differences between the calligraphy of the original Song inscription and various faults in the writing of characters on the Palembang cash. However, the faults do not necessarily argue against a Chinese origin for the Palembang cash. The trade coins were made by merchants for trade purposes and when carelessly produced,

could show faults in the formation of characters. On balance, the present author would suggest that the Palembang Xianping cash were trade coins, made “*of lead and of dirty copper*” (Mandelslo), exported from South China. If certain idiosyncrasies could be observed on diminutive cash found as far apart as Palembang and Tegal, it would provide support for the view expressed here that there was centralised manufacturing in South China. The trade coins may have been supplemented by local copies.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Palembang Kaiping cash are best viewed in a different light. These coins only appear to be known from the Palembang finds and they were almost certainly made in Palembang. Moreover, the Kaiping cash show both a lower weight and noticeably inferior execution when compared with the Xianping cash.

Between these two ends of the spectrum, the Palembang finds include diminutive cash bearing several other inscriptions originally used during the early part of the Song dynasty (Yih 2012). Among these, the Huangsong reign title is particularly common on diminutive cash found at Palembang. There is plenty of scope for further research and debate concerning the place, or places, of manufacture.

## **2. Banten and its period of commercial hegemony, circa 1560's to 1640's**

Banten, in north-west Java, was the first sultanate to issue a distinctive local coinage. Banten is the local name, and it is the form that appears on the coins. The name-form Bantam has been used in western literature since the seventeenth century. At the time when the Dutch arrived on the scene, Banten was the dominant sultanate, at least in the field of maritime commerce. The spice trade brought prosperity to Banten and the most important individual commodity was pepper. Several coins of Banten have been found at Palembang, and these will be considered first.

Situated just below the north-west tip of Java, the small modern port of Merak looks westwards across the Sunda Straits to Sumatra. A few miles away, the port city of Banten is on the north coast, very close to the north-west tip of Java. Some fifty miles eastwards from Banten along the north coast is the city of Jakarta, which the Dutch knew as Batavia. The port town of Cirebon is a further hundred miles eastwards along the north coast.

In its heyday, Banten controlled the east (Javanese) coast of the Sunda Straits and an extensive tract of the hinterland. This is a generally low-relief region of fertile plain and low hills. Standing in Merak, one can look across the Sunda Straits to the mountains of eastern Sumatra (author's observation). During its period of prosperity, Banten also controlled the western (Sumatran) coast and hinterland of the Sunda Straits. The much smaller area of lowland on the Sumatran side of the Sunda Straits is the Lampung (Lampungs) district, which has a regional capital and port at Bandar Lampung. Banten acquired Lampung when its rulers, Pangeran Hasanudin and his co-ruler son, Pangeran Maulana Yusuf, overcame the kingdom of Sunda in the 1560's.

Banten had risen to the rank of being the principal regional port in the spice trade by around the middle of the sixteenth century. In the 1560's, the Banten sultanate was the most affluent state in the region, based both on the extensive lands it embraced, and also on its role as the hub of regional maritime commerce, particularly in the lucrative pepper trade. Banten also had more distant trading links. These included Patani in Malaya, which was then tributary to Siam (Mandelslo 1659, 323).

The internal history of the Banten sultanate can now be discussed. The period relevant to the Banten coins found at Palembang was from 1546, when Banten became independent of Demak, until 1684, when Banten came under Dutch domination.

Sunan Gunungjati was a Moslem theologian and soldier, later a statesman, who married into the family of Sultan Tranggana of Demak (1521-1546). During the 1520's, on behalf of his sovereign, Sunan Gunungjati conquered the port towns of Cirebon (early 1520's), Banten (1526), and then Jakarta (1526/7) in the territory of the west Javan Kingdom of Sunda (Pajajaran). He reorganised them as Moslem towns. Sunan Gunungjati retained his seat at Banten, where he made his son, Hasanudin, co-ruler of

Banten and its dependency, Jakarta. Sunan Gunungjati appointed another son, Pangeran Paseran, to administer Cirebon. When Pangeran Paseran died in 1552, Sunan Gunungjati moved his seat to Cirebon, where he died around 1570. The sultanate of Demak disintegrated following the death of Sultan Trangana in 1546. Banten became an independent sultanate, and so did Cirebon. Hall (1968, 277-9) has discussed the details.

Meanwhile, Maulana Hasanudin (co-ruler 1540's, senior ruler 1552-1570), whose appointment as co-ruler in Banten had been recognised by Demak, built a new capital during the 1540's. This is the present city of Banten.

Maulana Hasanudin had made his son, Maulana Yusuf, the co-ruler by the 1560's. During this decade, the 1560's, Maulana Yusuf (later, senior ruler: 1570-1580) finally suppressed the Sunda sultanate and executed the royal family of Sunda (Hall 1968, 278). The suppression of Sunda consolidated Banten's position in western Java. Banten continued expanding and acquired the Lampung district of eastern Sumatra, which had earlier been ruled by Sunda. Banten went on to develop trading interests in southern Sumatra. The next ruler, Maulana Mohammed (1580-96), who had been co-ruler since 1562, died in 1596 while besieging Palembang, which lay just west of Banten's territory in Lampung (Millies 1871, p. 43). All these rulers used the Javanese title 'Pangeran Ratou', which appears on the coins.

When Maulana Mohammed died in 1596, he left behind a six-month-old son, who was placed on the throne and came under the supervision of a tutor who was an ardent Moslem (Millies 1871, p. 47). In 1618 and 1619, and perhaps as late as 1621, while the king was still a minor, the British treated with the chief minister, Ranamanggala (Hall 1968, 305-10; and see Millies p. 47). In 1627, the English treated with the sultan of Banten. One result of his tutor's influence was that the new king became the first ruler of Banten to adopt the title Sultan, which he was using by 1627. He was Sultan Mohammed Abdul Kadir.

Meanwhile, the British had established a factory at Banten in 1602, and the Dutch had established their factory at Banten in 1603. In 1619, The Dutch went on to found a fort at nearby Jakarta, which they renamed Batavia. Batavia soon became the seat of Dutch activities in the region.

Dutch consolidation at Batavia began curbing Banten's maritime trade. The evidence provided by local coinage suggests a decline in imports of copper from Chinese traders as early as the 1620's, and a decline in tin imports from Malacca at the same time. Related evidence shows a decline in the finds of Banten coins at Palembang during the same period. Sea trade across the sultanates of northern Sumatra remained active and continued bringing Siak's coins to Palembang. Banten's decline was a gradual process, which was confirmed by the Dutch conquest of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. Supported from bases in both Batavia and Malacca, the Dutch were soon able to dominate sea trade along the northern coasts of Sumatra and Java, to the detriment of Banten. As early as 1644, Johore gained Aceh and Jambi as allies through fear of the Dutch, and Johore went on to gain the support of Siak and Indragiri (Hall 1968, 349). Further to the east, in 1658, the Dutch imposed their monopoly on the export of pepper grown in the Palembang sultanate (Hall 1968, 321). Several west Sumatran states signed the Painan contract of 1663 (Hall 1968, 349-351), according to which the Dutch were given a pepper monopoly in exchange for protection. By means of this aggressive commercial policy, the Dutch excluded Banten from commercial links with its former trading partners.

Despite local conflicts with the Dutch, and the appropriation of its maritime trading network by the Dutch, Banten was still a powerful sultanate during the reign of Sultan Abulfath ('father of victory') Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1683). When Sultan Ageng tried to restore Banten's prosperity during the early years of his reign, he came up against the Dutch, who replied by blockading Banten during the years 1656 to 1659 (Hall 1968, 324).

Disastrous palace intrigue and war with the Dutch during the years 1676 to 1684 sent Banten into serious decline and the virtual status of a VOC (Veerenigde Oostindische Compagnie) protectorate (see Hall 1968, 324-5, for details). The British had been expelled from their factory in Banten in 1682, where the

Dutch now proceeded to erect their own fort. In later years, Banten formally ceded its western Lampung district to the Dutch in 1752 (Hall 1968, 337).

Mandelslo (1659, 338-40) described Banten, during the heyday of its prosperity, as the most powerful city in Java. It had walls, with gates that were heavily guarded. There were three main streets, one leading to the port, one leading to the gate opening to the countryside, and the third leading to the gate opening to the foot of the mountain. The king's palace was the focus where the roads met. The town was divided into several quarters. Strangers, such as 'Guzarattes, Malayes, Bengales, Abissins, Chinois, Portugais & Hollandois' lived outside the town. The Chinese were the most important traders and the Portuguese lived in the Chinese quarter. There was a Grand Bazaar where foreign merchants congregated and a Second Market where pepper was sold, as well as lesser markets. Each market specialised in its own wide range of goods. Prices were calculated in 'caxas' (cash). Pepper was sold at a price of eight to nine hundred cash per 'Gantan', which weighed three pounds (livres). Salt was valued at one thousand cash for three gantans.

Mandelslo's description of the Chinese trading ships that came to Banten has already been noted. Mandelslo's (1659, 347) description of the resident Chinese community at Banten, referable to early Dutch reports of around 1600, is as follows. "*The Chinese are those who make the greatest commerce there (at Banten), who have the most industry in acquiring goods, and who live the best there. They are interesting people who practice usury, and who have acquired there the same reputation as the Jews have in Europe. They come into the country, the steelyard in the hand, to buy all the pepper they find, and after having weighed a portion of it, so that they can judge approximately the quantity, they then offer silver in blocks (perhaps sycee), according to the requirements of those who sell it, and by this means they amass such a great quantity that they can charge the ships of China when they arrive, selling at fifty thousand caxas (cash) the sack, what had come to them for twelve thousand*".

Sunan Gunungjati (moved seat to Cirebon 1552)	1526 to 1552
Banten independent of Demak from 1546	1552 to 1570 (Pangeran Sebakinking)
Maulana Hasanudin (co-ruler 1540's)	
Suppression of the Sunda Sultanate in the 1560's	
Maulana Yusuf (co-ruler c. 1560)	1570 to 1580 (Pangeran Panembahan)
Maulana Mohammed (co-ruler 1562)	1580 to 1596 (Pangeran Sedangrana)
Mohammed Abdul Kadir (title Sultan from adulthood mid 1620's)	1596 to 1651
Regency of Ranamanggala (1596 - mid 1620's)	
Sultan Abulfath Ageng Tirtayasa	1651 to 1683
Domination by the Dutch from 1684	

### Coins

Banten issued a distinctive coinage during its period of prosperity. The cash-inspired coins are larger than those used elsewhere in the region and the early pieces are made in good quality copper alloy. A characteristic local feature is the hexagonal rim around the central hole. The early pieces also have well-defined rims on the reverse, instead of the flat reverse seen on most pitjis of the region.

The early coins of Banten were issued in the name of the Pangeran Ratou. This is a Javanese title, which means the Lord King. Ratou means king. Pangeran is the person one serves, the lord. Millies (1871, p. 44) explained the title and noted that Pangeran Ratou was a fairly common Javanese title, and not restricted to Banten. By the eighteenth century, Pangeran Ratou was sometimes used to designate the eldest son of the ruler, rather than the ruler himself.

The time limits for Banten's Pangeran Ratou coinage are 1546, when Banten became independent from Demak, and 1627, when Abdul Kadir was using the title, sultan. Within this period, the Pangeran Ratou coinage was issued as two distinct and successive series. Coins of the first series have a Javanese inscription reading Pangeran Ratou, whereas coins of the second series have a slightly longer inscription written in Malay script. Coins belonging to both series have been found at Palembang. The heavier Javanese-legend coins with a Palembang provenance, and catalogued here, weigh 5 to 6 g and have a diameter of 32 to 30 mm. Coins belonging to the second series have a slightly longer legend, written in Malay script, which, additionally, names Banten. The inscription on these coins reads '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*', which means the Pangeran Ratou at Banten. The coins of Palembang provenance catalogued here are slightly smaller, with the heavier specimens weighing around 3 to 3.5 g and having a diameter of 26 mm.

The limits for the chronology of the Pangeran Ratou coinage have already been noted, 1546 and 1627. This can now be discussed in more detail. Millies sought to attribute the coins to individual rulers, but that does not seem to be the right approach. The coinage was issued on behalf of the Lord King, without reference to any particular person. There are two reasonable possibilities for the date when this coinage was introduced. The first is 1546, when Banten became independent from Demak and when Hasanudin built the new capital city of Banten during the same decade. The second possibility is the 1560's when Maulana Yusuf suppressed the Sunda sultanate and gave Banten the status of being a major state. Either date is possible. Viewed as a status symbol, the author would favour 1546 – a new capital, new full independence, and a new coinage of superior quality.

The cultural change reflected in the replacement of Javanese coin inscriptions by Malay coin inscriptions could well relate to the events of 1596. This was the year when the ardently Moslem Chief Minister, Ranamanggala, became regent to the new infant ruler. Ranamanggala's rise to power marked a new cultural direction in the affairs of state. This event appears to be the best date for the change in the coinage. Millies (1871, p. 47) drew a similar conclusion.

The Pangeran Ratou coinage ended during the 1620's. This was when Ranamanggala's regency ended and the new king, having attained his majority, came to the throne and adopted the title of sultan. Ranamanggala was still administering Banten in 1619, and perhaps in 1621. By 1627, Sultan Mohammed Abdul Kadir was ruling Banten, the first ruler of Banten to use the title, sultan. Abdul Kadir's assumption of power is dated here to the mid 1620's, the precise date not being known.

In the meantime, the last years of the '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*' coinage had been marked by the transition from making coins in copper alloy to making coins in lead alloy. The latest '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*' coins were made in lead alloy, and are smaller and lighter than coins of the preceding copper issue bearing the same legend. The change from copper to lead as the metal for Banten's coinage appears to have taken place in the immediate aftermath of the Dutch establishing their new fort at Batavia (1619). One can debate whether the new Dutch presence was already having a detrimental effect on the coming of Chinese ships to trade at Banten. The Chinese had been bringing copper to Banten in the form of their export coins. It follows that a decline in Chinese trade could have influenced the change in Banten's coin metal from copper obtained from Chinese traders to lead. Banten no longer seems to have had access to the imports of tin from Malacca reported by Mandelslo (1659, p. 346). Further corroboration for the concept that Banten's sea trade began declining during the 1620's is provided by looking at the Banten coins which made their way to Palembang in the course of trade. A good selection of Banten's copper coins has been found at Palembang, contrasting with very few Banten lead coins of the '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*' issue of the early 1620's. The author has observed hardly any of Banten's later lead coins found at Palembang.

The next coins in the Banten series are lead alloy issues bearing the title *Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali* written in Malay script. Coins retain the characteristic feature of a hexagonal rim around

the central hole. They have slightly smaller flans than the '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*' lead issue. Pangeran Ratou had been a general title used by successive rulers, and the title *Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali* is also best understood to be the general title now being used for the ruler. Millies (1871, pp. 50) recorded the use of this title during the 1630's, but he sought to interpret it as a personal title, rather than as a general title.

The latest coin issues minted at Banten prior to Dutch domination bear the hybrid inscription "*Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou*" – Sultan Lord, the Lord King. The first coins with this inscription retain the traditional hexagonal central hole. The later coins have a circular central hole. There are two reasons for dating the "*Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou*" coins later than the "*Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali*" issue. The "*Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali*" coinage has full diacritical marks in the legend and a hexagonal central hole. The "*Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou*" coins show poorer quality script with very few diacritical marks and they illustrate the transition from a hexagonal central hole to a circular central hole. Millies illustrated three coins of this type in his plate of Jambi's coinage, but there was no mention of them in his text.

The growing power of neighbouring Batavia, combined with the Dutch takeover of the pepper trade on which Banten depended for its prosperity, were the major factors in Banten's decline. Banten's early coinage came to an end soon after the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641 enabled the Dutch to assert their dominance over coastal trade across northern Sumatra. A scant number of small size pitjis would later be issued in Banten during the eighteenth century.

The chronology of Banten's coinage during its period of prosperity can be summarised as follows:

Javanese legend:	1546 (possibly 1560's) to 1596
<i>Pangeran Ratou</i>	
Malay legend:	1596 to mid 1620's
<i>Pangeran Ratou ing Banten</i>	
(copper alloy 1596 to 1620: lead alloy c. 1620 to mid 1620's)	
Malay legend:	mid 1620's to c. 1630
<i>Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali</i>	
Malay legend:	1630's to 1640's
<i>Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou</i>	

Interpreting the role played by Banten's coins in general commerce is not as straightforward as one might think. When discussing a suggested inception date of 1546 for the Pangeran Ratou's coins, it was suggested that the coins could have been introduced as a prestige item. Whether the Pangeran Ratou started minting coins at this date, or slightly later, it is clear that the Pangeran Ratou's Banten coins were far superior to the coinage in general circulation.

The details of commerce in the markets of Banten city recorded by Dutch travellers during the years around 1600, and handed down to us by such writers as Mandelslo and Millies, make it clear that the bulk coinage consisted of diminutive Chinese-style cash that were commonly passed from hand to hand as strings of cash. The coins, themselves, some of which have been catalogued above, were fragile discs made in inferior alloy and weighing around 0.6 to 1.5 g. This was the staple currency servicing general commercial transactions at Banten and across the region.

The Pangeran Ratou's Banten cash did not belong to the commercial scene just described. They were introduced as something new and special. The early coins were well made and robust pieces weighing 5 to 6 g. This was about five times the weight of the diminutive market place cash. The Pangeran Ratou's Banten cash do not appear to have been intended as a multiple denomination for the diminutive cash circulating in the markets of Banten city. Dutch travellers combed the markets of Banten city, recording details of commodities and of the prices paid, always in the diminutive cash already discussed. A further point is that the Pangeran Ratou's Banten cash followed their own evolutionary

pathway from a weight of 5 to 6 g, when they were introduced, to a weight of 3 to 3.5 g by around AD 1600.

The Pangeran Ratou's Banten cash circulated independently of market place considerations. Their role appears to be explained in the coin legend – they were the Pangeran Ratou's coinage. In other words, they serviced the needs of the Pangeran Ratou and his administration without any reference to the market place. The Pangeran Ratou issued his own prestige coinage to service his own needs and the official business of his bureaucrats. This concept of a two-tier system, with a separate royal coinage, only applied for a limited period of time, the period during which Banten prospered as the hub in the regional pepper trade. When the Dutch imposed their monopoly on the pepper trade, to the detriment of Banten, the whole idea of making superior-quality coins for use in the royal administration fell into obsolescence at Banten during the 1640's.

**Coins of Banten city, the coinage of the Banten sultanate  
'Pangeran Ratou' written in Javanese script: circa 1546 to 1596**

- 9. Pangeran Ratou (Javanese script)  
*Obv. rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
*Rev. rims:* Hexagonal rim around hexagonal central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
 Copper alloy (good quality), 31 mm, 5.71 g, ex Palembang

Similar coins

- 10. Copper alloy, 30 mm, 5.60 g, ex Palembang
- 11. Copper alloy, 30 mm, 3.98 g, ex Palembang
- 12. Copper alloy, 31 mm, 3.54 g, ex Palembang

See: Millies (1871, 26 mm) pp. 42-44; pl. XIV, 112; Mitchiner (1977, 3963; 1979, 3131: 30 mm, 5.4 g)

XRF data from Dr Yih for coins of this type are: -

- a. Cu 71, Pb 12, Sn 14, Zn 0.8 (Al -, Si 1.0)
- b. Cu 70, Pb 25, Sn 3, Zn 0.7 (Al -, Si -) (23.85 mm, 3.09 g)

Pa N Ge Ra N Ra Tu



**'Pangeran Ratou ing Banten' written in Malay script: circa 1596 to mid 1620's**

Made in copper alloy (c. 1596 to 1620)

- 13. Pangeran Ratou ing Banten  
 (Malay script: Pangeran Ratou at Banten)  
*Obv. rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
*Rev. rims:* Hexagonal rim around hexagonal central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
 Copper alloy, 26 mm, 3.17 g, ex Palembang

Similar coins

- 14. Copper alloy, 26 mm, 3.40 g, ex Palembang (flat reverse)
- 15. Copper alloy, 26 mm, 1.53 g, ex Palembang (shallow rims on reverse)

See: Millies (1871) p. 47; pl. XIV, 113 (21 mm).

Made in reasonable quality copper alloy, which generally has a slightly higher lead content than the previous coins.

The reverse commonly has similar rims to the obverse, but they may be omitted.

XRF data from Dr Yih for coins of this type are: -

- a. Cu 60, Pb 28, Sn 8, Zn - (Al 0.5, Si 2) (25.15 mm, 3.42 g)
- b. Cu 65, Pb 13, Sn 16, Zn 0.5 (Al 2.0, Si 2.0)
- c. Cu 46, Pb 24, Sn 27, Zn 0.3 (Al 1.0, Si 3.0)
- d. Cu 63, Pb 25, Sn 2, Zn 3.0 (Al 3.0, Si 2.0)

فقيرن راتو اثغ ينتت



Made in lead alloy (c. 1620 to mid 1620's)

16. Pangeran Ratou ing Banten

*Obv. rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.

Marginal rim

*Rev.:* flat

Lead alloy, 22 mm, 2.13 g, ex Palembang, Dr T. D. Yih



XRF data from Dr Yih for coins of this type are: -

a. Pb 72, Sn -, Cu <0.5, Zn - (Al 10, Si 11)

b. Pb 69, Sn 5, Cu <0.5, Zn - (Al 10, Si 9)

c. Pb 70, Sn -, Cu <0.5, Zn - (Al 11, Si 12) (probably this issue)

The coins are made of lead, rather than of tin alloy. The high amounts of aluminium and silicon could be a result of casting in sand moulds (Yih).

This feature persisted on two eighteenth century Banten coins analysed by Dr Yih.

a. Pb 74, Sn 2, Cu <0.5, Zn - (Al 7, Si 8) Millies 115

b. Pb 70, Sn 3, Cu <0.5, Zn - (Al 9, Si 11) Millies 116



'Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali' written in Malay script: circa mid 1620's to c. 1630

17. Al-Sultan Abu'l Ma'ali (Malay script)

*Obv. Rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.

Marginal rim

*Rev.:* Flat

Lead alloy, 19 mm. See: Millies (1871) pp. 49-50, pl. XV, 114

18. Similar

Probably from Palembang, photograph Dr T. D. Yih

السلطان ابو المعالي



'Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou' written in Malay script; 1630's to circa 1640's

The 'y' of *sri* is sometimes omitted. Diacritical marks are sometimes present in the 'n' of *sultan* and above the 't' of *ratou*. The legend transcription shown here has full diacritical marks for clarity.

Although it is reasonable to consider that the '*Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou*' coinage was short-lived, and died out during the 1640's, one should admit the possibility that issue continued slightly longer. It was certainly obsolete by 1684.

These coins have not been observed among the Palembang finds.

19. Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou (Very few diacritical marks)

*Obv. Rims:* Narrow rim around **hexagonal** central hole and at edge.

*Rev.:* Flat

Lead alloy, 18 to 19 mm. Millies (1871) pl. XVIII, 176

سلطان سري فقيرت راتو

20. Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratou (Very few diacritical marks)

*Obv. Rim:* Narrow rim around **circular** central hole.

*Rev.:* Flat

Lead alloy, 18 to 19 mm. Millies (1871) pl. XVIII, 173-4 (173 illustrated here)



### 3. The introduction of new coinages in Sumatra during the early seventeenth century at Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang

Under the stimulus provided by Banten's commercial trading nexus, several states began issuing their own coins. This was a transient phase during which the prevailing size of the coins was between 23 and 26 mm, and their weight was within the range 2 to 4 g. This phase coincided with the last decades of Banten's primacy in the pepper trade. By this time, Banten's own coins, comprising the copper issue of the '*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*' series (c. 1596-1620), had been reduced to a size of 26 mm, and a weight of around 3 to 3.5 g. All the coins now being discussed are significantly larger than the diminutive Chinese style cash used for market place commerce. They are also larger than coins belonging to the various series of tin pitjis that would characterise the later coinages of the various sultanates.

The former Sultans of Kampar (Campar) and of Indragiri ruled over lands lying between Siak and Jambi. Kampar embraced the land around the river Kampar and had frontiers with Siak to the northwest, and with Indragiri to the southeast. Indragiri, astride the river Indragiri, had frontiers with Kampar and with Jambi. Kuala Indragiri is situated close to the sea and the town of Rengat is beside the river, a substantial distance inland. Siak, Kampar, Indragiri Hulu and Indragiri Hilir are today among the regencies in Riau Province. Two less important sultanates in this region were Bengkalis, centred on an island off the mouth of the River Siak, and Lingga, centred on an island in the south of the Riau archipelago.

Kampar and Indragiri, like Siak, had adopted Islam by the early sixteenth century (Hall 1968, 213). When the Sultans of Malacca were powerful, they subdued Kampar and Indragiri, as well as Siak (Hall 182, 211). When the Portuguese conquered Malacca, they ousted Sultan Mahmud (1488-1511), who took refuge at Kampar, where he died in 1528 (Hall 343). His son sought to re-establish himself in Johore, but was expelled by the Portuguese. When the Dutch arrived on the scene, the Sultan of Johore was still styling himself ruler of Johore and Malacca, and he was still claiming sovereignty over extensive lands where he had no real authority. His claimed jurisdiction included Siak, Kampar and Indragiri. The Sultan of Johore had supported the Dutch in their abortive attack on Malacca in 1606 (Mandelslo 1659, 321; Hall 317, 346), and in 1641 he provided ships that supported the Dutch conquest of Malacca. He anticipated that the Dutch would restore him to some of the lands he claimed. He received no help, and soon learned that the principal Dutch interest in the Malay Peninsula was gaining control over the supply of tin (Hall 346-7). The Dutch commenced efforts to establish tin monopolies over nearby tin producers, which included Perak, Kedah and Selangor (Hall pp. 347-8).

Siak, Kampar and Jambi used Sumatran-Javanese inscriptions, whereas Palembang used phonetic Chinese inscriptions. Siak, Jambi and Palembang started by minting coins with a square central hole, a model familiar from Chinese cash. Then, Siak

adopted the hexagonal central hole based on the Banten model for its main early coin series. Kampar followed this example. Soon, Siak, Kampar and Jambi would adopt the circular central-hole format, a transition that occurred at Banten during the 1630's. All these features combine to suggest that the new coinages of Siak, Kampar, Jambi and Palembang were introduced at a date close to 1600.

The commercial relationships that underpinned these early coinages were interrupted by the expansion of Dutch sea power during the 1640's, and the associated eclipse of Banten. The capture of Malacca in 1641 allowed the Dutch to pursue a much more aggressive attitude towards achieving domination of sea trade across the Batavia to Malacca axis. Banten became excluded from the lucrative pepper trade and the activities of Chinese sea traders who purchased the pepper were curtailed. The new situation is exemplified by the Dutch imposition of a pepper trading monopoly on Palembang in 1658.

During the period between the 1640's and the 1660's, the early coinages of Banten, Siak, Kampar and Jambi all came to an end. Siak and Kampar did not issue any later coins. Jambi and Banten issued some later and smaller pitjis belonging to the eighteenth-century series. During the eighteenth century, Palembang would be the most prolific issuer of local coinage.

#### *Javanese and Sumatran-Javanese inscriptions*

During the mediaeval period, scripts belonging to the Indian family developed widespread geographical radiation and were used to express concepts written in different languages. Relevant to present discussion was the widespread use of scripts related to mediaeval Indian Nagari across South East Asia. They were used in the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya and in the Javan kingdom of Majapahit. The language of early inscriptions was commonly Sanskrit. Inscriptions are written from left to right and the characters are syllabic, rather than alphabetic. Thus, "Sa" is a character, "Si" is the same character with a modification to include the vowel "I" and "Su" is the same character with a different modification to include the vowel "U".

During more recent times, modern Javanese script developed in such kingdoms as Mataram (east Java) and Demak, and in Demak's successor kingdoms among which Banten in western Java and Palembang in eastern Sumatra are notable. The development of script in such central Sumatran kingdoms as Siak and Jambi followed a slightly different pattern, owing a debt both to local Indian-Srivijayan traditions and also to more easterly Javanese practice. In the context of coins catalogued here, the main purpose of these remarks is to make a distinction between the coins of Banten, whose inscriptions are written in normal Javanese script, and the more westerly coins minted in Siak and Jambi, whose inscriptions are written in generally simpler Sumatran-Javanese script. For more detailed discussion, see Coedès (1968), Hall (1968) and Wicks (1983, 1992).

When discussing the coins of Banten in his text, Millies (1871) used a standard Javanese type font for transcribing the "Pangeran Ratou" coin legend. The Javanese inscription written on the coins correlates closely with the transcription in standard Javanese and calls for no further comment.

For the coins of Siak and Jambi, Millies also transcribed the legends using a standard Javanese type font. In these cases, there are significant differences between the Sumatran-Javanese inscriptions written on the coins and the generally more complex characters of the standard Javanese type font. Some differences in the way characters are written on the coins can be interpreted by reference to Faulmann's (1880) tables of Javanese characters. Other differences are more easily understood by reference to the Indian prototypes for the characters. The inscriptions on coins of Siak and Jambi are difficult to read, as Millies noted, but his readings appear to be correct. Most coin issues of Siak and Jambi catalogued by Millies are not represented here, whereas most coins catalogued here have not been published previously. This shows the need to discuss the inscriptions in more detail.

The first coin issue of Siak (with a square hole) has clearly written characters, and is the easiest to read. Outside the Banten

and Kampar coin series, it is the only issue catalogued here bearing the Javanese title "Pangeran". The legend reads "*Sri Pangeran Siyak*". The character "Sri" shows both Nagari and Javanese affinities. "S" is written above "R" in the Nagari manner, and the circular vowel sound "I" is written above "SR" in the Javanese manner. "*Pangeran*" can be compared with the same title written on Banten coins, but the ductus of "N" differs. "*Siyak*" shows "S" with its following oval vowel sign "I", unusually, written above the following "Y". The wavy form of "Y" is typically Javanese. "K" shows prominence to its circular element, which is more typical of Nagari than of Javanese. This first issue of Siak coins is one of the earliest issues in the various North Sumatran series, as attested by the observations that it is made in copper alloy, and shows rims on the reverse.

Thereafter, the content of the inscriptions is fairly uniform. Siak used the inscription "*Sultan Siyak*" on all its later coins. Jambi used the inscription "*Chap Jambi* (mark of Jambi)" on the issue catalogued here and "*Chap Sultan Jambi*" on the later coins catalogued by Millies. The easiest part of the inscriptions to read are the place names "*Siyak*" and "*Jambi*", partly due to the treatment of the vowel sign "I". In modern Javanese, the vowel "I" has the form of a small circle placed above the consonant to which it applies. There is insufficient space for this arrangement on the coins. The vowel "I" is indicated as a prominent circular to rectangular element, which follows the main radical of the character, and it is succeeded by the down stroke. The word "*Siyak*" shows the main radical of "S", followed by the oval vowel "I" and concluding with the down stroke of "Si". The succeeding character "Ya" shows the wavy form used in normal Javanese. This is followed by "Ka", whose ductus is more variable. The word "*Jambi*" commences with "Ja" and is followed by "Ma", whose rectangular form is simpler than in modern Javanese, but has links with mediaeval Nagari. The final character, "Bi", shows a circular radical "B" on the coin catalogued here, followed by a circular vowel sign "I" of similar size, and concluding with the down stroke. The consonant has close links with mediaeval Nagari, but the vowel is typically Javanese.

The other Indian script to consider is Kannada, a South Indian derivative of Brahmi and Nagari. The expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire in the fourteenth century was associated with a corresponding geographical radiation in the use of Kannada script, and in its use mediating sea trade between South India and Southeast Asia. The importance of Tamil Moslems in the rise of the Malacca Sultanate (Hall 1968, 210-1) illustrates the relevance of considering South Indian script.

For further discussion and examples, see Millies (1871), Faulmann (1880), Mitchiner (1998) and transcriptions in the catalogue.

#### **a. Siak (*Siak Sri Indrapura*)**

The town of Siak, whose official name is Siak Sri Indrapura, is situated beside the river Siak, which flows into a broad estuary opening northwards to the Straits of Malacca. It is a river port town, which was formerly the seat of a sultanate embracing the surrounding lands. Aceh sultanate lay to the north-west and Kampar sultanate to the south-east.

By the 1560's, Banten was a state of substantial size and it was enjoying a dominant role in the pepper trade. In the present context, Banten was the principal market for pepper and other commodities produced in such north coast Sumatran sultanates as Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang. The presence of the Portuguese in Malacca (since 1511) did not compromise Banten's status or the trading activities of the north Sumatran sultanates. It would be the Dutch who destroyed Banten's commercial primacy and the north Sumatran trading network. The foundation of Batavia in 1619 had a detrimental effect on Banten's sea trade during the 1620's, but it had little influence on sea trade across the north Sumatran sultanates. The most important event that impacted on Sumatran trade was the Dutch conquest of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. With seats of power in both Malacca and Batavia, the Dutch were now in a position to take over the dominant role in trade with the sultanates of the north

Sumatran coast, and to exclude Banten from the profitable pepper trade.

The local tin trade is also relevant to this discussion of Siak. Mandelslo (1659, 346) noted that tin and lead were traded to Java from Pera and Guselan, on the coast of Malacca. He (p. 319) drew a distinction between the land of Malacca, which was the Malay Peninsula and the town of Malacca, which was being ruled by the Portuguese at the time of his description. He described the Portuguese town of Malacca in detail (pp. 319-321) and commented on trade that: “*The situation of the town is admirable for trade with China and the Moluccas*”, but then added “*since the Dutch had made such powerful establishments in Ceylon and Java, the Portuguese of Malacca had lost the freedom of the trade of China and the Moluccas, because they were no longer masters of that sea*”. In other words, Banten was not alone in suffering curtailment of sea trade following the foundation of Batavia (1619). The Portuguese has a similar problem. The town of Pera, cited by Mandelslo as a source of tin, can be identified as Perak on the west coast of Malaya. Guselan could have been Selangor, to the south of Perak. Perak, and adjacent sultanates, were at this time the principal producers of tin. Siak was ideally situated as an intermediary trading tin to the north Sumatran sultanates. This may be part of the explanation for the many Siak coins found at Palembang. The trading pattern ended in the aftermath of the Dutch conquest of Malacca. During the 1640’s, the Dutch began efforts (initially only partly successful) to impose tin-trading monopolies on Perak and such neighbouring tin-producing sultanates as Kedah and Selangor (Hall 1968, 346-8). In 1644, Johore gained Aceh and Jambi as allies through fear of the Dutch. Siak and Indragiri joined the alliance (Hall 349).

Soon after conquering Malacca, the Dutch were also imposing their demands on the Sumatran sultanates to grant the Dutch East India Company (VOC) a monopoly in the pepper trade. This is exemplified by the Dutch imposition of a pepper trading monopoly on Palembang in 1658, and by the Painan Contract of 1663 to which several west Sumatran sultanates were signatory (Hall 1968, 349-51). This contract granted the Dutch a pepper monopoly in exchange for protection. The fortunes of Siak and Jambi were thenceforth interwoven with those of Aceh, Johore and the Dutch. Banten was no longer part of the local maritime trading scene.

In 1683, the Dutch acquired a monopoly in the export of Siak’s recently discovered tin (Hall 1968, 349). This was several decades before the tin ore deposits on Bangka island, discovered in 1710, were to bring prosperity to Palembang. Over and above the local alliances and conflicts involving Johore, Siak and Jambi, the Dutch were playing an increasing role. In 1755, the Dutch expelled the ruler of Siak and appointed a regent (Hall 1968, 352).

#### Coins

The early coins of Siak were modelled on those of Banten. The first issue was made in copper alloy and coins have rims on the reverse. They have a square central hole and a well written Sumatran-Javanese inscription reading “*Sri Pangeran Siyak* – The Lord King of Siak” The hybrid title inherits “*Sri*” from Indian tradition and “*Pangeran*” from Javanese tradition.

Coins belonging to the second issue are much more commonly encountered. They are made in tin alloy and have a flat reverse. Instead of a square central hole these coins all have a hexagonal central hole derived from the contemporary coins of Banten. The Sumatran-Javanese inscription now reads “*Sultan Siyak*”.

The coins belonging to both the square hole and the hexagonal hole series have a size and weight comparable with Banten coins belonging to the copper issue of the “*Pangeran Ratou ing Banten*” series (c. 1596-1620: 26 mm, 3 to 3.5 g). The “*Sri Pangeran Siyak*” square hole issue at 27 mm and 2.9 to 3.6 g, is slightly larger than the “*Sultan Siyak*” hexagonal hole coins at 26 mm and 2.4 to 2.8 g.

Coins belonging to the third Siak issue have the Sumatran-Javanese inscription “*Sultan Siyak*” written around a circular central hole. The coins are slightly smaller, at 23 mm and around 2 g.

All these Siak coin issues can be dated to the early seventeenth century with reference to the Banten prototype. The introduction of the latest Siak issue should additionally be dated prior to the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641 by reference to the local commercial scene. It is unlikely that issue continued later than the time when the Dutch became the dominant sea traders across the north Sumatran region during the 1640’s. Local coinage could have continued slightly longer, until the time when the Dutch were imposing their pepper trading monopolies, exemplified by the monopoly imposed on Palembang in 1658, and by the Painan contract of 1663. One can be reasonably certain that Siak’s coinage was obsolete by 1663.

The coins of Siak have Sumatran-Javanese legends and Millies (1871, p. 107) noted that Javanese was used in Sumatra until the late seventeenth century. Millies dated the round hole cash later in the seventeenth century, but the addition of the new square hole and hexagonal hole issues provide a closer link with Banten and with Banten’s commercial history. So, the dates suggested here are preferable. Thus:

<i>Sri Pangeran Siyak</i>	Square hole	circa 1600
<i>Sultan Siyak</i>	Hexagonal hole	circa 1610 to 1620’s
<i>Sultan Siyak</i>	Circular hole	circa 1630’s to 1640’s.

#### Sri Pangeran Siak, square hole, c. 1600

21. *Sri Pangeran Siyak* (Sumatran-Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Square rim around **square** central hole. Marginal rim  
*Rev. Rims:* Square rim around square central hole. Marginal rim.  
 Copper alloy, 27 mm, 3.61 g, ex Palembang, Dr T. D. Yih
22. Similar, but slightly damaged  
 Copper alloy, 27 mm, 2.87 g, ex Palembang, photograph Dr. T. D. Yih

In the case of Siak, Kampar and Jambi, the Javanese inscriptions are shown as follows:

1. Normal Javanese / 2. English transcription / 3. Sumatran-Javanese as written on the coins.

	ꦱꦿꦶ	ꦥꦤꦠꦺꦤ꧀	ꦱꦶ	ꦲ	ꦏ		ꦱꦶ	ꦲ	ꦏ
Sri	Pa	N	Ge	Ra	N		Si	Ya	K
ꦱꦿꦶ	ꦥ	ꦤ	ꦒ	ꦫ	ꦤ		ꦱ	ꦲ	ꦏ



#### Sultan Siak, hexagonal hole, c. 1610 to 1620’s

- Initial ductus*
23. *Sultan Siyak* (Sumatran-Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, 26 mm, 2.79 g, ex Palembang, photograph Dr T. D. Yih

ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
Su	L	Ta	N	Si	Ya	K	
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ



*Common ductus*

24. *Sultan Siyak* (Sumatran-Javanese script)

*Obv. Rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.

Marginal rim

*Rev.:* Flat

Tin alloy, 26 mm, 2.80 g, ex Palembang

Similar coins. Among the coins catalogued here, it is noticeable that all coins bear the same inscription, but the ductus of individual characters shows differences between the coins.

25. Tin alloy, 26 mm, 2.33 g, ex Palembang

26. Tin alloy, 26 mm, 2.51 g, ex Palembang

27. Tin alloy, 26 mm, 2.37 g, ex Palembang

28. Tin alloy, 26 mm, 4.08 g, ex Palembang

Dr. Yih has provided the following sizes for further coins of this issue found at Palembang:

26 mm 2.62, 2.64, 2.46, 2.84, 2.51, 2.62, 2.64 g

Also two lighter coins: 26 mm, 1.65 g and 25 mm, 1.80 g



ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
Su	L	Ta	N	Si	Ya	K	
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ



**Sultan Siak, later issues, c. 1630's to c. 1640's**

29. *Sultan Siyak* (Sumatran-Javanese script)

*Obv. Rims:* Narrow rim around **circular** central hole and at edge.

*Rev.:* Flat

Tin alloy, 23 mm, 1.96 gm, ex Palembang

See: Millies (1871) p. 107, pl. XVII, 154-157 (18-19 mm)

No later coins have been attributed to Siak.

ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
Su	L	Ta	N	Si	Ya	K	
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ

ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ
Su	L	Ta	N	Si	Ya	K	
ꦱꦸ	ꦭ	ꦠ	ꦤ	ꦱ	ꦶ	ꦪ	ꦏ



30. Similar coin, but smaller size

Tin alloy, 18.5 mm, 0.60 g, photograph Dr. T. D. Yih



**b. Kampar**

The sultanate of Kampar (Campar) was situated astride the river Kampar, between Siak to the north, and Indragiri to the south. Millies (1871, pp. 106-8) wrote: "We unfortunately have little to say of the numismatic monuments of the small, but formerly very flourishing states, which from north to south succeeded each other on the east coast of Sumatra and of which the principal are Siak (Siyak), Campar, Indragiri and Jambi. All this coast, so important for the flourishing state of commerce in the different states, which have followed on there during antiquity, so remarkable through its history, its antiquities, its physical state, its products, situated on one of the most used routes since high antiquity until our own day, is still one of the least explored parts and the least known in all the Indian archipelago." He commented that: "From time to time I have been able to assemble a few singular pieces in tin, of the type of pitis of Java, but with unknown characters".

After discussing the circular-hole tin coins of Siak, Millies continued: "We know nothing of the coins of Campar (Kampar), previously cited in the seventeenth century by the old Malay merchant Pakun Tua". He went on to cite monetary values at Indragiri and at Jambi, quoting from a Dutch source of 1691, and questioned whether this meant that Indragiri had its own local coinage. Millies then went on to discuss the coins of Jambi.

Millies was familiar with unattributed Javanese-style coins, although he did not catalogue them. He also found indications that Kampar and Indragiri may have produced their own coins.

*Coins*

The few coins of Kampar have affinities with those of neighbouring Siak. An issue with a hexagonal hole was followed by an issue with a circular hole. However, the Sumatran-Javanese inscriptions refer to the "Pangeran Kampar" – "The Lord of Kampar".

၂) ၂) ၂) ၂) ၂)	၂၆၅) ၆) ၂) ၂)
Pa N Ge Ra N	Ka M Pa R
၂ ၂ ၇ ၇ ၇	၂ ၂ ၂ ၂ ၂
၂ ၂ ၂ ၂ ၂	၂ ၂ ၂ ၂ ၂

**Pangeran Kampar, hexagonal hole, c. 1610 to 1620's**

31. *Pangeran Kampar* (Sumatran-Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Hexagonal rim around **hexagonal** central hole.  
 Marginal rim  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, 26 mm, ex Palembang, photograph Dr T. D. Yih



**Pangeran Kampa, circular hole, c. 1630's to c. 1640's**

32. *Pangeran Kampa* (Sumatran-Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Narrow rim around **circular** central hole and at edge.  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, c. 23 mm, photograph Dr. T. D. Yih



*c. Indragiri*

There are two copper issues bearing a character repeated six times and there is a lighter issue with the character repeated three times. The coins can reasonably be attributed to Indragiri, but the lack of any place name means that the attribution is provisional. All the coins are distinguished by being the only issues with a pentagonal central hole.

**The “Sri” and the “40” coinage**

The repeating character written on the six-character coins is composed of two radicals. On the first issue, the two radicals are joined together to form a single compound character. The coin published here and two pieces known to Dr Yih have diameters of 24 to 25 mm, and weigh between 2.9 and 3.3 g.

On the second issue, the two radicals of the repeating character are separated. Netscher and van der Chijs (1863, pl. 21, no. 170) published this issue and Wicks (1983, p. 409, pl. 39, 411) has republished it. Wicks cited a size of 24 to 24.5 mm and a weight range of 2.12 to 3.57 g.

Netscher and van der Chijs, followed by Wicks, read the inscription on coins of the second issue as the number “40” written in Javanese numerals. This is a correct reading, and if the coins were made in Java, it would be the preferred reading. However, it is difficult to give any meaning to this as an intended inscription.

The coins were probably made in Sumatra, which means that attention should also be given to related Indian epigraphy. The repeating character on coins of the first issue reads “Sri” in South Indian Kannada script. It is “Lord”, repeated six times. During the period of the Vijayanagar Empire (from 1336), the same ductus for “Sri” appeared on coins of Devaraya I (1406-22) and it remained in use until the Nayaka coinages of the eighteenth century (Mitchiner 1998). In a local context, the former sultanate of Malacca, whose current progeny was Johore, had been founded by Tamils.

Although the original idea appears to have been to issue coins bearing the title of the local Lord, the Indian inscription “Sri” seems to have had little meaning to most of the local population. The compound character was soon separated into two components, which did have a local meaning, the Javanese number “40”.

The lighter coin issue has the same character, but in modified mirror image, and with its two radicals separated. It is repeated three times. The diameter is reduced to 21 mm, and the weight to 1.94 g.

These coins can be dated independently of their precise attribution. The six-character coins were made of copper alloy, like the first issue of Siak and the early issues of Banten. The coin diameter (24 mm) is slightly smaller than the second issue of Siak and the late copper issues of Banten. The weight (3 to 3.5 g) is slightly heavier than the second issue of Siak, but comparable with the first issue of Siak and the ‘Pangeran Ratou ing Banten’ coins dated c. 1596 to 1620. The six-character issues are best dated within the period c. 1600 to 1620. The three-character issue is a slightly smaller derivative that is best dated to the 1620's or 1630's; at any rate, before the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641.

**The “Sri” and the “40” coinage attributable to Indragiri “Sri” repeated six times: c. 1600 / 161033.**

**“Sri” (repeated six times: Sumatran Kannada script)**

- Obv. Rims:* Prominent pentagonal rim around **pentagonal** central hole. Marginal rim  
*Rev. Rims:* Pentagonal rim around pentagonal central hole. Marginal rim  
 Copper alloy, 24 mm, 3.27 g, photograph Dr T. D. Yih

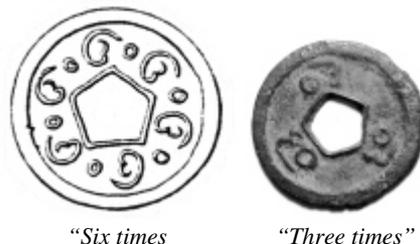
XRF data from Dr Yih for a coin of this type is: -  
 1. Cu 59, Pb 22, Sn 15, Zn 1.0 24.25 mm, 2.93 g)

Kannada / English / Sumatran-Kannada



**“40” repeated six times: c. 1610 / 1620**

34. “40” (repeated six times: Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Prominent pentagonal rim around **pentagonal** central hole. Marginal rim  
*Rev. Rims:* Pentagonal rim around pentagonal central hole. Marginal rim  
 Copper alloy, 24 to 24.5 mm, 2.12 to 3.57 g, Netscher and van der Chijs (1863, pl. 21) 170; Wicks (1983, 409) pl. 39, 411



“Six times

“Three times”

**“40” repeated three times: c. 1620's or 1630's**

35. “40” (repeated three times: Javanese script)  
*Obv. Rims:* Prominent pentagonal rim around **pentagonal** central hole. Marginal rim  
*Rev. Rims:* not recorded  
 Copper alloy, 21 mm, 1.94 g, photograph Dr T. D. Yih

#### d. Jambi

Jambi (Djambi) is situated around 200 miles south-east of Siak and 120 miles northwest of Palembang. Jambi lies beside the river Hari (Batanghari) and is further from the sea than the river ports of Siak and Palembang. The British established a factory at Jambi in 1615 (Hall 1968, 300), but it only lasted until the growth of strong Dutch influence in the region.

The general sequence of Jambi's trading partners was comparable with the sequence already discussed in connection with Siak; namely, the Dutch progressively replaced Banten following the establishment of Batavia in 1619 and the conquest of Malacca in 1641. Thereafter, Jambi formed part of the Aceh, Siak, Johore, Dutch political nexus.

In 1666, Johore was in a conflict with Jambi that would continue for some time. Jambi sacked the capital of Johore in 1673. In retaliation, Johore, with the help of Bugi mercenaries from the Celebes, sacked Jambi in 1679 (Hall 1968, 349). During the first half of the eighteenth century close relations between Johore, Siak and Jambi were sometimes friendly, but equally often based on conflict (Hall, 350-1). Later on, Jambi was obliged to pay homage to Johore during the 1760's (Hall 1968, 353).

#### Coins

Jambi began issuing its own coins during the same phase as the early coins of Siak and of the Banten coinage belonging to the copper issue of the 'Pangeran Ratou ing Banten' series dated to the period circa 1596 to 1620. This was during the later years in Banten's period of commercial primacy. Jambi's first coins can reasonably be dated within the period 1600 to 1620. They have a short Sumatran-Javanese legend written around a square central hole with a prominent square central rim. At 25 mm and 3.7 g, the issue shows a size and weight comparable with the contemporary coins of Banten, Siak, Kampar and Palembang. The Sumatran-Javanese inscription reads 'Chap Jambi', which means 'Mark of Jambi'.

The more extensive series of Jambi's early coins bear a longer Sumatran-Javanese legend written around the central hole, which is now circular in shape. These coins, also cast in tin alloy, have a fabric and a general appearance, resembling the circular-hole coins of Siak. Millies read the three word Javanese legend as 'Chap Sultan Jambi', which means 'Mark of the Sultan of Jambi'. The introduction of the circular hole coin series is best dated, as in the case of Siak, to the period shortly before the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641. According to Millies, the coins of Jambi belonging to the circular-hole series are significantly commoner than the related coins of Siak, but they have not been observed among the Palembang finds. The circular-hole coins of Jambi, like those of Siak, lost much of their relevance during the 1640's. Jambi is situated further from Malacca than Siak, and it is possible that coin issues of this type persisted for longer at Jambi. Jambi's coinage could have continued until the time of the Dutch imposition of a pepper monopoly on Palembang in 1658, and the Painan contract of 1663. The latest date for its obsolescence was the sack of Jambi in 1679. The suggested dating of circa 1630's to 1660 is approximate, and reasonable.

#### Initial coinage of Jambi, c. 1600 to 1620's

##### Chap Jambi: the Mark of Jambi

#### 36. Chap Jambi (Sumatran-Javanese script)

Obv. Rims: Prominent square rim around square central hole.

Marginal rim

Rev.: Flat

Tin alloy, 25 mm, 3.73 gm, ex Palembang

ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ
Cha P	Ja M	Bi
ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ



#### Main early coin series of Jambi, circa 1630's to circa 1660

##### Chap Sultan Jambi: the Mark of the Sultan of Jambi

#### 37. Chap Sultan Jambi (Sumatran-Javanese script)

Obv. Rims: Narrow rim around circular central hole and at edge.

Rev.: Flat

Tin alloy, 18 to 21 mm. See: Millies (1871) pp 108-109., pl. XVIII, 158-172 (165 illustrated here)

Millies noted three permutations to this legend: *Chap Sultan Jambi*, *Chap Sultan Jam*, and simply *Chap Sultan*.

Not observed among recent finds at Palembang

Jambi later issued an eighteenth century series of smaller tin pitjis bearing a Javanese language inscription written in Malay script.

ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ	ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ
Cha P	Su L	Ta N	Ja M	Bi	
ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ	ꦑꦩ	ꦗꦩ	ꦧꦶ



#### e. Palembang and its early coinage, c. 1600 to c. 1710

Palembang city is a river port situated astride the river Musi, close to the head of its delta. Jambi lies to the north-west and the Lampung district (formerly in Banten state) is to the south-east. Palembang city was the seat of a sultanate of substantial size, whose territory included Bangka Island in the north, and frontiers with the sultanates of Jambi and Banten.

Palembang and Jambi had prospered under Srivijaya, in each case as the capital city. In AD 1079, the capital had been moved from Palembang to Jambi (Wicks 1992, 241). Anarchy descended later and Palembang was controlled by pirates at the time when the Ming admiral, Cheng-ho, was on a trading mission in 1407 (Hall 1968, 92 and see 208-9). Palembang became an independent sultanate when Demak declined following the death of Tranggana (1521-1546) in 1546. Banten became independent at the same time and its sea trade prospered.

In a passage referable to early reports by Dutch traders (c. 1600), Mandelslo (1659, 328) reported as follows: "The Dutch had discovered the Kingdom of Palimbang, and beyond this, for the well being of their commerce in the Isle of Java, they had made a very strong establishment there (at Palimbang), such as one also sees in their relations (elsewhere). The Portuguese had nothing there at all, but they only had permission to be able to trade there, when they were in no way prevented by the Dutch".

During the 1560's to the early 1620's, Banten prospered as the regional hub of the pepper trade. The pepper grown in such north Sumatran sultanates as Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang was sent to Banten, where Chinese merchants were the principal purchasers. This sea-trading network was progressively dismantled during the 1620's to the 1640's, by which time the Dutch were imposing their own demands on the north Sumatran sultanates.

From the 1620's, Palembang's commerce with Siak probably had as much to do with acquiring Malayan tin, as with the pepper trade. The Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641 curtailed that aspect of trade, because the Dutch sought to dominate the Malayan tin trade.

The new commercial orientation, with the Dutch asserting their dominant role in the spice trade, is exemplified by the punitive expedition mounted by the Dutch against Palembang in 1658. Earlier in that year, the Sultan of Palembang had carried out an attack on the Dutch factory at Palembang. The factors were killed, and so were the crews of two ships anchored in front of the factory. The Dutch mounted a punitive expedition against Palembang. The sultan was obliged to permit the construction of a Dutch fort close to the town, and also had to grant to the Dutch an exclusive right to purchase the pepper grown in the sultanate of Palembang (Hall 1968, 321). The trading primacy of Banten had been replaced by the imposition of Dutch primacy. However, Palembang was sufficiently far away to avoid being drawn into the politics of the Johore, Siak, Jambi nexus.

### Coinage with Chinese phonetic inscriptions, c. 1600 to 1658

The first coins of Palembang were issued in the context of commercial relationships prevailing during the period 1600 to 1620 among the Banten, Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi, Palembang group of sultanates. The prevailing size of local coin issues during this period was 23 to 26 mm, and with a weight of 2 to 4 g. The copper coins of the 'Pangeran Ratou ing Banten' issue (c. 1596-1620) then being issued at Banten City were around 26 mm and weighed around 3 to 3.5 grams. The first coins of Palembang have a comparable size. Early Palembang coins catalogued here are two 24 mm "Sultan" coin weighing 2.57 and 2.62 g and a 23 mm "Pangeran" coin weighing 1.40 g.

The large-size coins are rarely seen. The size and weight for both the "Sultan" and the "Pangeran" coins were soon reduced to norms compatible with the diminutive Chinese-style cash used in market place commerce. Yih (2010) measured 34 "Sultan" coins bearing literate to stylised inscriptions. He derived a mean diameter of 18.3 mm, and a mean weight of 0.61 g. These figures are slightly lower than the sizes of the few coins catalogued here.

The great majority of early Palembang coins have a phonetic rendering of the title "Sultan". This is written in Chinese characters with "Se" above the central hole and "Dan" below the hole. The manner of Romanising the Chinese characters depends on the dialect into which the characters are rendered. Millies (1871, p. 54) used the old Mandarin Romanisation "Sze-tan". The modern Pinyin Romanisation, which is also based on Mandarin, is "Se-dan". The pronunciation used at Palembang would have been closer to such South Chinese dialects as Cantonese. A numismatist in Palembang has Romanised the title in Hakka as "Shi-dan". Yih (2010) has also used the Romanisation "Shi-dan".

The fourth character of the coin legend, on the left, reads "Bao" in Pinyin Romanisation. It means currency. The third character, on the right, has been debated. Millies could not read it, and it is normally stylised. The numismatist in Palembang reads the legend as "Shi-dan Li Po". Yih has provided good reasons for reading the third character as "Li", which means profitable. The whole legend reads "The Sultan's profitable currency". On a very small number of coins, the characters "Li" and "Bao" are transposed, and on an equally small number of coins the legend reads "Se-dan Tong Bao" ('The Sultan's valid currency': Yih 2010). The earlier coins in this group have a fully legible title "Sultan" (Se-dan). The characters are stylised on the later coins, which make up the major portion of coins in this series.

Contemporary with the small-size "Sultan" pitjis bearing a literate Chinese title, are scarcer pitjis of similar size with a phonetic Chinese rendering of the title "Pangeran". The Pinyin Romanisation of the characters is "Pang" (above) "Lan" (below). As with the "Sultan" coins, the third character of the legend, on the right, is difficult to read. Millies suggested "Hing". The fourth character is "Bao". The legend reads: "The Pangeran's prosperous currency".

Although one might expect that coins with the Javanese title "Pangeran" would have been followed by coins with the Moslem title "Sultan", as happened at Banten and at Siak, the numismatic evidence suggests that coins bearing both titles were issued in parallel at Palembang. Millies (1871, p. 54) attributed the "Sultan" and the "Pangeran" coins to Cirebon. It is clear from recent finds, as discussed by Yih, that these coins circulated in Palembang. They represent a fairly transient early phase in the coinage of Palembang.

The period of Palembang's small-size "Sultan" and "Pangeran" coinage can best be defined as running from the 1630's to 1658. The Dutch punitive expedition of 1658 brought humiliation to the sultan. It would have provided a suitable stimulus for a nationalist reform of the coinage. Chinese inscriptions, which could not be read by most local people, were replaced by Malay inscriptions that were much more accessible. The legend on the new coins had a comparable message – "Mark of the Sultan".

### Large-size "Sultan" coins, c. 1600 to 1620's

The intended inscription on these early "Sultan" coins is interpretable by reference to the later literate "Sultan" coins that followed.

38. *Se* (top) *Dan* (bottom). Rudimentary illegible characters on left and right.

*Obv. Rim:* No rim around square central hole. Marginal rim present

*Rev.:* Flat

Tin alloy, 24 mm, 2.57 g, ex Palembang

39. Similar, but with minor differences

Tin alloy, 24 mm, 2.62 g, ex Palembang, photograph Dr. T. D. Yih



### Large-size "Pangeran" coins, c. 1600 to 1620's

40. *Pang* (top) *Lan* (bottom) *Hing* (right) *Bao* (left)

*Obv. Rim:* No rim around square central hole. Marginal rim present

*Rev.:* Flat

Tin alloy, 23 mm, 1.40 g, ex Palembang, photograph Dr. T. D. Yih



### Small-size literate "Sultan" coinage, c. 1630's

41. *Se* (top) *Dan* (bottom) *Li* (right) *Bao* (left)

*Obv. Rims:* No rim around square central hole. Narrow marginal rim.

*Rev.:* Flat

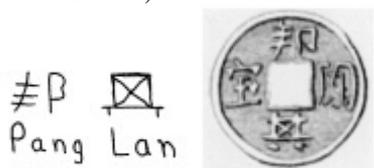
Tin alloy, 19 mm, 0.72 g, ex Palembang

42. Same description  
 Tin alloy, 19 mm. Millies (1871, attributed to Cirebon) p. 54, pl. XV, 121;  
 See: Yih (2010; 2012)



**Small-size literate “Pangeran” coinage, c. 1630’s**

43. *Pang* (top) *Lan* (bottom) *Hing* (right) *Bao* (left)  
*Obv. Rims:* Rim around **square** central hole. Marginal rim present  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, 18 mm. See: Millies (1871) p. 54, pl. XV, 122 (attributed to Cirebon).



**Small-size stylised “Sultan” coinage, c. 1640’s to 1658**

44. *Se* (top) *Dan* (bottom) *Li* (right) *Bao* (left)  
*Obv. Rims:* No rim around **square** central hole. Narrow marginal rim  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, 19 mm, 0.62 g, ex Palembang  
 See: Yih (2010)



**Stylised “Sultan” and stylised “Pangeran” coins corroded together**

45. *Obv.:* *Se* (top) *Dan* (bottom) *Li* (right) *Bao* (left)  
*Obv. Rims:* No rim around **square** central hole. Narrow marginal rim  
 (third coin of the trio corroded together)  
 46. *Obv.:* *Pang* (top) *Lan* (bottom) *Hing* (right) *Bao* (left)  
*Obv. Rims:* Narrow rim around **square** central hole. Narrow marginal rim.  
 Tin alloy, 20 mm, 2.93 g (3 coins), ex Palembang

The stylised “*Pang*” of *pangeran*, although imperfectly cast, is characteristic. The stylized versions of “*dan*” and “*lan*” resemble one another. Another feature is that the Sultan coins tend to have no rim around the central hole, whereas the small-size *Pangeran* coins do have a rim around the hole.



**The “*Alamat Sultan*” coinage with Malay inscriptions, c. 1658 to 1710**

The coin legend “*Alamat Sultan*” means “Mark of the Sultan”. Millies attributed the coins to Jambi in his text, but they are illustrated alongside coins of Palembang in his plate. His logic was that “mark of the sultan” on these coins linked them with coins inscribed “mark of the Sultan of Jambi” on coins of that sultanate. Jambi, however, always used Javanese language inscriptions, albeit

the late coins have a Javanese language inscription written in Malay script. The “*Alamat Sultan*” coins now being discussed belong to the Palembang coin sequence and many of these coins have been found at Palembang. One can also note that the word “*Alamat*” occurs on numerous later Palembang coins belonging to its eighteenth century series.

The “*Alamat Sultan*” inscription is written in four segments (“*Ala – mat – Sulta – n*”) disposed above, left, below and right of the central hole. In this respect, the legend arrangement provides a natural evolutionary step from the quarterly disposition of Chinese characters on Chinese cash, and on Palembang’s earlier coins with phonetic Chinese inscriptions.

The earlier “*Alamat Sultan*” coins retain a square central hole, whereas the later coins have a circular central hole. The coins are all small-size tin alloy pitjis. Yih (2012) looked at over one hundred of these coins and observed mean diameters of 17.7 mm for 81 square-hole pitjis and 19.6 mm for 26 round-hole pitjis. The square-hole pitjis had a mean weight of 0.54 g and the round hole pitjis had a mean weight of 0.66 g. They are all fragile coins, whose mean thickness is 0.6 mm. Yih’s XRF analysis of two square-hole coins showed a metal composition of about 74% tin and 23% lead.

The inscription is written with the letters base inwards. “*Ala*” is at the top. It is followed by “*mat*” on the left, “*Sulta*” below and “*n*” on the right. Diacritical marks are normally present above the “*t*” of *alamat* and in the “*n*” of *sultan*. This is a conservative coin series, which shows little variation beyond the square-hole and the circular-hole types just described. Yih noted some minor varieties and Millies illustrated a specimen with some letters arranged base outwards (pl. XIX, 209).

The inscription is written with the letters base inwards. “*Ala*” is at the top. It is followed by “*mat*” on the left, “*Sulta*” below and “*n*” on the right. Diacritical marks are normally present above the “*t*” of *alamat* and in the “*n*” of *sultan*. This is a conservative coin series, which shows little variation beyond the square-hole and the circular-hole types just described. Yih noted some minor varieties and Millies illustrated a specimen with some letters arranged base outwards (pl. XIX, 209).

The prosperity of the Palembang sultanate grew in the early eighteenth century, after the tin ore deposits on Bangka Island were discovered in 1710 and the production of tin was organised soon afterwards. Palembang’s eighteenth century series of tin pitjis is characterised by the use of circular legends written in Malay script, as well as by a greater output of coins and a much greater variety of issues.

The year 1710 marked the beginning of a phase of change in the Palembang sultanate, and a rise in its prosperity. In the present context, the year 1710 can be used as a marker for the phasing out of the “*Alamat Sultan*” coinage. It should be interpreted as a marker, rather than an exact date. The change in Palembang’s coinage could have occurred a few years earlier, but is more likely to have happened a few years later. Millies (p. 112) noted such dates as 1103 (AD 1691) and 1113 (AD 1701) on Palembang pitjis of the eighteenth century series, but they are probably corrupt dates written on later eighteenth century pitjis. The year 1710 is a better marker for the general phase of change at Palembang.

**“*Alamat Sultan*” coins with a square hole**

47. *Ala – mat – Sulta – n*  
*Obv. Rims:* No rim around **square** central hole. Narrow marginal rim  
*Rev.:* Flat  
 Tin alloy, 18 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang

**Similar coins**

48. *Tin alloy, 17 mm, 0.78 g (2 coins corroded together), ex Palembang*  
 49 *Tin alloy, 17 mm. The second coin of the pair (nos. 48 + 49)*  
 See Millies (1871, p. 109; pl. XIX, 206-207: 18 and 14 mm); Yih (2011)  
 Variety, with letters partly base outwards, see Millies (1871, pl. XIX, 209; 15 mm)

سلطان مات سالت



**'Alamat Sultan coins with a circular hole**

50. 'Ala - mat - Sulta - n

*Obv. Rim:* Narrow rim around **circular** central hole, Narrow marginal rim.

*Rev.:* Flat

Tin alloy, 20 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang

51. Similar

Tin alloy, 18 mm, 0.33 g, ex Palembang

See: Yih (2011)

سلطان مات سالت



**4. Early unofficial Dutch coins attributable to Batavia**

Batavia (now Jakarta) is a port town on the north coast of Java, not far from the north-west tip of the island and some fifty miles from Banten.

The account that follows is summarised from Mandelslo (1659, 360-1) with a few additions from Hall's history. The local rulers disliked the ingratitude of the Portuguese and opposed their setting up permanent establishments. The kings of Banten and of Jakarta (who was vassal to the king of Banten) gained profit from the spices that the Dutch and the English purchased and permitted each to build a house, or lodge, as a retreat for the factors where they could conserve the merchandise in which they traded. As a result of local conflict with the king, the Dutch, little by little, began fortifying their lodge in Jakarta. There was also conflict with the English (who had opened a factory at Jakarta in 1617: Hall 1968, 300), which culminated in a naval battle in the vicinity of Banten and Jakarta on 2 January 1619. The Dutch completed the fortification of their lodge at Jakarta, which they named Batavia. The ruler of Jakarta laid siege to Fort Batavia, and was assisted by English troops. The siege was lifted when Dutch reinforcements arrived (in May 1619: Hall 1968). The Dutch attacked, and then set fire to, the town of Jakarta. The Dutch then built their own town of Batavia. Hall (1968, 305-6) has added details concerning the role played by the forces of Banten's chief minister, Ranamanggala, in the destruction of Jakarta. Mandelslo also noted that taxes and profits in Batavia were calculated in (Spanish) reales. This contrasts with prices in Banten, which were all calculated in 'caxas' (cash).

*Coins*

The first Dutch coins minted at Batavia were copper stuivers and quarter stuivers dated 1644. Their obverse shows an upright sword inside the marginal legend 'Batavia anno 1644'. The reverse bears the VOC monogram with the denomination written above. These early coins have not been seen among the Palembang finds. They were withdrawn in 1647 (Grogan 1914, 619; Mitchiner 1979, 3175). Many decades would elapse before more small-denomination coins were provided in the form of copper duits exported from the Netherlands (authorised in 1726). As noted by Mandelslo, local taxes and prices were calculated in reales.

Palembang has yielded some copper coins, which are best attributed to Batavia. They illustrate the Dutch lion emblem and

the upright sword, which had appeared on the coins of 1644. They are local low-denomination coins, perhaps sanctioned by the authorities in Batavia, or perhaps issued by merchants. They are best dated to the period after withdrawal of the 1644 coinage. This suggests issue around the 1650's. It is conceivable that the coins catalogued here were lost at Palembang during the course of the Dutch punitive expedition of 1658.

**Coins of Batavia found in Palembang: c. 1650's**

These are coins of western form, whose concepts are not Javanese-Sumatran.

52. *Obv.:* Dutch lion, with one foreleg raised and tail raised, standing to right. Exergue line beneath

*Rev:* Upright sword, with double exergue line beneath

Copper, die-struck, thick flan with bevelled edge, 18 mm, 4.12 g, ex Palembang

53. Similar

*Copper, 20 mm, 4.70 g, ex Palembang*

The obverse is more fully expressed on one coin, and the reverse on the other coin.

Dr. Yih has recorded a similar coin, but made of tin alloy, 19 mm, 3.82 g, probably ex Palembang



**5. Conclusion: Coin circulation in Palembang during the seventeenth century.**

Discussion has so far been focussed around defining the early trading network to which Palembang belonged, and describing the early coin series issued in the various states belonging to that group, namely, Banten, Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang.

It is reasonable to conclude with a few comments focussed on Palembang, itself, which is the place where most of the coins catalogued here have been found.

The pepper grown in Palembang brought prosperity to the sultanate, as it did to the other sultanates spread along the north Sumatran coast. Their ships sailed to the market at Banten to sell the pepper, as well as to trade in other commodities. The ships from Siak called in at Palembang's port on their voyage to Banten. This seems to be the explanation for the relatively large number of Siak's coins found at Palembang. What should one conclude about Jambi? By comparison with many Siak coins found at Palembang, very few coins of Jambi have been found. One explanation could be that Jambi's ships rarely found it necessary to call in at Palembang on their way to Banten. Another possibility is that Jambi issued fewer coins, or simply that few of Jambi's coins have come to the author's notice. It is also likely that Palembang was importing Malayan tin from Siak, and Jambi was not involved in that aspect of trade. When Palembang's ships returned from the market at Banten, they brought back to Palembang a reasonable selection of Banten's coins. At Palembang, itself, the minting of early coins appears to have been restrained.

When discussing, in the context of individual sultanates, the date when this trading pattern ended, two dates have featured prominently. They are the Dutch foundation of Batavia in 1619 and the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641. It has been suggested that Dutch consolidation at Batavia had a detrimental effect on

Banten's trade and was responsible for a reduction in the size and weight of coins, as well as Banten's decision to change from copper alloy to lead alloy as the coin metal. This was during the early 1620's, the last years of the 'Pangeran Ratou ing Banten' coinage. In this section, one can look at what happened from Palembang's point of view. A good selection of Banten's copper coins reached Palembang in the course of trade, but very few of Banten's lead coins. Occasional specimens of the lead 'Pangeran Ratou ing Banten' coins of the early 1620's reached Palembang, but the author has seen hardly any examples of later Banten lead coins among the Palembang finds. It is reasonable to suggest that Palembang suffered a major decline in the shipping of its pepper to Banten during the 1620's. Palembang probably exported its pepper directly, partly to the Dutch, who had established a factory at Palembang (Mandelslo) and partly to Chinese merchants who called at the port prior to the imposition of a Dutch monopoly in 1658.

The second important date, just mentioned, was 1641. Palembang's trade with Banten had tailed off during the 1620's, but Palembang's trade with Siak continued for around a further two decades, perhaps based as much on Siak's role as an intermediary trading Malayan tin to the North Sumatran sultanates, including Palembang, as on the pepper trade. Although the dating of Siak's coinage is less precise than the dating of Banten's coinage, it appears likely that Siak's coins continued reaching Palembang in the course of trade until the early 1640's. This was a period during which Palembang was minting tin coins, but Banten had a shortage of tin and was making its coins in lead. Dutch efforts to dominate the Malayan tin trade following the conquest of Malacca curtailed Siak's ability to supply tin to such north Sumatran sultanates as Palembang. The protective alliance formed by Johore, Aceh, Jambi, Siak and Indragiri against the Dutch in 1644 illustrates the impact of Dutch expansion on local trade. It also marks the approximate date when coins of Siak stopped reaching Palembang in the course of trade.

The coins found at Palembang illustrate the extensive trading network in which Palembang played its part during the early decades of the seventeenth century. There was a major decline in trade with Banten during the 1620's, and later with Siak during the early 1640's. The Dutch, who were the instigators of the decline, are represented at Palembang by a few unofficial copper coins, which were probably minted at Batavia during the 1650's. By the time the Dutch imposed their pepper-trading monopoly on Palembang in 1658, sea trade between the various sultanates had declined. The Dutch were now the dominant sea traders. During the remainder of the seventeenth century, the coins found at Palembang are restricted to the local coins minted in the Palembang sultanate.

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## SOME JAPANESE CURRENCY ITEMS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SCOTLAND<sup>37</sup>

By Rosina Buckland<sup>38</sup>

The National Museum of Scotland holds a significant collection of Japanese artefacts, with woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*) forming the largest part numerically, as well as ceramics, textiles, contemporary studio art, miniature art (*inrō* and *netsuke*), arms and armour, and archaeological and ethnographic material. There is a small group of Japanese coins, numbering approximately 150 items. However, the author has recently been studying a small number of other intriguing currency items, which have not previously received attention.

#### Hansatsu

In 1876 Thomas Wallace of the Office of Northern Lights, Edinburgh, donated three *han-satsu* 藩札 literally "domain notes." Wallace was an ironworker at Milne & Son in Edinburgh, who was hired by the Stevenson firm of lighthouse engineers to go to Japan as superintendent of works and lighthouse inspector. He was contracted from January 1869 to May 1872, one of hundreds of foreign employees sent to participate in Japan's process of industrialisation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup>

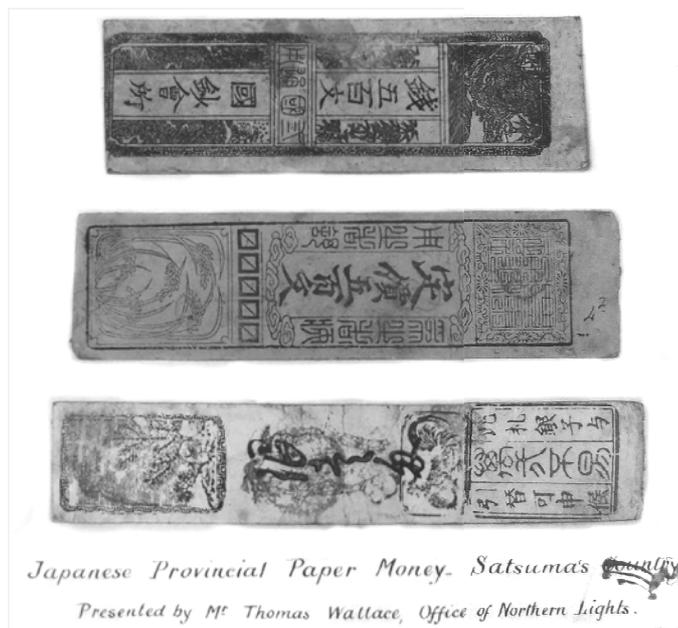
The board to which the notes are attached explains them erroneously as "Japanese Provincial Paper Money - Satsuma's Country." Last year, with the assistance of Prof. Kei-ichirō Katō,

<sup>37</sup>The author would like to thank Helen Wang of the British Museum for her assistance in researching this article.

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<sup>39</sup> Mairi Hamilton Arbuckle Araki, "Japanese Engineering and Scotland: Ryūgakusei and Oyatoi between 1865 and 1900," Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2007.

of the University of Marketing and Distribution Sciences (Ryūtsū Kagaku Daigaku), Tokyo, it was possible to identify the three notes as follows:



**A.1876.3.12.1** Value of 500 *bun* 銭五百文, issued by 国鈔会所 in Kagoshima domain, Satsuma province [3-12-25]<sup>40</sup>

**A.1876.3.12.2** Value of 500 *bun* 五百文, issued by 通鈔 in Toyoura, Chōfu domain, Nagato province [2-32-24 to 31]<sup>41</sup>

**A.1876.3.12.3** Value of one silver *momme* 銀壹匁, issued in Wakayama domain, Kii province in 1823 [2-34-7 to 8]<sup>42</sup>

The numbers in square brackets refer to comparable examples which can be seen on the Image Database of Antique Coins and Notes in the Graduate School of Economics, Faculty of Economics, University of Tokyo [*Tōkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Keizaigaku Kenkyūka shozō Ko-shihei ko-satsu gazō deetabeesu* 東京大学大学院経済学研究科所蔵 古貨幣・古札画像データベース] (select ケース番号 in the pull-down menu):

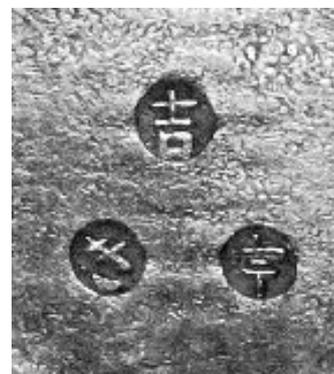
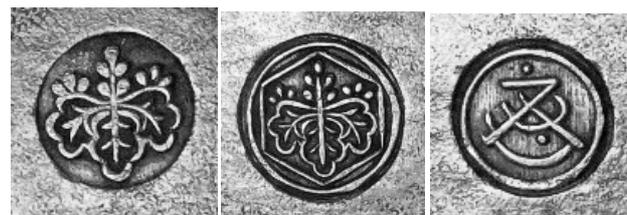
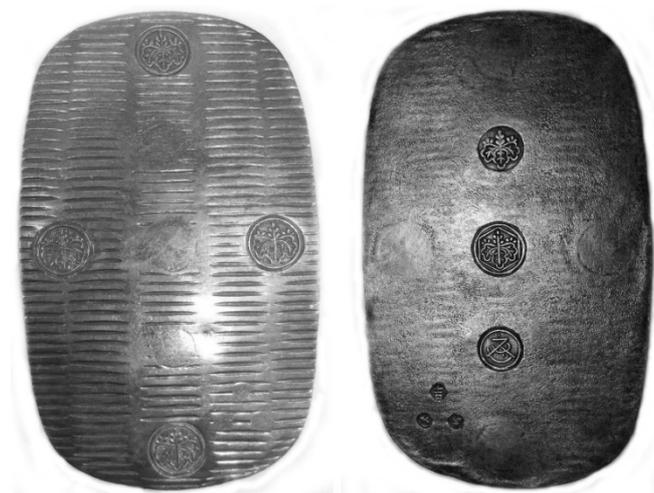
<http://www.lib.e.u-tokyo.ac.jp/shiryō/kahei.html>

Lower-ranking samurai of Satsuma and Nagato [Chōshū] provinces played a central role in the overthrow of the military government (*bakufu*) and the “Restoration” of the emperor to political command of the country. Their involvement may explain the availability on the market of monetary notes from those domains, possibly in the many bric-a-brac stores that sprang up in Tokyo and Yokohama.

### *Ōban*

This item was discovered by the author recently unregistered in the Museum's collections, and there is thus no information concerning it. The design conforms with the Man'en *ōban*, i.e. *ōban* coins struck during the brief Man'en era (1860–61). These coins were customarily made from hammered gold, but the exact metal composition of this piece remains unclear. Initial examination suggests it is made of electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, and it will undergo scientific testing. The piece

measures 13.5 by 8.0 cm and weighs 113g.<sup>43</sup> On the obverse the four “flower stamps” (*hana-oshi*) with the paulownia (*kiri*) crest of the ruling Tokugawa family and the pattern of horizontal grooves (*gozame*) formed by a chisel are typical of such coins. On the reverse are the customary three large stamps running down the middle and, at bottom left, a standard combination of three smaller stamps, identified by Prof. Shin-ichi Sakuragi of Shimonoseki City University as follows: the upper one, the mint official's mark (*zanin-in*) of Yoshioka Seiemon 吉岡誠衛門; beneath it, the mint master's marks (*tōryō-in*) of Yokota Kisaburō 横田喜三郎 (left) and of Hayashi Ubei 林宇兵衛.



However, the coin lacks the handwritten inscription on the obverse by a member of the Gotō family (the hereditary superintendents of the mint), which served as official validation. Based on his viewing of photographs, Prof. Sakuragi believes the piece to be genuine, and that the inscription has worn off. However, it remains to be seen whether it might in fact be some sort of replica, produced for as yet unknown reasons. Two immediate questions the author would like to ask of Journal readers are:

1. How long did production of Man'en *ōban* continue?
2. Was there a debasement of the gold used in their production?

<sup>40</sup> Kokuritsu Shiryōkan, ed., *Edo jidai no shihei* (Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993), p. 117.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> C.f. 1947,0604.3 in the collection of the British Museum.

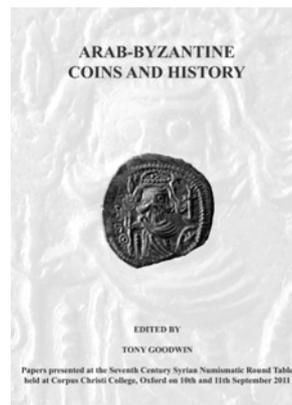
**More Book News**

*Arab-Byzantine Coins and History* edited by Tony Goodwin, published by Archetype Publications 2012, ISBN: 9781904982951, 200 pages.

This book consists of papers presented at the Seventh Century Syrian Round Table conference held in Oxford in September 2011. The conference brought together numismatists, archaeologists and historians with an interest in the coinage of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Near East. Although the main focus of the papers is on the Arab-Byzantine coins of Syria/Palestine, there are also papers on the North African coinage and on the evidence for coin use in Nubia, plus two mainly historical papers dealing with various aspects of the relationship between Byzantium and the new Islamic state. Until quite recently, published 7<sup>th</sup> century coin finds from excavations have been very sparse, but the situation is now rapidly improving and two other papers demonstrate how much can be learned from this new evidence.

The book contains numerous illustrations of coins, including several previously unpublished varieties, and an update on some of

the recent forgeries which have appeared on the market. Further details can be obtained from Tony Goodwin at a.goodwin2@btopenworld.com, who can also supply the book for £28 plus postage at cost.



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