



ONS NEWS

Seventh century Syria Numismatic Round Table

The next meeting of the *Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table* will be held in the new library building in Worcester, called *The Hive*, on Saturday, 28 September 2013 and Sunday 29 September 2013. The meeting will be held in a room called *The Studio* which is a small purpose-built performance and lecture auditorium.

Lectures will start at 10.00 am each day and the normal speaking time is 30 minutes with 10 minutes for questions, although shorter and longer presentations can be negotiated with Andrew Oddy. The round table will end at 6.00pm on Saturday and 4.00pm on Sunday. A conference dinner will be organised on the Saturday evening for those who are interested. *The Hive* is less than 10 minutes walk from Worcester Foregate railway station and 3 minutes from the bus station. There is a large pay-and-display car park adjacent to *The Hive* and there are numerous hotels and B&B establishments within a short walk. There is a Travel Lodge near the cathedral currently offering rooms at £39 per night for next September!

To register your interest in attending please email Andrew Oddy on waoddy@googlemail.com (unless you have already done so.)

Call for papers

The subject of the conference is the coinage and history of North Africa, Egypt, Greater Syria, Iraq and Iran from the reign of Focas to the end of the Umayyad dynasty. It is expected that several papers will focus on the Arab-Byzantine coinage (coinage of the Byzantine to Arab Transition Period). Papers on sigillography, weights, and the material remains of the Byzantine to Arab transition period are welcome.

To offer a paper please email Andrew Oddy on waoddy@googlemail.com as soon as possible. It is planned that the papers will be published in the same format as those of the last two round tables, and offering a paper commits you to producing a publishable version by the end of 2013.

New Members

UK Region

2009	[REDACTED]
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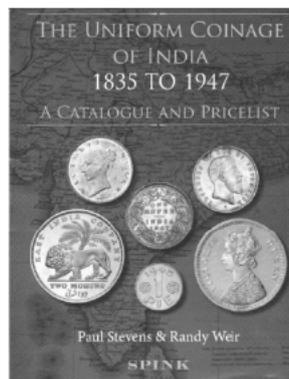
European Region

2010	[REDACTED]
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Lists Received

1. Tim Wilkes ([REDACTED] www.wilkescoins.com; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 18 of oriental coins.

New and Recent Publications



The Uniform Coinage of India 1835 to 1947: A Catalogue and Pricelist by Paul Stevens & Randy Weir, published by Spink, London, 2012, pp. 360, illustrated in colour, casebound, price: £75 plus postage and packing.

The publishers inform us that:

“This new book is based upon the work of Major F. Pridmore, published in 1980. The market for Indian coins has developed considerably in that time and the

need for an up-to-date reference work with current values has been apparent for some time

Paul Stevens and Randy Weir have combined their extensive knowledge and experience totalling over 60 years to produce this comprehensive handbook for collectors. They have amassed information from numerous sources and have gathered together superb photographs, all shown at 1.5 times actual size, not only of the currency issues, but also of proof restrikes, early proof restrikes, original proofs and rarely seen patterns. Also shown are close-ups of varieties and line-drawings to illustrate points that could not be easily shown in photographs.

Information about weight, diameter, metal, edge and axes is also given with cross-references to Pridmore numbers, with additional comments to show provenance.

This is the new standard catalogue for the coins of British India for the period and includes prices in US\$ in multiple grades together with mintage figures.”

Indian Medals, Tokens, Pictorial Plaques and Pendants, circa 1800 to 2010, by Michael Mitchiner, 2012, case-bound, pp. 944, with 2,645 pieces catalogued and illustrated. Price: £135 plus postage. ISBN 978-0-904173-30-7, available from Spink, London and other outlets.

The subtitle of this book is: *The rise of modern India reflected in iconography; an insight into Indian culture from mainstream traditions to the tribal art of rural India*. In addition, the author provides the following information:

“The great majority of the 2,645 pieces catalogued and illustrated in this book are made of silver. These include some 600 pictorial

ethnic plaques and pendants representing the deities and concepts of rural communities. Preceding this part of the catalogue, there is a discussion of rural beliefs with particular reference to the iconography observed on the rural plaques favoured in the Deccan and the rural pendants preferred in such other regions as Rajasthan.

The main body of the work includes a catalogue of some 2000 medals illustrating the more mainstream concepts and practices of urban India. Approximately half the medals were made between around 1800 and 1947. The rest were made after India became independent in 1947 and introduced the new constitution for the Republic of India in 1950. The modern medals present a wide and interesting range of iconographic designs related to beliefs held by the Indus, Jains, Sikhs, Moslems, Parsees and Christians. In one part of the book, these mainstream beliefs are discussed with particular reference to the iconography observed on modern medals. The medals, themselves, were issued for such purposes as giving at Diwali, and when celebrating such family events as births, religious initiations, marriages, and completion of pilgrimages. Others commemorate the jubilees of many banks and commercial enterprises.

The first part of the book deals with such well-known medal series as the ramatankas and related medals. Some rare mediaeval Deccan ramatankas are included, but most of the ramatankas catalogued in this section were made in the territory of the Bengal Presidency during the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Two groups of more coin-like medals are the series bearing designs based on the East India Company's Murshidabad rupees, which were made at many towns in the Bengal Presidency and the putlis bearing designs derived from Venetian ducats, which circulated in the territory of the Bombay Presidency. The historical and other medals made for use in the British-administered presidencies are only surveyed. More attention is devoted to those commissioned for use in various Indian states. After the British government had suppressed the East India Company in 1858, it imposed a tax on hundis. Bombay's business community reacted by introducing gold and silver tolas as a tax-exempt vehicle for local business transactions. A good range of Bombay's gold and silver tolas is catalogued. The fewer gold tolas of Calcutta are also represented, as are Hundis. The Second World War was noteworthy in a numismatic and medallic context for the associated shortage of base metals and, therefore, of low-denomination coinage. Many small states in the north-west reacted by printing cardboard cash coupons to service low-value transactions, and a range of these pieces is catalogued. For the mill-owners and some other large commercial enterprises, a different solution was to issue canteen tokens.

The period of the Second World War was also noteworthy for the progress made by the Independence Movement in India. Contemporary medals depict such prominent figures as Mohanda Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarda Vallabhbai Patel and, in greater variety, the enigmatic figure of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Most of the material published in this book is new. Some fields, such as ramatankas and historical medals are well-known. Other series, such as Indian state medals, cash coupons and canteen tokens have been discussed in disparate publications. This leaves a large body of material which is published for the first time and integrated with what is already known to form a coherent overall picture."

Money: Traditional Korean Society by Yu-han Wōn, Kyong-hee Lee, first published 2006, Seoul, Korea, pp.152 ISBN 89-7300-674-604300.

Coins, Trade, and the State: Economic Growth in Early Medieval Japan (Harvard East Asian Monographs) by Ethan Isaac Segal, 2011. Price: around US\$ 40.

"Framed by the decline of the Heian aristocracy in the late 1100s and the rise of the Tokugawa shogunate in the early 1600s, Japan's medieval era was a chaotic period of diffuse political power and frequent military strife. This instability prevented central

authorities from regulating trade, issuing currency, enforcing contracts, or guaranteeing property rights. But the lack of a strong central government did not inhibit economic growth. Rather, it created opportunities for a wider spectrum of society to participate in trade, markets, and monetisation.

Peripheral elites, including merchants, warriors, rural estate managers, and religious leaders, devised new ways to circumvent older forms of exchange by importing Chinese currency, trading in local markets, and building an effective system of long-distance money remittance. Over time, the central government recognised the futility of trying to stifle these developments, and by the sixteenth century it asserted greater control over monetary matters throughout the realm.

Drawing upon diaries, tax ledgers, temple records, and government decrees, the author chronicles how the circulation of copper currency and the expansion of trade led to the start of a market-centered economy and laid the groundwork for Japan's transformation into an early modern society."

A Sylloge of the Sasanian Coins in the national Museum of Iran (Muzeh Mellī Iran), Tehran, volume 2, Khusrau II – Yazdgard III, By Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, M. Elahé Askari, Elizabeth J. Pendleton with Richard Hodges and Ali-Akbar Safi. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 49, in association with the British Institute of Persian Studies, London, 2012. Pp. ix + 500 (250 plates with text opposite). ISSN 0080 4487; ISBN 0 901 405 64 7. Price: £75 plus postage and packing.

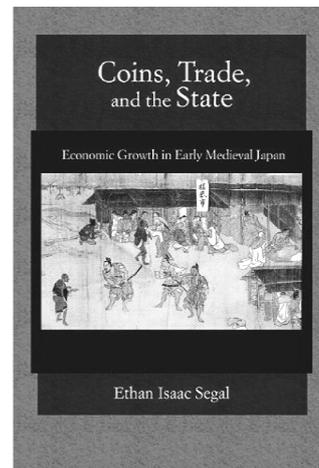
"This volume completes the project to catalogue in sylloge form all the Sasanian coins, mostly silver but with some bronze, in the Department of Coins and Seals of the National Museum in Tehran. The first volume (RNS SP 47, London, 2010) covered the 1476 coins from Ardashir I to Hormizd IV. This second volume covers the 2948 coins from Khusrau II to Yazdgard III; the numeration is continuous from the vol. I to vol. II. The Museum is especially strong in silver coinage of Khusrau II, and the collection's strength is the breadth of mints and regnal years represented. Superb images and detailed descriptions of each coin highlight the richness of the material"

Volume I is still available for £45. Both volumes can be purchased from the Book Department, Spink & Son Ltd. and the usual other outlets.

Numismatic Digest Vol. 34-35, has been published by IIRNS Publications Pvt. Ltd, Mumbai, India. Price: US \$30 (postage included), available from the publisher (Tel. No.: 91-22-43534353; Fax 91-22-22854741; E-mail: iirns-publications@ucil.co.in).

Contents:

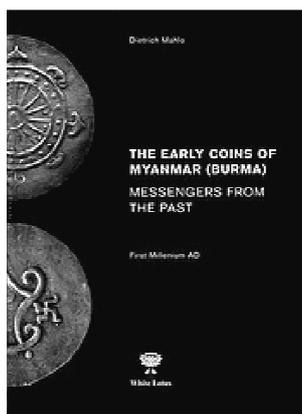
- "An interesting Eran-Ujjain silver coin" by Devendra Handa & Maj. M.K. Gupta
- "Recent discoveries in early inscribed coins of Vidarbha" by Prashant Kulkarni
- "A Roman coin hoard from Mattadakere" by M. Girijapathy & H.K. Khandoba Rao
- "Two clay sealings of Vaisrava from Kausambi" by Om Prakash Lal Srivastava
- "Coins of Vaisaravana, an unknown king, and some more ancient coins" by Amiteshwar Jha
- "Tentative attributions of some gold fanams of the Eastern Ganges" by Pankaj Tandon



“A small hoard of Chinese cash found in Gujarat” by Michael Mitchiner
 “New metallic assays of Bengal Sultan silver tankas” by John Deyell
 “Decorative art on Mughal and sultanate coins” by Danish Moin
 “Copper circulation in northern India in 1830” by Jan Lingen & Jan Lucassen
 “Modern Indian medals of the Bohras” by Michael Mitchiner

In India, A.V. Narasimha Murthy and D. Raja Reddy have brought out a 397-page book entitled ‘Gold Coins in the Srivari Hundi of Lord Sri Venkateswara’. The Srivari Hundi at Tirumala has seen different types of offerings, varying from currency to sale deeds, grains to clothes and jewellery to share documents during its lifetime. Gold, silver and copper coins offered to the Lord for fully nineteen centuries are carefully preserved by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams (TTD) management and range from the Roman era of the 1st century AD to that of the Nizam era of the 20th century. The authors have described the gold coins of the Roman period, the Hoysala dynasty, the Vijayanagara kings, the Mysore Wodeyars, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan periods, the Mughal dynasty, the British era and the Nizam period, found in the hundi. The book contains pictures of 1,213 gold coins (both sides), a historical description of each dynasty represented, and other relevant information. The book is priced at IRs 2,000.

The Early Coins of Myanmar (Burma), Messengers of the Past by Mahlo Deitrich, Bangkok 2012, 192 pp., illus. 15 pp. in col., 1 map, US \$50. ISBN 978-974-480-191-3. Available from whitelotusbooks.com and probably other outlets.



“In the ancient and medieval periods, the people of Myanmar lived in a world full of coins. Coins form a major part of their archaeological heritage and represent some impressive examples of early Asian design.

The author has devoted almost fifty years to recording the provenance of these coins. He has studied their symbols and combinations of symbols and offers the results of his researches to the public, organised on a geographical and chronological basis. In doing so, he is not only concerned with research on the coins themselves, but also with studying them as documents of an otherwise lost history and culture. This research has led the author to evidence of strong Indian influences in ancient Burma around the beginning of the modern era; to new insights into the development and extent of the Kingdom of Sri Ksetra; to the rise and fall of Halingyi; the origins of Pagan; to the possibility of a Khmer incursion as far as Thaton; as well as to the existence, in the medieval period, of previously unknown small states in Upper Burma and on the Gulf of Martaban.

The early coins of Myanmar/Burma open a new window onto one of the forgotten civilisations of Southeast Asia. “

Issue 4 of *Numismatique Asiatique*, the journal of the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, France, has now been published. It contains three articles on Cambodian coinage:

“La monnaie cambodgienne à l’animal fantastique dit *makara*” by Alain Escabasse;

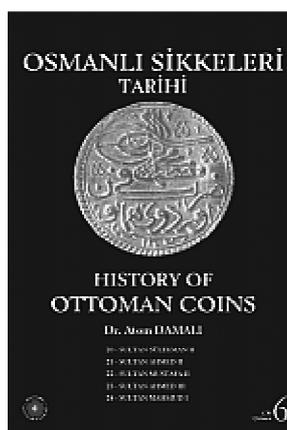
“Quelques monnaies cambodgiennes de Jules Silvestre” by François Joyaux;

From the archives: “Monnaies khmères, d’après George Groslier (1921)”

An article on French Indian coinage: “Le monnayage de Mahé” by Deniel Cariou;

And information on various recent publications and events.

For more information please contact the editor, François Joyaux at numis.asia@orange.fr



History of Ottoman Coins: Volume 6 - Suleyman II, Ahmed II, Mustafa II, Ahmed III, Mahmud I

By Dr Atom Damalı, hard cover, 440 pages, in colour, 210 x 297 mm, in Turkish and English, published by Nilüfer Damalı Education, Culture and Environment Foundation, 2012. Price: US \$160

“From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, various administrative, military, industrial, commercial, financial and social developments, which

occurred within the boundaries of the Ottoman state and throughout the world, were instrumental in exacerbating the economic problems of the Ottoman Empire. These developments, which greatly affected coin minting, can be summarised briefly as follows:

The silver crisis that emerged due to the closure of the silver mines in the 17th century in the Ottoman Empire was also a factor causing the collapse of the Ottoman monetary system. The standards of the coins produced at the mints beyond Istanbul started to degrade and the state was not able to inspect the fineness and measures of the coins due to the weakness of the central authority. The state, which could not control the mints in these difficult circumstances, ended the operations of many of them. While the number of mints producing coins had been above 50 at the beginning of the century, as of the mid-17th century the number of active mints came down to fewer than 10.

The present volume of this work, which is expected to be completed in nine volumes, covers the reigns of sultans Mustafa I, Osman II, Murad IV, Ibrahim and Mehmed IV, and contains:

- Year-by-year chronological information regarding the 67 years of these sultanates;
- The most significant historical developments of this period;
- Detailed information on coins.

This volume includes the details of 28 coins of Sultan Suleyman II, 18 coins of Sultan Ahmed II, 104 coins of Sultan Mustafa II, 346 coins of Sultan Ahmed III and 335 coins of Sultan Mahmud I; i.e. 831 gold and silver coins. Additionally, the book provides the local history of nearly 50 provinces which issued coins during these reigns and examines the characteristics of the coins minted in these provinces.

An inventory of the coins belonging to the sultans is provided at the end of the book.

Royal Numismatic Society

Material of interest to ONS members has been published in recent journals of the Royal Numismatic Society. Volume 171 (2011) included articles on:

The Fineness of Persian Silver Coins by Emanuel Petac, Gheorghe Niculexcu Migdonia Georgescu, pp.1-6

An Arab-Sogdian Coin of AH 160: an Ikshid in Ishtihan? by Aleksandr Naymark and Luke Treadwell, pp.359-366

Sasanian Numismatic Research in the Context of the Muzeh Mellî Iran by Hodge Mehdi Malek pp. 469-486

And in Volume 172 (2012) articles include:

Roman Coins from the Mackenzie Collection at the British Museum by Sushma Jansari, p.93-104

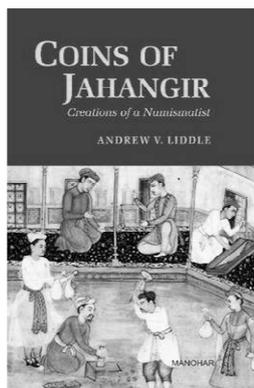
A Unique Coin of Abū al-Hayjā, Ja'farid Emir of Tiflīs by Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia, 205-212

Counterfeit Parthian Drachms by David Sellwood, pp.215-218

A hoard of Kushano-Sasanian copper coins from Hulbuk by Andrea Gariboldi and Nikolaus Schindel, pp.333-334

Returning to the Kuiu-kala hoard of early mediaeval Khwarezmian drachms by Michael Fedorov and Andrew Kuznetsov pp.335-342

The Royal Numismatic Society has also participated in the Money and Medals Network program of audio podcasts. The public lecture of Alex Fang *The study of Chinese coin-like charms: changes and challenges* is available on the website <http://www.moneyandmedals.org.uk> and is scheduled to be replaced soon by the January lecture by Susan Tyler-Smith *Pseudo-Sasanian coinage. How do you to recognise it? Why was it struck?*



Coins of Jahangir: Creations of a Numismatist, by Andrew Liddle, 2013, published and distributed by Manohar, India, hardback, pp 272. ISBN 13: 9788173049941 ISBN 10: 8173049947.

Price believed to be IRs 3500 or around £50.

“This book is a follow-up to the author's *Coinage of Akbar, The Connoisseur's Choice*, published in 2005, and is the result of extensive research over a period of nearly eight years.

Jahangir's coins have always been the most sought-after of Mughal coins on account of their exquisite beauty and craftsmanship. As the demand has always outstripped supply they have continued to be the forger's favourite. Keeping this in mind, a chapter has been added on forgeries. It should be of particular help to new collectors. The catalogue section of the book, which covers 205 pages (57 for gold coins with 125 types, 108 for silver with 226 types; and 40 pages for copper coins with 60 types), is profusely illustrated with over 600 coins. The illustrations have been placed side by side with the descriptions for easier reference. The coin information has been obtained from the collections of famous museums and numismatic societies, as well as private collections all over the world. Many of these coins are being published for the first time; this applies especially to Jahangir's copper coins, which represent as many as 47 mints. The author's investigative approach will be of interest to numismatic scholars and academics in finding answers to some of their most baffling questions. For example, why did Jahangir issue a large proportion of his coins with the name of his father, yet Akbar was conspicuously missing from his Kalima-type coins?; or, Why did he issue some coins with the exhortation Allah-Uh-Akbar with his own name missing ?, etc.”

Copper Coins of Iran by Bahram Ala al-Dini is a new book, in English and Farsi, on the copper coins issued under the Safavids and other dynasties up to the Qajars. These coins often bear images of various animals and birds, including horses, elephants, antilopes, peacocks, lions, sunfaces, and other symbols, and nowadays are keenly collected. Some 300 types are catalogued in the book, together with their size and weight and other relevant data. The book's first release is being marketed by Yasavoli Publishing Company in Iran. It comprises 170 pages and 3,000 copies have



been produced. At the time of writing, no additional information is available.

Book Reviews

In JONS 213 we unfortunately omitted to include the name of the author of the review of Wang Chun Li's *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Gold & silver Cons: 1791-1949*. The review was, in fact, by Wolfgang Bertsch and our apologies go to him for this omission.

Articles

THE 'YEAR 20 MINT' REVISITED

By W A Oddy and S J Mansfield

The Year 20 Mint and the Phase 1 (Pseudo-Byzantine) Coinage in Early Islamic Syria

In 1992, a group of 24 irregular 'Byzantine-style' coins of a previously unknown type was published by Steve Mansfield.¹ They appear to bear a date on the reverse set out as X/X and thus they were described as products of the 'year 20 mint'. Commenting on the design and production standards of the coins and the number of specimens known, and on the basis of a quite cursory examination of the dies,² Mansfield reached the tentative conclusion that the coins might be 'the product of a small mint, that is they may have been produced by a group of moneymen to meet a local need' in the early decades following the Arab conquest of Syria.³

In 2003, however, Andrew Oddy suggested that year 20 might represent a real date of issue.⁵ He considered three possibilities:

- 20 years into the reign of Constans II (660-661; i. e., a true regnal date)
- 20 years after the Arab Conquest (i. e., about 658-660)
- 20 years after the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate at Damascus (i. e., about 681).

The confluence of two hypotheses that the operation of the mint might be fixed at about 660 or 661 is attractive and is now supported by the recent conclusions of Pottier et al⁶ that production of these coins (termed by them Class III.2) should be dated to the late 650s or early 660s (see below).

In the past 20 years, the aforementioned 'larger range of Constans II imitatives' struck in Syria has been studied in ever increasing detail, notably in Goodwin's pioneering writings⁷ and has come to be known as the 'Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage' or, more recently, as the Phase 1 coinage of Arab-Byzantine Syria.⁸ Other related groups of coins have been identified and postulated as the product of a single mint.⁹ Indeed, Oddy has gone so far as to suggest that one of these mints was located at Emesa, which became known as Hims to the Arabs.¹⁰

Most recently, the Phase 1 Coinage has been treated as part of the development of an Arab-Byzantine (and subsequently Umayyad) coinage for *Bilad al-Sham*. An overall chronology for this development has been postulated by Pottier, Schulze and Schulze¹¹ based on their conclusions that the metrological pattern of the Pseudo-Byzantine issues conforms to the declining weight standards of coins from the official Byzantine mints. Their dating of the year 20 mint to around 658-663 has been accepted by Clive Foss in his recent catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine coins at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies.¹²

The coins and the possible prototypes

Most of the year 20 coins have a facing bust on the obverse that can be divided into three types:

- beardless (Class 1)
- with a short beard (Class 2)
- with a long beard (Class 3).¹³

None of the specimens examined show a coherent obverse legend. Lettering is fragmentary and garbled and it is not possible to suggest with any confidence what, in this respect, the coins are trying to say. The reverses of Classes 1 and 2 have a majuscule **M** surmounted by a cross and with an officina letter **A** below. In addition, some coins of Class 2 have officina **Δ**. To the left is **И/И** and to the right **X/X**, with **ОИО** or **ОИО** in the exergue. Class 3 has the 'officina' letters **A**, **Δ** or **C** (the latter being a mis understood or misengraved **ϵ**), with **CO[N]** in the exergue, **A/O/N** to the left of a majuscule **M** and **X/X** to the right.

Are there any obvious prototypes for the design of the coins of the year 20 mint? One possibility is that whoever produced the coins had in mind for the reverse design the follis issue first struck in regnal year 20 of the reign of Heraclius, AD 629-630. Like the coins addressed here, this follis (which must have been struck in huge numbers by the Constantinople mint) has **X/X** to the right of the denomination mark on the reverse. Its obverse, however, has standing figures of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine. While, therefore, this coin cannot be a direct prototype, it remains possible that its reverse provided a ready-made design for a die cutter working at the year 20 mint who wanted to place such a date on his coins.

By contrast, coins of the 20th year of the reign of Constans II cannot be the inspiration for the year 20 mint as they have a standing figure of Constans on the obverse and standing figures of his three sons on the reverse. The coinage of the 15th, 16th and 17th years of Constans' reign (AD 655-658) (Grierson's Class 8),¹⁴ however, does have a reverse that is similar to the year 20 coins - a majuscule **M**, with officina letter below, **A/N/N/O** to the left, date to the right, and **CON** in the exergue. However, the obverse has standing figures of Constans II and Constantine IV.

Nevertheless, if an ecclesiastical or municipal authority was looking to strike its own coinage in about 660 it is quite possible that it would model the reverse on that of the Byzantine folles of a couple of years earlier. The fact that the date on the coins, year 20, fits into such a scheme (i. e., later than the dates of Class 8 by a few years) is supportive of **X/X** representing an actual date.

Why, then, change the obverse so dramatically? The vast majority of the Pseudo-Byzantine coins have, on their obverses, either three standing figures or one standing figure; there are some issues with two standing figures, while only a small minority have a facing bust. That the Year 20 mint should choose a facing bust is surprising but certainly not without precedent.

The prototype for the Class 1 beardless bust coins is most probably the **INPER CONST** issues that are attributed to Heraclonas (641) by Grierson¹⁵ and Morrisson¹⁶ and (more plausibly) to Constans II by Hahn,¹⁷ but it could also be the early solidi of Constans II issued in 641-647 (Grierson's Class I).¹⁸ It is known that these Byzantine gold coins entered, and continued to circulate in, Syria.¹⁹ The regular gold coins could, therefore, have served as a prototype for coins of the mint even if the reverse design was based on a slightly earlier Constans follis.

The year 20 coins that have a bust with a short beard (Class 2) are probably the best produced of the series and closely resemble the portrait on the common gold solidi of the reign of Constans which Grierson dates to around 647 - 651 (Grierson's Class II).²⁰

The coins that have a bust with a long beard were not included by Mansfield in his initial study but are now included as Class 3 because of their general similarity to Classes 1 and 2. There are not, however, any die links to confirm the relationship. The obverse of Class 3 probably copies the solidi of Constans II issued between 651 and 654 (Grierson's Class III).²¹

The status of the year 20 mint

The fact that the coins produced by the year 20 mint appear to derive from official prototypes does not imply that it could have been an Imperial mint, or even a semi-official 'Byzantine' one as

late as the 650s (and the idea of a Byzantine enclave after 640 now seems a little far-fetched). Syria was completely under the control of the Governor (and future Caliph) Mu'awiya by about 641, but many aspects of government seem to have been left to the local administrations that had existed prior to the Arab conquest. With official coins, uncertainties about dating (for example whether the date is regnal or indictional) can often be settled by reference to other primary sources. That is not possible here - it simply is not known whether it would have been possible for a subject people to produce a coinage in 660 or 661. Our dating is, therefore, conjectural. Nevertheless, there is a coming together of circumstances: the possibility of marking the anniversary of the reign, or some other important event; the need, in economic terms, for a local small-change coinage; and the circulation of several prototypes, recently issued by the Imperial administration in Constantinople, from which the design of the year 20 coins may have been derived.

From a modern perspective, it may seem decidedly risky for a Christian local authority to mark the twentieth year of the ruling Byzantine Emperor in this way, but hardly more so than the practice, characteristic of the entire Phase 1 (Pseudo-Byzantine) series, of placing an Imperial image on the obverse. In fact, many of the Greek subjects of the new Arab state continued, for many years, to look forward to the day when the Byzantine Emperor would restore Syria to the empire.²² In common with the Pseudo-Byzantine series as a whole, the local administration in charge of the year 20 mint probably aimed to provide familiar-looking coins that would be likely to be accepted for circulation. This criterion could be met by providing a Byzantine-looking portrait and a current date. That the range of portraits used at the year 20 mint, from a beardless bust to a bust with a long beard, also mirrored the chronological development of the regular Byzantine coinage of Constans II was perhaps a further reminder to the local population that another 'regime change' was still to be hoped for.

The coins and their dies

Against the background of the evolving study of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, the time seems ripe for a reappraisal of the year 20 mint, including a die study. This is, in part, because more specimens from the mint are now known and because coins with a standing figure, or two figure, obverses combined with year 20 reverses are also now known. The authors have examined 67 specimens in eight collections that belong, or might belong, to the year 20 mint. This compares with the suggestion by Foss²³ that 40 coins were known. Among the 67 specimens, there are three coins that are similar in fabric and style to coins of Classes 1 - 3, and which appear to bear a **X/X** date arrangement, but do not share common dies. These coins, which have one and two standing figure obverses are listed in the catalogue.

All the coins catalogued here are from trade and only one has a reported find spot, that being Cyprus. Most of the coins came from Levantine dealers operating out of Beirut, suggesting a provenance in modern Syria or Lebanon. However, other than being certain that the coins were struck within *Bilad al Sham* after the Arab conquest, nothing more specific can be said about the place of minting.

The fabric

The coins are thinner than contemporary Byzantine issues and give the appearance of having been struck on hammered out and cut down regular Byzantine coins. Their generally eccentric shape is presumably due to the fact that two flans have been made from one hammered out coin.

Only two coins (3 and 44) show traces of undertypes but in neither case is the original coin identifiable. However, what can be seen on 44 is part of a countermark that had been applied at the edge of the original coin. The countermark, of which only the lower part is visible, is either Schulze and Goodwin²⁴ Class 3 or Class 7. The Class 3 countermark was applied almost exclusively to folles and half folles of Heraclius dating to around year 21 (630 - 631) and Schulze and Goodwin attribute its use in Syria to the late 630s. The Class 7 countermark was applied mainly to folles

and half folles of Constans II. Most of the known specimens originated in Cyprus and it is assumed that this is where the countermark was applied.

Examination of the die axes shows that the majority of the coins were struck at approximately 6.00h. However, four coins were struck at 12.00h, five at 3.00h and three at 9.00h, showing that the dies were probably square in shape to enable the desired registration to be achieved. It is clear that a collar was not used because of the spread of the die axes either side of 6.00h. It is interesting to note that three of the 12.00h coins are from the same pair of dies in class 3.

The weights of 64 coins have been recorded (see figure 1) and the spread is from 2.1g to 6.3g with a clustering between 2.3g and 3.4g. The weight distributions suggests a slight drop in desired standard from Class 1 to Class 3, but the number of coins available is too small for this to be certain.

Die links

The die relationships (see figure 2) show a progression from Class 1 (beardless; die O1) to Class 2 (short beard: dies O2 to O4). Class 3 (long beard) is not die-linked to Classes 1 and 2 by dies but rather by iconography and style. Class 3 may have been struck after a gap of a few years.

Conclusions

This paper recognises a third class of year 20 coins - those with a long beard (Class 3). The Class 3 coins with a long beard differ in one other respect from Classes 1 and 2 in that the date arrangement in the reverse right field is **X/X/N**, **X/X/O** or **G/X/X**. The third of these date arrangements could be read as year 26. This would make sense as a real date six years after the issue of Classes 1 and 2 and go some way to explaining why there are no die links between Class 3 and the two other Classes. However, if the **G** in **G/X/X** is significant, what can be made of the **N** and **O** in **X/X/N** and **X/X/O** respectively?

The paper also draws attention to a number of other coins that may be related to the year 20 issues, including some with very different iconography. Without die-link evidence, incorporation of the one and two standing figure coins into the output of the year 20 mint cannot be advanced with absolute confidence. But, without much question, there are similarities between the coins in Classes 1, 2 and 3 and those catalogued here as "related". There are a number of features common to both. Allowing for the fact that portraying more than one figure requires a larger blank, all the coins discussed were struck to the module typical of regular coins of Constans II. Most of the blanks seem to have been prepared in roughly the same way. There is a broad stylistic uniformity to the Imperial portraits - they are slightly more crudely engraved compared with the products of the regular mints, but their standard does not sink to the level of many contemporary copies. Most significantly, of course, all the coins seem to be trying to say either year 20 or just a few years later.

There are also other die-linked series within the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage of Syria in which coins with a bust are die linked by reverse with those with one or two standing figures. A full publication of these particular groupings is awaited, but some of the die links were published by Goodwin as long ago as 1993²⁵ and others more recently.²⁶

At present, Classes 1 and 2 must continue to be regarded as the core products of the year 20 mint, with good, if not decisive, arguments to support the inclusion of Class 3. Discovery of further examples of apparently related coins, particularly if die-links are revealed, might expand our understanding of the activities of the mint still further.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank several private collectors who provided illustrations and details of their coins for inclusion in this paper.

Notes and References

1. Mansfield, S. J., A Byzantine Irregular Issue of 'Year 20', *Numismatic Circular*, 100 (3) (April 1992), pages 81 - 82.
2. Mansfield suggested that six obverse dies might have been used to strike the group and at least two (and probably more) reverse dies. Interestingly, he seems broadly right in his then estimate of the number of obverse dies. He did not look closely at the reverse dies.
3. In this paper, 'Syria' means the areas of the modern countries of Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Jordan; known, historically, to the Arabs as *Bilad al-Sham*.
4. An ad-hoc group of scholars and collectors who meet in the UK approximately every two years.
5. Oddy, A., The Christian Coinage of Early Muslim Syria?, *ARAM*, 15 (2003), pages 185 - 196.
6. Pottier, H., Schulze, I., and Schulze, W., Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage in Syria under Arab Rule (638 - circa 670) Classification and Dating, *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 154 (2008), pages 88 - 155.
7. Goodwin, T., Imitations of Folles of Constans II, *ONS Occasional Paper* number 28, 1993; A Hoard of Imitative Byzantine Folles, *Numismatic Circular* 102 (October 1994) pages 2 - 4; Seventh Century Arab Imitations of Byzantine Folles, *Numismatic Circular*, 103 (1995) pages 336 - 337; with Phillips, M. S., A Seventh Century Syrian Hoard of Byzantine and Imitative Copper Coins, *Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997) pages 61 - 87; *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*, Studies in the Khalili Collection 4, London, 2005, pages 14 - 18.
8. In an attempt to simplify the terminology applied to the Arab-Byzantine coinage as a whole, Schulze and Oddy have suggested the use of Phase 1, 2 and 3 for the issues formerly known as 'Pseudo-Byzantine', as 'Umayyad Imperial Image' or 'proto Umayyad', and as 'Standing Caliph' respectively. Schulze, W. and Oddy, A., Terminology for the Transitional Coinage struck in 7th Century Syria after the Arab Conquest, in Goodwin, T. (ed.), *Arab-Byzantine Coins and History*, London, 2012, pages 187 - 200.
9. Oddy, A., Imitations of Constans II Folles of Class 1 or 4 Struck in Syria, *Numismatic Circular* 103 (4) (May 1995) pages 142 - 143.
10. Oddy, The Christian Coinage, op. cit.
11. Pottier, Schulze and Schulze, Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage, op. cit.
12. Foss, C., *Arab-Byzantine Coins*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 12, Harvard University Press, 2008.
13. Mansfield, A Byzantine Irregular Issue, op. cit., did not include the coins with a long beard, but sufficient examples are now known with features in common with the other two types to suggest that they do belong to the series, although there are no die links (see below).
14. Grierson, P., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DOC): Volume 2, Part 2*, Washington D. C., 1968, page 454.
15. Grierson, *DOC*, op. cit., pages 396 - 397.
16. Morisson, C., *Catalogue des Monnaies Byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Volume 1: 491 - 711*, Paris, 1970, page 324.
17. Hahn, W., *Moneta Imperii Byzantini: Volume 3: Von Heraclius bis Leo III (610-720)*, Vienna, 1981, page 137.
18. Grierson, *DOC*, op.cit., pages 420 - 421.
19. For discussions of contemporary sources alluding to the circulation of Byzantine solidi, see Hoyland, R. G., *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, Princeton, 1997, pages 84 - 85 and Kaegi, W. E., *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, pages 223 - 227.
20. Grierson, *DOC*, op. cit., pages 423 - 424.
21. Grierson, *DOC*, op. cit., pages 424 - 425.
22. In the late 7th C work known as *The Trophies of Damascus*, the anonymous author still feels a strong allegiance to Byzantine rule. He speaks of 'our empire' and 'our emperor' and his calendar is still regulated by indictions and the regnal years of the emperor - Hoyland, R. G., *Seeing Islam*, op cit., pages 79 - 87.
23. Foss, C., *Arab-Byzantine Coins*, op. cit., page 30.
24. Schulze, W., and Goodwin, T., *Countermarking in Seventh Century Syria*, Supplement to ONS Newsletter 183 (Spring 2005).
25. Goodwin, T., Imitations of Folles of Constans II, *ONS Occasional Paper* number 28, 1993.
26. Pottier, Schulze and Schulze, Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage, op. cit., plate 10.
27. Pottier, Schulze and Schulze, op. cit., pl. 7, no. 6.
28. Found in Cyprus
29. Goodwin, T., Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage from Seventh Century Syria, *The Celator* (September 2000), pages 16 - 27, fig. no.7.

Catalogue

Key

The catalogue is arranged in five columns, designated as follows:

Column 1: catalogue number of coin; a star indicates that the coin is illustrated; column 2: weight (grams); column 3: die-axis; column 4: dimensions (mm); column 5: notes.

Class 1

Obv: Facing bust wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. ⚡ in field left; **ΠΟΖ** reading downwards on the right. **Die O1**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **И** in field left and **X/X** in field right. Exergue obscure. **Die R1**

1.	2.30	6.00	16-19
2*	2.70	9.00	17-21

Obv: **Die O1**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **И/И** in field left and **X/X** in field right. **СНО** in exergue. **Die R2**

3.	3.38	7.00	18-22	Traces of an undertype
4.	3.28	7.00	18-21	
5*	3.26	6.00	17-24	
6.	3.41	10.30	17-25	
7.	5.86	4.30	16-25	
8.	4.02	6.30	19-24	
9*	2.44	6.30	16-19	
10.	3.05	2.30	16-25	
11.	2.28	6.00	18-22	
12.	2.29	6.00	16-18	
13.	4.62	5.00	18-26	

Class 2

Obv: Facing bust with short beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of lettering to left; **ΠΟΙΣΟ** vertically downwards to the right. **Die O2**

Rev: **Die R2**

14.	2.95	6.00		
15.	3.04	5.00		See ref. 27
16.	3.34	6.00	17-21	
17*	4.46	4.30	17-25	
18.	2.78	5.30	15-22	
19.	2.66	6.00	17-20	
20.	2.22	5.30	13-18	
21.	3.41	5.30	16-18	
22.	2.57	7.00	15-24	
23*	2.92	8.00	17-21	
24.	2.49			

Obv: **Die O2**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **И/И** in field left and **X/X** in field right. **СНО** in exergue.

Die R3

25.	3.98	4.30	18-20
26.	3.16	5.30	15-19
27*	2.94	1.30	11-21
28.	3.06	5.30	20-22
29.	3.34	3.30	12-15
30.	3.65	5.30	15-21
31.	3.09	7.00	15-22
32.	4.62	6.00	16-23
33*	2.85	5.30	17-23
34.	2.72	5.30	15-21

35.	2.76	5.00	14-20
36.	2.88	6.00	15-22
37.	2.08		

Obv: **Die O2**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **Δ** below, **M/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. **Ω/O** in exergue. **Die R4**

38.	2.38	6.00	15-21
39*	3.90	7.00	
40*	2.76	6.00	17-22
41.	2.51		See ref. 28

Obv: Facing bust with short beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of legend to left and right. **Die O3**

Rev: **Die R4**

42*	4.73	5.30	19-21
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Obv: **Die O3**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **M/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. **Ω/O** in exergue. **Die R5**

43*	3.34	6.00	15-20
44.	6.30	5.00	22-28
45.	2.37	6.00	15-18

Traces of an undertype

Obv: Facing bust with short beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. No visible legend. **Die O4**

Rev: **Die R5**

46*	3.39	6.00	17-23
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Obv: **Die O4**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **M/M** in field left. Right field and exergue not visible. **Die R6**

47.	2.99	6.30	16-17
48*	3.31	6.00	16-22

Class 3

Obv: Facing bust with long beard wearing a simple coronet without a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of surrounding illegible legend. **Die O5**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **Δ** below. Left and right field and exergue not visible. **Die R7**

49*	3.07	6.30	17-23
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Obv: **Die O5**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **C** below, **A/O/N** in field left, **X/X/N** in field right, **CO//** in exergue. **Die R8**

50.			
51.		2.00	15-21
			Grierson Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge no. 12692
52*	2.85	12.00	16-22
53.	4.41	12.30	20-20
54.	2.28	12.00	17-27

See ref. 29

Obv: **Die O5**

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **A/N/O** in field left, **X/X/O** in field right, exergue not visible. **Die R9**

55.	2.43	6.00	16-18
56*	2.49	5.00	16-23
57.	4.13	4.30	16-23
58*	2.47	4.00	18-26

Obv: Die O5

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above. 'Officina' letter obscure. Left field not visible. **G/X/X** in field right, exergue not visible. Die R10

59*	2.70	4.30	16-21
60.	2.58	6.00	15-22

Stylistically Related Coins

None of these coins are die-linked into the above classes.

Beardless

Obv: Facing bust wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross. Cross in left field. Traces of legend to right. Traces of unidentified undertype.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. Officina letter and exergue obscure.

61*	3.74	12.00	17-27
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This coin is typical of the Year 20 series in its weight, fabric and eccentric flan.

Short Beard

Obv: Facing bust with short beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of legend to right.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **A/M/A** in field left and **X/X** in field right. //**EO**// in exergue.

62*	4.77	6.00	17-22
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Long Beard

Obv: Facing bust with long beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Legend in right field reading **ΓCO[Δ]Ε**.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **Γ** below, and **A/N/A** in left field. Right field obscure. **NA**// in exergue.

63*	3.76	7.00	20-23
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Obv: Facing bust with long beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of surrounding legend. (Same die as 65 below.)

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a **K** above, **Γ** below, and **A/M/O** in left field. Right field obscure. **N** | in exergue.

64*	5.42	3.00	17-27
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Obv: Facing bust with long beard wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right hand. Traces of surrounding legend. (Same die as 64 above.)

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, and **A/N/O** in left field. Right field obscure. **NI**// in exergue.

65*			18-22
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The bearded portrait on coins 63-65 is stylistically close to die O5 above.

Standing Figure

Obv: Standing figure in military dress wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross. Monogram in right field with **O/M** below.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **A/M/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. [**C**] **NO** in exergue. (Same die as 67 below.)

66*	3.61	7.30	21-25
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Obv: Standing figure in military dress wearing a simple coronet surmounted by a cross. Monogram in right field with **O/N** below.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **A/M/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. [**C**] **NO** in exergue. (Same die as 66 above.)

67*	3.48	6.00	19-22
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These coins are included because of the Year XX and their eccentricity. The reverse is typical of the main Year 20 series.

Two Standing Figures

Obv: Two standing figures wearing simple coronets surmounted by crosses. The larger left hand figure hold a staff resembling a shepherd's crook in his right hand; the smaller right hand figure holds a *globus cruciger* in his right hand. No legend.

Rev: Majuscule **M**, with a cross above, **A** below, **A/M/M** in field left and **X/X** in field right. Exergue obscure.

68* 4.05 12.00 20-26

The fabric and the reverse die are typical of the Year 20 series.

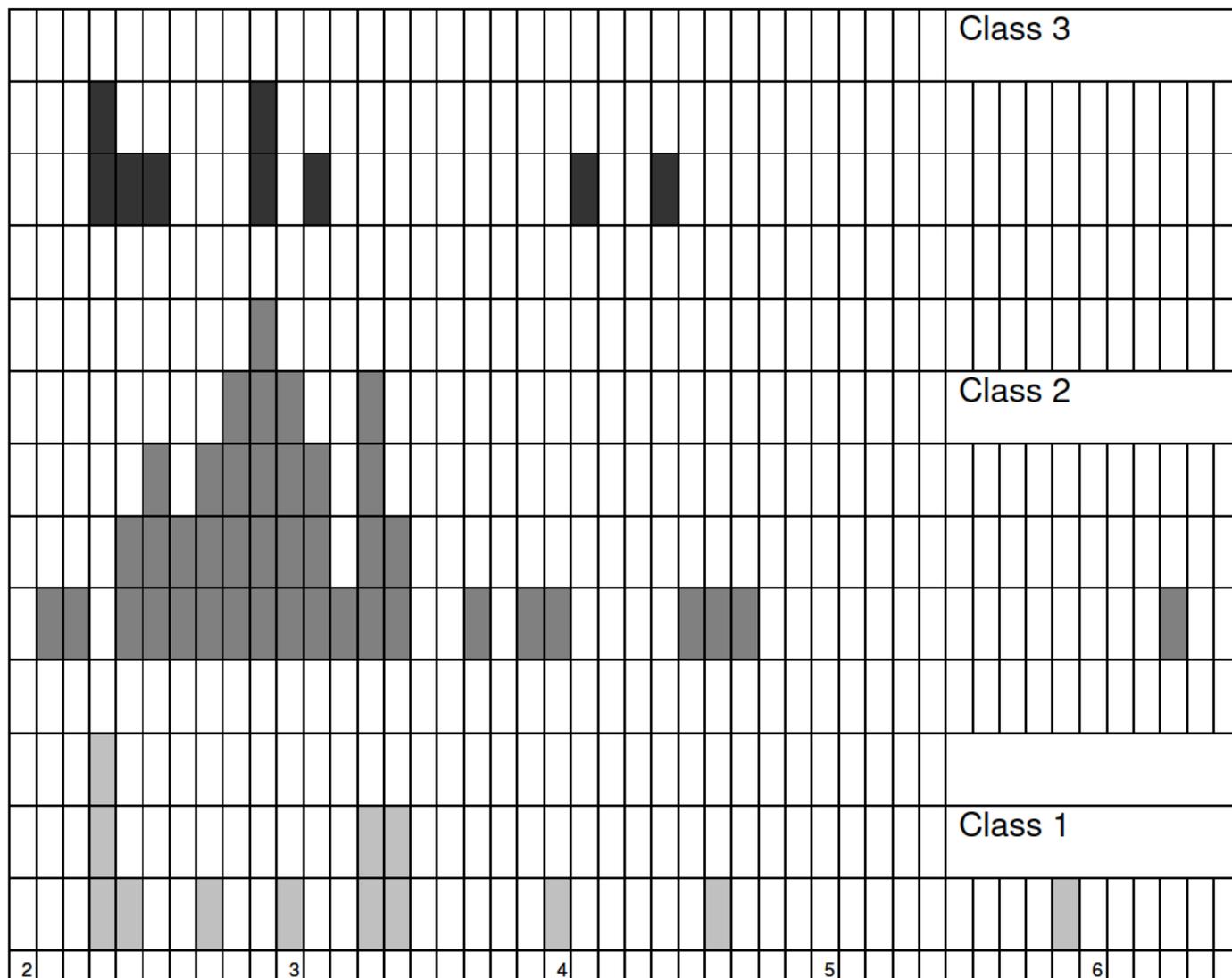


Figure 1. Weight Distribution of Year 20 coins (in 0.1 of a gram intervals from 2g to 6.5g)

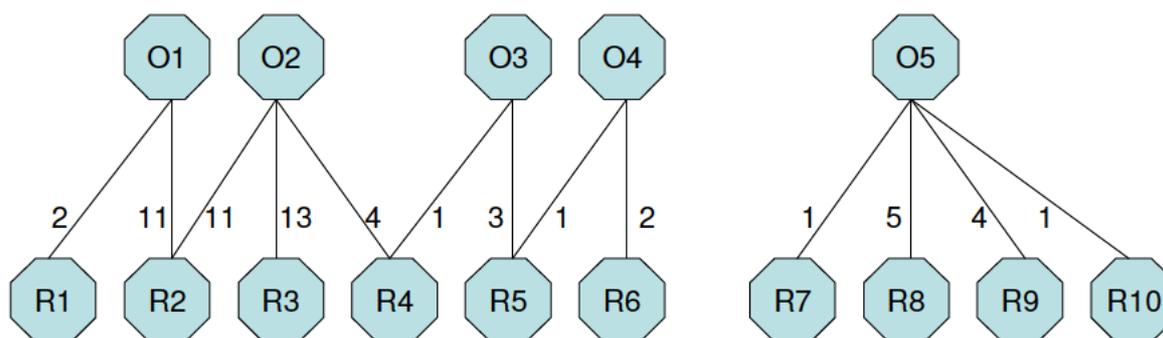
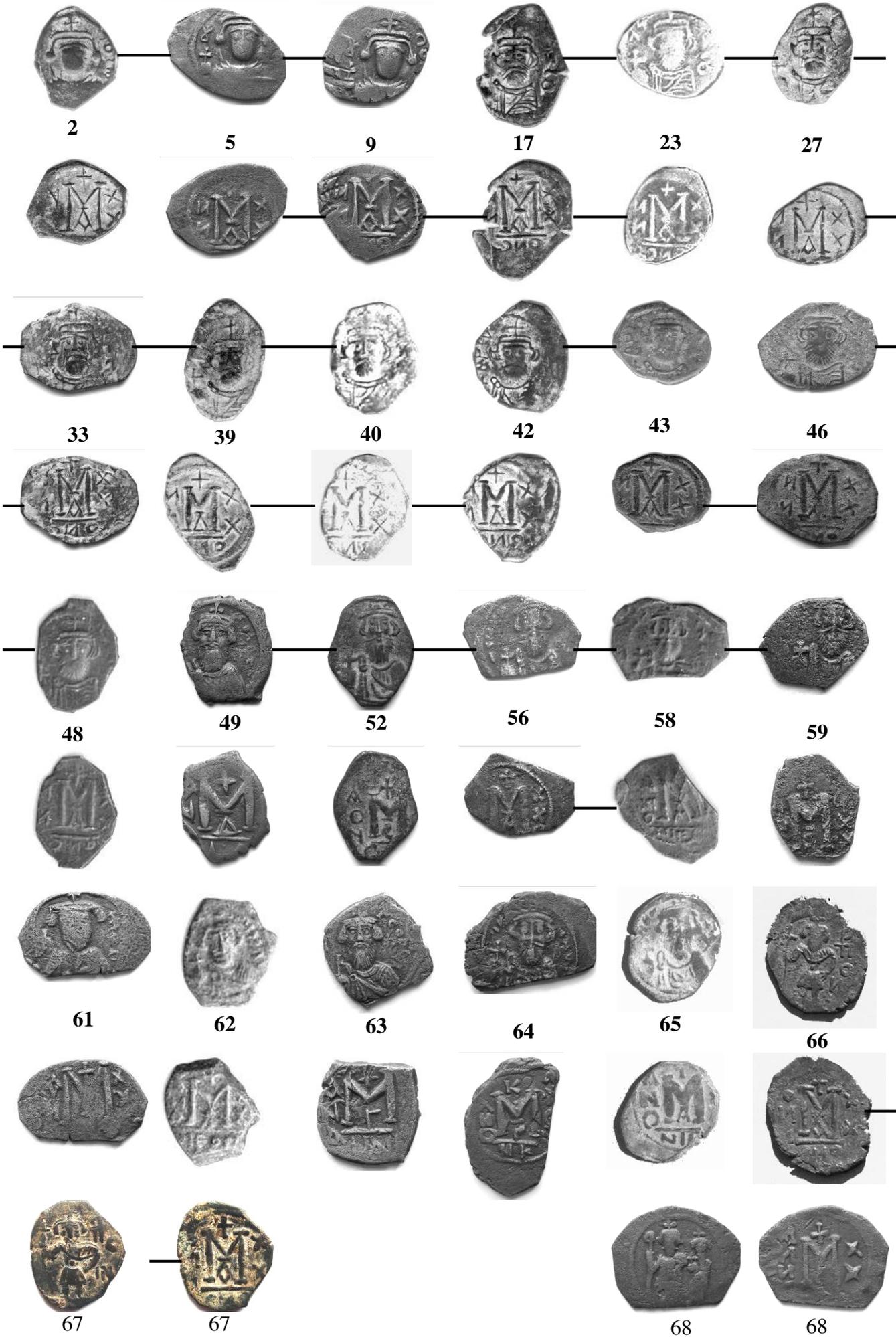


Fig. 2 Die links. The numbers on the connecting lines are the number of coins with that pair of dies.



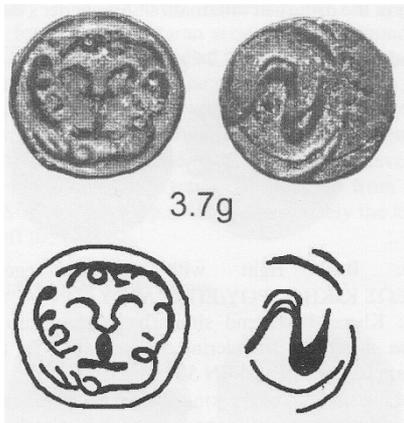
ON SOME COINS PUBLISHED BY DR SHINJI HIRANO

By Michael Fedorov

In 2007, JONS 192 (pp. 19-20) included an article by Dr Shinji Hirano "Some novel pre-Islamic coins in Central Asia". This article was placed immediately after my article "Money circulation in Chach during the ancient period" (pp. 10-19), so that I certainly could not miss it. Hirano published previously unknown types of bronze and copper coins "from southern Sogdiana". It is not, however, clear whether the type 4 coin (see fig. 1 below) was from southern Sogdiana or elsewhere. All the coins seemed to have Sogdian legends. Of them only the legend on the type 3 coins was read. It proved to be **kšy'n'k xwβ'xwrpt** (*Akhurpat Lord of Kesh*). Neither Hirano, nor professor Yutaka Yoshida, who was helping him, managed to read the legends on the three remaining types of coins: "the legend looks like Sogdian script but no reliable words were determined", "the legend is written in Sogdian script but the only readable word is 'pny' (money)". I, naturally, tried to read these legends but also could not manage it. I put the article aside but kept returning to it, now and then, trying to read the recalcitrant legends. Now, after five years, I have read the legend on the three other coins.

The first of the legends that I managed to read was the one on the type 4 coin (see below). Regarding Hirano's coins 1 and 2, I could only suggest a partial and tentative reading as **pny γwβw 'wy'n ...**. The remaining three (?) letters remained enigmatic. As usually I kept returning to the intractable legend, now and then, trying to read it. In the process I became convinced that the first three words were **pny γwβw 'wy'n** – *coin/money (of) ruler Avian*. Finally I read the last, most difficult word. It proved to be **p'pn** – *Papan* (i.e. *Papian* or of *Pap*). So that the full legend is: **pny γwβw 'wy'n p'pn** – *coin/money (of) ruler Avian Papan* (i.e. *Papian* or of *Pap*).

Coin type 1



Weight 3.7 g. Diameter not given.

Obv. Within a plain circle, a goblet-shaped tamgha, not previously encountered. Around it is a legend in Fergian script: **pny γwβw 'wy'n p'pn**. Dr Hirano wrote "the legend looks like Sogdian script", but in fact it is the Fergian script. The Fergian script and the first Fergian script legend on the early mediaeval coins was discovered by V. A. Livshits (1968, 230).

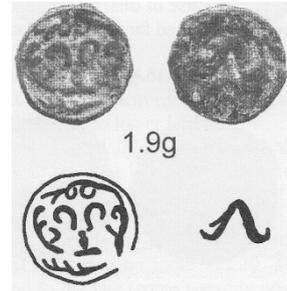
Rev. Within a double linear circle is, as Dr Hirano described it, "a wavy line (tamgha?)". I would rather call it the S-shaped symbol or the S-shaped tamgha.

Coin type 2

Weight 1.9 g. Diameter not given.

Obv. Within a linear circle a goblet-shaped tamgha, not previously encountered. Around it is a legend in Fergian script: **pny γwβw 'wy'n p'pn** *coin/money (of) ruler Avian Papan* (i.e. *Papian* or of *Pap*).

Rev. Within a linear circle (?) is what looks like the same S-shaped symbol/tamgha, but partly worn out.



As Dr Hirano surmised, these coins represent different denominations. We have here a monetary system of two denominations with ratio 1:2. The coins published by Dr Hirano are extremely rare. In the comprehensive catalogue of O. I. Smirnova (1981, 88-422), containing 1685 coins, there is not even a single example of these types. Such coins remained unknown 22 years later (Fedorov 2003, 1-26). Perhaps they were an inauguration issue, struck when the ruler of Pap, *Avian*, was enthroned.

Pap is a settlement in the Fergana valley, which exists nowadays with the same name. Arab geographers of the 9th -10th century wrote this name as باب Bāb (there is no letter P in the Arabic alphabet). According to Qudāma (first half of the 9th century), Ibn Khordādbēh (second half of the 9th century), and Maqdisī (c. 985), Bāb was a big, prosperous district, with much cultivation, on the right (northern) bank of the Sir Darya located four *farsakhs* (24 km) west of Akhsīket and five *farsakhs* (30 km) north-north east of Khwākand, nowadays Kokand (Bartold 1963, 218 -220; Bol'shakov 1973, 202-203).

It is difficult to date these coins. Surprisingly (and frustratingly), Dr Hirano did not specify where and how these coins were found. Were these coins found in a hoard or at least in the same archaeological strata as other coins published by him, we could date the coins in question to the second quarter of the 8th century because coins of *Akhurpat Lord of Kesh* were also minted in the second quarter of the 8th century. In 722 Kesh was ruled by *Vik*, who concluded a treaty with the Arabs. But in 727, a new ruler of Kesh, *xuət-piēt-tā*, sent an embassy to China (Smirnova 1981, 426). E. V. Rtveldze and A. Naymark (2004, 220) thought that *xuət-piēt-tā* could be identified as *Akhurpat*. A. Naymark wrote: "phonetically it is a very close rendering of the name *Akhurpat*". I share their opinion. Whenever in some realm of Central Asia a new king was enthroned, he sent an embassy (with rich gifts) to China in order to inform the Chinese emperor about it. The "Son of Heaven" sent him the investiture (often purely symbolic) and rich gifts. So we can infer that *Akhurpat* came to power in AD 727. According to the Chinese chronicle, Kesh at that time was ruled by king *Iendūn* who died in AD 738. So I date the reign of *Akhurpat* to the second quarter of the 8th century, but closer to the beginning of it.

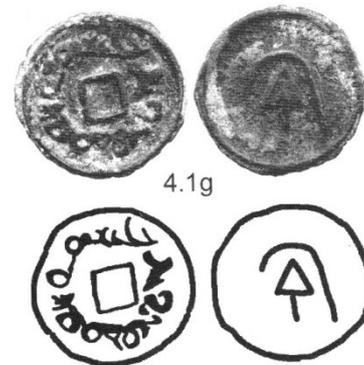


Fig. 1. Dr Hirano's type 4 coin

Regarding coin 4, We start with the word placed above, as Hirano calls it, the "square window in the centre", or "central square window closed". The second letter in this word is unmistakably **δ** or **l**. It is higher than all the other letters and slants slightly to the left. I read it as **δ**. On either side of it are two identical letters, which can be read as **y**, which gives **yδy**. The next letter, bifurcated

at the upper end, has a tail going to the left, it is **k**. So we have **ydyk**. Then follows the ligature **'w** which gives us a long vowel **u**. The last letter is **t**. And we have the Turkic title **ydyk'wt idikut**. Now to the word placed upside-down under "the square window": the first letter is **x** or **γ**. Then follow **w**, **t**, **l**, **w** and **γ**. And we have **xwtlwy khutlugh**. Turkic word *khutlugh* / *qutlugh* / *qutluq* means *happy* / *blessed*. It can be a name or honorary epithet. So the legend is: **ydyk'wt xwtlwy pny coin / money (of) Idikut Khutlugh**. I think that, here, *Khutlugh* is rather the name than the honorary epithet. If it were written **xwtlwy ydyk'wt pny** then the translation *Happy/blessed Idikut* would be more plausible.

The title *iduk kut*, or *idik kut*, or *idikut* can be translated as "Sacred Happiness", or "Sacred Grandeur", or still better "Sacred Majesty" (Bartold 1968, 50; 1968a, 580). This title was not known for early mediaeval (or as some call it, "pre-Islamic") Sogd (at least so far), and was not met with on the early mediaeval coins of Sogd. But it is known in the lands situated to the east of Sogd (and, broadly speaking, western Central Asia). This title in the form of *iduk kut* is found on the Orkhon Turkic runic inscriptions, found in Northern Mongolia (Bartold 1968b, 320-321). In the grave-side stele of the supreme ruler of the Eastern Turk qaganate, Bilge Qagan (716-734), among the military campaigns, in which he participated, is mentioned the campaign of 703 or 704 against *iduk kut* (ruler) of the *Basmil* Turk tribe, who refused to pay tribute (Bartold 1968b, 321). Later, the same title (in the form of *idikut*) and in the same place was held by the ruler of the Uighurs. Bartold (1968, 207; 1968a, 580) called the Basmil "perhaps the only sedentary Turk people at that time (at least in the east)". They were the first of the Turk tribes to settle down to a sedentary way of life and agriculture, and, in the process, assimilated part of the local sedentary population. They resided in the region of the town of Bishbaliq (Bīshbālīq/Bīshbālīgh). The Chinese chronicles called this town Pei-t'ing. It was north of Tien Shan, between the modern Chinese towns of Guchen and Urumchi, 47 km west of Guchen (Hudud al-Alam 1937, 272; Bartold 1965, 580). In the first quarter of the 7th century, it was a frontier fortress of the Western Turk qaganate and key to Southern Dzungaria. But in 629 the Eastern Turk qaganate captured Bishbaliq. In 634 the Eastern Turk ruler of Bishbaliq, Ashina Shene, led his army to the east against his enemy, a Turk ally of China. On the advice of the Chinese emissary, the Western Turk Qagan, Ishbara (634-639), captured Bishbaliq in 634. But in 640 the Chinese seized Bishbaliq and made it their fortress. In 651 the Western Turk qagan, Ishbara II (651-657), captured Bishbaliq only for the Chinese to retrieve it in 653. In 714 the Eastern Turks attacked Bishbaliq but were defeated, but in 720 they managed to capture it. In 742 the allied forces of the Basmil, Uighurs and Qarluqs overthrew the Eastern Turks. In that same year, the Chinese emperor established the military frontier district of Pei-t'ing with its headquarters at Bishbaliq. A year or so later, the Uighurs and Qarluqs defeated the Basmils and from 744 the Basmils were incorporated into the Uighur federation. Towards the middle of the 8th century, the Uighurs had Bishbaliq under their sway, but in 790 the Qarluqs, who, in alliance with the Tibetans, fought against the Uighurs, seized the town. In 795 near Pei-t'ing/Bishbaliq the Uighurs defeated the Tibetans. After that they took Pei-t'ing, which became Bishbaliq again. In 840, after 20 years of exhausting wars, the Kirgiz defeated the Uighurs and the Uighur qaganate came to an end. Some of the Uighurs went from Orkhon to Tien Shan. Around the year 847 they created a state in the region of Bishbaliq. Some ten years later, the Uighur ruler of Bishbaliq, in alliance with the Chinese, fought against the Tibetans and increased his state, having taken several towns and fortresses occupied by the Tibetans (in the Turfan oasis, near Urumchi and to the west of Urumchi). In 866 the Chinese defeated the Tibetans for good. The Bishbaliq Uighurs, taking advantage of this Chinese victory, acquired some additional lands and consolidated their state. Despite this, the state was not big enough to constitute a khanate, nor for its ruler to be titled *Khan*. So the ruler of this state took the title of *Idikut* (Gumilev 1987, 198, 202, 212, 213, 226, 238, 239, 311, 320, 321, 363, 412, 416, 433, 434; Tikhonov 1966, 41-44).

Now let us consider when the coin in question could have been struck. One very important feature for the dating of the coin published by Hirano is the rectangular frame in the central part of the coin. This is certainly an imitation of a rectangular hole in the middle of the coin. From the second quarter of the 7th century, bronze Sogdian coins were issued on the pattern of Chinese *Kai Yuan Tong Bao* coins and had a rectangular hole in the centre. Then around the end of the first quarter of the 8th century, after the Arab conquest of Sogd, bronze coins appeared without the hole but with a rectangular frame imitating the hole in the middle of the coin. The first time such a frame is found is on coins of the Sogdian ruler whose name O. Smirnova (1981, 43, 166) read as **'wr'kk** (*Urak*) and Kh. Akhunbabaev (1986, 81-84) as **'prykk** (*Afrig*, which in Sogdian is "Blessed"). The latter came to the conclusion that it was the honorary epithet of the ruler of Penjikent, Divashtich. Sogdian documents found at mount Mugh refer to Divashtich as the "Sogdian King, Ruler of Samarkand". V. Livshits (1979, 62-63) was of the opinion that Divashtich bore that title for two years. Akhunbabaev wrote that coins with the epithet *Afrig*, the tamgha of Samarqand and a tamgha related to Penjikent allow us to look at the problem from another point of view. In 718, the king of Sogd, Ghurek, sent an embassy to China asking for help against the Arabs. The Arabs, having learned about his treacherous behaviour, appointed Divashtich king of Sogd. Akhunbabaev wrote that coins citing *Afrig* were issued in Penjikent in 719-720 when Divashtich was king of Sogd. The present author (Fedorov 2003, 10-11) shared this opinion of Akhunbabaev. Coins of *Afrig* had frames, imitating a rectangular hole in the centre, both on the obverse and reverse. Some coins of such type could have been struck in Samarqand by the Arabs who made Samarqand their stronghold, once they had evicted Ghurek, who resided in the new town of Afarunket, which he built for himself. Coins with the frame imitating a hole in the centre were also issued in Kesh (the eastern part of southern Sogd, in the Kashka Daria river valley) by **'γwrpt** (*Akhurpat*). His coins, though, had only one frame, imitating a rectangular hole in the centre, on the reverse, just like the coin published by Hirano. As mentioned above, Naymark (2004, 220-221) wrote that Akhurpat came to power after 722 and reigned till no later than the end of 738. This allows us to infer that the coin, published by Hirano, was issued about the end of the first or rather in the second quarter of the 8th century AD. So far we have only one such coin found, presumably, in Sogd. So it is difficult to say whether this coin was issued in Sogd or in some other place, for instance in Bīshbālīq. It is noteworthy that Hirano (2003, 19) had the impression that the coin in question "is reminiscent of coins found in Semirechie". On the other hand, this coin is made in the manner of some coins minted in Sogd after the Arab conquest of that country. The coins issued at that time in Semirechie had a proper square hole in the middle, and no imitations of the square hole (as far as I know).

Hirano wrote: "a very thin Tiurgesh tamgha along with a hollow triangle can be seen on the reverse" (of the type 4 coin published by him). But the tamgha placed along the hollow triangle on the reverse side has nothing to do with Tiurgesh Qagan and Tiurgeshes (cf. fig. 1 and 2). The tamgha placed on the reverse of coins with the legend **βγ twrkyš γ'γ'n pny** is quite different (Smirnova 1981, 400).



Fig. 2. The coin of Tiurgesh Qagan

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ABOUT SOME UNKNOWN DĪNĀRS OF FĀ'IQ AL-HASS, GENERAL AND GOVERNOR UNDER THE SĀMĀNIDS

By Vadim Kalinin (Moscow, Russia)

In an earlier article we showed that the study of eastern jewellery, especially that involving the cast copies of various coin types, can bring significant results for numismatics. These cast copies made for jewellery are sometimes based on coin issues or types that have otherwise not survived or, at least, not been noticed.

During the last three years, I have acquired two identical replicas (Fig. 1¹, Fig. 2²), which are cast replicas of Sāmānid dinars made in silver. One of them even preserved the trace of a rivet that was present on the prototype. Both coins are of Pakistani origin. These replicas clarify some questions of Sāmānid political history at the end of the tenth century and bring to light some previously unknown coins of this dynasty.

The prototypes for these replicas were struck in the name of the Sāmānid ruler, Nūh b. Mansūr, in Herāt in AH 379. On the coins we find the *laqab* 'Amīd al-Dawlat, that belongs to Fā'iq, the Sāmānid general and administrative ruler of the second half of the tenth century AD. Apart from the metal and the method of production (casting instead of striking), these replicas are no different from Sāmānid dīnārs of the AH 370s – 380s. So here we have the remarkable situation of replicas based on coins that were hitherto unknown to us: coins of Fā'iq from Herāt, and gold coins with the name of Fā'iq.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Inscriptions of coins 1 and 2:

Obv. in the field:

عدل / لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / عميد الدولة ط

Inner marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهراة سنة تسع و سبعين و ثلثمائة

Outer marginal legend: Qur'ān, XXX:3-4.

Rev. in the field:

الله / محمد رسول الله / الطابع لله / الملك المنصور / نوح بن منصور

Marginal legend: Qur'ān, IX:33.

Coin 1 – diameter 24mm, weight 1,90g; coin 2 – diameter 24mm, weight 2,30g.

The name of 'Amīd al-Dawla Fā'iq al-Hass, one of the most prominent representatives of the Sāmānid serving elite is inextricably linked to the events of the last decades of the Sāmānid state, where "regions were mostly dominated by the rebels, government revenues declined, the soldiers dared to oppress people; rule passed into the hands of the Turks, and solutions of viziers lost power".³ Fā'iq's name first appears in the sources in connection with the events of AH 350/961, when he helped his pupil, Mansūr b. Nūh, gain a foothold onto the Sāmānid throne. After that, Fā'iq is mentioned in the sources in connection with more or less every prominent event until his death in 389/999. In the history of the medieval East there are few politicians that stay in power for so long - 39 years. Fā'iq was in power during the amirates of Mansūr b. Nūh (AH 350–365), Nūh II b. Mansūr (AH 365–387), Mansūr II b. Nūh (AH 387–389) and for the first few months of the penultimate Sāmānid amīr, 'Abd al-Malik II b. Nūh (AH 389).⁴

During his long and violent political activity, Fā'iq changed allies and opponents several times, with many of them, nonetheless, surviving and dying of natural causes. He was one of the arbiters of the Sāmānid state. In alliance with Abū 'Alī Simjuri he summoned Bughra Khān Hārūn b. Sulaymān, the Qarākhānid ruler in Transoxiana, who captured the capital city of Bukhāra in AH 382. That was the beginning of the end of the Sāmānid state. At the end of his life, Fā'iq conspired with the Sāmānid commander, *hājib* Bektuzun, deposed amīr Mansūr II b. Nūh and enthroned his underage brother. Soon after, Fā'iq died. The vicissitudes of the political career of Fā'iq are listed in many sources of the 10th to 13th centuries, including Abū Sa'īd Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, and Ibn al-Āthīr's *Al-kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*.

In among the information about Fā'iq's military activities, there is some evidence of Fā'iq as a great statesman, rather than a warlord. Al-Maqdisī, in a manuscript of AH 375, reports on the efforts made by 'Amīd al-Dawla to join the Nishapūr suburbs to the city⁵, and to build a mosque in Tus, "the best in Khurasān".⁶ Studying the coins reveals that Fā'iq received the title of 'Amīd al-Dawlat ("Head of State", "Rest of State") about AH 378 (judging

³ Nerchakhy M. *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara*, publ. par Ch. Schefer. Paris, 1892. P. 152.

⁴ Barthold V. V. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviya*. P. II. Saint-Petersbourg, 1900. P. 262–268.

⁵ *Materiali po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii*. Vol. I. Moscow-Leningrad, 1940. P. 199, note 1.

⁶ *Op. cit.* P. 204.

¹ Zeno, No. 93020.

² Private collection.

by coins of Shāsh and Samarqand of this year). The sources contain information that Fā'iq occasionally ruled in the different governorships of the Sāmānid state. In AH 372 and 379 he was governor of Balkh, and in AH 382 – in Balkh and Tirmidh. The following numismatic data substantially refine and supplement the fragmentary evidences of written sources about his governorships.

From AH 353 till 379, i.e. for 26 years, Fā'iq's name was continually placed on dirhams of Shāsh.

On dirhams of Samarqand his name was quoted in AH 354–356, 364, 378–379 and 381. Fulus of Samarqand of 381–382 bear his laqab, 'Amīd al-Dawlat.

His name is also quoted on the fulus of Bukhāra of AH 358, and on dirhams of Bukhāra of Mansūr II b. Nūh (AH 387–388, see Fig. 3⁷ and Fig. 4⁸) and of 'Abd al-Malik II b. Nūh struck in AH 389 (Fig. 5⁹).

On the dirhams of Āndarāba, Fā'iq is cited in AH 368–371.

On the dirhams of Balkh, he is cited in AH 368, 370–374, 376–378, 380, 381, and on the fulus of AH 368.

He is also cited on fulus of al-Khuttal of AH 368, on multiple dirhams of Warwalīz of AH 370, 374 and on multiple dirhams of Tāliqān of 374.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

I suspect that this list is not complete, but even from this, it can be clearly seen that the geographical extent of Fā'iq's awards for service was very wide – from Central Ma Wara'un-Nahr, including the capital city of Bukhāra, to Khurasān, Tokharistān and Badakhshān.

Herāt in AH 377–378 belonged to the Simjurids, who ruled in Khurasān on behalf of the Sāmānids. According to the sources, the head of that dynasty, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad Nāsir al-Dawlat, died in AH 378. While there are many of his dīnārs known of Nishapur of AH 377, no coins in his name for the year AH 378 are known.

In Herat in AH 377–378 fulus were struck with the name of his son, Abū 'Alī. As the fulus of AH 377 are extremely rare, that can testify to the death of Abū al-Hasan occurring towards the end of AH 377, and not in AH 378. After the death of his father, Abū 'Alī asked Nūh b. Mansūr's approval for his governorship of Khurasān. An honorary ambassador was sent to him with vestments of honour and a diploma for the management of Khurasān. "But when the ambassador (to Abū 'Alī) had reached the road to Herāt, he turned towards Herāt, and there he found Fa'iq and the vestments and the diploma of ownership of Khurasān were delivered to him. Fā'iq put on the vestments and then left Herat in the hands of Abu 'Ali."

In AH 379 Herāt belonged to Imad al-Dawla Abu 'Alī Muhammad b. Nasir al-Dawlat Simjurid. We know from sources that "Abū 'Alī wrote to amīr Nūh, asking him to reconfirm his appointment as governor of Khurasān, and he [Nūh] agreed to it and gave him full control of Khurasān, while earlier Herāt [i.e. Khurasān] had belonged to Fā'iq"¹⁰ and in the same year "In 379, Abū al-Qasim transferred Abū al-Hasan's ghulams and treasury to Abū 'Alī in Herat".¹¹

So it is clear that Fā'iq ruled in Herāt briefly at the end of AH 378 – beginning of AH 379. Coins of Abū 'Alī struck in Herat in AH 379 are known (Fig. 6¹²), but coins of Herāt of this year – dirhams or dīnārs – with the name of Fā'iq were unknown. Nor were dīnārs with his name, as described above, known. The fact that dinars were struck in Fā'iq's name (albeit very sporadically) is confirmed by a copper coin of Shāsh of AH 366, struck from dinar dies (Fig. 7).¹³ Here is a description of this remarkable coin.

Obv. in the field:

فاتق / لا اله الا / الله وخده / لا شريك له

Inner marginal legend:

بسم الله ضر (!) هذا الدينار بالشاش سنة ست و ستين و ثلاثمائة

Outer marginal legend: Qur'an, XXX:3–4.

Rev. in the field:

الله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / نوح بن منصور

Marginal legend: Qur'an, IX:33.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

The narrative sources do not contain any indication of what post Fā'iq had. Al-Maqdīsī calls Fā'iq amīr¹⁴. Numismatic and written sources give his laqab as 'Amīd al-Dawla and his honourable

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* P. 157.

¹¹ Abū Sa'īd Gardīzī, cited by edition: Abu Said Gardizi. *Zayn al-Akhbar*. Tashkent, 1990. P. 83.

¹² Zeno, No. 104203.

¹³ Private collection.

¹⁴ *Materiali po istorii turkmen...* P. 199, note 1.

⁷ Zeno, No. 112642.

⁸ Zeno, No. 114813.

⁹ Zeno, No. 68804.

nickname, al-Hassa, *i.e.* “Excellent”, that is mentioned on the coins of Bukhara (fulus of AH 358, and dirhams of AH 387–388). I think the coins and sources known to date do not yet tell us everything about the history of Fā’iq al-Hass.

FOUR REMARKABLE IRANIAN CIVIC COPPER COINS

By Alexander V. Akopyan (Moscow) &
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The first two coins of this article were struck during the rule of Ismā’il II Safavi (AH 984–985), the second son of Shāh Tahmasp. His short reign was notorious for conspiracies and the murder of Safavid princes and commanders.

When Ismā’il was young, he was sent as ruler to Caucasia to deal with his uncle Alqas Mirza’s rebellion in Shirwān. Ismā’il led several campaigns against the Ottomans and his uncle, Alqas, who had supported Sulaymān the Magnificent, and gained several victories against them.

After a peace agreement between the Safavids and Ottomans, Shāh Tahmāsp sent Ismā’il as governor to Khurasān. As governor of Khurasān, he appears to have been influenced by Sunni teachers to change some of his beliefs, something that was to be noted later during his rule. It seems that certain reports about his conduct and the fear of rebellion by this young prince, caused Shāh Tahmasp to summon him to Qazwīn. Here he was arrested and imprisoned in Qahqahe Castle for more than 18 years until his father’s death.

When Shāh Tahmāsp became ill, disagreements between commanders of the Qizilbāsh caused them to divide into two main groups – the Ustājlu, who supported Ḥaydar Mirza, and an alliance of the Shāmlu, Rūmlu, Afshar, and Qājār, who supported Ismā’il. Ismā’il’s followers had a very influential ally at the Shāh’s court in the form of Perīkhān-khānum, the daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp. She played an important role in unifying Ismā’il’s allies.

After Shāh Tahmāsp’s death on the 15th of Safar, AH 984, and because Ismā’il was not in Qazwīn, Ḥaydar Mirza produced a document that purported to confirm him as successor, and declared himself Shāh. But Ismā’il’s allies and Perīkhān-khānum announced another order of Shāh Tahmāsp, and declared that Ḥaydar Mirza’s claim to the throne was fraudulent. This led to a serious conflict between the two sides which in due course ended with the killing of Ḥaydar Mirza. Perīkhān-khānum ordered Ismā’il’s succession to be proclaimed in public. Ismā’il himself, who had already eliminated his brother, was released from Qahqahe castle in Safar, AH 984. He entered Qazwīn and was proclaimed as the third Shāh of the Safavids in Juma’da al-awwal of that same year. Despite his first decree of clemency, shortly after he ascended the throne, Ismā’il II ordered many of his brothers and nephews and many commanders of the Qizilbāsh to be killed. He restricted his sister’s power, ordered her to step aside and forbade her from any involvement in decision making. These acts caused Ismā’il II to lose many of his followers.

During his father’s and grandfather’s reigns little attention had been paid to the Shī’a clergy. After Ismā’il II took control of the Safavid empire, he ordered the power of the Shī’a clergy to be restricted, and ordered the Shī’a Kalima to be removed from the coins. Ismā’il II replaced it with a poem that his grandfather had used at the beginning of a letter that he had sent to Shībak Khān Shaybanī¹⁵ –

زمشرق تا به مغرب گر امام است
علی و آل او ما را تمام است

zi-mashriq tā beh maghrib gar imām ast

All coins described in this article are from private collections.

¹⁵ Iskandar-bek, *Ta’rikh-i ‘alām ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī*, Tehrān, SH 1387, Vol. II, P. 217; M. Mochiri, *Sekke shenāsī Irān. Sekkaha-ye Isma’il II*, Tehrān, 1353, P. 352; Muhammad Yūsuf Valeh Isfahānī, *Khulīde bārīn*, Tehrān, SH 1372, P. 489–557.

‘Alī wa āl-i o mā-rā tamām ast

*From the east to the west the imam is strength
‘Alī and his descendents (house) are everything for us*

This decision improved his reputation among some of his detractors who thought he was too favourable towards Shi’ism. In fact, Ismā’il II was not too strict about religion. He was a poet and his nickname in his poems was ‘*Ādelī*’.¹⁶ He also used the formula *huwa al-‘adel* in the header of his farmans¹⁷.

Suddenly he was found dead one morning in Ramadan of AH 985. It seems he was poisoned by his enemies, but nobody investigated the matter. He was 41 when he passed away.

1. Fulūs of Qasrat-i al-Dasht Ganja, AH 984.



Fig. 1. Fulūs of Qasrat-i al-Dasht Ganja, AH 984 (coin 1)



Fig. 2. Fulūs of Qasrat-i al-Dasht Ganja, AH 984 (coin 2)



Fig. 3. Drawing of fulūs

The first fulūs is known to us in two specimens (Fig. 1 – 11.07g, 22×24mm; Fig. 2 – 11.42g, 23mm). These coins were struck in Ganja (in the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan) and have a very unusual inscription on both sides.

Because of the poor condition of the coins, the obverse inscription is only partially visible but we believe it can be reconstructed in the following way (see also drawing on Fig. 3):

یافته [ز] حطه حیدر [از] لی
شرف سکه مس عادل

*yāfteh za ḥiṭṭat ḥaydar azalī
sharaf sikke mis ‘ādelī*

This means “copper coin (*i.e.* cheap coin) of ‘Ādelī (Shāh Ismā’il II) discovers ḥiṭṭat because of the name of Ḥaydar (*i.e.* ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb)” (the legend reads from the bottom upwards). Here ḥiṭṭat means ‘door of forgiveness’, and there are two hadīths of the prophet Muhammad about the term ḥiṭṭat both of which are well known among between Shi’a and Sunni. The first one is:

¹⁶ *Ta’rikh-i ‘alām ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī*. P. 207.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* P. 207.

انما مثل اهل بيتي فيكم مثل باب حظه في بني اسرائيل من دخله غفرله

“My family (*i.e.* imām ‘Alī and his sons, the grandsons of the prophet Muhammad) are like the door of forgiveness (*hiṭṭat*) for the people of Isrā’īl, [and] who pass this door (*i.e.* accept them), they will be forgiven”.

على باب حظه من دخل منه كان مومنأ ومن جرح منه كان كافر

“ ‘Alī is the door of forgiveness (*hiṭṭat*), [he who] passes this door (*i.e.* accept him) is a believer in God and he who refuses to pass this door (*i.e.* does not accept him) is not a believer in God”.

The inscription on the reverse of the coins is as follows:

ضرب قصره [ال]دشت كنجه [ف]ي [ا]ر [ب]ع و ثمانين و تسع [مانه]

ḍuriba qasrat-i al-dasht ganja fī arba‘ wa thamānīn wa tis‘amiya

‘Struck [in] Qasrat al-Dasht Ganja in [the year] 984’.

The title *Qasrat-i al-Dasht* – the castle of the field – is known for Shīrāz,¹⁸ but was hitherto unknown on any coins. Moreover, no epithet, except for *madīnat*, was previously known for the mint of Ganja, that produced coins from AH 90¹⁹. It should be noted that the date on the coin is engraved in the old style, *i.e.* written out, rather than using numerals as was generally the norm from the 9th century AH onwards.

Despite this coin being struck in the Shi‘ite state, that was Safavid Iran, the coin bears a poem with *hadīth* that is acceptable to both Shi‘a and Sunni about the imām ‘Alī,²⁰ which can be said to reflect Ismā‘īl II’s tolerance of and respect for both sides. As we have already mentioned, Ismā‘īl II was accused of being less pious than previous Safavid shāhs – he replaced the Shi‘a Kalima on the silver and gold coins with verses about the imām ‘Alī. It was an action that was not repeated until Sultan Ḥusayn was defeated in AH 1135.

2. A falūs of Shāh-i ‘Ādel, Qazvīn, AH 984.

The second type (Fig. 4 – 11.50g, 19mm) also belongs to the time of Shāh Ismā‘īl II. This copper coin was struck in Qazvīn in AH 984, after the death of Shah Tahmasp on the 15th of Safar, AH 984. For some days Qazvīn was faced with great chaos especially after the assassination of Ḥaydar Mīrza. Then Parīkhān-khānum (herself killed in the following year) took control of the city and all the Qizilbāsh *sardars* accepted her as head of state of the Safavid empire until the 27th of Jumadi al-awwal, AH 984, when Ismā‘īl II was officially enthroned.



Fig. 4. Falūs of Shāh-i ‘Ādel, Qazvīn, AH 984

On the obverse is the legend **فلوس شاه عادل** – *fulūs-i shāh ‘adel*. On the reverse are the mintname and year:

ضرب دارالموحدين قزوین ۹۸۴

¹⁸ *Ibid.* P. 725.

¹⁹ The first Umayyad coin struck in Ganjak/Janza (later and now known as Ganja) is dated 90 H.

²⁰ Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Saffar, *Basair al-darajat*, Tehran, SH 1362, P. 317; Sadiq al-Shaykh, *Al-tawhīd*, Qumm, [no date], P. 164–165; Sulaymān b. Ahmad al-Tabarānī, *Al-mu‘jam al-awsat*, AH 1415, vol. VI, p. 85; Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūtī, *Al-jāmi‘ al-saghīr*, Beirut, AH 1401/1981, vol. II, P. 177; ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Hindī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa al-af‘āl*, AH 1409/1989, Beirut, vol. II, P. 434–435.

The mintname, Qazvīn, is preceded by the epithet, *Dār al-Muvaḥadīn*, the one usually found on silver coins of Ismā‘īl II for this mint. The other interesting aspect of this coin is the laqab or title **شاه عادل** of Shāh Ismā‘īl II that was used on his farmans and in his nickname ‘*adelī*’.

The weight of the coins of type 1 and 2 are very close to the 10–11g coins of *la‘nat* type, produced generally in AH 982–995.

3. A falūs of shah ‘Abbās with duplicate legend.



Fig. 5. Falūs of Shāh ‘Abbās with duplicate legend

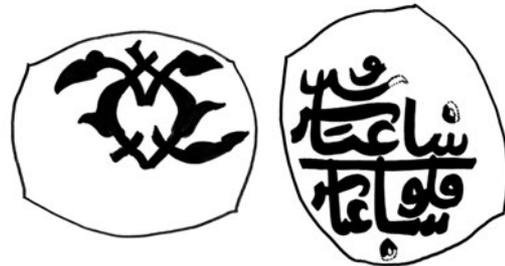


Fig. 6. Drawing of fulūs



Fig. 7. The design of a Shāh ‘Abbāsī flower on a rug

The third type (Fig. 5 – 16.75g, 3×2.5 cm) bears, on the obverse, a pattern known as the *Shāh ‘Abbāsī flower* that was a very common design on carpets and in architecture (Fig. 7).

On the reverse of this coin is a quite unusual duplicate inscription (see drawing on Fig. 6):

فلوس شاه عباس فلوس شاه عباس

falūs-i shāh ‘abbās falūs-i shāh ‘abbās.

From the style, we think it is safe to say that this is a coin of ‘Abbās I rather than ‘Abbās II. ‘Abbās I (AH 996–1038) was the fifth king of the Safavid state and one of the most powerful kings of this dynasty. During his brilliant rule Iran was involved in many wars, especially against the Ottomans and Shaybanids, as a result of which Iran both lost and recovered territory. The net result, however, was that by the end of his reign, the territory of Iran had been enlarged.

Because of the very unusual legend on this coin, it is very probable that this coin was struck for a special purpose, Shāh ‘Abbās I’s reign being rich in important events that could have given rise to this coin. This is indicated by the fact that the coin was issued in the largest denomination, the *bistī* (of 4 mithqāls of copper). Precisely when and where it was struck we cannot tell as

it is dateless and mintless²¹; perhaps it was struck in the capital city, Isfahān.

Citing the name of the ruler on the copper coins was something very unusual for Safavīd times. It seems, that the coins of Ganja and Qazwīn with the nickname of Ismā'īl II, described above, and this coin with the name of 'Abbās I were the first in this very unusual series of Safavid copper coins. Apart from these, we know only of an undated copper coin with the name of Shāh Safī I (AH 1038–1052) from Tiflīs²².

4. A falūs of the island of Khārḱ, AH 1181.



Fig. 8. Falūs of Khārḱ, AH 1181

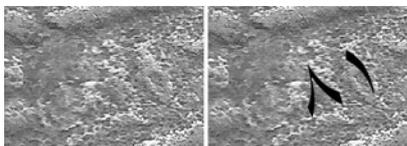


Fig. 9. Enlarged part of the coin with the date

On the obverse of this coin (Fig. 8 – 7.67g, 22 mm) is the image of the sword *dhu-l-faqār* (Pers. *zulfaghār*) – the bifurcated sword of imām 'Alī. On the reverse is the inscription: **فلوس ضرب خارك ۱۱۸۱**. The denomination of the coin is probably a *qazbegī*.

Khārḱ is an Iranian island located in the Persian Gulf, 60 km from Būshehr, 40 km from Bandar-e Rīg and 35 km from Bandar-e Gonāveh. In geographical sources it is called Khārg, Khārāg or Khārḱ. The island was well known as a good source of pearls, a fact that Hudūd al-'Ālam (AH 371) seems to have been an early source to mention.

The very rare type of Khārḱ pearl, known as *durr-e yātim*, was listed as the best pearl in the world by Ibrāhīm Istakhrī²³ and Hamdallāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī.²⁴ Because of its geographical location and its merchandise, especially its pearls, Khārḱ was an important trading centre in the Persian gulf.

During the Safavīd period, European countries who had extended their trading networks eastwards, started to vie with each other in the Persian Gulf to obtain a greater share and greater profits from trade in this area and from the transit of goods to and from India and the Far East. As part of this process, they managed to get permission from the Safavīds to establish a number of trading posts in Iranian ports in the Persian Gulf. Thus did Portuguese, English, Dutch and French representatives of the trading companies try hard to obtain better deals from the Iranian kings.

After the assassination of Nādir Shāh in AH 1160, there was civil war in Iran. As a result, the Iranian ports on the mainland were no longer safe for trade. This led the Dutch to seek to move their trading post to the island of Khārḱ, that lay very close to the Iranian ports. This would give them more independence and greater security. It would also enable them to put restrictions on

English shipping sailing to al-Basra. After negotiations with Mīr Nāsīr, the Afsharid governor of Bandar-e Rīg, the Dutch obtained the right to use Khārḱ for establishing their trading post, and they built a castle for protection. Friendly relations between Mīr Nāsīr and the Dutch did not last very long because his youngest son, Mīr Mohanna, killed him and became sole ruler of Bandar-e Rīg.

After the rise of the Zands, Karīm Khān took control of most of Iran, and he asked Mīr Mohanna to come to Shīrāz. Once there, Mīr Mohanna was denied permission to return to Rīg, but after some while, thanks to the pleas of his, i.e. Mīr Mohanna's relatives, Karīm Khān sent him to Bandar-e Rīg as official Governor. It was not long, however, before Mīr Mohanna started to disobey and rebel against Karīm Khān. He began to attack commercial shipping and caravans and created great problems for the Zands regarding the income they normally obtained from traders in taxes. After many attempts, Karīm Khān defeated Mīr Mohanna in AH 1180, and forced him to escape to Khārgū (Khārḱū), a small island near Khārḱ.

Later in AH 1180, The Dutch, in co-operation with the Zand governor of Būshehr attacked Mīr Mohanna, but were defeated by him. Thus encouraged, Mīr Mohanna took the bold decision to attack Khārḱ, which he did successfully. In this way, Mīr Mohanna, obtained the great treasure and guns of the Dutch in Khārḱ and became the most powerful man in commercial matters in the Persian Gulf.

He forced the Dutch to leave Khārḱ, thus reducing both their influence in the area and their impact on the British, who had moved their trading centre to Basra.

The rise to power of Mīr Mohanna, his disobedience towards the Zand government and his restriction of trade in the Zand territory made Karīm Khān very angry. As a result, he sent his brother, Zakī Khān, with a huge army to suppress him.

Zakī Khān co-opted Ḥasan Sulṭān, Mīr Mohanna's cousin, as his ally. Ḥasan Sulṭān attacked him in the Khark bazaar. Mīr Mohanna fled with a few loyal guards on a boat to Basra. In Basra, Mīr Mohanna was recognised and handed over to the local Ottoman governor. After some time, in AH 1182, the latter ordered him to be killed in prison.

It is curious, but the execution of Mīr Mohanna became one of the *causi belli* for his enemy, Karīm Khān, to attack Basra in AH 1189. Karīm Khān declared war on the Ottomans because he announced that, although Mīr Mohanna was a rebel governor in Iran, it was Karīm Khān's right, and his alone, to decide whether he should be put to death or shown mercy.

Nowadays there is a small island near Bandar-e Rīg in the Persian Gulf called Mīr Mohanna in honour of this ruler.

RENDERING THE NAME OF HERACLIUS II (NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE)

By G. Gabashvili

I would like to present a survey on the script of the name of Heraclius II (1744-1762-1798). This name of Greek origin (Heraclius) has two Georgian equivalents: *Erekle* and *Irakli*. In Russian sources the name is written *Irakli*, whereas in Georgian documents the name appears as *Erekle*, except in the case of the treaty of Georgievsk, where it appears as *Irakli*, son of Teimuraz. On the coins, researchers have varied in how they have read the name.

M. Barataev read the legends on the AH 1179 copper coins of Heraclius II as follows (cf. copper shauri at Fig. 1) [1, category IV, 11]:

Ბ Ვ Ბ Ვ Ბ Ბ
e R e K L e (Heraclius)

Thus, in the abbreviation of the name, Barataev read only three Asomtavruli letters instead of six: **ᲑᲕᲑ** ("RKL"). This is, without doubt, the wrong way to read this name.

²¹ The pattern cannot help us locate the mint. The Shāh 'Abbāsī flower motif is frequently seen on rugs from many Iranian cities – Kāshān, Isfahān, Mashhād, Nā'm and, most commonly, on Tabrīz rugs.

²² Kutelia T. S., *Gruziya i sefevidskiy Iran*, Tbilisi, 1979, P. 51–52; Paghava I., Turkia S., *Another autonomous copper coin bearing the name of Safi II JONS*, 189 (2006), P. 8–10.

²³ Abu Ishaq Ibrāhīm Istakhrī, *Masālik al-mamālik*, Tehran, SH 1373, P. 143.

²⁴ Hamdallāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, Tehran, SH 1381, P. 196.



Fig. 1

E. Pokhomov, on the other hand, read the legend on the same type of coin of Heraclius II (Fig. 1) as follows [2, 261]:

“№ 138. АЕ, Shauri, d = 38-40mm, wt = 44.9 g.
Obv. within a border of two plain circles and a circle of stars there is a rosette with four axes. In its central square there is an Asomtavruli legend, under a tittle: «**ⵀⵀⵀⵀⵀ**» = «**ⵀⵀⵀⵀⵀⵀ**», i.e. Эрекле (Ираклий). Both of the letters «**ⵀ**» [“e”] are coupled with neighbouring letters in the monograms. In two upper segments there are decorations, and in the two bottom ones: ضرب / تغليس ٧ / i.e. Minted in Tiflis. 1179.”

As we can see, according to Pakhomov there are only five letters in the abbreviation; the second letter-«**ⵀ**» - E is virtually added. The next coin №141 is described by him in a similar way [2, 262].

The same coin of Heraclius II (Fig. 1) is described by D. Kapanadze as follows [3, 151]:

“№211. The obverse: hereditary coat of arms of the Bagratids located within the confines of a complex frame: a crown, a sphere, a sceptre and a sword. The reverse: the name of King Heraclius, written using the Asomtavruli script, placed within a different-shaped frame; below in Persian: minted in Tbilisi 1179 (=1765-66).”

As we can see, Kapanadze avoided reading the abbreviation of the name of Heraclius.

Let me now discuss two coins of Heraclius II: a shauri, preserved in the royal collection of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, item №14522 (Fig 1) and a bisti from the collection of the National Museum of Georgia, item №5308 (fig 2).



Fig. 2

On the obverse of the shauri there is an abbreviated Asomtavruli inscription which contains three elements, each of them comprising, in our opinion, two letters: one vowel and one consonant. See Fig 3.



Fig. 3

It is precisely these three elements that resulted in Barataev’s mistake, making him read this abbreviation as three Asomtavruli letters: «**ⵀⵀⵀ**» -“RKL”.

Pakhomov read the analogical abbreviation as five Asomtavruli letters: «**ⵀⵀⵀⵀⵀ**» -“ERKLE”. Kapanadze did not pay proper attention to this abbreviation.

Let me analyse the abbreviation, dividing the script and following each of the Asomtavruli signs. (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4

The second letter of the name - «**ⵀ**» (“R”) is clearly seen in the first block. The script of this letter is clear (Fig. 5)



Fig. 5

The first letter of the name which was read by Pakhomov as «**ⵀ**» (“E”) should actually be considered as «**ⵀ**» (“T”), as the graphic image of this letter is lacking the short vertical line at the left specific to «**ⵀ**» (“E”) (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6

Everything becomes clear if we have a look at the last letter of the similarly divided abbreviation on the coin of Giorgi (George) XII, son and successor of Heraclius II, which was minted in the same period, and undoubtedly contained the letter «**ⵀ**» (“T”) at the end of this name (GiorgiI) (Figs. 7-8):



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Reverting to the monogram with the name of Heraclius II, one of the two letters combined in the second block is quite easily legible – namely the letter «**კ**»- “K” (Fig. 9):



Fig. 9

The drawing of this block of letters shows a relatively short line sloping downwards from the left to the centre, and terminating in a large dot. When we remove the letter «**კ**»- “K” the letter «**ა**»-“A” can be read (Fig. 10):



Fig. 10

Thus, from the first two blocks of the abbreviation we get four Asomtavruli graphemes: «**ირაკ**»-“IRAK”. We can now easily read the letters: «**ლ**»-“L” (Fig. 11):



Fig. 11

and «**ი**»-“I” in the third block. (Fig. 11):



Fig. 12

The graphic representation of the last letter of the name - «**ი**»-“I” is absolutely identical to the first letter of the name. Thus, we get a complete inscription on the coin «**ირაკლი**»-“IRAKLI” (Fig. 13):



Fig. 13

Here, I shall consider one more coin of Heraclius II (Fig. 14). On this ah 1190 coin-type, the abbreviation is more widely spread and it is much easier to read each of the graphemes, making our interpretation even more convincing. The letter «**ა**»-“A” in the second block in particular is also clearly seen and very convincing. All letters are arranged exactly in the same way as those on the shauri (Fig. 1).

Mistakes rarely appear on coins of Heraclius II and if it does happen it is only with the dates, when the European date and the Hijra date do not match. In other cases, the minting of the coins of Heraclius II was executed perfectly, and the graphical images of the abbreviations on all three types of coins are always similar to each other.



Fig. 14

Thus, according to the argument presented above I can confidently state that the abbreviation represented on the coins of Heraclius II should be read not as «**ირაკლი**»-“EREKLE”, but as «**ირაკლი**»-“IRAKLI”.

Acknowledgement

I should like to express my gratitude to Dr Irakli Paghava for his collegial support.

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WAYS AND BY-WAYS OF INDIAN NUMISMATICS: Aspects of money circulation in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies

By Hans Herlli

Studying catalogues like the *Standard Catalogue of World Coins* one has the impression that the currency system in the Bengal Presidency in the second half of the 18th century was not very different from the systems in most countries in the early 20th century or even the early 21st century though the gold and silver coins have now been replaced by a token coinage with a negligible intrinsic value; at the time of the EIC, however, the reality was very different. For evident reasons catalogues do not show the real basis of the currency in Bengal and some other parts of India, the *kauri* shell,²⁵ the only kind of money that millions of Indians ever owned. Ibn Battuta, the famous Moroccan traveller reported in the 14th century that large numbers of *kauris* were brought from the Maldive islands to Bengal, and in the early 19th century the annual importation was still valued at about 30,000 rupees. As in the 18th and early 19th century sea transports became cheaper, faster and safer the rupee price of *kauris* rapidly decreased. In 1740 a rupee exchanged for 2400 *kauris*, in 1756 for 2560 and in 1800 for about 6500 to more than 7000 *kauris*.

The value of the *kauris* varied not only with time but also with the distance from the coast in fairly wide limits. Legoux de Flaix gave the following exchange rate:²⁶

25 *Kauris* or *cowries* are the shells of *Cypraea moneta*, a sea snail.

26 Alexandre Legoux de Flaix: *Essai historique, géographique et politique sur l'Indostan, avec le tableau de son commerce, pris dans une année moyenne depuis 1702 jusqu'en 1770*, Paris 1807, vol. I, p. 237.

Legoux de Flaix was born in 1751 at Pondichéry but spent his early years in France. He returned in 1768 to India where he worked as a

60 kauris = 1 poni
7200 kauris = 60 ponis = 1 sicca rupee

In the *Useful Tables* we find the following table:²⁷

4 kauris = 1 ganda
80 kauris = 20 gandas = 1 pan (poni)
400 kauri = 5 pans = 100 gandas = 1 Anna
6400 kauris = 16 Annas = 1 sicca rupee

At the end of the 18th century, Legoux de Flaix wrote in his chapter about Indian coins: "In the past, Bengal and all the neighbouring provinces only knew *ashrafis* (mohurs), rupees and half rupees and finally *kauris*; but since the English have become the masters of these provinces they have introduced copper coins called *pessa* (paisa) or *cache* (cash), a coin which has great difficulties establishing itself in circulation."²⁸ There were two reasons why it took the copper coinage of the EIC a very long time to displace the *kauris*: the number of the available copper coins was insufficient and their value was much too high for the markets outside the commercial centres. Even the smallest British copper coin ever produced in Bengal, the 1/16 *anna*, was equal to about 10 *kauris* and the more common *paisa* cost around 40 *kauris*. The purchasing power of the copper coins can be judged from a statement by Legoux de Flaix referring to c. 1750: "These (*kauri*) shells ... serve as small change in Bengal and on the coast of the Deccan, and so abundant is everything in those happy and fertile provinces that for one of these shells a man can get a meal of bananas, a delicious fruit growing in this climate."²⁹

In Bengal *kauris* were not only used for small payments but even for land taxes. From 1778 to 1789 an annual average of 250,000 rupees of land revenue were collected in the Sylhet District in *kauris* at a rate of 5120 *kauris* per sicca rupee. The *kauris* were then sold at Dacca at public auction.³⁰ The *kauris* were only demonetised as currency accepted by the government treasuries in 1820.

For Europeans and rich Indians the basis of the Mughal and especially the Bengali currency system was the silver rupee, but which rupee? After the death of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Empire disintegrated quite rapidly and more and more Mughal governors, Indian princes and European trading companies began to mint their own rupees. This coins usually still acknowledged the Mughal emperor as their issuer's nominal suzerain but in their silver content, which tended to decrease, most of them followed less and less the traditional Delhi standard. The majority of the new rupees were meant to circulate in a certain territory but some became the preferred currency of a trade or were used for special purposes.³¹

military architect rebuilding the fortifications of his home town razed by the English. He later worked for Haidar 'Ali of Mysore building fortresses and undertaking political and economic reconnaissance missions as far as Kashmir.

27 James Prinsep: *Useful Tables illustrative of the coins, weights, and Measures of British India*, edited by Edward Thomas, London 1858, p. 2.

28 Legoux de Flaix: *op. cit.*, p.237.

29 Legoux de Flaix: *op.cit.*, p. 137.

Though fractions of a *kauri* are a physical impossibility, the Hindus, who tended to have a passion for very big and very small numbers, also invented *kauri* fractions: 1 *kauri* = 2 *crant* = 4 *kak* = 5 *bat* = 9 *dant* = 27 *jou* = 32 *dar* = 80 *til* = 800 *sano*. (Sir Henry Miers Elliot: *Glossary of Terms used in the North-Western Provinces of India.*) 1 *sano* would have been equal to about 1/5,200,000 of a rupee!

30 The EIC had another market and did not depend on auctions for the disposal of *kauris*. Ships of the EIC and the VOC brought the shells to Europe where there was a steady demand for them for the purchase of African slaves for America.

31 The Sikh Hari Singhi rupee of Kashmir became the coin of the shawl trade in northwestern India and the Salim Shahi of Pratabgarh the currency of the opium trade in Rajputana and Malwa. In Rajputana marriage-guests, who were expected to bring an auspicious number of coins, – e.g. 101, 108 or 1011 – as presents, often chose the rupees struck by the Marwar *thakur* of Kuchaman that contained less silver than others and, therefore, allowed them to save some money. In the same region, the

Not much work has been done on where the different rupees really circulated and how and why certain rupee types were chosen for certain payments. In documents dating from the 18th and early 19th century we find thousands of mentions of rupee amounts but very often we do not know what kind of rupee was meant. Whereas *hundis*³² usually name the type of rupees payable, historians or private letter-writers tended just to mention *rupees*. The following examples from the extensive surviving corpus of Persian letters of Major Polier³³ illustrate some of the problems and surprises a student of these documents encounters.

The following excerpt of a letter sent by Polier from Lucknow to a business partner at Murshidabad is a typical example of a commercial document of the second half of the 18th century: "I am concerned about your Rs 10,100 regarding the price of the elephants and I am trying my best for an immediate payment. There has been a discount over the *chalani* as the current account here is modelled after the Murshidabadi. And you know there has been discount (*batta*) over this. But it does not mean your loss. The fact is that here is a *batta* over the *chalani* in Murshidabad and your account is there. We all know what the amount of *batta* is for the Murshidabadi years. Thus there is no discrepancy in the accounts and there will not be a loss of a single penny for you. You will also receive the interest"³⁴ We learn from the letter that the *batta* at Lucknow followed the same rules as at Murshidabad (and at Calcutta and Benares) but it does not say to which kind of rupee it refers. *Chalani* rupees are often mentioned but as for commercial purposes every important physical rupee had to be accompanied by some kind of *chalani* or *current rupee*, which could be fictitious or real, this fact carries very little information.³⁵ The Nawab-Vizier of Awadh owned several mints but none near his capital, and we do in fact not know which rupee was mainly used at Lucknow, the seat of the Nawab, when Polier wrote his letter.

When Polier's household manager travelled by boat from Faizabad, the old capital of Awadh, to Calcutta he received 50 Arcot rupees for expenses. The Arcot rupee was less popular at its place of origin, the Carnatic, where it circulated in competition with gold coins, than in East Bengal and Orissa, to where very significant amounts of rupees of the Nawab of Arcot, but also of French and English Arcot rupees were exported from the Coromandel Coast. Arcot rupees were not only struck in the south but also by the Dacca and Calcutta mints. The Arcot rupees from Calcutta were allegedly only struck for the regions of Dacca,

Banswara rupees were popular as presents to Hindu temples because they did not bear any legends in Persian script.

32 *Hundis* are Indian Bills of Exchange which were usually drawn on a *sharaf* or a big merchant.

33 Antoine Louis Henri de Polier (1741-1795) was a Swiss engineer officer in the service of the EIC who served in campaigns in Orissa and Bengal and, under Clive, became chief-engineer and commander of the garrison of Calcutta. As he was a foreigner, the directors of the EIC blocked his promotion to lieutenant-colonel and Polier was deputed in 1773 to the service of Nawab Shuja ad-Daula of Awadh at Faizabad. He was sent by the Nawab to support Najaf Khan, the Wazir of Shah 'Alam II, at the siege of Agra with heavy siege guns, and from 1776 to 1779 he commanded 7000 of Shah 'Alams sepoy. In 1779 Polier returned to Awadh, where he allegedly built the Faizabad Fort for Nawab Asaf ad-Daula, and from 1782 to 1788 he lived in Lucknow, nominally as a surveyor for the EIC, which finally promoted him to colonel, but in reality working for the Nawab.

Polier, who was a friend of Warren Hastings and spoke Urdu and Persian fluently, knew many of the political actors in North India – e.g. Najaf Khan, Raja Chait Singh of Benares or the Nawabs of Awadh – well. He amassed, like his friend General Claude Martin, an important fortune via his private trade and became a generous patron of Indian artists. When Colonel Polier returned to Switzerland in 1788 he brought with him his large library of manuscripts and his collection of miniatures which are now shared between the British Museum, Eton College near London, King's College in Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Islamic Museum in Berlin and the Bibliothèque Cantonale in Lausanne.

34 Muzaffar Alam & Seema Alavi: *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient. The I'jaz-i Arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2001, p.226.

35 For an explanation of the *current rupee* see footnote 42.

Chittagong and Katak (Orissa) but the fact that a traveller from Awadh to Calcutta carried Arcot rupees for his expenses may mean that these rupees were also the preferred currency of other places in Bengal.³⁶

The correspondence of Polier with his *amil* at Khalilganj³⁷ in his newly acquired Imperial *jagir* shows that even an experienced trader and traveller could not know the bewildering currency system in all its details. Polier sent his *amil* for his expenses a *hundi* of 300 Dig rupees³⁸ struck in the 10th regnal year of Shah 'Alam II to be cashed at the shop of Khemkaran and Govind Rai at Qasba Kol (Aligarh), but he later learned that the correct local currency would have been the Akbarabad (Agra) rupee of regnal year 7 and that there was a *batta* of 4 rupees to pay.³⁹

Polier even once mentioned a payment in the rather enigmatic *Rikabi* rupees. *Rikab* (stirrup) was used in Iran and India as a name for mobile mints that travelled with a ruler. Edgar Thurston wrote about Polier's *Rikabi* rupee: "The fact is incidentally mentioned that, when the Shahzada (Shah 'Alam) invaded Bihar, the mint accompanied him, and a large quantity of Benares rupees were melted down and coined into "rikabees" which were 1 rati 2 ch. deficient in weight, and of 64 chauwals assay, but were made to pass in the camp as sikkas of the established weight and fineness."⁴⁰ Shah 'Alam's *Rikabi* rupee, which probably bore the date AH 1174, would have been one of the worst coins of the region. As far as I know it has never been identified, described and illustrated in a numismatic publication.

From about 1795 on we find in documents the name *Kaldar* rupee. *Kaldar* means "milled" and it was "up country", i.e. beyond the borders of the EIC territory, a generic name of the British machine-made coins in contradistinction to the hand-made coins of the princely states. The use of the term *Kaldar* rupee in documents moved steadily westward as far as the Sikh empire and the Sind principalities, a clear harbinger of the coming dominant role of the uniform British rupee in India.

Today rupees are usually defined by their external characteristics, their design (legend), weight and diameter and as a consequence we find in catalogues a bewildering multiplicity of rupee types, but for a contemporary of those coins their most important characteristic was their intrinsic value defined by their silver content, a point of view which leads to an even much larger number of rupee types. In the *Standard Catalog of World* coins the rupees struck in the name of 'Alamgir II and in the first 15 years of Shah 'Alam II at the Nawab-Vizier of Awadh's mint at Benares are now for example summarised in 4 types (KM # Mughal 459.1, 460.6 and Awadh 36.1, 36.2) but a person being paid in such rupees would only have been interested in the fact that, during 'Alamgir's reign, the silver content and, therefore, the market value of the Benares rupees changed 9 times and, in the first 15 years of Shah 'Alam, 7 times.⁴¹

In the case of many rupee types the situation was further complicated by *batta*, a discount which was originally meant to compensate a coin's loss of weight and silver through wear and tear but which in the 18th century had degenerated into a tool to enrich the *sharafs* and the issuers of the coins by driving them back into the mints. There were numerous different systems of *batta* and the one used with the Bengal sicca rupees before the introduction of the 19 *San* Sicca 1793 was among the simpler ones:

1st year: 100 Sikka rupees = 116 current or *chalani* rupees⁴²

2nd year: 100 " " = 113 " " "

3rd year: 100 " " = 111 " " "

from 4th year on: 1 Sikka rupee = 1 *Sonaut* rupee⁴³

All the *batta* systems had in common that, after a few years, the loss of value surpassed the cost of re-minting and the old coin would then be brought to the mint for recoinage.⁴⁴

As there were about 25 major and many more minor rupee types in circulation in India and as large payments usually consisted of several types and years and quite often also of several counterfeit pieces only specialists were able to process such

42 "Accounts are generally kept in current rupees, which are considered, (though in themselves nominal, there being no such coin,) the standard to which all other denominations of money should be reduced: this is, in fact, the application of one term, whereby all others are to be appreciated. (*Vademecum*, p. I,155.) The nominal and fictitious "current rupee" was in Bengal always equal to 16 annas or 192 paises.

In Bengal the *current rupee* also represented the value at which the government treasuries would accept the Sikka rupee: 86.207 Sikka rupees of the first year = 1 *current rupee*. After 3 years the Calcutta Sikka rupee was considered *sonaut*, equivalent to only 15 annas and only accepted by the treasuries as bullion.

43 In *Hobson Jobson* the authors wrote very much to the point: "The term *Sonaut* rupees, which was of frequent occurrence down to the reformation and unification of the Indian coinage in 1833, is one very difficult to elucidate. The word is properly *sanwat*, plural of Arabic *sana(t)*, a year. According to the old practice in Bengal, coins deteriorated in value, in comparison with the rupee of account, when they passed the third year of their currency, and these rupees were termed *Sanwat* or *Sonaut*. But in 1773, to put a stop to this inconvenience, Government determined that all rupees coined in future should bear the impression of the 19th *san* or year of Shah 'Alam, the Mogul then reigning. And in all later uses of the term *Sonaut* it appears to be equivalent in value to the Farukhabad rupee, or the modern "Company's rupee" which was of the same standard." (Col. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell: *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, ..., edited by Wm Crooke, London 1903, p. 775.)

The *Hobson-Jobson* text is correct for Bengal but for the rupees of other mints the term *sonaut* would be differently defined. The following text by Edgar Thurston describes the situation at Benares: "In the 17th year of the reign of Shah 'Alam (1776) the (Benares) mint was transferred by the Company to Chait Singh, who engaged to coin rupees of 9 masha 9 rati 6 ch. weight and 18 chauwals fine, and to continue the die of the 17th *san*, in order to put an end to the confusion in the currency occasioned by the constant alteration of the value of the coins. "All rupees, therefore, coined in the Benares mint since the 17th year of the present reign, ought to be of the same weight and standard, and to pass current as sikkas of the present year. The rupees current in the district of Benares may, therefore, be classed as *sanwat* and *sikka*, the former coined under the Mughal Princes, and the latter since the 17th year of the reign of Shah 'Alam, when the mint was ceded to the Company by the Vizier (the Nawab-Vizier of Awadh), and by them transferred to Chait Singh." (Edgar Thurston: *op.cit.*, p. 5. Thurston based his text on and used excerpts of Mr. Barlow's *Historical Sketch of the Benares Mint*, published in the *Calcutta Mint Committee's Proceedings*, 1792.

On the 26th of June 1826 a Special Court of Proprietors of East India Stock debated at the East India House in London the *Payment of Civil and Military Servants*. Halfway through the debate the chairman found it expedient to inform the baffled proprietors that all the payments of the Military Department of the Government of the Bengal Presidency were made in *sonat* rupees at an exchange rate of 111 sikka rupees = 116 *sonat* rupees, but that the military was not actually paid in *sonat* rupees, and that the accounts of the Military Department looked like the accounts of any other department, but when the troops were paid an officer of the Bengal army who was owed Rs 100 in the account book received only 95½ Sikka rupees. The chairman saw no need to change this absurd system nor to reform the regulations of the Bengal Army, a monument to "the wisdom of our ancestors" three times as voluminous as the famously detailed Prussian Army Regulations. (*Asiatic Journal*, vol. 22, September 1826.)

44 A number of books were sold in India which claimed to simplify the task of computing *batta* but most of them were full of errors. By far the most reliable was by Thomas Thornton: *The East Indian calculator, or, Tables for assisting computation of batta, interest, commission, rent, wages in Indian money with copious Tables of the Exchange between London, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and the relative Value of Coins current in Hindostan*, London 1823.

36 Muzaffar Alam & Seema Alavi: *op.cit.*, p. 107

37 About 25 km from Hathras.

38 Dig is a town 35 km northwest of the capital of the former Bharatpur State. Rupees struck at the summer residence of the Rajas of Bharatpur bore the mintname Mahindrapur but were known as Dig rupees.

39 Muzaffar Alam & Seema Alavi: *op.cit.*, pp. 351 and 365.

40 Edgar Thurston: "Note on the History of the East India Company Coinage", p. 7. Thurston's source was Mr. Barlow whose historical sketch of the Benares mint was published in 1792 in the *Calcutta Mint Committee Proceedings*.

41 A table of the silver contents of the Benares rupees can be found in: Edgar Thurston: "Note on the History of the East India Company Coinage from 1753-1835", *JASB Vol. LXII, Part 1, No. 1*, 1893, p. 6.

transactions. A trader's handbook explained how these people worked: "When rupees are brought to a *sharaf*, he examines them piece by piece and arranges them according to their fineness; then by their weight; he then allows for the different legal *battas* upon *siccas* and *sonauts*; and this done he values in gross by the rupees current what the whole are worth, so that the rupee current is the only thing fixed by which coin is valued. A rupee current is reckoned at 2 s. and a Sicca rupee of account commonly at 2s.6d."⁴⁵

The procedure described here represented an ideal and was clearly extremely time-consuming and it partly explains why the Bengal currency system was estimated to support between thirty and forty thousand *shroffs*.

The experts who processed large amounts – tens or even hundreds of thousands of rupees were not exceptional – proceeded differently: "I should premise, that, on account of the immense variety of coins current in India, it is customary, whenever any large sum is to be received, to employ an examiner, called a *podar*; who, having confined his pursuits to the acquirement of a most accurate knowledge of their several values, at once decides upon the correctness of a payment. The precision, quickness, and touch, of these persons, are beyond description. I have been assured that many of them can, even in the dark, distinguish between several kinds of money, whose size and weight bear no great dissimilarity: besides, even those coins that bear the same value, and come from the same mint, differ greatly in both those particulars; some being broad and flat, like a shilling, though not defaced; while others are more dumpy, and, though of purer metal, not so ponderous.

I shall give a short description of the *podar*; of whom mention has already been made. He is not always an attendant at an office, though, in great concerns, his presence is indispensable. He either receives from four to ten rupees per month, or is paid, by a very small centage, for whatever money he examines. We often admire the dexterity of our money-tellers; but the *podar*, who counts by fours, (i.e. *gandahs.*) finishes the detail of a thousand in so short a time, as would cause even our most expert money-tellers to stare with astonishment! It is only mixed money that is counted, when large sums are passing; most payments are first sorted; when the several kinds of rupees being made into parcels are weighed, fifty at a time: in this manner, a lac (i. e. a 100,000) may be speedily ascertained; each parcel of fifty being kept separate, until a certain number is completed: when the whole are accounted, and removed into bags, to make way for further operations."⁴⁶

Unlike all the token coinages of today the Indian currencies of the 18th and early 19th centuries – from the *kauris* to the gold mohurs – had an intrinsic value that approximately defined their exchange rates. Owing the mints, the Indian princes and the European trading companies were able to choose the standards of their coins and to dictate exchange rates as far as transactions with their own treasuries were concerned⁴⁷ but the fact that the markets

considered every kind of currency as merchandise left the control of the market exchange rate, which was much more important for most people, in the hands of the *sharafs* (or *shroffs*), the Indian dealers in precious metals and moneylenders. It was estimated that by constantly manipulating the exchange rates *sharafs* earned every year 30 to 35% on their capital.⁴⁸

The author of the *Vademecum* described the manipulations of the *sharafs* at Calcutta: "The up and down price of money, if I may use the expression, is managed by the shroffs, or native bankers, who invariably, except on particular holidays, meet towards midnight, compare accounts, and settle the value of money for the succeeding day. Notice is accordingly circulated in an underhand manner; and, throughout the great town of Calcutta, covering perhaps three thousand acres, and well peopled, the whole of the parties concerned, nay, even the ordinary retail shop-keepers, are apprized of the alteration. Sometimes the exchange is allowed to remain at the same rate for a few days in succession: this rarely takes place except when a particular currency, say silver, is to be bought up at a low rate, such as 58 or 60 pice to a rupee, to be sold again when the rate has been, for that purpose, raised to 64, or 65. So soon as either purpose is accomplished, the exchange alters by the same invisible means.

The number of pice in a rupee constitutes its value; as the number of rupees and annas do that of a gold mohur; which, if sicca from the Calcutta mint, ought invariably to pass at sixteen rupees. But the regulations of government have too often been openly trespassed, in the most daring manner. This was carried to such a pitch, that the whole of the silver currency at one time disappeared; the shroffs and sircars had bought it all up; so that persons in business were induced to offer premiums for silver; without which mercantile concerns could not proceed. It is a well known fact, that, for some months, the troops at the presidency were paid in gold, issued to them at par; but which, owing to the infamous combinations above described, would not pass in any part of the market, unless a deduction of one-eighth was allowed!"⁴⁹

The army was the branch of the EIC that regularly stood in need of fairly large amounts of rupees and copper coins in places far from the capital of a Presidency or a mint. In Bengal the government did not even try to supply the requisite coins from Calcutta but adapted the *jagir* system of the Mughals, i.e. the revenue of a provincial treasury was assigned to a military unit: "According to the regulations, every man in the service ought to be paid monthly; but this is not always done, even in times of peace, on account of the collections, i. e., the revenues, being received only at particular periods: if nothing particular should occur to occasion the monies being otherwise appropriated, the deputy paymasters at the several stations receive notice, that the amount of

£39.7s.6d.; the former sum being £1.17s.6d *above*, and the latter 12s.6d. *below* the nominal equivalent of each, namely £ 40.

Again: – The gold of the Guinea and Sovereign is of the same standard as that of the Madras Gold Rupee, viz. 22 carats fine, and the latter weighing 180 grains of that gold exchanges for 15 Silver Rupees of the same weight, which gives 12 grains of gold to each Rupee of Silver equivalent to 1 grain per Silver Fanam of the late coinage, and 1¹/₃ per Silver Anna of the new coinage of that Presidency. Now the Sovereign weighing clear ²/₃ of the Madras Gold Rupee, which should fetch, according to the foregoing estimate, a fraction above 10 rupees, fetches only ⁸/₄ Rupees, according to the Company's valuation of 875 Madras Rupees per £ 100, a difference against the receiver upon this footing of not less than 132 Rupees upon every £100.

48 Legoux de Flaix: *op.cit.*, pp.139, 140.

49 Thomas Williamson: *Vademecum*, vol. I, p. 203.

The *sharafs* were not alone responsible for all the abrupt changes in the exchange rates. Legoux de Flaix noted that the usual exchange rate of gold against silver was in India, as in Europe, 1:14 but that special circumstances could produce very different rates: "As gold is much easier to hide from the rapacity of soldiers than silver, the exchange rate may in case of a sudden invasion reach 1:20. When the famous Nawab Haidar 'Ali (of Mysore) invaded the Carnatic in 1781 and 1782 the population of the Coromandel Coast was so terrorised that the gold pagodas of Pondichéry or Madras, which normally were worth ³/₄ rupees, did cost up to 5 rupees." (Legoux de Flaix: *op.cit.*, p.236.)

45 William Milburn and Thomas Thornton: *Oriental commerce, or, the East India tra-der's complete guide*, 1823.

46 Thomas Williamson: *The East India Vade-Mecum; or, complete guide to gentlemen in- tended for the civil, military, or naval service of the Hon. East India Company*, London 1810.

47 A student of the history of the EIC is often sorely tempted to see in the fiscal administration of the EIC in London and India before the introduction of the uniform coinage in 1835 a suite of bumbling committees trying to correct the mistakes of their precedessors and committing new ones. An excerpt from the *Madras Courier* (1823) shows that the bureaucrats in charge of fixing the exchange rates sometimes completely lost their way: "Omitting fractions, 335 Bengal Sicca Rupees are the equivalent exchange of 350 Madras Siccas, at which the Public Securities are transferable, and consequently, 350 Madras Siccas (or 100 Star Pagodas, at 8s. each) being the equivalent of £40, 335 Bengal Siccas should give the same sum. But the interest Bills, payable in London, allow £ 40 or 320 Bengal Siccas only, at 2s.6d. each (the Company's Rate of Exchange), which is in favour of the receiver of the Bills 37¹/₂ Bengal Siccas, or £4.13s.9d. Sterling per £ 100 against the Company.

Again: – 335 Bengal Siccas, at 2s.6d each, give £ 41.17s.6d., and 350 Madras Siccas, at 2s.3d. each (the Company's rate of exchange), give

pay, due to the troops attached thereto, may be received; otherwise, it sometimes happens that two, three, or more months, elapse without any such notice being given. It is inconceivable to what inconvenience such delays give birth! No regimental paymaster, no regimental agent, no certain means of obtaining a supply of cash, in general, exist. Consequently, recourse must be had to the native money-lenders. When a notice arrives at the deputy paymaster's office, application is made by him for an escort, generally of a company of sepoy, under the command of an European officer, which proceeds to that civil station whence the supplies are to be derived. Sometimes, however, the escort is detained for many days, or even for weeks; this is usually owing to sudden calls for remittances having been received, when, of course, the escort had better wait for fresh receipts than return empty handed.⁵⁰

Payments to the troops are made in specie, generally in silver; the sicca rupees of Lucknow, Benares, Patna, &c., being held as *sonaut*, in which the pay of the whole army is calculated. When much gold is received at a station, but especially at the Presidency, that coin is instantly depreciated, to the great loss of every military man.

In some instances, payments are made to troops by means of bills of exchange, payable at short dates: this answers very well for small sums, in situations not authorizing the detachment of a party to escort from a considerable distance, provided the party on whom the bill is given be a responsible man, which is very generally the case."⁵¹

As the negotiations with *shroffs* and Indian merchants and the complicated computations involved in exchanging fictitious *sonaut* rupees worth 0.9568 Calcutta Sikka rupees into whatever kinds of rupees were actually available to pay the troops were clearly beyond the competence of the average British paymaster he was given an Indian assistant: "For the convenience of keeping accounts, and of making payments, one *sircar* is allowed by the Company to each battalion of sepoy. It is surprizing to see how these men, whose utmost legal receipts can amount to only twenty rupees monthly, get forward, and become possessed of property. Much money goes through their hands, and every finger is a file which takes off a trifle en passant. Sircars form in fact a separate tribe of Hindus, and devote their time to one object, viz. making money. They generally read English well enough to know the contents of a bill; but, in giving receipts, usually sign their names in the Bengali character: Few of them undertake to write English accounts; but, in their own way, which appears to us prolix, they are extremely regular."⁵²

50 Thomas Williamson: *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 227.

51 Thomas Williamson: *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 223.

52 In Bengal and especially in European's houses in Calcutta a *sircar* was a domestic servant who kept the accounts of the household expenditures, made purchases and served as a general broker in the relations with Indian *shroffs*, bankers and merchants. Though the profession had the reputation of being extremely greedy a *sircar* was an absolute necessity in a European gentleman's household: "The Sircar is a genius whose whole study is to handle money, whether receivable or payable; and who contrives either to confuse accounts, when they are adverse to his view; or to render them most expressively intelligible, when such would suit his purpose. ... Many of them even set up as shroffs, or bankers, and establish such an extent of credit as would astonish the inhabitants of Lombard Street.

Here it may be proper to remark, that no Sircar will take charge of money when his employer keeps the key, nor is it, on the other hand, customary for the sircar to have the entire charge. So many tricks have been played by changing the coin, that it is now a general rule for every treasure chest to have two large padlocks, of different construction; the *Sircar*, or *Tasildar* (cash keeper) receiving one key, and the master retaining the other.

The Sircars derive a very considerable emolument from all purchases made in the markets, of whatever description. Whenever an European, even in person, buys goods of a native, his servants have, from time immemorial, a claim on the vendor of half an anna in every rupee the latter receives. This, which is called *dasturi*, or customary gift, being a thirty-second of the disbursement, amounts to no less than 3¹/₈ per cent: it may therefore be imagined what immense sums these gentry must pocket, when serving gentlemen who have large establishments to support, and whose servants are numerous: for even from the very

The last quarter of the 18th century was a period of rapid expansion of the EIC Presidency of Madras, of almost incessant warfare and of mismanagement of the local government by intriguing and corrupt officials.⁵³ Aurangzeb had granted the EIC in 1692 the right to mint Mughal rupees at Madras but most of these coins were exported to East Bengal and the legal currency was, as everywhere on the Coromandel Coast and most of South India, the gold pagoda. In a book written in 1789/81 Pierre Sonnerat described the principal pagodas then circulating: "The pagoda is a gold coin flat on one side and convex on the other; on the flat side it usually shows some Indian deities but so badly drawn that one can hardly recognise their traits. The pagoda is a merchandise like the gold mohur. There are many different kinds of pagodas. The ones current in commerce are: on the coast of Orissa the *Three Swami Pagoda*, at Madras and Pondichéry contracts are always made in *Star Pagodas*, and in the south, at Tranquebar, Karikal, Naour & Negapatnam, in *Portonovo Pagodas*.

The *Three Swami Pagoda* is equivalent to 9 livres 12 sols;⁵⁴ on one side one sees 3 crowned heads, the other side – less convex than on other pagodas – is covered with dots: the gold is very pure and of a pale yellow.

The *Star Pagoda* is worth 8 livres 8 sols; on one side one sees a figure, & on the other a star surrounded by dots. Old pieces, which are of a very pale yellow, are more highly estimated than the new ones of a gold of the colour of our jewels.

The *Portonovo Pagoda* is worth 7 livres 4 sols; on one side it bears a figure whose crown and ornaments differ from those on the *Star Pagoda*. The convex side is covered by dots. The gold is of the colour of our jewels & contains a lot of copper.

The *Pagoda of Negapatnam* only differs from the *Portonovo Pagoda* by a few additional dots in the crown, the value is the same."⁵⁵

The troubles at Madras and the Anglo-Mysore wars led to an increasing dearth of gold coins exacerbated by the acts of the *sharafs*. As the army was also in Madras the government branch with the largest need of coins it became the main victim of this development. Innes Munro described the situation in a British regiment: "All our pay, excepting the king's, was for nine months out of the year issued in bills upon Bengal, which we were obliged to get discounted at the loss of thirty or forty per cent. Usurers, or monopolizers of specie, abounded at Madras, and the money so raised we were under the necessity of instantly expending upon liquors and other necessaries for the field; and these commodities were only to be purchased at the most exorbitant rates, as the Council never once took the least trouble in regulating the police of Madras, in order to prevent the oppressive impositions to which the army was always subjected. Such a step indeed might have

domestics does the *Sircar* claim the above gratuity, when paying their wages! (Thomas Williamson: *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.200-211).

53 The famously corrupt governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold (1777-1780), was alleged to have diverted the enormous amount of £600,000 into his own pockets, and it was proved that he had been consistently remitting back to England sums three times as big as his salary but after having bribed the members in charge of the proceedings against him he was acquitted by a Parliamentary Committee

54 The currency system of the French *Ancient Régime* knew the following coins: 1 *livre tournois* = 20 *sols* or *sous* = 240 *deniers*. In 1780 the purchasing power of a *sous* was comparable to an Euro of 2005. .

55 Pierre Sonnerat: *Voyages aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait par ordre du Roi, depuis 1774 jusque'en 1781...*, Paris 1782, (chapitre XIV (*De la Monnoie*), pp. I,256-263).

Pierre Sonnerat (1748-1814), a French naturalist, visited the Moluccas, the Philippines and the islands near New Guinea in 1769 -1772. The *Académie des Sciences* sent him in 1774 to the Coromandel Coast where in 1778 he helped to defend Pondicherry against the British. Back in Europe Sonnerat published his *Voyages aux Indes ...* Sonnerat later returned to India where he became in 1790 the administrator of the French *Loge* at Yanaon and the commander of 6 sepoy. In 1793 he was taken prisoner by the British and only set free in 1813.

Sonnerat and Legoux de Flaix were two of the most perceptive authors writing about India and its economy in the second half of the 18th century but as they wrote in French they found few British readers.

proved prejudicial to their own private interests, and consequently, not likely to be adopted."⁵⁶

Colonel William Fullarton, whom the Scottish historian and philosopher James Mill praised as the first Anglo-Indian commander who looked after his commissariat, left in his polemic account of his campaigns in the years 1783/84 a description of the predicament the currency problems caused his troops: "On my arrival at Covanore,⁵⁷ I found that fanams amounting to a lack of pagodas had reached the camp from Tanjore. The impatience of the troops for this supply was proportioned to the severity of their distress; excepting the prize-money at Palagatcherry, and the working money to the parties employed on extra labour, no sums had been issued to the army during our whole progress, in crossing and recrossing India. Unfortunately the coin in which this payment was received, became a more copious source of discontent, than all the hardships they had endured.

The star pagoda⁵⁸ is understood to be the only legal tender of your Presidency: it is not coined to the southward, but its place had usually been supplied by the Porto Novo pagoda, which is less valuable by ten per cent. The Rajah of Tanjore has not exercised the right of coining pagodas, and of late has paid his tribute⁵⁹ in fanams.

The Dutch coinage at Negapatam formerly amounted to four or five lacks of pagodas annually, but this has been discontinued since we got possession of that city. As there is no gold coinage in any other place to the southward, nor any regular circulation of rupees, the whole currency of those provinces, exceeding the pagodas that happen to be in use, consists of fanams; of these every district coins a different sort, and no comparative rate having ever been established between the star pagodas and those inferior coins, their value fluctuates according to the relative demand, and the coinage of one province is seldom or never at par in another.

Whenever it is known that a large issuing of fanams is at hand, the Shroffs, Soucars, and Dubashes,⁶⁰ purchase all the pagodas they can procure. Thus the fanams are kept at a high price, till the disbursement has taken place, and the rate is fixed at the current exchange for the day. But no sooner has this fluctuating coin been circulated, than the pagodas come forth, and in forty-eight hours the holders of fanams suffer a depreciation of six, eight, or ten per cent. Still more oppressive is this medium of public payment, when the fanams are issued in a province to which they do not properly belong: for the Tanjore fanam has no regular currency in any other province. And this applies to all coins of that description, fabricated in Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinively, Ramnad, and Shevigunga.⁶¹

The commercial evils from this debasement and diversity of coin are not less considerable. A merchant cannot make a remittance to any place north of the Coleroon, without much trouble and expence in purchasing pagodas, or else by an unreasonable premium to Soucars. The money remitted to the army from Tanjore was issued in Tanjore fanams, at the rate of twenty-two and an half per star pagoda: but when the Sepoys received this money in distant encampments, they found that twenty-four or twenty-five fanams were required for a pagoda there; nor could

they in many instances, without enormous loss, procure the necessaries of life for those uncurrent fanams.

To prevent as much as possible the troops from suffering by a loss upon exchange, which in common justice should fall upon the public, it was proposed to Mr. Sullivan,⁶² and immediately acceded to by him, that the paymaster should carry the difference to the account of the Company. ...

It appeared requisite to be minute in this recapitulation in order to impress the necessity of reform in the southern payments. This will be effected by ordering a large coinage of pagodas, and by establishing a tarif or proportional value between the pagodas and fanams, in the same manner as in England twenty-one shillings are at all times equivalent to a guinea."⁶³

Travellers leaving India for Europe had, if they followed the advice of the Vademecum, a last chance to profit from the rupee chaos of which they had hitherto mostly been a victim: "Passengers from India ought to take a bag of rupees of the worst description; for, whether sicca or tersooly, each will be gladly received (at the Cape of Good Hope), without distinction, at two shillings and sixpence."⁶⁴

THE CIRCULATION OF TIN IN PALEMBANG (SUMATRA): ITS MONETARY AND NON-MONETARY FUNCTIONS: TIN AND LEAD INGOTS, ANIMALS AND TALISMANS

By Michael Mitchiner

Palembang's geographical location was discussed in the previous paper (Mitchiner JONS 213, 2012). Palembang City is at the head of the delta of the river Musi, and the territory of the sultanate extended north-eastwards to include the island of Bangka where tin ore deposits were discovered in 1710. The present paper is concerned with looking at some of the ways in which tin was used during the period when Palembang Sultanate had a tin surplus in its economy, approximately 1710 to 1825.

The recent finds at Palembang provide a unique opportunity for looking at the way in which tin was used in the society. The range of recovered artefacts is sufficiently broad to enable one to differentiate between various kinds of use and to consider the varied roles tin played in the economy. A distinct stratification emerges, with the sultan and his involvement with tin at the upper end of the spectrum. In the middle, one can consider the medium through which the sultan delivered tin into the market-place economy, and the forms in which tin circulated at this level. At the lower end of the spectrum were the metal workers in the market place. One can discuss a few of their wares and the ways in which tin products were used in local society.

56 Innes Munro: *A Narrative of the Military Operations in the Carnatic in 1780-4*, London 1789, p. 376.

Innes Munro, who was related to General Sir Hector Munro, was a lieutenant and later a captain in the first battalion of Lord Macleod's 73rd Highlanders during the second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-4).

57 A place on the confines of the Marawa country, less than twenty miles from Madura. (F.)

58 The star pagoda is worth eight shillings. (F.)

59 The tribute amounts to four lacks of pagodas, or 160,000 £. (F.)

60 *Shroffs*, *Soucars*, and *Dubashes*, are money changers, bankers, and black agents of the Europeans. (F.)

61 A multitude of fanams circulated in South India. Sonnerat described and illustrated 12 then fairly common types of gold fanams, some of places as little known as Udaiyarpalayam, Ulundurpet or Alangeri. The values of these fanams varied from 15 sols for the Walajipet fanam to 5 sols for the Pulicat fanam, which outside its territory was only worth 2 sols. (Pierre Sonnerat: *op.cit.*, pp. 1,260-263.)

62 Mr. Sullivan was the representative of the government at Fullarton's headquarters.

63 William Fullarton: *A View of the English Interests in India, and an Account of the mili-tary Operations in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula during the Campaigns of 1782, 1783 and 1784*, London 1787, pp. 188-193.

Colonel William Fullarton (1754 - 1808), one of the most capable and successful British military leaders during the Anglo-Mysore Wars, commanded in 1783 and 1784, during the 2nd Mysore War, the British troops south of the Coleroon river, the "Southern Army" of the Madras Presidency. In his book he criticised the EIC and attacked its policies.

64 Thomas Williamson: *op.cit.*, vol 1, p.74 / 75.

Any coin showing a trident or *trisul* could be called a *tersuli* or correctly a *trisuli* but in a Bengal context the rupees of the Benares mint bearing the regnal years 4 to 6 of 'Alamgir II and a *trisul* were meant. These rupees had various but always uncommonly small silver contents. (For Benares *trisuli* see: Edgar Thurston: "Note on the History of the East India Company Coinage", p. 6.)

By looking at the Palembang material, it is possible to dismiss as myths several concepts that have been advanced concerning the use of tin in a numismatic context. The truth appears to be more mundane.

Background

The tin ingots, animal pieces and talismans discussed here are, like the coins discussed in the previous paper, among recent finds from Palembang. Whereas there is a substantial amount of documentary information relevant to discussing the coins found at Palembang, there is very little documentary evidence relevant to the pieces now being discussed.

In order to provide some comparative evidence, it is reasonable to begin by considering the situations in such neighbouring regions as the Malay Peninsula and Java.

Comparison with the Malay Peninsula

The period when tin mining commenced on a significant scale in the Malay Peninsula is reflected in Chinese literature. Fairly detailed descriptions of the various local kingdoms given in Zhao Rugua's (Chao Ju-kua's) maritime geography of ad 1225 made no mention of any local tin production and still described the general situation of Srivijayan tributary states. On the other hand, the report compiled by Wang Dayuan (Wang Ta-yuan), who travelled in the South Seas during the 1330's, described a very different picture of independent and rather more prosperous kingdoms where tin was a not uncommon local product. Wheatley (1961) has discussed this and given relevant translations. During the period that elapsed between these two reports, the ascendancy of the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya was replaced by the ascendancy of the more distant Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Although Majapahit reached the height of its prosperity around the 1330's, its distant seat of power in Java compromised Majapahit's ability to control political and economic events in the Malay Peninsula (Hall 1968, 79-93).

Under the new regime, the kingdom of Pahang on the Malay Peninsula grew prosperous as a tin producer. The extraction of tin gave Pahang its name in the late thirteenth century. Like the other tin-producing kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula, Pahang, was to some extent torn between the conflicting commercial aspirations of the Siamese kingdoms (Sukothai, then Ayuthia) in the north and the Indonesian kingdoms (Srivijaya, now replaced by Majapahit) in the south (Hall 1968, 209).

Ma Huan, writing in ad 1433, described tin mining in the Sultanate of Malacca (1403-1511) and the form of the ingots in which it was traded by the king. *"As to 'flower tin': there are two tin areas in the mountain-valleys; (and) the king appoints chiefs to control them. Men are sent to wash (for the ore) in a sieve and to cook it. (The tin) is cast into blocks with the shape of a tou-measure to make small blocks which are handed to the officials. Each block weighs one chin eight liang (1 lb 15 oz) sometimes one chin four liang (1 lb 10 oz), on our official steelyard. Every ten blocks are tied up with rattan to make a small bundle; (and) forty blocks make one large bundle. In trading transactions they all take this tin for current use"* (Wicks 1983, 298; Wheatley 1961, 321-4). Ma Huan described the large-size ingots used by the sultan in the course of state trade, in this case, the kind of tin ingots used when the sultan was selling his tin to Chinese traders. Raja Kasim Muzaffar Shah (1446-59) and Mansur Shah (1459-77) expanded the Malacca Sultanate. By the 1460's, it included not only Johore, but also the tin-producing regions of Kedah and Pahang, as well as Trengganu (Hall 1968, 211).

The needs of merchants and metal workers trading in the Malacca market place would doubtless have been met by the use of smaller tin ingots. Their size would probably have been more closely aligned to multiples of the flat tin coins introduced by the Sultans of Malacca a few decades after the time of Ma Huan's report. The first two Malacca rulers to issue coins were Muzaffar Shah and Mansur Shah (Wicks 1983, 302-4). The Portuguese, who conquered Malacca in 1511, continued minting a subsidiary coinage in tin.

The Dutch conquered Malacca in 1641 and almost immediately started their efforts to impose tin monopolies on the tin-producing

sultanates of the Malay Peninsula. In 1643, Phuket, sometimes known as 'Junk Ceylon', agreed to give the Dutch a monopoly on the purchase of tin produced in its territory (Hall 1968, 348). It took longer for the Dutch to agree tin monopolies with such other tin-producing states as Perak, Kedah, Ligor and Selangor (Hall 347-9). The overall result was that the tin producers had less tin available for their own purposes.

The major expansion in the local use of tin, as reflected by the local coinages minted in the various states, came after the period of the Dutch monopolies. The British settled at Penang, off the coast of Kedah, in 1786 (Hall 354) and took Malacca from the Dutch in 1795, following the French Revolutionary occupation of Holland in that year (Hall 354-5). Their dominance over the Dutch was consolidated when the British settled on Singapore Island in 1819 (Hall 354). According to the terms of the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, the Dutch agreed not to claim any territory in Singapore or the Malay Peninsula, while the British agreed not to claim any territory in Sumatra or Java (Hall 508-9). During the decades following British settlement in Penang, there were some conflicts with Siam concerning the allegiance of neighbouring Kedah. Such more northerly places as Ligor and Songkhla continued to acknowledge Siam. Tin production in the Malay Peninsula expanded during the nineteenth century. The rise in world demand for tin during the 1890's, and the accompanying rise in price, provided a boost to Malay production. Around 1900, Malay tin accounted for around half of all world production (Hall 565).

With few exceptions, the production of tin coinages in the region is consistent with the economic outline just described. Very few states made tin coins before the late eighteenth century. Johore's tin coins belong to the Dutch period (Wicks 1983, 310-323), and so do some issued in Trengganu (Pridmore 102-5; Mitchiner 1977, 3893-5; Wicks 1983, 343-7), although Wicks dates the introduction of Trengganu's tin coins to the late eighteenth century, shortly before they were first documented in 1789. A Malacca archive records Dutch permission given to Kedah in 1642 to mint tin coins (Wicks 1983, 386), although Kedah's extant coins date from the nineteenth century. Tin coinage was introduced in a few states during the late eighteenth century, but the great expansion in tin coin production dates from the nineteenth century, and especially from the later part of that century. The minting of local tin coins ended shortly after 1900 (Pridmore 1969-74; Wicks 1983, 324-403).

These brief comments make it possible to develop a perspective on the more exotic tin money of the Malay Peninsula. The title of Shaw and Ali's (1970) study on the *"Tin 'Hat' and animal money"* illustrates the scenario. The items included in this title belong to two separate categories. Tin Hat money, whose local name is Tampang, were true coins. They stand out for their peculiar shape. Tampang were issued by the Bendahara (ruler) of Pahang throughout much of the nineteenth century, and have a Malay inscription citing the date and place of issue, which was effectively the Bendahara's guarantee. One can add that tampang passed from person to person in the market place at an accepted value. Abdullah, who travelled to Pahang in 1836, complained: *"The system of currency in Pahang is, to my mind, inconvenient. Sixteen tampang are equivalent to one dollar. A tampang cannot be divided, for instance into three-quarters, or a half or a quarter. If it is desired to buy anything however trifling a tampang must be paid for it"* (Wicks 1983, 324). Daly, who visited Pahang in 1875, recorded: *"Small silver coins of the Straits Settlements of India were unknown, but the dollar obtained currency. The tin extracted in the country is used as coin, the tin being flattened out in square pieces and stamped with the Bendahara of Pahang's seal; the centre part is raised or bulged, through which a hole is drilled and the pieces of money of the value of one penny or two pence are carried on a string. The change for a dollar is consequently heavy and cumbersome"* (Wicks 1983, 325). The issuing of dated tampang spans the period from ah 1235 (1819) to ah 1295 (1878). The general shape is similar throughout, although the size and weight vary. One can cite the issue of 1864. A representative tampang weighs 80.3 grams and measures 73x72 mm. It has a rectangular raised centre, surrounded by a flat rim. The Malay inscription on the rim reads: *"On the 1st of the month of Rabi al*

Thani this currency of Pahang (was sanctioned), the date, year 1281" (Pridmore 56; Mitchiner 1977, 3934; 1979, 3121; Wicks 1983, 329-30). The 'dollar' cited in the extracts of 1836 and 1875 quoted above had long been the silver reference in the region for valuable transactions. For a long time, its physical expression had been the Spanish piece of 8 reales ('piece of eight'). The Spanish real was the unit of account in the Dutch town of Batavia during the seventeenth century (Mandelslo 1659). During the eighteenth century, the Sultan of Palembang only accepted Spanish pillar dollars (8 reales) for his treasury (Wicks 1983, pp. 280-1). This was the situation across much of maritime south-east Asia. The vicissitudes of nineteenth century politics meant that by 1836 and 1875 no new supplies of Spanish dollars were being made. Old Spanish dollars still in circulation were now being supplemented by Mexican dollars (8 reales) with a similar weight of 27.1 g. The days of the British Trade Dollar (27 gm: from 1895) and the Straits dollar (from 1903), like the USA's Morgan dollar (from 1878), were yet to come. The 'dollar' circulating during the period of these two nineteenth century quotations was a coin of account whose physical form would have been represented largely by old Spanish dollars and new Mexican dollars.

The "Animal Money" belongs to a different category. These tin pieces are not coins. They have no inscriptions, or any other mark, to indicate that a particular authority guaranteed their value. They are money insofar as the pieces could be passed from person to person as an accepted medium for value transactions within their area of circulation. This area was Phuket (Junk Ceylon). The animal money came in various forms, such as crocodiles, frogs and other animal shapes. The local collective name was "gambar" (Wodak and Pridmore 1956; Shaw and Ali 1970). The dating of this tin animal money should be discussed within the parameters of the tin trade and of the various Malay tin coinages. Phuket had granted a tin monopoly to the Dutch in 1643. A wedge was drawn between Malacca to the south, and Phuket to the north, when the British settled Penang in 1786. After this date, Phuket was able to develop a local tin surplus from which these kinds of artefacts could be made. In general terms, the animal money is best dated to the nineteenth century. In the discussion that follows, the tin animal money of Phuket is contrasted with the tin animals found at Palembang, which were not money.

Several aspects to the use of tin in the Malay Peninsula have so far been discussed, but there is one noticeable gap. How did the ruler put some of his newly produced tin into the general market place for use by local merchants and metal workers? In what form was the metal made available to small businesses? Freshly mined tin was purified and cast into large pure tin ingots, which the ruler could use in state-sponsored trade – to the Chinese in the example quoted above, or to the Dutch during the period of their tin monopolies. The ruler placed some of his tin into the market in the form of coins, which he sometimes produced in pure tin, and at other times and places in a tin-lead alloy. If a metal worker wanted some tin to make a talisman, or other artefact, in what form did he purchase the metal in the market place? A number of small metal ingots of fairly consistent form, and found both in the Malay Peninsula and at Palembang, appear to answer this question. These small ingots seem to be the medium through which new local metal entered the domain of market place commerce and was thereafter traded around the market. Four small ingots are catalogued here in a Malay context and several more are catalogued later in a Palembang context.

Malay Peninsula

Conical ingot made of lead

1. Solid cone with a broadly expanded base. 'Flower' crystallisation pattern on the flat base

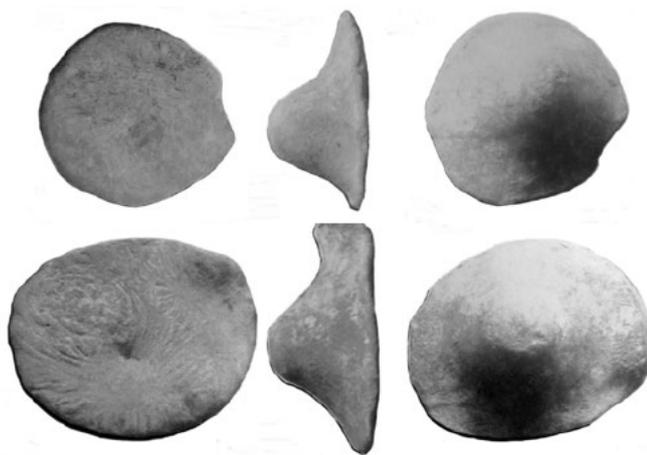
Lead, height 11, base 36x30 mm, 48.2 g, ex Malaya, Mitchiner (1979) 3070

XRF: Pb 100 % Mitchiner and Pollard (1990) 243

The crystallisation, or 'flower', pattern was acquired during cooling in an open mould.

2. Similar

Lead, height 16, base 31x29 mm, 48.0 g, ex Malaya, Mitchiner (1979) 3071. XRF: Pb 100 % Mitchiner and Pollard (1990) 244



Boat-shaped ingot made in tin-lead alloy

3. Rectangular plate of metal bent in half and pinched at its ends to give it a boat shape.

Strung: the packed sand in which this ingot was buried has preserved the string

Lead, length 88, max. width 17, height 10 mm, 41.8 g, ex Malaya, Mitchiner (1979) 3072

XRF: Sn 21, Pb 79 % Mitchiner and Pollard (1990) 245

4. Similar, but the interior is empty

Lead, length 77, max. width 12, height 10 mm, 24.8 g, ex Malaya, Mitchiner (1979) 3072a

XRF: Sn 70, Pb 30 % Mitchiner and Pollard (1990) 246



This kind of ingot is very easy to make. The rectangular plate of metal is bent over and the upper part of each end is pinched. In addition to giving the ingot a boat shape, the process of pinching also leaves a small hole at each end. The string is passed through the hole at each end, and in this way several ingots can be carried on the same string, providing an easy way to carry them around slung over a man's shoulder. Tin-lead ingots of this general form have been reported to the author from U Thong in Thailand, and others from Palembang are catalogued later.

Little evidence is available for suggesting a date for either the conical ingots or the boat shaped ingots. The conical ingots are made of lead and could have been produced at any time from the beginning of mining operations in the fourteenth century until the nineteenth century. The boat ingots are made in tin-lead alloy of variable composition. Their tin content suggests that they were probably not made during the period when the Dutch were pursuing their tin monopoly. They are best dated to the period when surplus tin was available for local market place trade. This means that they are likely to have been made later than the British occupation of Penang in 1786.

X-ray fluorescence results for some other tin and tin alloy pieces from the Malay Peninsula.

The XRF analyses were part of a study looking at the metal compositions of South East Asian coins. Some analyses relevant to the discussion of tin coinage in the Malay Peninsula are noted here. The first number refers to Mitchiner and Pollard's (1990) study. The second number, in brackets, refers to the same coin in Mitchiner's (1979) earlier study.

Made in pure tin

Portuguese Malacca

- 248. (M3146) Sn 100 %, 39.0 g, Bastardo, 1511
- 249. (M3148) Sn 95, Pb 5 %, 12,3 g, Bastardo, 1521-57
- 250. (M3150) Sn 99+, Pb - %, 3.95 g, Two bazarucos, 1557-78
- 251. (M3151) Sn 95, Pb 5 %, Cu tr, 3.95 g, Two bazarucos, 1557-78
- 252. (M2152) Sn 99+ Pb - %, 3.65 g, Two bazarucos, 1557-78
- 253. (M3153) Sn 99+, Pb - %, 3.5 g, Two bazarucos, 1557-78
- 254. (M3154) Sn 100 %, 3.5 g, Two bazarucos, 1557-78

Ligor

- 255. (M3105) Sn 100 %, 24.1 g, "Lu Kun T'ung Pao", circa 1880

Made in tin-lead alloy

Trengganu

- 256. (M3117) Sn 40, Pb 60, Cu tr. %, 8.2 g, Jokoh of Juru Bhasa, circa 1895
- 257. (M3118) Sn 50, Pb 50, Cu tr. %, 7.5 g, Jokoh of Wee Sin Hee, circa 1907
- 258. (M3119) Sn 50, Pb 50, Cu tr. %, 7.3 g, as previous

Brunei

- 259. (M3137) Sn 62, Pb 36, Zn 2 %, 5.3 g, Camel / Sultan al-'Adil Malik al-Zahir, circa 1750/1850

Comparison with Java

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).

The mediaeval Javanese money boxes of Majapahit

The mediaeval Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (1293 – c. 1520) was centred in eastern Java. During its heyday, which was approximately the 1330's to the 1440's, Majapahit's influence extended widely across Sumatra and parts of the Malay Peninsula (Hall 1968, 79-93). Monetary transactions were commonly documented in terms of Chinese cash (Wicks 1992).

A particular feature of Majapahit was the storage of cash in terracotta 'piggy banks'. Wicks (1992, 292) wrote: "*The pervasiveness of Chinese cash is also reflected in the Majapahit terracotta 'piggy bank', which have been recovered from many sites, especially from Trawulan. These 'piggy banks', which are often found with Chinese cash still remaining inside them, appear in many forms. Some are simple, consisting of a spherical hollow and a simple slit at the top. Others are more ornate and take on the appearance of a flowering vase, a boar, a pig, ram, turtle, or even a human figure possibly representing the god of wealth*". They can be dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

This appears to be the only documented example expressing a link between money and animal forms. Just like modern 'piggy banks', the Majapahit 'piggy banks' are simply containers that have no monetary value in themselves. They are a vehicle in which money is stored. The feature relevant to present discussion is that the Majapahit 'piggy banks' illustrate the liking for animal forms in a personal and market-place context.

Magic coins

A characteristic class of coin-like objects was introduced in Java during the Majapahit period. These pieces are the 'magic coins' discussed by Cribb (1999). They illustrate scenes from traditional Javanese culture, including the traditions of the Javanese puppet theatre. They have remained popular in Java and Bali to the present day. There has been some modern spread to the Malay Peninsula, but Cribb did not cite any with a Sumatran provenance. The present author is not aware of any examples among the Palembang finds. As Cribb points out, they were not currency items. They are coin-like amulets that were used to drive out evil spirits and to bring blessings.

The tin and lead ingots, animals and talismans found at Palembang

The Palembang Sultanate acquired its own tin resource when tin ore deposits were discovered on Bangka island in 1710. Exploitation commenced shortly afterwards. The eighteenth century was the heyday of Palembang's prosperity. In addition to the local coins of Palembang, many cash-type coins issued by the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island also circulated at Palembang city, as did the kinds of artefacts now being discussed.

The sultan and his tin

In 1710 to 1711, tin ore deposits were discovered on Bangka Island in the Sultanate of Palembang and the sultan was informed (Millies 1871, 117; Wicks 1983, 287-8). Mining and refining were organised soon afterwards. Millies (1871, 117-119) described how the operation was organised. 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. This phase ended 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).

The sultan owned the tin. It is apparent from the documentary evidence discussed here that the Sultan of Malacca owned the tin produced in the Malacca Sultanate, just as the Sultan of Palembang owned the tin produced in the Palembang Sultanate. Part of the newly mined tin was traded to produce income. The tin exported outside the sultanate was in the form of large ingots. The only surviving description of such ingots is contained in Ma Huan's (ad 1430) account of the 'flower tin' ingots weighing close to 2 pounds, which the Sultan of Malacca sold to Chinese traders (see above). The Sultan of Palembang would also have traded some of his tin in the form of analogous ingots. His principal customer is likely to have been the Dutch, although the author has not seen any reference to the Dutch imposing a tin monopoly at Palembang.

Another use for the Sultan's tin was providing the low denomination coinage of the Palembang Sultanate in the form of small pitjis (cash) made in tin alloy. The period during which Palembang enjoyed an economic surplus in locally produced tin was marked by a major expansion in the minting of new coins. Both the volume and also the range of designs showed a major increase. Tin pitjis, or rather strings of tin pitjis, were the reference value for market-place commercial transactions. Mandelslo (1659, pp. 346-348), writing with reference to reports by Dutch travellers in the early seventeenth century, reported: on 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 cash of Chinese type, generally bearing Chinese reign titles formerly used during the Northern Song dynasty, came to an end in Sumatra around the 1640's (Mitchiner 2012). Thereafter, Palembang issued

small-size tin alloy pitjis bearing local designs until the Dutch suppressed the sultanate in 1825 and took Palembang under direct administration. During the later part of this period, Palembang enjoyed a local tin surplus from the time when the Bangka Island tin deposits were discovered in 1710.

In addition to producing the local coinage, the sultan permitted the Chinese mining communities of Bangka Island to use some of the tin they were producing to mint their own coins (tokens). These pieces are significantly larger than the Palembang pitjis and have a square central hole. They measure 26 to 28 mm., and weigh in the range 3.0 to 4.7 g. These are biface coins with Chinese characters (2 to 4) and small ornaments on both obverse and reverse. Millies (1871, pp. 117-128; pl. XX-XXI, nos. 212-229) published some, and many new types have been included among recent finds from Palembang.

A further role exercised by the sultan in relation to his newly mined tin was to deliver some of the tin into the market place economy of his sultanate.

Delivery of tin into the market place economy and the trading of base metals in the market place

The account suggested here appears to be the best interpretation based on the material evidence that has been preserved.

The Sultan sold trade tin in the form of the large ingots already discussed. He delivered (sold) tin into the market place economy in the form of much smaller ingots, which would have been convenient to the market place. The sultan and his household needed to make purchases in the market, such as food and clothing. Trading tin ingots would have been one method of paying for those purchases and, at the same time, delivering tin into the market place economy.

Tin circulated among traders in the market place in the form of small ingots weighing in the range 5 to 40 g. Several examples found at Palembang are catalogued below. They show a limited range of forms. Some are simple bars with a rectangular or circular cross-section, and with twisted-off ends. They would have been carried around in bags.

Other ingots have the form of a rectangular plate, which was bent over in such a way that a string could be passed along its length. A man could carry a string of these ingots across his shoulder.

When considering the market-place circulation of these ingots, the differences in form could have been significant.

On occasions when the sultan delivered tin into the market place, presumably by selling tin ingots to local merchants, he probably sold the metal in the form of pure tin. When local merchants recycled old tin around the market place, the metal may have been pure tin, or it may have been alloyed with lead. The form of the ingot could have been a marker for the purity of its tin. Simple inspection suggests that the ingots with twisted off ends are made in pure tin, whereas the ingots that could be suspended as strings were sometimes made in tin-lead alloy. The only relevant analyses are the XRF examinations performed on the two Malayan 'boat-shaped' suspendable ingots catalogued above. They are made in tin-lead alloy of variable composition – a 20:80 and a 70:30 alloy of tin:lead.

Lead was also traded around the market place. The lead ingots have their own simple and distinctive form. Palembang's lead ingots had the form of a mollusc shell. Manufacture was simple. Shells of bivalve molluscs were lined up and lead was poured into them. The resulting ingot had the shape of the interior of the mollusc shell. The size of the mollusc shells used varied widely, so the weight of the lead ingots was correspondingly varied. The range in weight is from 8 to 40 g. The Palembang shell ingots appear to be made of pure lead. The only relevant analyses have been performed on two simple conical ingots from Malaya, catalogued above. Each weighs close to 40 g and each is made of pure lead.

The various kinds of ingots just discussed served as vehicles for trading metals in Palembang's market place. They were not monetary items. Palembang had a well-established reference for

value transactions. This was the string of cash (pitjis). By the time these kinds of ingots were circulating (circa 1710 to 1825), the alternative reference valuation for higher value transactions at Palembang was the Spanish silver dollar (8 reales: Wicks 1983, 281-282), a reference value that the Dutch had been using at Batavia since the early seventeenth century (Mandelslo 1659, 361). In different cultures where there was no other accepted reference value for commercial transactions, pieces of ingot form and variable weight were used as monetary references. Examples are the Katanga crosses of East Africa and the Tok money of Northern Thailand. The situation at Palembang was very different. Palembang had the well-established monetary references for commercial transactions just discussed, and metal ingots played no part in the local monetary system.

In fact, Palembang provides a unique example for discussing which artefacts were monetary, and which artefacts were solely commercial, because the local finds have provided an unparalleled range of items recovered from a single city during a reasonably well-defined period in its economic history. The local economic situation makes it reasonably certain that the ingots discussed here were the medium for trading tin, lead, and their alloys in the market place, and that no specific monetary interpretation should be given to them.

Was this how Palembang's metal market operated? The accumulation of more evidence, both material and documentary, would help to confirm, or modify, the simple trading pattern presented here.

Market place tin items made by metal workers

The metal workers of Palembang made a wide variety of products, whose range is not relevant to present discussion. Two classes of product are discussed here. The first class is tin animals, because such pieces are sometimes considered to be a form of money. The second class is talismans, because Porter (2011) has recently published a catalogue of Islamic seals and talismans whose geographical range did not extend east of India, so the examples discussed here extend the geographical range further east.

The metal worker made items for which he had a market, in other words, items that people were willing to purchase. Some people wanted to buy tin animals and other people wanted to buy talismans. These were simple business transactions.

The tin animals embrace a wide range. They include pigs, monkeys, cockerels, ducks, crabs and fish. Most are biface, with similar decoration on each side. A few are uniface. Their size is variable, with a weight range from 3 to 17 g. Palembang had its own established monetary system and these animals had no place as money items in that monetary system. The role played by the tin animals in local society appears to have been far more mundane and straightforward. It is suggested below that they were childrens' toys, the eastern equivalent to the tin 'farmyard animals' played with by children in the west. Children play, and in doing this they learn about their own culture and environment. Just because Palembang's tin animals were played with in south-east Asia, there is no reason for suggesting any exotic explanation for their role in society. The toys made the children happy and the talismans made their parents feel more secure.

Amulets and talismans have been popular across the Islamic world for many centuries and analogous pieces have been used in other cultures. Recent finds at Palembang have brought to light several talismans of Islamic form. Porter's (2011, pp. 166-177) recent study of seals and amulets from the Islamic world includes a number of talismans, although the pieces studied did not come from as far to the east as Sumatra.

One popular design is the 'Magic Square' and another is the 'Five Pointed Star' (Porter 2011, pp. 166 ff.). Both these designs occur on the Palembang talismans.

The Magic Square is subdivided into a number of smaller squares. A popular arrangement is nine smaller squares, arranged in three rows of three squares. A number is placed in each square. In its most popular form, as the 'Buduh' square, the number 5 is at the centre. The other numbers, from 1 to 9, are distributed in the surrounding squares. The numbers are arranged in such a manner

that the sum of the three numbers, when read horizontally, or vertically, or diagonally, always adds up to '15'. There are numerous permutations on the basic design, some of which involve substituting letters, calculated according to the Abjad system, for the numbers.

Two of the Palembang talismans catalogued here are tin alloy pieces with rings above for suspending them from a string around the neck. Each has a standard Buduh square on the obverse and a five-pointed star on the reverse. The Buduh square has number 5 at the centre, and the sums for horizontal, vertical and diagonal rows all add up to 15 in the normal manner. In the margins outside the magic square are the numbers 2, 4, 6 and 8. When converted into letters according to the Abjad system, the numbers "2, 4, 6, 8" give the letters "be, dal, waw, ha". In other words, the peripheral numbers name the design as being a Buduh square. Having noted the general features, there are significant minor differences between each of these Palembang talismans. Porter noted that the name Buduh is often given magical properties. This may have been the reason for naming the Buduh square on the Palembang pieces. Some magic squares are made up solely of the letters "b, d, w, h" (Porter 2011, no. A126).

Magic Squares have also been used in other cultures. In a Hindu context, the 9-number Magic Square with the sum of all rows adding up to 15, is a reasonably common design on Indian temple tokens (Mitchiner 1998, 369-70, 400; 2012, 92-3, 102). A slightly different Magic Square with eight numbers adding up to 20 also occurs on temple tokens (Mitchiner 1998, 397, 410-13; 2012, 101, 111-2).

The third Palembang talisman catalogued here is a heavier rectangular piece weighing 87 g, which would have been kept in the home. On this piece, there are four subdivisions to the magic square. Two contain numbers and two contain uninterpreted symbols. When the talisman is held one way up, the two numbers read 57 and 78. When it is inverted and held the other way up, the two numbers read 78 and 85. This is one aspect of its magic properties, that the numbers have been selected so that they are legible either way up. On a number of amulets catalogued by Porter, the number represents the numerical value for one of the "ninety nine" names of God, calculated according to the Abjad system. Porter (p. 134) and Codrington (1904, 40-42) have each given slightly different lists for the "ninety nine" names of God, but as each author makes clear, God has many more names and the number "ninety nine" is symbolic. The numbers on the Palembang talisman represent some of the names of God. The numerical value of (al-) Majid (the Most Glorious) is 57 (m, j, y, d). The numerical value of (al-) Hakim (the Wise) is 78 (h, k, y, m). The numerical value of Allah Wahid (Allah, the Only One) is 85 (a, l, l, h, w, a, h, d). Not only are the numbers fully legible when read either way up, but they also represent names of God when read either way up. Thus, al-Majid plus al-Hakim can be read one way up, and after inverting the talisman, al-Hakim plus Allah Wahid can be read the other way up.

Tin and lead ingots

The ingots discussed in this section should not be viewed as currency items. They are best viewed as the medium through which the Sultan of Palembang placed some of his newly mined tin into the market-place commerce of his domain, and the forms in which traders later circulated the tin and tin alloy, as well as lead, around the market place.

The ingots show no consistency in their weights, which lie within the broad range from 5 to 40 g. The market-place metal worker was able to purchase the required amount of metal by putting together ingots of various sizes to make up the total weight he needed.

Ingots with no means of attachment would probably have been carried in bags. Other kinds of ingot could be strung and carried around as a string of ingots suspended over a man's shoulder. It has been suggested above that the form of the ingot may have been a marker for the purity of its tin. The ingots with twisted-off ends appear to be made of pure tin, whereas the ingots that could be strung are made of tin-lead alloy.

Simple ingots; not suspended

5. Rectangular cross section, with the ends pulled out and twisted off
Tin, 62 mm, cross section 5 mm, 5.12 g, ex Palembang
6. Circular cross section, with the ends pulled out and twisted off
Tin, 81 mm, cross section 7 mm, 14.54 g, ex Palembang
7. Rectangular cross section, with the ends pulled out and twisted off
Tin, 97 mm, cross section 8x8 mm, 23.37 g, ex Palembang



'Boat-shaped' ingots that could be strung

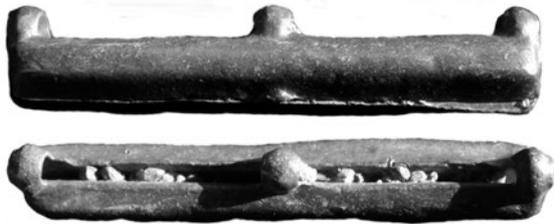
No rings

8. Rectangular plate, bent over, leaving a channel for threading string. Some grit in channel (from burial)
Decorated with a 6-rayed star, plus triangles in corners.
Tin-lead alloy, 66x13 mm, 32.98 g, ex Palembang

With rings

9. Rectangular plate, with central rectangle cut out, then bent over to leave 2 rings at top and main joint at bottom
Tin-lead alloy, 40 mm, body 10 mm high, maximum height 15 mm, 19.35 g, ex Palembang
10. Rectangular plate, with two rectangles cut out, then bent over to leave 3 rings at top and main joint at bottom. Some grit inside (from burial).
Tin-lead alloy, 73 mm, body 11x9 mm, maximum height 15 mm, 36.52 g, ex Palembang





'Shell' ingots made of lead

These pieces were cast by simply pouring molten lead into an actual mollusc shell. They have a variable size, depending on the size of the mollusc shell. The weight of the resulting lead ingots varies within the range represented by the two ingots catalogued here, roughly 8-40 g.

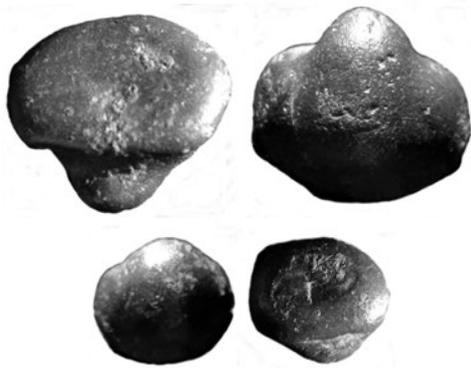
Just as the ingots catalogued above appear to have been the medium by means of which tin was traded in the market-place economy, so these shell ingots appear to have been the medium for circulating lead in the market-place economy.

11. Mollusc shell interior

Lead, base 30x20 mm, height 25 mm, 38.20 g, ex Palembang

12. Similar, but much smaller

Lead, base 18x13 mm, height 9 mm, 8.25 g, ex Palembang



Animal pieces made in tin alloy, circa 1710 to 1825

The tin-alloy animals discussed here were products made by metal workers in the Palembang market place. There is no reason for suggesting that the sultan had anything to do with their manufacture. The sultan possessed the tin mined in his territory and he delivered some of this tin into the market-place economy, partly in the form of the ingots already discussed. The metal worker in the market place was at liberty to make whatever kinds of artefacts he would be able to sell. This seems to be the context in which one should look at Palembang's tin animals.

There is no reason to believe that the Palembang animals had anything to do with money, or with exchange transactions. Palembang already possessed a well-developed low-denomination coinage system mediated by small tin alloy pitjis (cash). There is no evidence that this coinage system was supplemented by the kinds of artefacts now being discussed. Wicks (1983; 1992) made a detailed study of South East Asian coinage, as well as contemporary documents relating to exchange transactions and the commodities used as reference values in such transactions. He found no evidence relevant to these animal pieces.

Palembang's animals were simple metal-workers' products sold in the market place. What was their role in society? The most likely answer is that they were childrens' toys. Many people who grew up before the age of plastic will remember their 'tin soldiers' and the tin 'farmyard animals' they played with. Children played with these toys and, in so doing, they learned about the society in which they were growing up. Palembang's 'Noah's ark' of animals seems no more mysterious than a group of childrens' toys – a different range of animals from a western farmyard, but appropriate within the concepts of a different society.

These tin-alloy animals can be dated, like the tin ingots and the tin talismans, to the period when Palembang enjoyed a surplus of tin. This followed the opening up of the Bangka Island tin mines discovered in 1710.

A representative selection of Palembang's tin animals is catalogued here. Several further types of animal pieces have been found at Palembang, including monkey.

Cockerel

13. Cockerel, with ring below. Similar decoration on obverse and reverse.

Tin alloy, 44x39 mm, 5.68 g, ex Palembang

"Cockerel rings"

Complete cockerel pieces are thought to have had more than one ring below. Several pieces comprising a pair of rings have been found at Palembang. One ring is normally slightly larger than the other ring.

14. Pair of rings

Tin alloy, 35x17 mm, 3.07 g, ex Palembang

15. Similar

Tin alloy, 30x15 mm, 2.30 g, ex Palembang

Two further paired "cockerel rings" from Palembang are: 30x15 mm, 2.11 gm, and 28x14 mm, 2.41 gm.



Pig

16. Pig (three legs missing). Similar decoration on obverse and reverse.

Tin alloy, 55x31 mm, 16.88 g, ex Palembang



Duck

17. Duck. Similar appearance on obverse and reverse

Tin alloy, 22x19 mm, 3.51 g, ex Palembang



Crab

18. Crab. Uniface

Tin alloy, 30x21 mm, 4.64 g, ex Palembang



Fish

19. Fish, with one dorsal and two ventral fins. Similar decoration on obverse and reverse

Tin alloy, 39x20 mm, 6.93 g, ex Palembang

20. Similar, but much smaller (biface)

Tin alloy, 34x12 mm, 2.93 g, ex Palembang



Talismans made in tin alloy, circa 1710 to 1825

Talismans are popularly considered to ward off evil and to bring blessings. The talismans found at Palembang express purely Islamic concepts and they appear to represent the most easterly radiation of pure Islamic forms in this part of the world. Across the Sunda Straits, in Java, the Magic Coins of Eastern Java and Bali, noted above, have a different conceptual background in local Javanese culture, although minor Islamic features are sometimes incorporated into the designs.

The various elements encountered on the Palembang talismans are well known from more westerly regions of the Islamic world, and these have been discussed above in the context of Porter's recent study. The Magic Square containing three rows of three numbers each, whose sum adds up to 15 in each direction, has been discussed in relation to the Islamic concept of the Buduh Magic Square.

In the case of the Palembang talismans, the cultural context of the 9-number Magic Square is specified by numbers written outside the square. It is the Buduh Magic Square of Islamic tradition. The numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, when converted into letters according to the Abjad system, give the letters in the name Buduh (b, d, w, h). The Buduh Magic Square occurs on the first two Palembang talismans catalogued here. Each would have been worn as a neck pendant. The third Palembang talisman is a much larger and heavier piece that would have been kept at home. Its numbers represent some of the names of God, a popular Islamic concept discussed above.

All these Palembang talismans are best dated to the period when Palembang enjoyed a tin surplus, circa 1710 to 1825.

Talismans worn on the person, illustrating the Buduh Magic Square

21. Magic square with number 5 at centre

6 1 8
7 5 3
2 9 4

Outside: 2 4 6 8

reading Buduh (2=ba, 4=dal, 6=waw, 8=ha)

rev. 5-pointed star; with ornaments around

Tin alloy, suspensory ring lost, 28 mm, 6.14 g, ex Palembang

The sum of the buduh square numbers is 15 when read horizontally, vertically and diagonally.

Inside square: number 7 inverted and 6 reversed.

Outside square: numbers 4 and 6 reversed.

See: Porter (2011) pp. 166-177



22. Magic square with number 5 at centre

4 3 8
9 5 1
2 7 6

Outside: 2 4 / 6 8 / 2 4 / 6 8

reading: Buduh / Buduh

rev. 5-pointed star, with ornaments around

Tin alloy, suspensory ring above, 38x34 mm, 8.68 g, ex Palembang

Outside square: one number 2 reversed and one number 6 reversed.

22. Magic square with number 5 at centre

4 3 8
9 5 1
2 7 6

Outside: 2 4 / 6 8 / 2 4 / 6 8

reading: Buduh / Buduh

rev. 5-pointed star, with ornaments around

Tin alloy, suspensory ring above, 38x34 mm, 8.68 g, ex Palembang

Outside square: one number 2 reversed and one number 6 reversed.



Talisman kept at home, illustrating a Magic Square citing names of God

23. Magic Square, subdivided into four subsections by a cross; with both rectangular and diamond frames outside

57 symbol
symbol 78

rev. Headdress of Indonesian form





The design inverts to: -

78 symbol

symbol 85

rev: empty flower vase

Tin, rectangular, 70x50 mm, 86.9 g, ex Palembang

The numbers stand for some of the 'ninety-nine' Names of God, calculated according to the Abjad system.

57. Majid (The Most Glorious): mim=40, jim=3, ye=10, dal=4

78. Hakim (The Wise): ha=8, kaf=20, ye=10, mim=40

85. Allah Wahid (Allah, the Only One): alif=1, lam=30, lam=30, he=5, waw=6, alif=1, ha=8, dal=4

See: Porter (2011) pp. 134 and 166ff.



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SOME SILVER COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, ISMA'IL II

In their article on four Iranian copper coins, starting on page 15 of this issue, Alexander Akopyan and Farbod Mosanef mention the fact that Isma'il II replaced the Kalima on his silver coins with a couplet. We present here a few examples of this coinage. Because of his short reign, the coins of this ruler are scarce. They are also often poorly struck, with areas of flatness, as was common with Safavid coins of this period. Most of the coins are two shahi pieces weighing around 4.6-4.7 g, but single shahis are also known.

These couplet coins are known from several mints, including Fuman, Ganja, Hamadan, Iravan, Isfahan, Kashan, Kuchesfan, Qazvin, Rasht, Shimakhi, Shiraz, Tabriz, Yazd. Where the date is visible, it is usually AH 984, but some coins of 985 are also known.

The obverse of this type has the ruler's name and titles:

السلطان العادل أبو المظفر شاه اسمعيل بن طهماسب شاه
الصفوي خالد الله ملكه

al-sulṭān al-'ādīl abū'l muẓaffar shāh isma'īl bin ṭahmāsp shāh al-safavī khallada allāh mulkahu

and also the mintname and date, when visible.



Two shahi of Iravan with date, 984, partially visible on the obverse lower left



Two shahi of Kashan dated 984



Two shahi of Qazvin dated 984



Two shahi of Tabriz, date not visible



Shahi of Rasht, with the 4 of the date 984 visible bottom left on the obverse. This coin weighs 2.4 g and has a relatively large flat area

Not all issues of Isma'il II are of this type, however. Coins at some mints were struck with the Shia' Kalima and not the poetic couplet. One type, consisting of one shahi pieces, was struck at the mints of Mashhad and Qandahar. The obverse legend has not yet been fully read. The mintname is in the bottom line of the obverse with *abū'l muẓaffar isma'il* on the line above.



Shahi of Qandahar, 2.4 g, no date visible

Another type, on a different weight standard of around 1.8-1.9 g, possibly a half tanka, was struck in Mazandaran province at the mint of Barfurushdih. This type has the ruler's name in a central cartouche on the obverse, with the rest of his titles around; and on the reverse is the mintname in a central cartouche, with the Shia' Kalima around.



Half tanka(?) of Barfurushdih, no date visible

Auction News

David Fore Collection

This year, starting in May, AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd, London, will be auctioning the David Fore collection of coins of British India and princely states. This is world-class collection where quality has been an important factor in determining what it contains. Highlights include the following:

Princely States

Over 250 gold coins and more than 2000 silver and copper coins, including four double rupees of Mysore in top condition.

East India Company

Over 60 gold coins; around 150 proofs and patterns including items from the Pridmore and Wheeler collections.

British India

Virtually every date, offered in the highest grade possible, including more than 100 coins from the Pridmore collection, a brilliant uncirculated 1939 rupee, a William IV 1840 rupee, all the dates of the gold mohur series, many in mint state.



Bengal Presidency pattern of 1794, Pridmore 372
The legend on the reverse reads: sikka kampani 'isavi 1793



Bengal Presidency pattern 1809, half pice, Pridmore 395
Legend in Persian, Bengali and Hindi: nīm pāi sikka, ād pāi sikka,
adha pāi sikka



Pattern 1839 Rupee – the only one in private hands, two others being in the Calcutta mint. In his book, Pridmore states that “the long delay at Calcutta in the production of dies bearing the effigy of Queen Victoria seems again to have influenced the Bombay mint authorities in an attempt to break their dependence upon that source. In February 1839 a pattern for a rupee bearing Queen Victoria’s effigy was completed by a native engraver.” Specimens of the pattern were submitted to the Supreme Government in Calcutta but were rejected. Ex-Brand, Nobleman and Sir John Wheeler collections.

Baldwins have produced a 20-page booklet about the collection, which will be sold in three parts in London on 7 May, 31 May and 26 September of this year. For more information please contact Graham Byfield (graham@baldwin.co.uk) or Seth Freeman (seth@baldwin.co.uk).

Nicholas Rhodes Collection

Also later this year, coins from the collection of our late Secretary-General, Nicholas Rhodes will be auctioned by Spink. There will be two sales: the first, in Hong Kong on 21 August, will be of Tibetan coins, and the second, in London on 24 September, will be the first part of his north-east India collection – Assam, Cooch Behar, Jaintiapur, Kachar, Manipur and Tripura. These are both collections which Nicholas built up over many years and contain many rarities, as well as all the normal issues. Some of the north-east Indian coins are illustrated below. For more information please contact Barbara Mears at bmears@spink.com



Tripura: tanka of Ratna Manikya (AD 1464-89)

This is probably the first coinage of the state. Ratna Manikya had spent some time at the court of the Sultan of Bengal, Rukn al-Din Barbak, and may well have come across the earlier coins of Danuja Marddana Deva and Mahendra Deva with their Bengali legends. The weight standard is the same as that of the Bengal sultanate tankas. The legends read:

Obv. Sri Na/rayana Chara/na para
Rev. Sri Sri Ra/tma Mani/kya Devah;



Tripura: tanka of Ratna Manikya, dated Sk 1386.

The design of the reverse of this coin seems to have been influenced by the tughra-style tankas issued by some of the Bengal sultans of this period. The legend includes reference to the *Chaturdasa Devata*, the fourteen local deities worshipped in Tripura and so it is reasonably to assume that the fourteen lines represent these deities, and the curved line a garland. The legends read:

Obv. Sri Sri Yuta/ Ratna Mani/kya Deva
Rev. Sri Chaturdasa De/va Charana para/ Saka 1386



Tripura: tanka of Ratna Manikya, dated Sk 1386, mint of Ratnapura

The purely inscriptional tankas were soon replaced by a long series of issues with the well-known lion motif on the obverse, either to the left or to the right. This, too, must have been based on similar tankas issued by the Bengal Sultans, Jalal al-Din Muhammad and Nasir al-Din Mahmud. Ratnapura is now known as Udaipur.



Tripura: tanka of Mukunda Manikya, dated Sk 1652

Mukunda Manikya (c. AD 1728-39) was the brother of the previous ruler, Dharma Manikya. Only two of his coins are so far known. They cite his queen, Prabhavati. The legend reads:

Radha Krishna Pa/de Sri Sri Yuta Mu/kanda Manikya De/va Sri Prabhavati/ Maha Devyau



Kachar: tanka of Megha Narayana, dated Sk 1488

All coins of Kachar are very rare. Megha Narayana reigned from 1566 to 1583. This particular coin will be in the second of the north-east India auctions but similar tankas will feature in this year's auction. The legends read:

Obv.: *Hara Gaurī/ Charana Parāyana Hācheng/sā Vamśaja*
 Rev.: *Śri Śri Me/gah Nārāyana/ Bhu pālasya / Śake 1488*



Cooch Behar / Mughal: half rupee of Aurangzeb, year 4

In 1661, during the reign of Prana Narayana, Cooch Behar was invaded by the Mughals under Mir Jumla. The latter used Cooch Behar as a base for what would prove to be a disastrous expedition to Assam. During the two years of the occupation, the name of the town of Cooch Behar was changed to Alamgirnagar and coins were struck in the name of Aurangzeb. This coin has the regnal

year 4 of Aurangzeb in the bottom line of the reverse. These half rupees are very rare. It should be noted that, two or three decades ago, rupee-size coins of similar type appeared on the market. These were modern fakes. The legends of the present coin read:

Obv.: *Aora/ngajeva Vā/dasaha Ala/mgira*
 Rev.: *Jarava/ Alamgi/mnagara/ Sana 4*



Cooch Behar: quarter rupee of Dharendra or Harendra Narayan

There are only three quarter tankas/rupees in the Rhodes Cooch Behar collection and this one is not in RB, published in 1999. Because of the way the legends were engraved on the dies, it is never possible to distinguish between the issues of Dharendra and Harendra Narayan.

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