



ONS NEWS

ONS Study Day, Oxford, 2 March 2013

A study day was hosted at the Ashmolean Museum by Dr Shailendra Bhandare. Members in attendance enjoyed six talks, the morning on the ancient coinages of south and central India and the afternoon on more modern Indian topics.

The first talk, by Robert Bracey, continued a series of talks about the Kushan Coins Project, which Joe Cribb had spoken about at the previous meeting. Robert's talk focused on a single issue of coinage, the fifth phase of production at one particular gold mint. The talk explored this group of coins, which is interesting because it contains many of the most famous images of gods on Kushan coins, and asked whether broader historical questions could be explored by looking so closely at such a narrow part of the coinage.



Wannaporn Rienjang introduces finds from the Buddhist site of Bamiyan

The second talk was by Wannaporn Rienjang on the posthumous issues of Azes found in Buddhist stupas. After the death of Azes many issues were made in his name. One of these groups can be located very precisely, based on which stupas in Eastern Afghanistan they were found in. Wannaporn explored the dating of these coins, their distribution, and how they related to the general Buddhist practice of including coins as part of a religious deposit.

Before lunch there was one more talk, by Aleksandr Naymark of Hofstra University, who spoke about the pre-Islamic coinage of Sogdia, particularly the archer-design coins of Nakhshab. He began by outlining the early coins imitating the designs of the Seleucids and moved on to the renaissance of designs in the first

and second century AD, including a demonstration that the figure seen as a spear man is in fact a half-bird guardian spirit, such as Srosh. He then explored how Sogdian coinage reverted to a series of imitations based on Sogdian rather than Seleucid types.



General Secretary Joe Cribb (left) congratulates Michael Mitchiner on his latest publication

After lunch the talks moved to more recent history of India. Michael Mitchiner spoke on imitations of Murshidabad-style rupees, produced as jewellery in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The talk was based on work which appears in Michael's latest publication, *Indian Medals, Tokens, Pictorial Plaques and Pendants*. The next talk by Jan Lingen was on "Tranquebar: a former Danish enclave under the tropical sun". He illustrated the coinage from the early lead *kas* of the seventeenth century to the last coins issued in the mid-nineteenth century.



Paul Stevens ponders some of the implications of new technology

The final talk was by Paul Stevens on the analysis of the metal content of Indian coins using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF). Using the data which he had obtained from a portable machine, he demonstrated various results taken from coins in his own collection. The publication of Paul's latest book, *The Uniform coinage of India 1835-1947*, was also announced.

The talks were followed by a lively discussion session. Members who were unable to attend will get an opportunity to listen to the talks through the ONS partnership with the Money and Medals network. All of the talks will be broadcast on the Money and Medals network website <http://www.moneyandmedals.org.uk/> from April until July.

New Members European Region

	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]

Membership numbers were not available for the new European members at the time of going to press.

General Region

2011	[REDACTED]
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Pakistan chapter

2012	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

Revised Addresses

472	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

Lists Received

1. Tim Wilkes ([REDACTED] www.wilkescoins.com; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 19 of oriental coins.
2. Early World Coins ([REDACTED] orders@earlyworldcoins.com; <http://earlyworldcoins.com>), list 54 of European and oriental coins.

New and Recent Publications

The Société de Numismatique Asiatique has published the 5th issue of its journal *Numismatique Asiatique*. The main contents of this issue are devoted to the coinage of Vietnam and French Indo-China:

Craig Greenbaum: "The Nguyễn Hoà era coins of Vietnam (AD 1533-1548)"

Daniel Cariou: "Monnaies privées d'Indochine française"

François Joyaux: "Essais de monnaies avec caractères chinois gravés par les frères Barre"

The Société now has a website:

<https://sites.google.com/site/societedenumismatiqueasiatique/>

Your Secretary-General, Joe Cribb, and your Editor have both agreed to be members of the Société's "Comité de Patronage" along with various other prominent numismatists.

Other News

Third Rasmir Conference Ukraine

The Third Rasmir Oriental Numismatics Conference will be held in Odessa, Ukraine at the I.I. Mechnikov Odessa National University from 1 - 3 August, 2013. Experts in oriental numismatics, sphragistics (sigillography), history, archeology and complementary sciences, collectors and interested enthusiasts are invited to participate. It is planned to discuss the following topics:

- The numismatics of Islamic dynasties;
- The numismatics of pre-Islamic Central Asia, Far East and India;
- The numismatics of the Northern Greater Black Sea area and the Crimea;
- The numismatics of the Black Sea Basin countries;
- The history and archaeology of Eastern Europe in the context of numismatic material.

It is expected that plenary reports and posters will be published as the conference material while the abstracts will be translated into English for possible subsequent publication in the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society. To participate in the conference, and for details of the specifications and time-table for conference papers please contact the organisers by e-mail: rasmir.odessa@gmail.com. There will be a registration fee of US\$ 50. The conference languages will be Russian and English. If necessary, a translation into English will be provided (to be additionally agreed with the Organising Committee).

The Organising Committee will assist all participants with arranging accommodation, as requested. It is possible to arrange accommodation for a longer period for any participants wishing to have a holiday, including those with families. As far as visas are concerned, citizens of many countries do not need a visa for short visits to Ukraine (less than 90 days). The complete list of the countries and current regulations may be consulted at the official site of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (<http://mfa.gov.ua/en/consular-affairs/entering-ukraine/visa-requirements-for-foreigners>)

Articles

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR DATING THE INDEPENDENCE OF COMMAGENE TO 150 BC?

By Jens Jakobsson

Ptolemy's secession from the Seleucids

Commagene was one of several small secessionist states that emerged from the collapsing Seleucid Empire sometime in the mid-2nd century BC. The only account is Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* XXXI, fragment 19a in Loeb Classical Edition):

"Ptolemaeus, the governor of Commagenê, who even before had shown little respect for the Syrian kings, now asserted his independence, and because they were busy with their own affairs, established himself without interference in control of the country."

Apparently Ptolemy of Commagene had taken advantage of one of the ubiquitous outbreaks of civil wars that followed after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 164 BC. But which outbreak? Facella (2013, pp.2-3) writes:

"...in the *Excerpta* of Constantinus this episode is narrated before the rebellion of the satrap Timarchus against Demetrius (dating back to 162/1 B.C.), so that there is a general agreement to place the conquest of the political independence by Commagene in 163/162 B.C."

However, Book XXXI has survived only in fragments, which we cannot trust were in perfect order, and so a later date should not be excluded. The next crisis emerged in the late 150s BC, with the civil war between Demetrius I and Alexander Balas. Balas eventually defeated and killed Demetrius in 150 BC, but this conflict is, by and large, missing in book XXXI. Only a reference to Balas' initial activities remains (see below). In this article, I will associate this reference with the first Commagenean coins, to suggest the alternative date of 150 BC for the independence of Commagene.

Early Commagenean Coins

Ptolemy issued no coins in his own name. The first Commagenean coins were, instead, anonymous imitations; these were catalogued by Hoover (1998). Hoover divides the anonymous Commagenean coins into four groups, Group I consisting of imitations of Antiochene drachms of Demetrius I, with control marks that initially resemble those on the original. The first coins were dated in the Seleucid Era, year 160 and 161, thus 153/2 and 152/1 BC. With similar weights, they could have been accepted alongside genuine Seleucid coins. Soon, however, the weights were reduced and the style deteriorated. Hoover records the dates SE 164 and 165 (149/8 and 148/7 BC), at which time Demetrius was already dead, but many later specimens were undated. Groups II-IV were even further reduced and barbarised (and often debased), and are not relevant here.¹

Hoover suggests that the Group I coins were issued by Ptolemy about a decade after he had declared himself independent from Demetrius I. But against this:

a) As I have earlier pointed out (Jakobsson, 2010), the Seleucids did not look kindly on officials who attempted to secede, and did not hesitate to wage full-scale wars against them. The rebelling officials, Molon and Achaeus the Younger, in the late 3rd century, and more recently Timarchus (see above), all issued their

¹ Hoover tentatively associates group II with king Mithradates I Callinicus, who ruled perhaps from c.100 BC, as the legends, though verging on the illegible, may have retained aspects of commemorations.

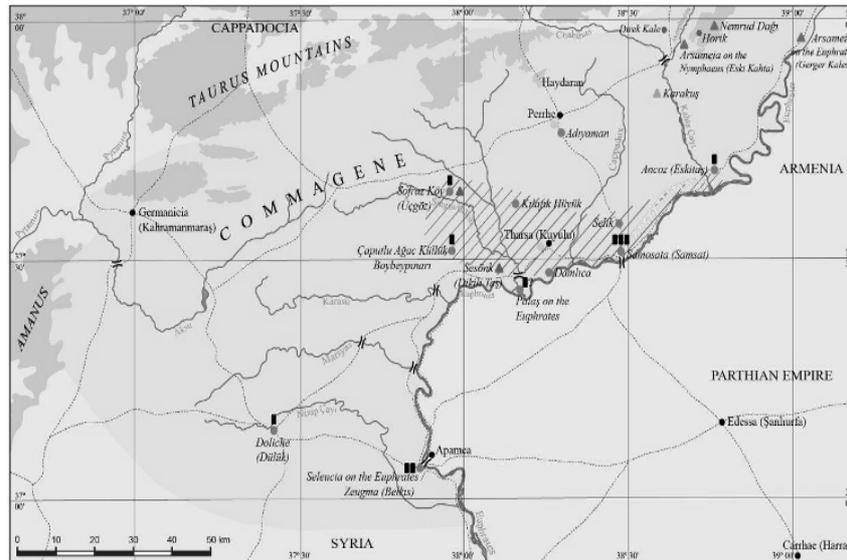


Fig.1 Map of Commagene in Hellenistic times. (Courtesy of Brijder [fig. 15.], with kind help from Rudy Dillen)

own (royal) coins to assert their claims, before they perished to Seleucid invasions. With this in mind, it may be awkward to assume that Ptolemy would have issued coins that, instead, emphasised the legitimacy of Demetrius.

b) The first Demetrius imitations consisted of proper silver drachms, but the weights were soon reduced. Royal Commagenean coins were invariably

bronzes.² This suggests that the silver bullion for the first imitations was imported. Hoover suggests (1998, p 84), that Ptolemy issued coins of Seleucid type because he did not dare

"...upset the legitimate economic and political systems already established by the Seleucids".

While this seems reasonable, Ptolemy would have achieved the same purpose by issuing posthumous coins of Antiochus IV Epiphanes – whose line were enemies of Demetrius. Such coins were issued on several occasions, as Epiphanes had been a popular ruler. But in my reconstruction, Ptolemy was, instead, a supporter of Demetrius at the time when the coins were issued.

An alternative date for independence

My alternative explanation for the first imitation coins takes into account the political situation in Commagene. This small mountain province had never housed a proper Seleucid mint; apart from the limited local economy, the garrison was likely insignificant, as Commagene bordered on friendly territories: Seleucid Cilicia and vassal states in Cappadocia and Armenia. However, the year 153/2 BC coincides with the first activities of Alexander Balas. According to Diodorus Siculus (XXXI.32a), Balas, an alleged natural son of Antiochus Epiphanes, was established in Cilicia by Heracleides – Epiphanes' former minister of treasury and brother of Timarchus. If this revolt had spread to Commagene, Balas would have been able to attack Zeugma on the Euphrates, thus cutting off Seleucid Syria from the Upper Satrapies (troops could not cross the desert south of the great river). This strategy had recently been employed by Timarchus (Diodorus Siculus, XXXI.27), and earlier by Antiochus Hierax in the 230s BC.

Coins struck in Demetrius' name in Commagene at this critical moment probably signify *allegiance* to him. One alternative would be that Ptolemy had already become independent, but that he was intimidated by Balas, and temporarily chose to acknowledge Demetrius, who was politically isolated and looking for allies.³ A

² See Nercessian (1995) for references to Commagenean coins, though Nercessian attributes the first Commagenean bronzes to Mithradates I. It does however seem likely that the coins of 'Samos Eusebes Dikaios' belonged to Samos of Commagene, rather than to a 3rd century Armenian ruler, as Nercessian suggests. Royal epicleses rarely appeared on coins until the 2nd century, and the epiclesis Dikaios seems to have been inaugurated by Agathocles of Bactria (c. 180 BC).

³ Or possibly, Demetrius bribed Ptolemy into an alliance. It is known that Demetrius offered vast privileges to another rebel, the Maccabean leader Jonathan, while the Seleucids maintained some vestiges of suzerainty such

A NOTE ON THE COINAGE OF THE SASANIAN KING VALKASH (484–488)

By Nikolaus Schindel

second alternative would be to associate the first coins with Demetrius' response to the emergency: that he levied troops in Commagene, perhaps from the local population. To pay for this expense, a makeshift mint was set up in Commagene, with dies based on those of Antioch, and bullion from the nearest Seleucid supplies. Ptolemy, *epistates* in Samosata, was placed in charge.⁴ In either case, Heracleides and his ward, Balas, unable to make further headway in Cilicia, did, instead, travel to Rome to seek support from the Senate and Egypt.

Ptolemy showed little respect for Demetrius' cause; he used the newly opened mint to strengthen his own position, and when Demetrius was killed in 150 BC, Ptolemy asserted his independence from the Seleucid Empire. By continuing to issue posthumous Demetrius' coins, he defied Alexander Balas, while he maintained the Seleucid monetary system, as Hoover emphasised. However, the lack of indigenous supplies of bullion soon led to reduced weights and debasement, and in the remote, barely Hellenised province, coin legends and portraits were quickly 'barbarised'.



Fig.2 Demetrius imitations (from *Seleucid Coins part II:2*) left to right: a) good style and weight imitation drachm of Demetrius Soter, dated 153/2 BC; b) posthumous imitation, probably 148/7 BC, legend partially blundered; c) portrait of Alexander, undated, blundered legend.; d) Demetrius imitation, barbarous style, undated, blundered legend. (Courtesy of the authors)

References

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- Facella, M. 'A royal era in Commagene?', in *Systems of Dynastic Year-Reckoning in the Eastern Greek World (VI Cent. B.C. – II A.D.)*, editor Gabelko, O., Kazan University, 2013 (in printing)
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as keeping the citadel in Jerusalem. Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, 13.37-38).

⁴ Samosata was the only important city, as Zeugma did yet not belong to Commagene (thanks to Rudy Dillen for clarifying this). Houghton, Lorber and Hoover (2002, p.207) refer to Ptolemy as a *satrap*, but Siculus' calls him *epistates*, a rank that possibly was equal to the city prefect of Samosata. "As much as we know, in the Seleucid administration an *epistates* was usually a royal officer who mediated between the king and a city" Facella (2013, p. 2). A mint using imitation dies would apparently have been a drastic emergency measure, and it is perhaps an indication of this haste that a subordinate official, rather than the satrap, was placed in charge.

Recent research has markedly increased the number of Sasanian coins available for study, and also added greatly to our understanding of the monetary history of the Sasanian state.⁵ Despite this, however, many open questions remain, often due to the fact that still too little material is known. Therefore, in several cases conclusions rest on single coins, such as, for example, the attribution of an entire style group under Ardashir II (379–383), Shapur III (383–388) and Vahram IV (388–399) to the mint of ART.⁶ In some cases, single coins may even lead to errors: in 2004, I felt confident that, under Kawad I, there exists a variant of the two still somewhat enigmatic signatures DYWAN and DYWAS reading DYWAT.⁷ In fact, the single attestation seems to be a drachm from the mint of DYWAS which has a die error on the last letter of the signature.⁸

And then, there are single coins which, for the time being, do not permit a clear explanation. One such case is a drachm of the Sasanian King of Kings, Valkash (484–488), which shows as usual for the ruler two rims on the obverse, but exceptionally also a double border on the reverse (fig. 1).



Fig. 1

Valkash. AR. Drachm. AY. Type SNS 3, Ia/1c. 4,05 g. 29 mm. 3 h. Szaivert (as note 5); Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 2, pl. 101, no. A5

This piece was published by Wolfgang Szaivert in 1979,⁹ who offered two possible explanations:

1) The coin is the single attestation for an issue which was planned by the mint authorities, but stopped after only a few coins were issued.

⁵ M. Alram/R. Gyselen, *SNS Paris-Berlin-Vienna I: Ardashir I. – Shapur I.*, Vienna 2003; M. Alram/R. Gyselen, *SNS Paris-Berlin-Vienna II: Ohrmazd I. – Ohrmazd II.*, Vienna 2012; V. S. Curtis/M. E. Askari/E. J. Pendleton, *Sasanian Coins in the National Museum of Iran, Volume 1: Ardashir I-Hormizd IV*, London, 2010; V. S. Curtis/M. E. Askari/E. J. Pendleton, *A Sylloge of Sasanian Coins in the National Museum of Iran (Muzeh Melli Iran)*, Tehran. Volume 2: *Khusrau II – Yazdgerd III*, London 2012; N. Schindel, *SNS Paris-Berlin-Vienna III: Shapur II. – Kawad I. / 2. Regierung*, 2 vols., Vienna 2004; N. Schindel, *SNS Israel: The Sasanian and Sasanian-type coins in the collections of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem), the Israel Antiquity Authority (Jerusalem), the Israel Museum (Jerusalem), and the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion at the Eretz Israel Museum (Tel Aviv). Appendix: A hoard of Late Sasanian copper coins from the Eretz Israel Museum*, Vienna 2009; L. Baratova/N. Schindel/E. Riteladze, *SNS Usbekistan: Sasanidische Münzen und ihre Imitationen aus Bukhara, Termes und Chaganian*, Vienna 2012.

⁶ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 302, vol. 2, pl. 24, nos. A15 f.; pl. 27, nos. 21–A15; pl. 35, no. A15.

⁷ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 136, 157 f., 477, vol. 2, pl. 126, no. 151.

⁸ This question was raised by Robert Schaaf and Stefan Heidemann in the internet discussion list SASAN-L in March 2013; another coin attributed to DYWAS in Curtis (as note 1, 2010), pl. 32, no. 458 seems to originate from DYWAN.

⁹ W. Szaivert, Ein bisher unbekannter Drachmentyp des Sasanidenkönigs Walaxš, *Mitteilungen der österreichischen numismatischen Gesellschaft* 21/4, 1979, p. 42–43.

2) The additional rim owes its existence to an error by a die cutter.

Szaivert advocated the former variant. When compiling SNS 3, I discussed the same coin,¹⁰ and preferred Szaivert's alternative explanation of an error because the use of obverse type Ia as well as the lack of the ruler's name on the reverse (constituting reverse type 1a) prove that this drachm belongs in the earlier period of Valkash' reign, datable ca. 484–485.¹¹ I concluded that one would expect the marking of a peculiar group of coins rather later in the reign than at the beginning.¹² The existence of an isolated copper coin which also features a double rim on the reverse does not help in the interpretation of the drachm since copper coins with multiple rims are attested also under different rulers, such as Shapur II, who did not issue similar drachms. An additional problem is that, on this Valkash copper coin,¹³ as well as on another specimen in the Schaaf collection with a single rim on the reverse, the mint signature cannot be read,¹⁴ which obscures any possible direct connections with the drachms. Furthermore, the explanations for the use of multiple rims suggested so far remain highly speculative.¹⁵

With just a single known attestation, further speculation seemed superfluous, since it would have been impossible to gain certainty, or at least a satisfyingly high degree of probability. Things have changed, however, since another Valkash drachm with a double rim also on the reverse has turned up after the publication of SNS 3 in 2004 (fig. 2). Therefore, it might be of interest to re-address this issue, especially since it offers a good example that new material, despite what we normally hope and believe, does not necessarily always answer old questions for good.



Fig. 2

Valkash. AR. Drachm. MY. Type SNS 3, Ia/1c. 4,06 g. 28 mm. 3 h.

First and foremost, considering that there are nowadays some spurious Sasanian coins around,¹⁶ one should consider the possibility that one or both of the Valkash drachms in question could be modern forgeries. Having had both coins in my hand, I see absolutely no reason for this assumption, since style, striking technique and all other parameters definitively advocate authenticity. Neither are there any signs of later alteration (impossible anyway for the convex rim).

The next question regards mint and type, the two most important basic clues for making sense of Sasanian coins. Obverse and reverse type is the same for both drachms, i.e. Ia/1c according to my classification in SNS 3. The mints, however, are different: the coin published by Szaivert bears the signature AY (most probably Eran-khwarrah-Shapur in Khuzistan),¹⁷ whereas the new specimen was struck at MY (in all likelihood the province, Meshan).¹⁸ Thus, at first glance, the choice between the two possibilities discussed by Szaivert seems obvious: since it is quite unlikely that two different mint workers in two different mint committed exactly the same rare error – I know no other Sasanian precious metal coin which has one rim too many in error – this

obviously must have been a rare issue, but nevertheless a regular one, which owed its existence to the plans of the Sasanian mint administration.

This certainty, however, evaporates if we look still more closely at the structure of Sasanian minting in the 5th century. Starting with Vahram IV, we can observe that dies were not always produced locally, but often were made centrally for an entire province, or even for larger administrative areas within the Sasanian realm.¹⁹ Under Peroz (457–484), the immediate predecessor of Valkash, central die production covered the entire realm except the easternmost province of Khurasan.²⁰ This unified system broke down after his death, and we can, therefore, observe several different styles under Valkash.²¹ Still, these styles are not all purely local, i.e. restricted to one single mint, but in fact are attested for several different mint signatures. The most common group shows strong similarities with the main portrait of Peroz and was attested at the time of writing of SNS 3 on type Ia/1a issues of ART, BN, GW, LD, ST, ŠY and WH,²² thus mints in five different provinces (Gurgan, Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan, and Media). To this list should be added the Ia/1c drachm from AY, but also the new specimen of this type from MY. Therefore, even if the mint signatures for both coins are different, and even if the striking might have taken place at different locations, the production of the dies was carried out by the same personnel, maybe even by the same die cutter. If the second attestation of the type Ia/1c drachm of Valkash had originated from a style group different from that of the first known specimen, things would be different. The argument against assuming a die cutter's error mentioned above thus becomes accordingly invalid.

Are we, therefore, to leave the entire question open? On the one hand, we always have to bear in mind that the emergence of one large coin hoard might drastically change our concept of almost every pre-modern coin series. On the other hand, I still find it difficult to assume that there were two distinct issues at the beginning of the reign of Valkash. One should bear in mind that Peroz employed only seven main type combinations in his drachm coinage during 27 regnal years (three of them certainly limited to his first seven years),²³ while Kawad I, the successor of Valkash, did not change the typology in a clear-cut way during his entire first reign, which lasted for about eight years (488–496), the only minor difference being varying renderings of his beard.²⁴ Thus, these comparisons do not advocate the assumption that Valkash used three different type combinations during his reign of just four years. One should add that Gurnet published a drachm which shows the common type IIIb/1e of Peroz, but seems to read *wld* rather than *kdy pylwcy* on the obverse.²⁵ This issue, if the reading can be established beyond doubt, would attest the attempt to issue coins in the new king's name at the very beginning of his reign. This, however, represents just a stopgap, and certainly not yet another "issue".

Having said all this, I still believe that type combination Ia/1c on these two drachms of Valkash owes its existence to some error or misunderstanding by the die cutters in this peculiar style group. It goes without saying that, basically every day, a new specimen from a different style group could prove me wrong. Still, it seems plausible, for the time being, that the die cutter who produced these two reverse dies got the instruction to add a second rim on the obverse wrong and added the additional border also to the reverse. The majority of coins featuring this style in any case display the regular reverse type 1a (two rims on the obverse/one on the reverse). The relationship between the combination Ia/1a and Ib/1b

¹⁰ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 424, vol. 2, pl. 101, no. A5.

¹¹ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 421, 423 f.

¹² Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 424.

¹³ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 2, pl. 104, no. 43.

¹⁴ Schindel (in print).

¹⁵ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 75, 213 with note 908.

¹⁶ A note by the present author on the alleged coins of Ohrmazd III is in print.

¹⁷ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 152.

¹⁸ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 166.

¹⁹ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 303, 306 f.

²⁰ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 425.

²¹ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 425.

²² Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 425.

²³ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 390–399.

²⁴ N. Schinde, Ein Bart macht Geschichte. Zur Münzprägung des sasanidischen Königs Kawad I. (488–496, 499–531), *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 52/2, S. 83–89.

²⁵ F. Gurnet, La première émission monétaire de Valkāš, *Studia Iranica* 23/2, 1994, p. 279–283.

is 54 to 96,²⁶ and this makes an additional type/issue attested by just two coins highly unlikely. Still, we need more published material, and more in-depth studies of this material. Apart from this, type Ia/1c of Valkash, inconspicuous as it might appear,²⁷ ranks among the rarest types in 5th century Sasanian coinage, and is of quite some interest from a general methodological point of view.

A GROUP OF LATE QARAKHANID DIRHAMS FROM FERGHANA

By N. Ivanov

The group of coins under review was brought to Moscow from the Ferghana Valley (Uzbekistan) in 2003. The exact place and time of finding could not be determined. The group consists of 306 copper coins (so-called 'black dirhams') and definitely comprises part of a bigger hoard. The majority of the available coins, namely 291 pieces representing types 1-8, were struck at Uzgend (the mint name shown on the coins as *الأوزجند* *al-ūzjand*) in the name of the Qarakhanid ruler, Qadir Khan Ahmad b. Ibrahim (AH 578-609 / AD 1182/3-1212/13), and represent eight types, the main difference between which is the presence of epithets placed in the upper parts of the reverse die field.

Type 1



With epithet *جلالی* *jalālī*. AH 601. 150 pieces [Kochnev 1106]. A reconstruction of this coin type was published by E.A. Davidovich, [1979, p. 430, fig. 2/2], however without circular legend. The present reconstruction includes the circular legends – *bismillāhi ḡuriba hadhā al dirham [bi-]balad al-ūzjand sanat wa ihdā (!) wa sittami'ah* and a variety with palmette in the top segment of the obverse. The lower part of the circular legend on the reverse is

merged with the circular rim. The full date, 601, was found on one coin not related to the hoard. On other coins only fragments of dates can be seen: ×9×; ××1; ××2. The size (S.) varies slightly within 32–33 mm., the weight (W.) from 3.07 to 5.80 g.

Type 2



With epithet *شاهی* *shāhī*. AH 595. 76 pieces [Kochnev, # 1113]. Obv.: in the central linear circle within a square – *'ādil / qadir / khāqān*. In the segments surrounding the inner square – the Kalima and the name of the caliph *al-Nāṣir*. Circular legend: *bismillāhi ḡuriba hadhā al dirham [bi-]balad al-ūzjand sanat khams wa tis'in wa khamsami'ah*. Rev.: in the field, in a triple circular border (a pointed circle between two lines): *shāhī / al-khāqān al-'ādil / jalāl al-dunyā wa / al-dīn qadir / khāqān*. S. varies from 27–29 to 40 mm., W. from 3.07 to 7.90 g.

The legends in the reverse field of the following types 3-6 are the same as for type 2.

Type 3



²⁶ Schindel (as note 1, 2004), vol. 1, p. 427.

²⁷ The second specimen featuring this variant was allegedly acquired from a well-known London coin company, listed and prized as a "normal" Valkash.



With epithet مظفرى *muzaffarī*. 30 pieces [Kochnev, # 1106]. The word وحده *wahduhu* in the Kalima on the obverse. is stretched out along the entire line. The dates 596 and 597 have been read. S. 31–33 mm., W. 3.50 to 6.07 g.

Type 5



With epithet ركنى *ruknī*. AH 600. 25 pieces [Kochnev, # 1116]. S. 30–33 mm., W. 3.98 to 5.76 g.

Type 4



With epithet معظمى *mu'azzamī*. 5 pieces [Kochnev, # 1106]. The ligature *alif+lām* is shaped in the form of a lyre. Without date. S. 29 mm.; W. 5.06 to 5.40 g.

Type 6



With epithet غطريفى *ghitrifī*. 2 pieces [Kochnev, # 1106]. Vertical elements of the legends are decoratively thickened upwards; ligatures *alif+lām* look like 'hare's ears'. S. 32; 33 mm.; W. 4.70; 5.13 g.

Type 7



Ulugh Chaghri Khaqan. With epithet ركنی *rukni*. Benaket, AH 598. 1 piece [Kochnev, # 1143]. S. 33 mm., W. 4.62 g.

10



With epithet سلطانی *sultānī*. 2 pieces [Kochnev, # 1115]. Obv.: Kalima within a 16-lobed cartouche, each lobe knotted with the outer circle. Rev. in a single-line circle: *sultānī* / *al-sultān* / *al-a'zam jalāl* / *al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* / *ulugh sultān qadir* / *khān*. The marginal legend is virtually gone. S. 32; 33 mm.; W. 5.63; 6.29 g.



Ulugh Igdish Chaghri Khaqan. With epithet خانی *khānī*. Benaket, AH 602. 2 pieces [Davidovich, 1979, p.439, fig. 1/4; Kochnev, # 1144]. S. 37; 38 mm; W. 6..97; 7.23 g.

11

Type 8

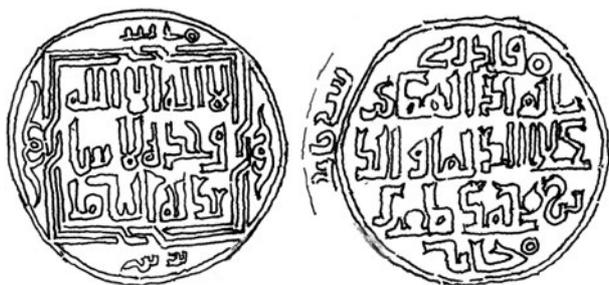


Without epithet. 1 piece, heavily worn [Kochnev, # 1106]. Similar to the type published earlier [Davidovich, 1979, fig. 2/1], so must be dated AH 582. Rev.: khan's title divided into three lines: *al-khāqān al-'ādil* / *jalāl al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* / *qadir khāqān*. The circular legend has preserved fragments of the date 5xx. S. 29 mm., W. 4.02 g.

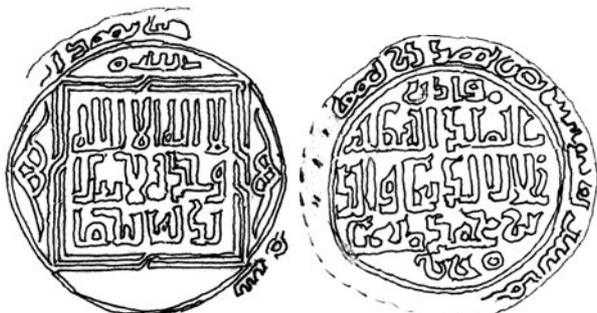
The next 15 coins (types 9–16) were struck in the names of other rulers and at other mints.

9





Real appearance



Reconstruction considering double strike

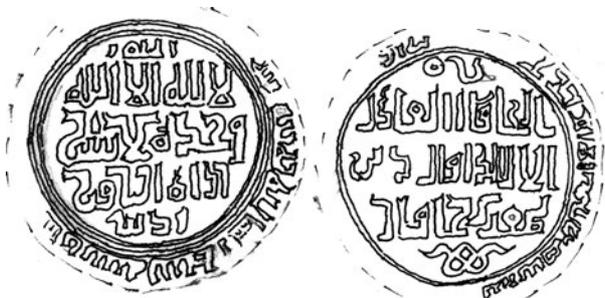
Muhammad b. Nasr. With epithet قَادِرِي *qādirī* and title *Ṭughril Khān*. Kasan, date not distinguished (596?). 3 pieces [Kochnev, # 1128]. S. 32 to 35 mm; w. 4.37; 4.38; 4.99 g.

Ulugh Tughril Khan. Tirmidh, date and epithet (probably ظَفَرِي *ẓafarī*?) destroyed by double strike. 1 piece [Kochnev, # 1166]. S. 35–37 mm.; W. 6.50 g.

12



14. Khwarizmshahs, Muhammad b. Tekesh. With epithet قَادِرِي *qādirī*. Samarqand, AH 615. 1 piece [Davidovich, 1997, dr. 2/3]. S. 39 mm., w. 5.63 g.



Same as last, but with the title *Ṭughril Khāqān*; the epithet cannot be specified. Kasan, AH 587. 1 piece [Kochnev, # 1127]. S. 33 mm.; w. 4.60 g.

15



Same as last but smaller size. With epithet مُعْظَمِي *mu'azzamī*. Samarqand, date not readable. 2 pieces. S. 28 mm, W. 3.07; 3.20 g.

ĀHAR: A NEW MINT ISSUING ULUGH MANGYL ULUS BEK TYPE COINS

By Giorgi Janjgava and Irakli Paghava



Undetermined dynasty (*temp.* Chinghiz Khan). With epithet رجاى *rijā'ī* (?) and the name of the caliph *al-Nāṣir*, otherwise an anonymous issue. Bukhara, AH 619. 4 pieces (fig. 16). S. 33–34 mm., W. 5.56; 5.69; 6.14; 7.13 g. Published for the first time here. These coins were struck during the Mongol invasion and the epithet *rijā'ī* could be a symbol of hope for salvation

To all appearance, the last 3 types (7 coins) were added to the hoard by chance, which is evident from a great disparity of dates.

The author would like to express his profound gratitude to Dr Vladimir N. Nastich for his participation, professional help and general assistance in the reading of coin legends and type attributions.

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The silver coins with the legend *Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek* and the effigy of the mounted archer were comprehensively reviewed by A. Vardanyan in this Journal back in 2007²⁸. The article covered the dirhams and half-dirhams issued at 16 different mints in South Caucasus and the adjacent region: Akhlāt, Bākūya, Barzand (فرزند)²⁹, Bawonq, Baylaqān, Dmanīs, Ganja, Kīrān/Gīlān, Lachīn/Lāchīn, Lashkar, Nakhjawān, Tabrīz, Tiflīs, Urmiya, Warthān, Wirāwī/Warāwī.³⁰ This is still the state-of-the-art work in this field. To our knowledge, the only relatively minor addition was published in 2011: that was a previously unknown denomination (half-dirham) from the Nakhjawān mint.³¹

Now yet another discovery provides us with an opportunity to extend further our familiarity with this early Mongol coin series. By means of this short paper we would like to publish what appears to be the only known (and unpublished) dirham coin from the previously unreported mint of Āhar.³² The coin is as follows:

AR, weight 2.71 g, dimensions 18-19.7 mm, die axis 6:15 o'clock, Fig. 1.



Obv.: A horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse running to right. Standard legend A³³ starting at 3 o'clock:

الغ منقل الوس بيك

Rev.: In the centre, standard legend B³⁴:

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Mint formula above: ضرب اهر

Date formula left, bottom and right:

left: في سن ...; bottom: و اربعين (?); right: almost completely off-flan, presumably ستمائة.

The date is effaced / off-flan, unfortunately, but is seemingly 64x (early AH 640s).

Āhar minted coins for the representatives of the Beshkenid (Bīshkīnid) dynasty (of Georgian descent)³⁵, and was last indicated on the coins issued in AH 623 (1226) in the name of Nuṣrat al-Dīn

²⁸ Vardanyan A. "Some additions to the coins with the inscription "Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek", *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 190, 2007, pp. 7-20.

²⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 9, footnote 9.

³⁰ Notwithstanding many extant coins with illegible / missing mint name [*Ibid.*:15-18].

³¹ Paghava I., Janjgava G. "A Unique Half-Dirham from the Mint of Nakhjawan with the *Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek* Legend", *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 207, 2011, pp. 14-15.

³² Currently this specimen is preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

³³ Vardanyan A. "Some additions to the coins with the inscription "Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek", *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 190, 2007, p. 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*:8

³⁵ Paghava I., Novák V. "Georgian Coins in the Collection of the National Museum – Náprstek Museum in Prague". *Forthcoming*.

Maḥmūd b. Bīshkīn b. Muḥammad (with Caliph al-Nāṣir and Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn).³⁶ We knew no coins minted at Āhar after AH 623. Based on the calligraphy, J. Kolbas suggested that the die-cutter employed for producing the dies for the bow-type coins from Bāzār (by AH 639) had been from Āhar himself.³⁷ Of no small importance is the fact that the *Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek* type coinage (dirhams, with date illegible on all specimens) was minted at Wirāwī/Warāwī as well³⁸, i.e. at one of the towns within the (former?) Beshkenid domain.³⁹

We know almost nothing about the Beshkenids after AH 623. Qazwīnī mentioned a “tūmān of Bīshkīn”, which may indicate indirectly that the dynasty survived through the early Mongol period.⁴⁰ On the other part, according to the numismatic data⁴¹, by the early AH 640s the town of Bīshkīn, named so after the dynasty, had been given back its old name of Warāwī, which could in our opinion hardly have happened if still under the dominion of the Beshkenids (Bīshkīnids).

In any case, the minting of *Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek* coinage at Āhar, (former?) centre of the Beshkenid (Bīshkīnid) dominions seems to be a rather interesting extension of our knowledge of the early Mongol monetary series and the numismatic history of the region.

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AN UNUSUAL GEORGIAN-HULAGUID DIRHAM OF ABAQA

By Kirk Bennett

The well-known Georgian-Hulagid dirhams were struck in the names of five early Ilkhan rulers (Abaqa, Ahmad, Arghun, Gaikhathu, and Baidu) between AH 680-94 (according to some authorities, the first date is AH 679). Like similar dirhams struck elsewhere in the Ilkhan domains, the Georgian ones have an Uighur obverse inscription naming the ruler, and an Arabic reverse inscription with a date formula (month and year according to the Islamic calendar) in the four marginal segments. However, while other contemporaneous dirhams contain a Muslim formula, the Georgian dirhams have a Christian legend, usually with a cross at the end:



Fig. 1

Dirham of Abaqa dated Dhul-hijja AH 680 (all images enlarged)

The obverse legend reads:

قدهد	Qaghanu	Of the Khaqan
ندوقلم	nereber	in the name
مومهر حر	Abaqa-yin	by Abaqa
صعكگلوك	deletkegülük-	
در	sen	struck

The reverse legend reads:

بسم الاب	In the name of the Father
والابن و روح	and the Son and the Spirit
القدس الاله	Holy – God
واحد †	one †

On the dirham in Fig. 1, the date formula reads counterclockwise beginning in the right-hand segment:

ذى الحجة	Dhul-hijja
سنة	the year
ثمانين	eighty
ستمائة	six hundred

Unfortunately, on many Georgian-Hulagid dirhams portions of the date formula are off the flan and other elements might be distorted, making it difficult to determine the date.

One unusual dirham of Abaqa recently came to the author’s attention (Fig. 2). The obverse has the normal Uighur inscription, and the central Arabic legend is standard. However, the date formula displays several atypical elements.



Fig. 2

The only clearly legible portion of the date formula is the right marginal segment:

في سنة	in the year
--------	-------------



Fig. 3

Right-hand reverse margin

The presence of the word في (“in”) before the word سنة is not unusual for some other Mongol-era Georgian coins, such as the

³⁶ Kouymjian D. *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān Based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries*. Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1969, pp. 402-405.

³⁷ Kolbas J. *The Mongols in Iran. Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 1220-1309*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 110-111, 187.

³⁸ Vardanyan A. “Some additions to the coins with the inscription “*Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek*”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 190, 2007, p. 15.

³⁹ Kouymjian D. *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān Based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries*. Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1969. P. 371-372.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 371-372, 406-407.

⁴¹ Vardanyan A. “Some additions to the coins with the inscription “*Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek*”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, #190, 2007. P. 15.

dirhams of Möngke from the years AH 652-59. However, it is highly peculiar for the Georgian-Hulagid series - the first such instance that this author has seen.

Continuing counterclockwise, one encounters a top marginal segment that is off the flan. Typically with the date formulas on Georgian-Hulagid dirhams of Abaqa, when the word سنة is written in a separate segment, the following element is the word ثمانين ("eighty") - cf. Fig. 1. It is, therefore, probably safe to assume that the missing element from the top segment is the word "eighty."

Moving on to the left marginal segment, one would expect the word ستماية ("six hundred"), but one encounters an inscription that, at first glance, appears blundered and, therefore, illegible:

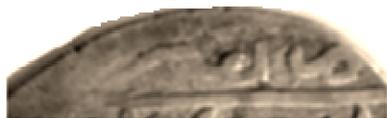


Fig. 4
Left-hand reverse margin

However, by horizontally flipping the image of the left segment (Fig. 5), one immediately recognises the word ستماية ("six hundred"), which is written on the coin in mirror image:

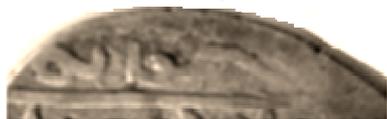


Fig. 5

Compare this "flipped" legend with Fig. 6, which is the word ستماية as written on the dirham from Fig. 1 above:



Fig. 6

Mirror-image inscriptions are not unknown in Georgian numismatics, but it is the first such instance that the author has seen among Georgian-Hulagid coins - and is all the more curious considering that the legend in the right margin is clearly written correctly.

The bottom margin on the coin in Fig. 2 should, in principal, contain the beginning of the date formula - the name of the month. However, one encounters here (Fig. 7) a genuinely blundered inscription bearing little similarity to any of the months of the Islamic calendar:

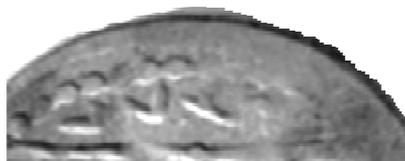


Fig. 7
Blundered Islamic month

This dirham can thus be dated with reasonable certitude as AH 680, but with a blundered month. It has two anomalies encountered elsewhere in Georgian numismatics but hitherto unpublished, to the best of the author's knowledge, for the Georgian-Hulagid series: the use of the word في ("in") before the word سنة ("the year"), and one segment with the word ستماية ("six hundred") written in mirror image. The mirror-image legend along with the blundered month give credence to the theory that the die-

engravers at the Mongol-era mints in Georgia were mostly or exclusively local Christians (Georgians or possibly Armenians) who did not actually read Arabic and simply engraved the dies, with varying degrees of accuracy, based on their best-guess reading of the Arabic texts given to them.

This theory would also help to explain why the Arabic words سنة ("the year") and ستماية ("six hundred"), which appear on every coin of this series, are nearly always legible. The die engravers, even if they did not understand Arabic, had plenty of practice engraving them on each and every die. The words for the months, however, were constantly changing, giving the engravers little opportunity to master them and creating more possibilities for blunder.

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COINS OF KAYKHUSRAW I, SULAIMĀNŠĀH II AND KAYKĀWUS I

By Nezih AYKUT*

In my first article I examined the coins of Mas'ūd I, which only comprised copper pieces. Their images imitated the designs on Byzantine coinage, similar to Danishmandid, Artuqid and Zangid coins. Qilijarslān II, who minted silver and gold pieces for the first time, inscribed them with the names of the Abbasid Caliphs, following Islamic tradition. He also displayed the image of a horseman on his copper coins. Moreover, Qilijarslān II and his sons, who ruled in different areas of the Anatolian Seljuq realm, minted copper and silver coins that displayed the title "Malik"⁴².

This article, which complements the first, covers the period up to the beginning of the reign of Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I (616/1220) and presents the coinage of the three Anatolian Seljuq rulers: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (588-593 / 1192-1197) and (601-607 / 1205-1211); Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimānshāh II (593-600 / 1197-1204), and Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus I (607-616 / 1211-1220). It also describes the titles, epithets, signatures, phrases, and images that appear on the coins of these three sovereigns⁴³.

I: HISTORICAL SURVEY

Kaykhusraw I ruled the Anatolian Seljuqs briefly after the death of Qilijarslān II in 588 (1192)⁴⁴. His elder brother, Rukn al-Dīn

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⁴² See Nezih Aykut, "Some coins of Mas'ūd I, Qilijarslān II, and the Maliks," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Second Series, 7-8, New York, 1995-96, pp 161-186.

⁴³ I would like to thank Dr Önder Bayır and Dr Brian Johnson for their suggestions and help in preparing this article for publication.

⁴⁴ An *Anonymous Seljuqnāma*, trans. and ed. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları Devletleri Tarihi* (Ankara, 1952), p. 26 reports that Qilijarslān II's coffin was brought to Qonīa on 20 Sha'bān and that Kaykhusraw I succeeded to the throne on the first Thursday of the month of Ramadān, which fell on 1 Ramadān 588 (=10 September 1192).

Sulaimānshāh, *Malik* of Toqāt, who had promised to leave him and his other brothers alone, challenged him, however. He seized his brothers and forced them to submit to him through royal patents (*manshūrs*)⁴⁵. Gathering his army at Aqsarāy, he marched on Qoniah⁴⁶ and besieged the city. The siege lasted four months before the notables of the city sent an envoy to Sulaimānshāh. They promised that if he lifted the siege they would pay his campaign costs and that if he was set on capturing Qoniah and becoming sultan they would surrender the city to him, but he had to promise to spare Kaykhusraw I, his sons, his entourage or their property and to permit them to go wherever they wished. Upon his acceptance of this offer, Kaykhusraw I received a *sawgand-nāma* (sworn affidavit) from his elder brother.⁴⁷ He then abdicated the throne on 7 Zilka'da 593 (21 September 1197) and left Qoniah.⁴⁸ Following the route through Lāranda (Qaramān), Sīs (Qozān), Albistān, Malatīyyah, Aleppo, Āmid (Diyārbaqr) and Akhlāt to the Black Sea, he proceeded to Constantinople on ships provided by the *Malik* of Jāniq⁴⁹. In addition to the dated and undated silver coins struck at the Qoniah mint during this first sultanate of Kaykhusraw I between 1192 and 1197, there are also copper coins on which no date or minting place was inscribed.

Sulaimānshāh II succeeded Kaykhusraw, capturing the Qoniah throne on 8 Zilka'da 593 (22 September 1197)⁵⁰. He put an end to the autonomy of his brothers, taking over the lands which they ruled as *maliks* in various parts of the Seljuq domains. For example, Sulaimānshāh II annexed Amāsiyyah, which belonged to Arghūnshāh. This was followed by Niksār, which belonged to Barqyāruqshāh. He left the Albistān *Malik* Tughrlshāh in place after the latter had declared his submission. He then took in turn Malatīyyah from Qaisarshāh in Ramadān 597 (June 1201) and Arzurūm from the Saltūqid dynasty in 598 (1202), giving it to Tughrlshāh in exchange for Albistān. Finally, after capturing Anqara in Zilka'da 600 (July 1204) and eliminating Mas'ūd, he re-established the unity of the Seljuqs in Anatolia⁵¹. In this way, Sulaimānshāh II brought to an end the rights of his brothers, as *maliks*, to have coins struck in their own names, a right which they had possessed during the first sultanate of Kaykhusraw I.

At the death of Sulaimānshāh II, the state functionaries voted to elect his young son, Qilijarslān III, as his successor⁵². The

Dānishmand *beys*, however, who had been vassals of Kaykhusraw I when he was *Malik* at the head of the border Turcomans — these were Muzaffar al-Dīn Mahmūd, Zahīr al-Dīn Ili and Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the sons of the Dānishmand ruler, Yaghībasān — decided to incite the *beys* attached to Kaykhusraw against the new ruler and to invite Kaykhusraw I once again to the throne¹¹. After concluding an agreement with the other *beys* and securing their written consent to the sultanate of Kaykhusraw I¹², they sent the former *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā to Kaykhusraw^{53,13}. While taking refuge from the Latins when they occupied Constantinople in AH 600 (AD 1204)¹⁴, Kaykhusraw I founded a new base on a near-by island that belonged to his father-in-law, Mavrozomes of the Comnenos family¹⁵. Boarding a ship together with his father-in-law and his sons, Kaykāwus and Kayqubād, Kaykhusraw set out for Iznīq. When Laskaris, the emperor of Iznīq, denied him permission to proceed, he obtained a safe passage together with Mavrozomes on the condition that he would give up certain fortresses, namely Honās and Lādiq (Denizli) taken from Byzantium, and leave his sons and his *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā as hostages at Iznīq¹⁶. After gathering his forces at Ulūborlī (Borgulī), which he had held during his reign as *malik*¹⁷, and rejoining his two sons, they escaped together with the *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā¹⁸. He marched on Qoniah, in Jumāda'l-ūlā 601 (January 1205)¹⁹ and surrounded the city. However, the people of Qoniah, having sworn their allegiance to Qilijarslān III, did not submit to him²⁰. After a month-long siege and with the onset of winter weather, Kaykhusraw I retreated to Āb-ı gherm (İlgīn)²¹. Nevertheless, when the people of Aqsarāy, who were rivals of the people of Qoniah, drove out their governor and had the *khutba* recited in the name of Kaykhusraw I²², the people of Qoniah, had a change of heart. They sent a representative to invite Kaykhusraw I²³ (to Qoniah), as ruler. The Toqāt region, which had once been under the administration of his father, Sulaimānshāh II, was given as *ıqtā'* to Qilijarslān III²⁴. Although Qilijarslān III, who ruled for the short space of seven months, must have had coins struck, none has yet been encountered.

This sultanate of Kaykhusraw I, who became sultan of the Anatolian Seljuqs for the second time in Rajab 601 (February

⁴⁵ Ahmad bin Mahmūd, *Seljuq-nāma* (Istanbul, 1977): Erdoğan Merçil, vol. 2, p.149; Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, trans. and ed. M. Nuri Gençosman and F.N. Uzluk, *Selçuki Devletleri Tarihi* (Ankara, 1943), p.127; Ibn Bībī, *al-Avāmīr al-Alā'iyya fī al-Umūr al-Alā'iyya*, (Ankara: Necati Lugal and Adnan Sadık Erzi, 1957), vol. 1, pp 44-45; Yazijizāda Alī, *Tavārīkh-i Āl-i Seljuq*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes Relatives à l'Histoire des Seldjucides* (Leiden, 1902), p.18.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1979), vol. 12, p.90; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Köprülü Library, MS., 1188, 17 a ; Qādī Ahmad, *al-Walad al-Shafīq*, Fatih Library, MS., 4510, 147 b ; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 45 ; Ibn Bībī, *Pharscha Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma*, trans. and ed. M. Nuri Gençosman and F. N. Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi* (Ankara,1941), p.25 ; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp 45-50 ; *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 25 ; Yazijizāde Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 19-22.

⁴⁸ An *Anonymous Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.2), p.27 reports that Kaykhusraw I left the city at midnight on Tuesday, 7 Zilka'da, when the siege became fierce. However, 7 Zilka'da did not fall on a Tuesday but on a Wednesday. If this is true, then Kaykhusraw I left Qonia on the night of Tuesday, 7 Zilka'da, and Sulaimānshāh II succeeded to the throne the following day, Wednesday 8 Zilka'da 593.

⁴⁹ Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 128; Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp. 52-72; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.27-30; Yazijizāde Alī (Above,n.3), pp.23-37.

⁵⁰ See note 6.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, p.90; Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al Faraj Tārīkhī*, trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, (Ankara, 1950), pp.485-6; Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, Molla Chelebi Library, MS., 119, 45 a; Abī al-Fidā, *Tārīkh al-Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar* (İstanbul, 1280), vol. 3, p.111; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 a.

⁵² Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 200; Abū al Faraj, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Beirut,1890): A. Salhani, p. 397; Ibn Wāsil (Above,n. 9), 45 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol.3, p.111; Nuwayrī (Above, n. 4), 17 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 147 b; Aqsarāyī (Above,n.3), p.128; Ibn Bībī

(Above,n.3), vol.1, p. 110; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above,n.4), p.38; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 62-63.

¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, pp.200-1; Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārīkhī* (Above,n.9), p.486; Aqsarāyī (Above,n.3), p.128; Ibn Bībī (Above,n.3), vol.1, pp.111-2; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n. 3), pp.62-63.

¹² Ibn Bībī (Above,n.3), vol.1, p.112; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n. 3), p.63.

¹³ Aqsarāyī (Above,n.3), pp.128-9; Ibn Bībī (Above,n.3), vol.1, p.112; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above,n.4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above,n.3), p.63.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr (Above,n.4), vol.12,pp.200-1; Abū al-Faraj (Above,n.9), p.483; Ibn Wāsil (Above,n.9), 45 a; Niketas Choniates, *Chonographia*, German trans. Franz Grabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer Erobern Konstantinopel* (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1958), vol.9, p.146; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, (Paris, 1834), vol.17,pp.123-48.

¹⁵ Aqsarāyī (Above,n.3), p. 128; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above,n.4), p.34; Yazijizāda Alī (Above,n.3), pp.23-37. In contrast to this Ibn al-Athīr (Above,n.4), vol.12, pp.200-1, and Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p.474, and *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n.10), p.397, report that Kaykhusraw I was in a fortress near Constantinople.

¹⁶ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp. 117-8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.40; Yazijizāde Alī, (Above, n.3), p.66.

¹⁷ Aqsarāyī (Above,n.3), p. 129.

¹⁸ Ibn Bībī (Above,n.3),vol.1, p 121; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above,n.4),p. 41; Yazijizāda Alī (Above,n.3), p. 69.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above,n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Nuwayrī (Above,n.4), 17 b.

²⁰ Ibn Bībī (Above,n.3),vol.1, p. 122; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p 41; Yazijizāda Alī (Above,n.3), p. 70.

²¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n. 4), vol. 12, p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above,n.9), p. 486.

²² Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n. 9), p. 486; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 b.

²³ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n. 4), vol. 12,p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p. 486; Nuwayrī (Above, n. 4), 17 b.

²⁴ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp.126-7; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p. 42; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 73.

1205)²⁵, lasted until his death in battle in 607. Kaykhusraw I protected Alexios Comnenos III²⁶, who had escaped at the time of the Latin occupation of Istanbul in 1204²⁷ and, after arriving in Anatolia, had taken refuge with him at Antāliyah. When the emperor of Iznīq, Theodor Laskaris, who had made trouble for Kaykhusraw I at Iznīq while he was on his way from Istanbul to Qoniah to become sultan for the second time²⁸, refused to pay his annual tribute²⁹, Kaykhusraw I mounted a campaign to set the former emperor Alexios on the Iznīq throne³⁰ but was killed in the battle of Alashehūr (Philadalphia)³¹ on 23 Zilhijja 607 (7 June 1211)³². Silver coins exist, which he had struck between 601 and 607 at the mints of Qoniah, Qaisariyyah and Malatyyah, as well as copper coins, either with no date or place, or with a date but with no place inscribed, or struck at Malatyyah but without a date.

With the death of his father, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwus I came from Malatyyah, where he had ruled as *malik*³³, and succeeded to the Anatolian Seljuq throne at Qaisariyyah on 6 Safar 608 (20 July 1211)³⁴. His brother, Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, the *Malik* of Toqāt, did not recognise the sultanate of Kaykāwus I³⁵ and, together with his uncle, Tughrlshāh, *Malik* of Arzurūm, and the Armenian king, Leon II, he arrived with a large army and surrounded Kaykāwus I at Qaisariyyah³⁶. But when the Armenian king, who had received valuable gifts and a number of promises from Kaykāwus I, returned to his country by the Dawalī road³⁷, Tughrlshāh withdrew his surrounding troops in the fear of a possible attack on the lands over which he ruled as *malik*³⁸. Kayqubād, who was thus left alone, was unsuccessful and took refuge in the Anqara fortress³⁹. The sultanate of Kaykāwus I, who succeeded to the throne at Qoniah⁴⁰, was formally legitimised by the royal patent (*manshūr*) sent in Ramadān 608 (February 1212) by Majd al-Dīn Ishaq, the Caliph al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh⁴¹. Kaykāwus I, who surrounded the Anqara fortress when Kayqubād again made claims to the sultanate⁴², forced his brother to surrender in 609 (1212-13) following a year's siege⁴³ and imprisoned him, first in the Minshār (Masara) fortress

near the Euphrates River in the neighbourhood of Malatyyah⁴⁴ and, later, in the Kazıpart fortress near the same city⁴⁵. From this time onwards, Kaykāwus I ruled as sovereign over the Seljuq state, maintaining his rule until his death in Zilka'da 616 (January/February 1220)⁴⁶. Kaykāwus I had gold coins struck at the Sīwās mint, silver coins struck at the mints in the cities of Qoniah, Sīwās and Toqāt, and copper coins minted at Sīwās.

II: CATALOGUE

Kaykhusraw I (First Sultanate 1192-96)

1: ANS 1917.216.785

Obv.: The figure of Alexios Comnenos I



Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان | <i>al-sultān</i> |
| 2. | المعظم | <i>al-mu'azzam</i> |
| 3. | كَيْخُسْرَو بِن | <i>kaykhusraw bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

AE n.m. and d. Artuk I, 351/1064; Bibliothèque, 692/DCDXLI-1642⁴⁷.

2: ANS 1917.215.883

Obv.: The image of a horseman holding a spear in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

(Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp.193-8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.57-58; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 116-21.

⁴⁴ Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārīkhi* (Above, n.9), p. 491; Idem, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n.10), p. 407; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 129; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 199; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 58; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 121.

⁴⁵ *Kayseriyye şehri*, ed. Kemal Göde (Ankara, 1982), p. 63.

⁴⁶ Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārīkhi* (Above, n.9), p. 504. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī Tārīkh al-ayān* (Haydarabad, 1952), vol. 2, p. 598 and Aynī (Above, n.36), 193 b give the death date of Kaykāwus I as Shawwāl 616 (December 1219), while Qādī Ahmad (Above, n. 4), 148 a gives it in the same month of the following year, 617.

⁴⁷ The following volumes are cited in catalogue; I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslāmī Sikkeler Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1970) and vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1974); Michael Mitchiner, *The World of Islam: Oriental Coins and Their Values* (London, 1977); Gilles Hennequin-Abū-l-Faraj al-'Ush, *Les Monnaies de Balis* (Damascus, 1978), hereafter, al-'Ush; Norman D. Nicol-Raafat el-Nabarawy-Jere L. Bacharach, *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo* (1982); Gilles Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies orientales, archives de la ville de Marseille, cabinet des medailles* (1983), hereafter, *Marseille*; Gilles Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Asie pre-Mongole, Les Salgūqs et leurs successeurs* (Paris, 1985), hereafter, *Bibliothèque*; Michael Broome, *A Handbook of Islamic Coins* (London, 1985).

²⁵ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p.200; Abū al-Faraj, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n. 10), p. 398; Nuwayrī (Above, n. 4), 17 b.

²⁶ Lebeau (Above, n. 14), vol. 17, p. 287.

²⁷ See note 14.

²⁸ See note 16.

²⁹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 147; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p. 46; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 89.

³⁰ Lebeau (Above, n. 14), vol. 17, p. 288.

³¹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol.1, pp. 153 -7; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), pp. 47-48; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 92-95; Lebeau (Above, n.14), vol. 17, pp. 289-90.

³² *Anonymous Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.2), p. 28.

³³ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 161; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 98-99.

³⁴ *Anonymous Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.2), p. 28.

³⁵ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 161; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p. 49; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 98.

³⁶ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n. 9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, Valiyy al-Dīn Library, MS; 2390.170 a; Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp. 162-3; Ibn Bībī *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 49; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 99.

³⁷ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp.165-8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.51-52; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 101-4.

³⁸ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a. Each of these sources reports that the *Malik* of Arzurūm, Tughrlshāh, withdrew in fear of a possible attack on his domains by Kaykhusraw I, because Tughrlshāh had requested help from *Malik* Ādil Abūbakrī's son, *Malik* Ashraph Mūsā.

³⁹ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n. 9), vol. 3, p.121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 129; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 168; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.52; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 105.

⁴⁰ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p. 170; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.53; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 107.

⁴¹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp. 219-22.

⁴² Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol.3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 148 a; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 193; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 56; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 116.

⁴³ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 148 a; Ibn Bībī.



Reverse: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | المعظم | <i>al-mu‘azzam</i> |
| 3. | كيخسرو بن | <i>kaykhusraw bin</i> |
| 4. | قلج ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-‘Ush, 24/184; Nicol-al-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3371; Marseille, 42/223; Bibliothèq, 693/DCDXLV-1647.

Kaykhusraw I (Second sultanate 1205-11)

3: ANS 1951.108.2

Obv.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | المننة لله | <i>al-minnat lillāh</i> |
| 2. | الامام الناصر | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 3. | لدين الله امير | <i>li-dīn allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu‘minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

المننة لله ضرب هذا [١] الدرهم بقونية سنة احدى وستمائة
al-minnat lillāh ḍuriba hād[h]ā al-dirham bi qoniah sanat ihdā wa sittmi‘ah

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان المعظم | <i>al-sulṭān al-mu‘azzam</i> |
| 2. | غياث الدنيا والدين | <i>ghiyāth al-dunyā wa al-dīn</i> |
| 3. | ابو الفتح كيوخسرو | <i>abū al-faṭḥ kaykhusraw</i> |

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------------|
| 4. | بن قلج ارسلان | <i>b. qilijarslān</i> |
|----|---------------|-----------------------|

Around the rim of the outer circle:

هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
huwa alladhī arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu‘hirahu ‘alā al-dīni kullihī wa-law kariha al-mushrikūn

AR Qonīa 601 Mitchiner, 171/956; Bibliothèq, 688/DCDXXXIV-1632.

4 : ANS 0000.999.7806

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | المننة لله | <i>al-minnat lillāh</i> |
| 2. | الامام الناصر | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 3. | لدين الله امير | <i>li-dīn allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu‘minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا [١] الدرهم بمدينة ملطية سنة خمس [و] ستمائة
bism allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm ḍuriba had[h]ā al-dirham bi-madinat malatyyah sanat khams [wa] sittmi‘ah

rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان المعظم | <i>al-sulṭān al-mu‘azzam</i> |
| 2. | غياث الدنيا والدين | <i>ghiyāth al-dunyā wa al-dīn</i> |
| 3. | ابو الفتح كيوخسرو | <i>abū al-faṭḥ kaykhusraw</i> |
| 4. | بن قلج ارسلان | <i>bin qilijarslān</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

ارسل رسوله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu‘hirahu ‘alā al-dīni kullihī

AR Malatyyah 605.

Sulaimānshāh II (1197-1204)

5: ANS 1953.101.1

Obv.: in the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa-khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ضرب
 دينار بقونية سنة سبع و تسعين

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu alā al-dīni kullihi
ḍuriba [hadhā al-] dīnār bi-qoniah sanat sab' wa tis'in

AV Qoniah 597.

6: ANS 1922.211.187

Obv.: in the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه الناصر لدين
 الله امير المؤمنين

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: In the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'at</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق بقونية سنة خمس و تسعين
arsalahu bi-al-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi bi qoniah sanat khams wa
tis'in

AR Qonīa 595.

7: ANS 1929.94.1

Obv.: in the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه الناصر لدين
 الله امير المؤمنين

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ضرب
 بمدينة قيصريّة سنة سبع [و] تسعين

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu 'alā al-dīni kullihi
ḍuriba bi-madīnat qaisariyyah sanat sab' [wa] tis'in

AR Qaisariya 597 Artuk I, 354/1075 ; Broome, 113/172.

8: ANS 1917.215.834

Obv.: In the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه الناصر لدين
 الله امير المؤمنين

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: In the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ بَرْهَانَ | <i>qilijarslān burhān</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ضرب
بمدينة قيصرية سنة تسع [و] تسعين

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu 'alā al-dīni kullihī
ḍuriba bi-madīnat qaysariyyah sanat tis' [wa] tis'in

AR Qaisarīa 599 Bibliothèque, 699/DCDLVII-1673.

9: ANS 1949.163.131

Obv.: In the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with a halo around his head and whose horse's head is looking to the right.

Rev.: In the field:



- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>sulaimān bin</i> |
| 3. | قَلِجِ ارْسَلَانَ | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة خمس | <i>sanat khams</i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 595 Mitchiner, 171/963 ; Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3378; Marseille, 43/240; Bibliothèque, 700-1/DCDLIX-1675.

10 :ANS 1975.73.56

Obv. : in the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سَلِيمَانَ شَاهِ | <i>sulaimānshāh</i> |
| 3. | بْنِ قَلِجِ ارْسَلَانَ | <i>bin qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة ستة | <i>sanat sittah</i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 596 Mitchiner, 171/964; Broome, 112/171.

11. ANS 1917.216.799

Obv.: In the field :

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سَلِيمَانَ بْنِ | <i>sulaimān bin</i> |
| 3. | قَلِجِ ارْسَلَانَ | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة ثمان | <i>sanat thamān</i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa khams-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 598 Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3377.

Kaykāwus I (1211-20)

12: ANS 1928.27.14

Obv.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 4. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:



1. السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ *al-sulṭān al-ghālib*
2. عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدٌ *izz al-dunyā wa al-d*
3. يُنِ كَيْكَائِوسُ *īn kaykāwus*
4. بْنُ كَيْخَسْرُو *bin kaykhusraw*

In the four margins:

1. ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] *ḍuriba hād[h]ā*
2. الدَّرْهَمُ *al-dirham*
3. بِقَوْنِيَةِ سَنَةِ *bi-qoniah sanat*
4. ثَمَنٌ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ *thamān wa sitt-mi'ah*

AR Qonīa 608.

13: ANS 1959.165.158

Obv.: within square:

1. الْإِمَامُ النَّا *al-imām al-nā*
2. صِرْ لِدِينِ *ṣir li-dīn*
3. اللَّهُ *allāh*
4. أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ *amīr al-mu'minīn*

In the four margins:

1. لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا *lā ilāha illā*
2. اللَّهُ *allāh*
3. مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ *muḥammad rasū*
4. لَ اللَّهُ *l allāh*

Rev.: within square:

1. السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ *al-sulṭān al-ghālib*
2. عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدٌ *izz al-dunyā wa al-d*
3. يُنِ كَيْكَائِوسُ *īn kaykāwus*
4. بْنُ كَيْخَسْرُو *bin kaykhusraw*

In the four margins:

1. ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] *ḍuriba hād[h]ā*
2. الدَّرْهَمُ *al-dirham*
3. بِقَوْنِيَةِ سَنَةِ *bi-qoniah sanat*
4. ثَمَنٌ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ *thamān wa sitt-mi'ah*

AR Qonīa 608 Marseille, 43/253.

14: ANS 1940.197.1

Obv.: within square:

1. الْإِمَامُ النَّا *al-imām al-nā*
2. صِرْ لِدِينِ *ṣir li-dīn*
3. اللَّهُ أَمِيرُ *allāh amīr*
4. الْمُؤْمِنِينَ *al-mu'minīn*

In the four margins:

1. لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا *lā ilāha illā*
2. اللَّهُ *allāh*
3. مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ *muḥammad rasū*
4. لَ اللَّهُ *l allāh*

Rev.: within square:

1. السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ *al-sulṭān al-ghālib*
2. عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدٌ *izz al-dunyā wa al-d*
3. يُنِ كَيْكَائِوسُ *īn kaykāwus*
4. بْنُ كَيْخَسْرُو *bin kaykhusraw*

In the four margins:

1. ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] *ḍuriba hād[h]ā*
2. الدَّرْهَمُ *al-dirham*
3. بِقَوْنِيَةِ سَنَةِ *bi-qoniah sanat*
4. تِسْعٌ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ *tis' wa sitt-mi'ah*

AR Qonīa 609.

15: ANS 0000.999.7814

Obv.: within square:

1. الْإِمَامُ النَّا *al-imām al-nā*
2. صِرْ لِدِينِ *ṣir li-dīn*
3. اللَّهُ أَمِيرُ *allāh amīr*
4. الْمُؤْمِنِينَ *al-mu'minīn*

In the four margins:

1. لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا *lā ilāha illā*
2. اللَّهُ *allāh*
3. مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ *muḥammad rasū*
4. لَ اللَّهُ *l allāh*

Rev.: within square:

1. السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ *al-sulṭān al-ghālib*
2. عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدٌ *izz al-dunyā wa al-d*
3. يُنِ كَيْكَائِوسُ *īn kaykāwus*
4. بْنُ كَيْخَسْرُو *bin kaykhusraw*

In the four margins:

1. ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] *ḍuriba hād[h]ā*
2. الدَّرْهَمُ *al-dirham*
3. بِقَوْنِيَةِ سَنَةِ *bi-qoniah sanat*

4. عشر و ستمائة 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah

AR Qonā 610 Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 115/3380.

16: ANS 1928.27.16

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | اللّه | <i>allāh</i> |
| 4. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | اللّه | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل اللّه | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sultān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بقونية سنة | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | احد[ى] عشر و ستمائة | <i>iḥdā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonā 611.

17: ANS 1928.27.17

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | اللّه امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | اللّه | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل اللّه | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sultān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بقونية سنة | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | حامس عشر و ستمائة | <i>khāmis 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonā 615 Mitchiner, 171/965.

18: ANS 1928.27.20

Obv.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | اللّه امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | اللّه | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل اللّه | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sultān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بسيواس سنة | <i>bi-sīwās sanat</i> |
| 4. | عشر و ستمائة | <i>'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Siwās 610 Artuk I, 358/1089; Marseille, 43/252.

19: ANS 1928.27.21

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-Nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسول | <i>muḥammad rasūl</i> |
| 4. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | بن كيكاس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكاسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذا[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بسيواس سنة ا | <i>bi-sīwās sanat i</i> |
| 4. | حد[ي] عشر و ستمائة | <i>ḥdā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Siwās 611.

20: ANS 000.999.7726

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسول | <i>muḥammad rasūl</i> |
| 4. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | بن كيكاس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكاسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذا[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |

3. بسيواس سنة ا *bi-sīwās sanat i*

4. ثنا عشر و ستمائة *thnā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah*

AR Siwās 612.

21: ANS 1949.163.91

Obv.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 2. | لدين الله | <i>li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the top and bottom margins:

- | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------|
| 1. | سنة عشر | <i>sanat ash'r</i> |
| 2. | و ستمائة | <i>wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. | بن كيكاسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

On the top and bottom margins:

- | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------|
| 1. | ضرب | <i>ḍuriba</i> |
| 2. | بسيواس | <i>bi-sīwās</i> |

AE Siwās 610 Artuk I, 359/1091.

22: ANS 1917.216.803

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. | بن كيكاسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-'Ush, 25/190; Merseille, 43/254; Bibliothèque, 706/DCDLXVII-1702.

23: ANS 1917.216.800

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الإمام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. | بن كيخسر | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

AE n.m. and d. Mitchiner, 171/966.

24: ANS 1949.163.132

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الإمام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: In the center:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاو | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwu</i> |
| 3. | س كيخسرو | <i>s kaykhusraw</i> |
| 4. | بن | <i>bin</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-'Ush, 25/191; Marseille, 43/260; Bibliothèque, 708 / DCDLXXIII-1710.

III FEATURES OF THE COINS

A: Expressions, Illustrations and Figures

The copper coins of the first reign of Kaykhusraw I (1192-96) are of two types. The first has a Byzantine-type emperor figure. The second type has the image of a horseman holding a spear in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right⁴⁸.

The dirhams of the second reign of Kaykhusraw I (1205-11) were minted in Qaisariyyah, Qoniah, and Malatıyyah. On the obverse and reverse of the silver coins, some of the expressions are written around the rim of the outer circle, which is exactly the same as on Abbasid coins⁴⁹. The two titles, "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" and "al-Imām", accompanying the name "al-Nāsır li-Dīn Allāh", appear on the obverse.

Both the dīnār and the dirham of Sulaimānshāh II are different from the coins minted by his father, Qilijarslān II, from the standpoint of both ornamentation and images. On the coins of Sulaimānshāh II we find the image of a horseman in the middle of the coins. Previously, rulers had used the horseman image only on copper coins⁵⁰.

Sulaimānshāh II's dīnār minted in Qoniah in 597 (1200-01) contains the image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his hand. The ornamentation behind this horseman consists of stars and the other motifs. The horseman's head is surrounded by a halo. The name of the Abbasid Caliph "al-Nāsır li-Dīn Allāh" and his title "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" are written around the outer rim.

The silver coins of the American Numismatic Society collection were minted in Qoniah in 595 (1198-99) and in

Qaisariyyah in 597 (1200-1) and 599 (1202-3). These dirhams contain the image of a horseman in the middle, sometimes with a halo and sometimes without, holding a halberd in his hand. The name of the Abbasid Caliph and his title are the same as on the dīnārs.

The copper coins belong to the years 595 (1198-99), 596 (1199-1200), 598 (1201-2), but no place of minting is mentioned. These coins contain the image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand, and his horse's head is looking to the right⁵¹.

The coins of Kaykāwus I (1211-20) are completely different from those minted by his predecessors. On his coins the image of the horseman is eliminated and the expressions are written inside a square in the same fashion as on the coins of the Muwahhid and Hafsid dynasties of Northern Africa⁵².

The dirhams of Kaykāwus I found in the ANS collections include coins minted in Qoniah and Sīwās. The ones minted in Qoniah belong to the years 608 (1211-12), 609 (1212-13), 610 (1213-14), 611 (1214-15) and 615 (1218-19). The Sīwās coins date from 610, 611, 612 (1215-16).

The expressions on these dirhams are found on both sides within a square frame. On the obverse of these coins is the "Kalima-i Tawhīd", and on the reverse is the place and date of minting in the four margins.

On the copper coins of Kaykāwus I, the figure of the horseman which was the common feature of preceding Seljuq rulers's copper coins has been eliminated⁵³.

Kaykāwus' copper coins are larger than those of his predecessors, and they contain the name and the titles of the Abbasid Caliph. They have no date or place of minting.

B: Titles, Epithets and Signatures

Kaykhusraw I, who was twice sultan, used the title "al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam" on his coins during his first sultanate (1192-97). As for his epithet, it is not encountered at all. The titles appearing on his coins during his second sultanate (1205-11) are "al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam" and "Abū al-Faṭḥ". His epithets were written either as "Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn", or "Ghiyāth al-Dīn". Beginning with Kaykhusraw I, the Anatolian Seljuqs made it their custom to have their epithets inscribed on their coins⁵⁴. Tawki's⁵⁵ also appear to have been used for the first time on the coins of Kaykhusraw I. His own Tawki', "al-Minnat lillāh"⁵⁶, for example, is found on his coins.

An official patent (manshūr) of sovereignty had to be sent to the Anatolian Seljuqs by the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad. When Sulaimānshāh II became the Anatolian Seljuq sultan, such a patent⁵⁷ was sent to him by the Abbasid Caliph "al-Nāsır li-Dīn Allāh" together with a *chatr*⁵⁸, a sword a horse and other such symbols of sovereignty on account of his heroism and the efforts he had expended in protecting the Abbasid territories⁵⁹. Through

⁵¹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p.21.

⁵² Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 24.

⁵³ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), pp. 24-25.

⁵⁴ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

⁵⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı reports in his *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal* (Ankara, 1970), p. 69, the *Tawki'* (signature), or *Tawki'-i Humāyūn* (imperial signature), was a special title that the Anatolian Seljuq sultans placed on the letters they sent to rulers with whom they had relations, on the *fermans* and *patents* (*manshur*) they issued to the *amirs*, and on the titles they issued when conferring offices.

⁵⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 69.

⁵⁷ Qādī Burhān al-Dīn Anawī, *Anis al-Qulūb*, ed. Fuad Köprülü, *Belleten* (Ankara, 1943), vol. 20, 27, p. 516; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 128.

⁵⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı reports that (Above, n. 55), p. 28, 70-71, the *chatr*, which was one of the symbols of the sultanate appearing on pre-Islamic Iranian coinage, consisted of an imperial canopy opening in the form of a small dome in the air over a spear. Regarded as a symbol of the sultanate in the Seljuq state formed in Anatolia as well, the *chatr* was used by rulers both when marching to war and when travelling. The *chatr* of the Anatolian Seljuqs was black, like the symbol of the Abbasids, thereby demonstrating that the Seljuqs recognised their spiritual authority.

⁵⁹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 17.

⁴⁸ Ismā'īl Ghālib Taqvim-i Maskūkāt-ı Seljūqiyya (Kostantiniye, 1309), p. 9.

⁴⁹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

⁵⁰ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

this patent he was invested with the title “al-Sultān al-Qāhir”⁶⁰, which he had inscribed on his coins in place of “al-Malik al-Qāhir”⁶¹, which he had used while he was Malik of Toqāt. Also encountered on his coins, apart from the title “Abū al-Faṭḥ”, are such expressions as “Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu’minīn” and “Burhān Amīr al-Mu’minīn”⁶², which are found in the Seljūqnāmas and in inscriptions. They were used by the Anatolian Seljuq rulers after their names in order to express their spiritual ties with the caliphate. These titles are observed to have been placed on coins for the first time by Sulaimānshāh II.

On the coins of Kaykāwus I are encountered the epithet, “Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn”, and the date of the conquest of Sinob, 26 Jumāda’l-ākhira 611 (3 November 1214)⁶³ surmounted by the title “al-Sultān al-Ghālib”⁶⁴, with which he was invested by the Caliph “al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh”.

The titles, epithets, and Tawkīs which appear on the coins of Kaykhusraw I, Sulaimānshāh II, and Kaykāwus I are summarised in the table below

Ruler	Titles	Epithets	Tawkīs (Imperial signatures)
Kaykhusraw I (First sultanate)	al-Sultān al-Mu’azzam (Great Sultan)		
Sulaimānshāh II	al-Sultān al-Qāhir (Mighty Sultan) Abū al-Faṭḥ (Conqueror) Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu’minīn (Protector of the Caliph) Burhān Amīr al-Mu’minīn (Proof of the Caliph’s power)		
Kaykhusraw I (Second sultanate)	al-Sultān al-Mu’azzam Abū al-Faṭḥ	Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn (Assister of the world and religion)	al-Minnat lillāh (The praise be to God)
Kaykāwus I	al-Sultān al-Ghālib (Victorious Sultan)	Izz al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn (Glory of the world and religion)	

C: Motifs

Of the two types of copper coins from Kaykhusraw I’s first reign (1192-97), the second type with the image of a horseman has star, antler and leaf motifs.

The silver dirhams from Kaykhusraw I’s second reign (1205-11) have motifs such as sun discs, stars, ram’s horns, leaves and dots.

There are star and snowdrop motifs on Sulaimānshāh II’s gold dinars. The motifs on his silver dirhams have stars, ram’s horns, leaves and dots. His copper pieces have star motifs.

The silver coins of Kaykāwus I have motifs such as sun discs, stars, stylised folwers, stylised branches with blossoms, leaves, triple dots and hollow dots. His copper coins have crescents and stars, crescents, stars, sun discs, branches with buds, leaves, triple dots and double dots.

CHRONICLER’S NOTE ON MINTING OTTOMAN COINS IN KAKHETI (EASTERN GEORGIA)

By Irakli Paghava

By means of this short paper we would like to discuss one of the numismatic aspects of Ottoman-Georgian relations in the 16th century.

In 2011 we produced an article devoted to the silver coins minted in the name of the Safavid shah, Muhammad Khudabandah in Zagami (ჯაგამი), the economic capital of the Kingdom of Kakheti (eastern Georgia).⁵⁴ While researching the historical background leading to this issue, we came across a noteworthy testimony of Ibrahim Rahimizade, the 16th century Ottoman chronicler: he covered the Ottoman campaign under the command of Muṣṭafā Lala-Pāshā in the Caucasian provinces of the Safavid realm, including the east-Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, both vassals of the Safavids.⁵⁵ Interestingly, Ibrahim Rahimizadeh provided a verbose description of the policy pursued by Alexandre (Alexander) II, King of Kakheti (1574–1601, 1602–1605). Taking into account the changing military-political circumstances, the latter altered his former stance as a loyal Safavid vassal and defected to the Ottoman side.⁵⁶

Inter alia, Ibrahim Rahimizadeh narrated, that by means of admitting the supremacy of the Ottoman sultan, his (i.e. Murād III’s) name was placed on the coins issued in Kakheti (*sikkah*), and also acknowledged in the Friday sermons (*khuṭbah*).⁵⁷ In this way, according to the Ottoman chronicler, Ottoman-type coinage (or, for the least, coinage in the name of the Ottoman ruler) was issued in the Kingdom of Kakheti, the easternmost province of Georgia. To our knowledge, no use has previously been made of this evidence in Georgian historiography, and its numismatic significance remained unrecognised in both Georgian and Ottoman numismatic works.

If true, the coins could bear the mint name ჯაგამი, i.e. Zagami/Zagami (“ZeGaM / ZaGeM”), also known in Georgian sources as Bazari (ბაზარო), capital of the east-Georgian Kingdom of Kakheti, and the only monetary centre of the Kakheti Kingdom with a precise geographical location⁵⁸ (the mint could possibly be

⁶⁰ Ahmad b. Mahmūd (Above, n. 3), vol. 2, p. 150; Aqṣarāyī (Above, n. 3), p.129. Sulaimānshāh II also appears with this title in Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4) p. 34.

⁶¹ Ismā’īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 17.

⁶² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 248.

⁶³ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 214; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 63; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n. 3), p. 136.

⁶⁴ Munajjimbashī Ahmad Dede, *Sahā’if al-akhbār*, trans. Hasan Fehmi Turgal, Anadolu Selçukleri (Istanbul, 1939), p. 19; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 68.

⁵⁴ Пагава И., Туркия С.

⁵⁵ Гусейн Ф. Cf. also the 1210 Turkish edition (unavailable to us): *Rahimizade Ibrahim. Karaagaç G., Eski Kurt A.*

⁵⁶ Subsequently, King Alexandre repeatedly displayed political flexibility, becoming a renegade again, now defecting back to the Safavids, as proved by his executing the right of *sikkah* in the name of Muhammad Khudabandah already in AH 987-989 (1579/80-1781/2). Пагава И., Туркия С.

⁵⁷ Гусейн Ф.

⁵⁸ Кутелия Т. P. 14-25.

REWRITING GUPTA GENEALOGY

By Sanjeev Kumar

spelled ZeGAM زكام as well⁵⁹). This is quite likely, as Muṣṭafā Lala-Pāshā passed through / by Zagemi at least twice.⁶⁰ Alternatively, the name of the whole province (kingdom) may have been used – *Kākhēt* (كاخت) or *Kākhed* (كاخد)⁶¹. The coins, if dated, should bear the AH date 986 (1578/9) or 987 (1579/80)⁶², or just the frozen ascension year of Murād III, i.e. AH 982.

However, the factual validity of Ibrahim Rahimizade’s note remains disputable. *Sikkah* and *khujbah* in the name of the Ottoman sultan may be nothing more than a literary turn of phrase in this case, representing either a grandiloquent standardised description of Alexandre II’s submission on the part of the Muslim chronicler, with little or no relationship to what actually happened; or an authentic reflection of the Christian king’s (unfulfilled?) commitment. The reality of executing *sikkah* in the name of Murād III in Kakheti becomes all the more questionable, as *khujbah* was seemingly hardly feasible in the total absence of any mosques in late 16th c. Kakheti (so far, at least, there is no evidence of their existence).

Nevertheless, future discoveries may confirm the existence of this currency; so we would ask all readers of this short note to let us know if they ever come across any Ottoman coin issued with either of the aforesaid mint names.⁶³

Meanwhile, Ibrahim Rahimizade’s testimony remains an important primary source on the foreign policy of one of the Georgian polities, as well as, no less importantly, its relationship with the Ottomans, at the end of the 1570s, numismatic aspects included.

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⁵⁹ ფაღავა ო. We are very grateful to Dr L. Ilisch for sharing with us the image of the corresponding coin as well as his opinion with regard to it.

⁶⁰ Гусейн Ф.

⁶¹ *Kākhēt* was the form used in the more or less contemporary Persian sources, whereas *Kākhed* was indicated on the copper coins circulating in south-eastern Caucasus. *Акопян А., Алексанян Д.* We agree with the authors (*Акопян А., Алексанян Д.*) that they were minted in Kakheti.

⁶² The Zagemi mint was issuing Safavid type coins in the name of Muhammad Khudabandah in AH 987-989 (1579/80-1581/2). *Пагава-Туркия*.

⁶³ We can be contacted at the emailaddress: [redacted]

The mystery of King Ramagupta solved

Over the years, there has been a lot of speculation on the true identity of King Rāmagupta and King Kāchagupta and on where exactly they fit within the royal lineage of the Gupta dynasty, as there is no mention of their names in the lineage or in any of the dynastic accomplishments listed in the Allahabad pillar inscription nor in any other narrations of Gupta genealogies found so far.

A few of the possible explanations of their rightful place have centered on various assertions, one of which is that Kācha may have been the original name of Samudragupta and that ‘Samudragupta’ may have been the assumed royal name after his ascent to power.¹ Another view is that Kācha and Rāmagupta are but one and the same ruler.²

While many hundred copper coins of Rāmagupta have been found, no gold coins in his name have come to light so far. Gold coins of Kācha have been found in hoards together with coins of Samudragupta and/or Chandragupta I and Chandragupta II, such as in the Tanda hoard and the Ballia Hoard, but no copper coins of Kācha have been found so far.³

In the past, one of the key arguments in the discussions on Kācha’s place in the royal Gupta lineage is that whereas gold coins of Kācha have been found and stylistically can be linked to early Gupta coinage, none of these coins show the Garuḍa-banner that served as the royal emblem of the Gupta dynasty. All the coins with Kācha on the obverse depict the king as yielding a scepter topped with a *chakra* or wheel. There is usually no *garuḍadhvaja* at his side.



Fig. 1. Shivlee Collection. Kācagupta gold coin with Cakra Standard

The Bayana Hoard yielded a total of 16 coins of Kācha; 15 were of the Variety A with a *chakra standard* (fig. 1), and one coin belonged to a new Variety B (fig. h2), with a Garuda standard in the left field on the obverse. Based on its design, it appears that this Variety B coin is a product of one of the premier royal mints of its time. The reverse shows the goddess holding a diadem in her right hand and a *cornucopia* in her left hand. A symbol fills the upper left quadrant.



Fig. 2. Bayana Hoard, Kācagupta gold coin with Garuda Standard

¹ Gokhale B.G., *Ancient India: History and Culture*, 1952. Asia Publishing House.

² Jayaswal, K.P.: "Ramagupta", *JBORS*, XVIII, 35-36.

³ A.S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957. Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University

⁴ A.S. Altekar, *The Gupta Gold coins in the Bayana Hoard*, 1954. Numismatic Society of India, Plate VII – 11.

⁵ The debate on the existence of Ramagupta as a Gupta king died down after the discovery of three Jain Sculptures from Vidisha region, which clearly refer to Ramagupta as Maharajadhiraja. Raven, EM, 2004: *The Vakataka Heritage*. Also, see Sharma, T.R. 1989: *A political history of the Imperial Guptas: From Gupta to Skandagupta*.

⁶ Bajpai K.D., *Indian Numismatic Studies*, 2004.

⁷ Raven, E.R., *The Vakataka Heritage*, 2004.

⁸ King Samudragupta, issued many Asvamedha coins based on sacrifices he must have commissioned during his reign as we find that they make up almost 13% of all the gold coins issued by him as compared to no Asvamedha coins issued (or found so far) of Chandragupta II, less than 1% (11 coins) from all of the known Asvamedha coins of Kumargupta I and no known Asvamedha coins of Skandagupta: Dinara Database, Ellen Raven.

A UNIQUE SCALLOPED TANKA OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL

By Russel Haque

The coin, in question, is a silver tanka of Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad, the son of Rāja Ganesh, who ruled over united Bengal from AH 818 to 836-7 (AD 1415-16 to 1432-3) with an interruption of one year, i.e. AH 820 (AD 1417-18)



Obverse

Reverse

The description of the coin, which weighs 11.6g, is as follows:

Obv.: *jalāl al-dunyā wa'l dīn abu'l muẓaffar muḥammad shāh al-sultān*

Rev.: within a circle: *nāṣir al-islām wa'l muslimīn khallada mulkahu*

Margin: *ḍarb hadḥa al-sikkah dākhil banjaliya sanah 831* (followed by an unread word)

The notable points about this coin are:

1. The scalloped shape which we do not see in the coinage of Bengal till AH 831. The only other instance is the famous 'abd al-jabbar type of the same ruler known of date 834 only.
2. The weight of the coin, 11.6 g, which exceeds the normal range of weight of a tanka (10.8g) by some margin. The other example of a heavy tanka of similar weight is a lion-type tanka of the same ruler, probably issued to mark the withdrawal of the army of Ibrahīm Shah of Jaunpur.
3. The unread word after the date which has so far baffled various scholars.

All this indicates that this coin is a commemorative issue or a nazrana, struck for a special purpose. From a numismatic point of view, it presents yet another example of the fine calligraphy and

exquisite workmanship of the coins of the early sultans of Bengal. However, historically, it is important to find out the purpose of striking such a coin. A clue probably lies in the date and the unread word. Unfortunately, no significant event in history is recorded in the chronicles for the year AH 831 (AD 1427-8). It is well-known that Chinese missions were sent from Bengal during Jalāl's reign in the years AD 1418, 1420, 1421, 1423, 1429. Thus, the issue cannot be related to any of these Chinese missions.

It is known that Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad attempted to obtain legal sanction for his rule. For this purpose he contacted the Timurid ruler, Shāh Rukh at Herat, and the Mamluk ruler, Al-Ashraf Barsbay in Egypt, as told by Ibn Hajar and al-Sakhawi. Thereafter, he received from the Abbasid Caliph a 'robe of honour' and 'investiture'. He issued a new coin type in AD 1431 (AH 835-6), assuming the significant title of 'Khalifat Allah'. Thus, it can be safely assumed that the investiture took place before 1431, which means Jalāl's mission to the Middle East could well have departed about the same time the coin under question was minted. There is a strong possibility that a special set of coins was minted to be sent as gifts to the Caliph, which may have included a coin of this type. Confirmation of this may come if the unread word in the margin is deciphered in future. In this context, the weight appears to be significant. The tola standard may have been used to make 5/2 ratio with the existing mithqal standard (4.6-4.7 g) in the Middle East, especially if Jalāl was looking towards future trade with them. Thus, this unique coin may provide clues about the relations of Bengal with the rest of the Islamic world.

SAHRIND AND PATIALA AT THE TIME OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

By Hans Herrli

The coinage of Sahrind (later and until today also called Sirhind) and the early coinage of Patiala have not yet been well researched. The first studies of the Cis-Sutlej coins were all undertaken by Englishmen. Major-General R. G. Taylor, the British Agent in the Cis-Sutlej States, wrote in 1869, more than a century after the destruction of Sahrind and the last campaign of the Afghan conqueror, Ahmad Shah Abdali, in India, a report about the coinage of Patiala, Jind and Nabha⁶⁴ Although General Taylor's report was of a limited scope and without illustrations it remains the most serious study of the coinage of the Phulkian Sikh States ever published.

For Sir Lepel Griffin⁶⁵ the numismatics of the Panjab States were not a core interest and Charles Rodgers' treatment of the coinage of the Cis-Sutlej States remained also quite superficial.⁶⁶

Probably because of its illustrations, the best-known paper concerning the Cis-Sutlej coinage is the one by Capt. R.C. Temple⁶⁷ and it is unfortunately also the least trustworthy. Temple, who wrote one and a quarter century after the destruction of Sahrind and who considered the coinage of the Cis-Sutlej States "half barbarian", compiled his text uncritically from various books and papers. He did not try to verify his (incorrect) theories about the early coinage of Patiala through serious research and the study of the available historical sources, but consulted the local *sharafs*, everywhere in India, a notoriously dubious source of historical information not directly related to the intrinsic value of coins. As a result many of Temple's statements concerning the Patiala coinage before the death of Raja Sahib Singh are wrong and his paper is for the average collector highly misleading.

64. General Taylor's report was published as a long footnote in Sir Lepel Griffin's *The Rajahs of the Panjab*.

65. Sir Lepel H. Griffin: *The Rajahs of the Panjab*, Lahore 1870.

66. Charles J. Rodgers: "On the Coins of the Sikhs", *JASB* I,1 (1881): 71-93.

67. R.C. Temple: "The Coins of the Modern Chiefs of the Panjab", *Indian Antiquary*, XVIII (1889): 21-41.

After Temple the coinage of the Cis-Sutlej states shared the unfortunate destiny of the rest of Sikh numismatics, i.e. writers about coins usually seem not to have had any serious knowledge of what they wrote about and often seemingly even disdained looking at actual coins. Their main contributions were further distortions of already corrupt texts.⁶⁸

Sahrind is the name of a city, that under the Mughals, was the largest and richest on the Grand Trunk Road between Delhi and Lahore, but it is also the name of a vast tract of land, about 350 km long and 250 km wide and extending from the hills of Sirmur and the river Yamuna in the east, to the borders of Rajputana in the west, and from the river Sutlej in the north to Panipat in the south. In modern terms the historical territory of Sahrind consisted of the actual districts of Ambala, Ludhiana and Ferozepur and the core parts of the former states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. In the Mughal Empire, Sahrind was not a part of the Panjab, but the highest yielding district in the *Subah* of Delhi.⁶⁹

Less than 4 months after his coronation in October 1747 and after having already conquered Qandahar, Kabul and Peshawar, Shah Ahmad Abdali invaded India for the first time in January 1748. The Afghans occupied Sahrind, whose Mughal *faujdar* had fled, on 25 February, but were defeated on 11 March at the battle of Manupur by a Mughal army nominally led by the heir apparent, Ahmad Shah, but in reality by the Wazir, Qamar-ad-Din (killed in a skirmish during the campaign), his son Muin-ad-Din (Mir Mannu), Safdar Jang, the Subadar of Awadh, and Raja Ishwari Singh of Jaipur. Ahmad Shah first fell back on Sahrind, but, on 17 March, had left the city for Lahore. During this war the Sikh Sardar, Ala Singh of Patiala,⁷⁰ supported the Mughal army by attacking Afghan foraging parties and food convoys.

During his 4th invasion of India (1756-7), Ahmad Shah Abdali occupied Delhi on 23 January 1757. He plundered the city and obtained from the Mughal Emperor the confirmation of the formal cession of the Panjab, Sind (both already ceded in 1751/2 by the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur) and Kashmir. Ahmad Shah married his second son, Timur, who was only 9 years old, to Muhammad Begum, the daughter of the Mughal Emperor, 'Alamgir II, and annexed the Sahrind territory, but to save Alamgir's face it was declared the dowry of the princess. Ahmad Shah installed his young son, Timur, as Viceroy in the ceded territories but they were in reality governed by Timur's Wazir, the general Jahan Khan.

An outbreak of cholera forced Ahmad Shah to return to Afghanistan. Whereas Ala Singh of Patiala had first submitted as a vassal to the Afghan conqueror, he and other Sikhs now looted the baggage train of Abdali's son, Timur, but dispersed to their hiding places when Ahmad Shah passed with the main army through Sahrind. Later in that year, Abdus Samad Mohmand, Ahmad Shah's Pathan *faujdar* of Sahrind, attacked Ala Singh and forced him to pay a fine, but in 1758 the Afghan *faujdar* was driven out of Sahrind when Marathas and Sikhs sacked Sahrind and drove Timur out of the Panjab.

During his next, the fifth invasion, Ahmad Shah defeated the Marathas on 14 January 1761 in the decisive battle of Panipat and, though his vassal, Ala Singh, had supported the Marathas with food, Ahmad Shah confirmed in a firman dated 29 March 1761 his ownership of the territories already held by him.

Although the situation is absolutely clear this act has led to wilful misinterpretations and confusing theories about the coinage of Patiala. Ahmad Shah guaranteed his vassal, Ala Singh, the ownership of his possessions in the annexed territory of Sahrind (at the end of 1760: 726 villages and towns) in order to protect his Sikh vassal against other petty chiefs constantly trying to win more

land. What Ahmad Shah clearly did not do -- now or at any time later -- is acknowledge Ala Singh of Patiala as a sovereign ruler independent of his Afghan suzerain.

In the winter of 1762, Ahmad Shah returned for the sixth time to the Panjab and when he learned in Lahore that a coalition of Sikhs had been attacking Zain Khan Mohmand, his *faujdar* at Sahrind, since March 1761, he counterattacked and struck the Sikhs on 5 February 1762 a severe and brutal blow in what became known as the *Vadda Ghallughara* (The Great Sikh Holocaust).

During this campaign, Ala Singh had an insoluble problem due to a conflict of interest. As a Sikh, he should have helped his co-religionists, but as Ahmad Shah's vassal he was obliged to support his suzerain. In this dilemma Ala Singh chose the least of the evils and remained neutral. As a consequence, the Sikhs expelled Ala Singh's Phulkian *misl* from the *Dal Khalsa* and the betrayed Ahmad Shah not only destroyed Ala Singh's town of Barnala as a punishment but he also forced the Sardar to shave his head and beard and fined him first 1¹/₄ and later another 5 lakh rupees.

On 14 January 1764, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, commanding about 10,000 men of 7 Sikh *misls* and supported by Ala Singh of Patiala, attacked and occupied Sahrind and killed Zain Khan, its Afghan governor. The Sikhs looted the town, which was said to have 360 mosques, gardens, tombs, caravanserais, and wells, for the fourth time and then razed it to the ground. The territories around Sahrind were divided among the Sikh *misldars* and the booty was donated for the repair and reconstruction of the sacred shrines at Amritsar, desecrated and destroyed by Ahmad Shah.

For the Sikhs, the city of Sahrind, where Guru Gobind Singh's two younger sons had been brutally murdered, was an accursed place. As none of the Sikh Sardars were willing to take the town lying in ruins it was finally assigned to Bhai Buddha Singh, who, on 2 August 1764, sold it to Ala Singh. Ala Singh did not re-build Sahrind, but resettled the surviving inhabitants at Patiala. (Even in AD 1901 Sahrind, whose ruins cover the ground for more than 15 square kilometers, had only 5415 inhabitants.)

The fall of Sahrind brought the Abdali, who had spent the whole year of 1763 in subduing a rebellion in Khorasan, back to Lahore in March 1764, but financial and administrative troubles forced him to return to his own country after a fortnight's stay at Lahore.

After 6 invasions into the Panjab, Ahmad Shah realised that the military defense of his far-eastern province of Sahrind against the indomitable Sikhs had become extremely costly in terms of men and money and was not really worth the effort. When he reached Sahrind on his seventh invasion in 1764/65 without making contact with the main body of the *Dal Khalsa*, he, therefore, confirmed Ala Singh in his ownership of the city and granted him the title of Raja. Ala Singh died a short time later, on 22 August 1765, at Patiala and was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh.

In 1766, Sikh bands attacked the Rohilla country but when they were beaten back by Najib Khan's musketeers and artillery, they plundered the territories of Amar Singh of Patiala, who bought them off with the help of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

At the end of 1766, Ahmad Shah started on his eighth punitive invasion into the Panjab. He brushed aside all opposition and the various Sikh *misls* abandoned their newly acquired territories. Charat Singh Sukarchakia fled to the Jammu hills while Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was defeated and wounded in battle. Amar Singh of Patiala submitted again to the Shah and was received in his camp at Karabawana, south of Ambala, where in March 1767 he was invested with the hereditary title of Raja-i-Rajagan Bahadur and the governorship of the territory of Sahrind.

This campaign of Ahmad Shah Abdali was ostensibly his most successful against the Sikhs. The *misls* were defeated, their territories recovered and the Sikhs hiding in the hills had been attacked and killed or taken prisoner. Yet even as Ahmad Shah camped on the Sutlej, thousands of Sikhs were gathering at Amritsar, fully equipped for war. It was clear that all the ceaseless campaigns, the massacres, the destruction of the Sikh shrines and the alliances with some of the Sikh chiefs had failed to subdue the rising Sikh community.

Conscious of his recurring financial problems and the faithless attitude of his Indian allies and vassals, Ahmad Shah turned to

68. There are two shining exceptions among Sikh numismatic writers: Dr. Surinder Singh and Mrs Jyoti Rai. Unfortunately neither Surinder Singh's nor Jyoti Rai's serious research concerns the coinage of Sahrind and the early coinage of Patiala.

69. Under the Mughals Sahrind yielded annually 5,200,000 rupees.

70. Although the fort and city of Patiala were only founded in 1763, I follow the custom of calling Ala Singh "of Patiala" for identification purposes.

diplomacy to try to secure the easternmost part of his empire as far as possible. While Amar Singh of Patiala was left in charge of the territory of Sahrind in the role of a nominal Durrani governor and Ghammand Chand Katoch of Kangra and Ranjit Dev Jamwal of Jammu were left supreme in their own spheres of influence, the plains from the Chenab to the Sutlej, the Manjha districts and the central Panjab including Lahore, were abandoned to the *Dal Khalsa*. Ahmad Shah only retained Multan, Peshawar and the country west of the fortress of Attock on the river Indus and Kashmir.

Ahmad Shah lived another nine years but neither he nor his successors ever tried again to actively interfere in the affairs of the territory of Sahrind. As a consequence, the Rajas of Patiala evolved from vassals of Ahmad Shah and the Afghan empire's governors in Sahrind into the rulers of a precariously independent Sikh State and later the British Protectorate of Patiala.

The legitimacy of the rulers of newly emerging subordinate Indian states was entirely based on the fact that they were acknowledged and confirmed in their position by a sovereign overlord. Like so many rulers of Indian princely states, who had begun their career as vassals, *subadars* or *jagirdars* of the Mughal emperors, the Rajas of Patiala (and the rulers of Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Maler Kotla) therefore continued to acknowledge their suzerain and their source of legitimacy – in this case Ahmad Shah Abdali – long after the time when his suzerainty had first become nominal and then fictitious. Coin collectors know that the powerless Mughals were acknowledged on the rupees and mohurs of many Princely States until their fall in 1857 and Ahmad Shah Abdali even until the Cis-Sutlej States were merged into PEPSU and then the Indian Republic.

The coinage of Sahrind and Patiala at the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali

The endless wars of the 18th century are mirrored in the coinage of several mints in western India (Lahore, Multan, Sahrind) where the rulers mentioned on the coins changed quite often. The following table lists the rupees known to me issued by the Sahrind mint from the coronation of Ahmad Shah Abdali to the destruction of the city:⁷¹

<i>AH and regnal year</i>	<i>Ruler's name on coins</i>
1160 / 30	Muhammad Shah (Mughal)
1160 / <i>ahd</i>	Ahmad Shah Abdali
1161 / <i>ahd</i> 1162 / <i>ahd</i> 1163 / 2 1163 / 3 1163 / 4 1164 / 4 1165 / 5 1165 / 6 1166 / 6	Ahmad Shah Bahadur (Mughal)
1167 / <i>ahd</i> ----- / 2 ----- / 4	Aziz-ad-Din 'Alamgir II (Mughal)
1170 / <i>ahd</i>	Ahmad Shah Abdali / Timur Shah as Nizam
1172 / 5 1172 / 6	Aziz-ad-Din 'Alamgir II (Mughal)
1172 1173	

71. I wish to thank here all the collectors who helped me to write this paper by offering me scans and lists of the Sahrind and Patiala coins in their collections, especially Stan Goron, Jan Lingen and Jeevandeep Singh.

1174 / 4 (Error for 14) 1184 / 14 (Error for 1174) 1174 / 15 1175 / 15 1175 / 16 1176 / 16 1177 / 17	Ahmad Shah Abdali (Sahrind taken and razed by Sikhs on 9.VII. AH 1177 / 14.I. 1764)
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In Temple's "Coins of the modern Native Chiefs of the Panjab" we read on pages 321-322: "In the year AH 1164, or AD 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Ahmad Shah Durrani (or Abdali) made a raid into the Panjab and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement in the Panjab, that in that year he granted to the chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kotla-Maler the right to coin within their respective States." And later we learn that: "In the fourth year of his reign Ahmad Shah coined at Sarhand, better known as Sahrind." Had Temple (and his successors) undertaken a minimum of research he would have found that Ahmad Shah invaded the Panjab in December 1751, which did not fall into the AH year 1164, but 1165 and he would also have discovered that, in his 4th regnal year, Ahmad Shah never was in Sahrind and did not have the possibility to coin there. Everything Temple wrote about Abdali's Sahrind coinage of AH 1164/4 and his granting minting rights to the Cis-Sutlej chiefs is – like so much more in his paper – pure fantasy.

Sahrind was, under Akbar, a mint for copper and, from Aurangzeb until AH 1172 (1757/58), a regular rupee and occasional mohur mint of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal coinage was interrupted in AH 1160 / *ahd* (Februar / March ad 1748) when Ahmad Shah Abdali struck rupees and mohurs at Sahrind commemorating his first (and short) occupation of the city.



1. Ahmad Shah Bahadur 1161 / *ahd*



2. 'Alamgir year *ahd*

A second interruption took place in AH 1170 when rupees were struck with the enigmatic regnal year *ahd*.⁷² In AH 1170 (AD 1757) Ahmad Shah Abdali occupied Delhi, where he married his son, Timur, to Muhammadi Begum, a daughter of 'Alamgir II, who brought Sahrind to her husband as part of her dowry. Before he returned to Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah installed Timur in Lahore as Viceroy in the Panjab, Kashmir and Sahrind. Between May 1757 and April 1758, when Timur was chased back to Afghanistan by Sikhs and Marathas, coins in his name and his role as *Nizam* and dated AH 1170 / *ahd* were struck in Lahore and other places. Although the rupee from Sahrind is in the name of Ahmad Shah

72. Jan Lingen studied Ahmad Shah's Sahrind rupees dated AH 1170/*ahd* in an unpublished paper. My text is a summary of his conclusions.

and acknowledges his son only in the regnal year *ahd*, there cannot be any doubt that it is a part of the same series. We do not know why the rupee is not also in the name of the young Viceroy, but the reason may well be that the Afghans wanted to clarify that, despite the dowry bestowed by the Mughal Emperor on Timur, Ahmad Shah was the actual suzerain of Sahrind.



3. Rupee of Ahmad Shah Abdali dated AH 1170 but with, regnal year *ahd* of Timur Shah as Nizam

In AH 1172, the Mughal coinage stops at Sahrind and the coinage in the name of Ahmad Shah Abdali begins. Ahmad Shah's rupees and mohurs from Sahrind bearing legible AH and regnal years are scarce and we actually do not have an unbroken line of dates; but we can surmise that the Sahrind mint – although not very productive – was active from AH 1172 to the destruction of the city in AH 1177 (AD 1764).



4. Ahmad Shah Abdali AH 1177

In the collection of the British Museum is an enigmatic rupee in the name of Shah 'Alam II and dated 1174 /*ahd* with the mintname Sahrind. As it is certain that neither Shah 'Alam nor one of his allies controlled Sahrind and its mint in AH 1174 Shailendra Bhandare speculated⁷³ that this rupee might represent an emergency coinage of the Maratha army besieged by Ahmad Shah Abdali at Panipat. The Maratha source quoted by Shailendra mentioned 3 types of emergency coins. Would it be possible that the Sahrind rupees in the name of Ahmad Shah Abdali issued in 1174 with incorrect dates also belong to this up to now unidentified emergency coinage? For the moment this is, as Shailendra wrote, *only a guess – but at least a calculated and educated one.*



5. Ahmad Shah Abdali AH 1184 / RY 14



6. Ahmad Shah Abdali AH 1174 / RY 4

The rupees in the name of Ahmad Shah Abdali bearing the mint name Sahrind but struck at Patiala

AH and regnal year	Ruler's name on coins
1178	Ahmad Shah Abdali
1178 / 19	Ahmad Shah Abdali (Raja Ala Singh of Patiala)
1180 1181 1184	Ahmad Shah Abdali (died AH 1186) (Raja Amar Singh of Patiala)
1192 1193 1194	Ahmad Shah Abdali posthumous (Raja Amar Singh of Patiala)



7. Ahmad Shah 1178 without swad mark



8. Ahmad Shah 1178/19 with swad mark (struck under Ala Singh)



9. Rupee in the name of Ahmad Shah struck under Raja Amar Singh in Patiala in AH 1184



10. Posthumous rupee in the name of Ahmad Shah struck under Raja Amar Singh in Patiala in AH 1194

General Taylor, Griffin, Temple and other writers have speculated about when the Raja of Patiala was granted his minting right and, as no documentary evidence of such an act has ever been found, various dates have been proposed. The "grant of a minting right" is a European notion which makes no sense at all in an Afghan context and it is very clear that such a grant was never issued and will never be found.

73. Shailendra Bhandare: "The Marathas in Delhi in the 'Panipat' year: A Numismatic Insight" in JONS 209, pp. 27/28 and fig 15.

In Muslim states the rights of *khutba* and *sikka*, of being mentioned in the Friday prayer and of putting one's name on the coins struck in one's territories were among the most visible and, therefore, most important privileges of a sovereign ruler. Starting already during the caliphate, wazirs, governors and even mint officials were sometimes mentioned on coins together with the ruler, but it was always clear that these names belonged to subordinate officials.

In accordance with the prevailing custom, Ahmad Shah Abdali took over or re-activated existing mints of earlier rulers in the territories he conquered. In a few cases he also established new mints.⁷⁴ Supervising the mints in their provinces was a part of the duties of the governors in the Persian and Mughal Empires, but also in the states of Ahmad Shah Abdali or later of Ranjit Singh, but no subordinate ruler in these empires was ever granted the right to mint his own coin. Striking one's own coin in one's own name was in fact a clear act of rebellion.⁷⁵

As long as Ahmad Shah had a *faujdar* and a mint at the city of Sahrind, he had no reason to even consider the establishment of a second mint for the territory and especially not in a town only 75 km distant and controlled by an untrustworthy and often disloyal vassal and ally; but rupees dated 1178 and practically indistinguishable from Ahmad Shah's coins struck at Sarhind show that Ala Singh must have moved the mint from the destroyed city to Patiala, his residence.⁷⁶

A rupee dated ah 1178 / 19⁷⁷ and, therefore, struck during the two last months of the year 1178, proves that, when Ahmad Shah met Ala Singh during his seventh invasion, he not only granted the Sikh Sardar the title of Raja but he must also have sanctioned the fact that his vassal ran a mint in his suzerain's name. This rupee bears, for the first time, the *swad* mark which was destined to become the distinctive mark on the coins of the Cis-Sutlej States. As this mark has so often been misinterpreted it merits a short explanation:

Temple wrote (p.325) concerning the beginning of the Patiala coinage : "*And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (i.e. of the year 4) and not a current coin of Ahmad Shah was taken as the sample, yet the Patiala and indeed all the Panjab Rupees bear the date "julius 4" or the year 4, i.e. AD 1751.*"⁷⁸

This short statement contains several errors: it is not true that all the Patiala coins bear the year 4 as a date; in reality not a single coin bears this date. Although he never says so, Temple's "year 4" is in fact a very prominent mark in the letter S of *julūs*:



Later successors phantasize until today about an archaic or a "Persian 4" and cannot be bothered to find out that not a single numeral 4 of this shape has ever been found in a text or on a coin dating from the 2nd half of the 18th century.⁷⁹

74. In India we find Ahmad Shah's name on coins of places that he never really owned (e.g. Ahmadnagar-Farrukhabad, Anwala, Bareli, Najibabad, Muradabad). These were mints controlled by Muslim grandees of the dying Mughal Empire who temporarily submitted to the Afghan conqueror, who at one time threatened to occupy most of North India.

75. In the disintegrating Mughal Empire a number of the emerging Princely States usurped the right to strike silver and gold coins, but the more important ones still tried to legitimise their situation by issuing their coins in the name of a nominal Mughal suzerain and buying some form of permission from the Mughal Emperor. Even the EIC struck its main coin types until 1835 in its role as a nominal official of the Mughal Empire.

76. A rupee of this type and date is in the collection of Jevandeep Singh.

77. A rupee of this type but with the mint name and regnal year off flan was published by Frank Timmermann in a short article "The first rupee of Patiala?" in *ONS Newsletter 176*, pp18/19. A rupee with AH and regnal year clearly legible is in the collection of Jevandeep Singh.

78. Ahmad Shah Abdali's coins of RY 4 show a normal Arabic numeral 4.

79. Ahmad Shah Abdali's coins of RY 4 show a normal Arabic numeral 4.

With a little research, Temple and whoever uncritically repeats his statements could easily have discovered, that the mark on the Cis-Sutlej coins is not a Persian 4, but a very well known symbol, which can be found on numerous documents, but also as an Ottoman counterstamp on Venetian ducats and – a fact that is never mentioned, because it would annihilate Temple's theories – as an unexplained secondary mark on the reverse of a series of Sikh Nanakshahi rupees struck at Amritsar between Samvat 1865 and 1877 and on the obverse of incompletely dated silver Mahmudshahis either struck by Nawab Sher Muhammad of Dera Ismail Khan as a vassal of Ranjit Singh or by the Sikhs but still in the name of Mahmud Shah Durrani.⁸⁰

As far back as we can see, scribes always used abbreviations and, as much of their correspondence was in Persian, the chancelleries of the Ottoman, Persian and Mughal Empires had a list of common abbreviations. Some of these abbreviations occur only in a religious context, others are of a more general kind: the Persian letter SIN stands for "question", the letter JIM for "answer" or DAL for *bled* (town). A number of abbreviations are mainly found in an administrative context: MIM stands for *ma'ruf* ("known" or "noted") and under the Mughal government it was the Diwan's countersign on grants or revenue assignments; the letter means: "in this matter a decision has been taken". The letter SAD, in the form that it appears on Sikh coins as the so-called *swad* mark, is possibly the most common of these abbreviations. It stands for the Arabic word: *SAHIH* and, written on documents, it indicates that they have been examined, found correct and approved or that a grant has been sanctioned. It is evident that the *swad* mark on the Patiala rupees declares that they are of a coinage approved by Ahmad Shah Abdali and not some illegal copies by a Sikh Sardar.

Ala Singh died on 22 August 1765 and, under his son, Amar Singh, who in March 1766 was invested by Ahmad Shah with the governorship of the territory of Sirhind, the design of the reverse of the Patiala rupees was modified. Although the mintname Sarhind and a regnal year may still be on the reverse dies they are regularly off the flan of the actual rupees but the *swad* mark moves now into a prominent position. When other Cis-Sutlej states began to copy the Patiala rupees after the death of Amar Singh, marks identifying the Patiala mint and the ruler were added to the reverse⁸¹ but only much later did the mintname Sahrind again appear legibly on coins of Patiala.

Photos: Zeno: 1 / Jan Lingen: 2, 3 / Stan Goron: 5, 6 / Jevandeep Singh: 4, 7-10

JAPANESE "IN AID OF SOLDIERS" MEDAL, 1904-5

By Alfred Haft and Helen Wang, with John Tode

In February 2013, Mr John Tode asked for help in identifying a Japanese medal that had belonged to his father-in-law. As we were unable to find previously published references to the medal, we are recording our findings here, with the permission of Mr Tode, who has also kindly provided the photographs. These findings are mostly compiled from entries in the Japanese and English versions of Wikipedia.

80. Two of these coins are illustrated in: STEVEN ALBUM: *Auction Catalog 12*, January 13-14, 2012, # 1183 and 1184. The coins bear a 12 and an unexplained regnal year *ahd*. Steven Album wrote in his comment of the *swad* mark on these coins: (On the obverse) *is a symbol that somewhat resembles the number 4, but must be of other meaning. It is very common on coins of Maler Kotla, for example, also derived from Durrani prototypes.*

81. Among the Cis-Sutlej states Jind, Nabha, Kaithal and Maler Kotla adopted the *swad* mark of the Patiala rupees. George Thomas, who minted rare rupees at Hansi, his capital, and the Kalsia State, a Sikh state with its capital at Chhachrauli, struck their coins in the name of their own suzerain, the Mughal Emperor.

COIN CIRCULATION IN PALEMBANG (SUMATRA), CIRCA AD 1710 TO 1825

1. Sultanate coins minted at Palembang

By Michael Mitchiner and Tjong Yih

Introduction

Palembang, the seat of a former sultanate, is a port city in eastern Sumatra. It is situated at the head of the delta of the river Musi. Offshore, to the north-east, is the island of Bangka, which used to be part of the Palembang Sultanate. During recent years, dredging operations at Palembang have brought to light large numbers of coins and other artifacts, which have been reaching the general numismatic market since around 2009. Early base metal coins of the region were discussed in the first paper (Mitchiner, JONS 213). The second paper was concerned with looking at other ways in which tin was used in the sultanate (Mitchiner, JONS 214). Some salient features regarding the importance of pepper and tin in regional trade, as well as how the Dutch replaced the Chinese as the principal foreign traders, and the presence of resident Chinese communities (at least at Banten), are summarised in this introduction. Some of the quotations have already been noted in the earlier papers.

The neighbours of the Palembang Sultanate were the Sultanate of Jambi to the northwest and the Sultanate of Banten (Bantam) to the east. The Sultanate of Jambi had its capital at Jambi City, situated beside the river Hari and some distance inland from Sumatra's northeast coast. Beyond Jambi, and extending as far as the Straits of Malacca were the Sultanates of Indragiri, Kampar and Siak. The Sultanate of Banten had its seat at Banten City, situated close to the north-west tip of Java, at the northern end of the Sunda Straits and some fifty miles from Jakarta (Batavia). During its heyday, Banten controlled extensive lands on both sides of the Sunda Straits, including the Lampung district of eastern Sumatra, beyond which lay Banten's frontier with Palembang.

Before the coming of the Dutch, who settled Batavia (Jakarta) in 1619 and conquered Malacca in 1641, two local products played a fundamental role in the prosperity of the regional sultanates and in the local trading networks that developed. These local products were pepper (and other spices) grown in Sumatra and Java; and the tin mined and refined in the Malay Peninsula.

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).

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.

The local surplus production of both pepper and tin had a steady market to the Chinese traders whose ships came to purchase these commodities. Until the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Sultanate of Malacca was the most important focus to which Chinese traders came in their quest for tin. To the east, Banten grew prosperous as the major port visited by the Chinese



The medal has a diameter of 57 mm, is 5 mm thick and weighs 72g. The metal seems to be silver.

The inscription on the cover of the box and the reverse of the medal reads, *Teikoku Gunjin Engokai Kinen* 帝國軍人援護會記念 (Commemorating the Society in Aid of Soldiers of the Imperial Military). Japanese Wikipedia has a page about this society, noting that it was founded on 15 March 1904 and dissolved in June 1906. Its aim was to support the families of soldiers fighting in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and to assist soldiers wounded in battle. It received the backing of Matsukata Masayoshi (a cabinet minister) and Masuda Takahashi (in the War Office), as well as the emperor and empress, Keio University, and the Union-Pacific Railway Company (a company in the US). Officers of the society included members of leading families.

The figure portrayed on the obverse of the medal is Prince Arisugawa-no-miya Takehito (1862-1913), named as *Sôsai Takehito-shinnô* 總裁威仁親王 (General Director Prince Takehito). Takehito's biography in Japanese and English. Wikipedia does not mention the Society, but the Japanese page for the Society indicates that he was appointed its general director.

The obverse features two plants that are probably symbolic, and a date at the bottom reading, *Meiji sanjû shichi hachi nen* 明治三十七八年 (Meiji 37-38; or 1904-1905).

We would welcome any additional information about this medal.

traders in their search for pepper. During the 1560's to the early 1620's, Banten prospered as the regional hub of the pepper trade. The pepper grown in such north Sumatran sultanates as Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang was sent to Banten, where Chinese merchants were the principal purchasers. Banten enjoyed its role as the most important port in the pepper trade from around the 1560's until the aftermath of Dutch settlement at nearby Batavia in 1619.

Mandelslo (1659, 347-8), like Millies (1871, 38-41), described the Chinese traders who came to Banten, basing his description on early Dutch reports of around 1600. *"The Chinese make the greatest commerce (of all foreign peoples) They come into the country and buy all the pepper they find The ships arrive at Bantam in the month of January, eight or ten in number, and each forty-five to fifty tons. It is also these that bring the money that one calls in Malay, cas, and in Javanese, picy, which are current not only at Bantam, and across all the isle of Java, but also across all the neighbouring islands It is 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". "The Chinese also bring porcelain, which they sell at a very good price. They also bring the silk, satins and damask of their country".* The principal trade goods brought by the Chinese were diminutive cash coins, porcelain and fabrics. Mandelslo's (1659, 347) description of the resident Chinese community at Banten, referable to early Dutch reports of around 1600, is as follows. *"The Chinese are those who make the greatest commerce there (at Banten), who have the most industry in acquiring goods, and who live the best there. They are interesting people who practice usury, and who have acquired there the same reputation as the Jews have in Europe. They come into the country, the steelyard in the hand, to buy all the pepper they find, and after having weighed a portion of it, so that they can judge approximately the quantity, they then offer silver in blocks (perhaps sycee), according to the requirements of those who sell it, and by this means they amass such a great quantity that they can charge the ships of China when they arrive, selling at fifty thousand caxas (cash) the sack, what had come to them for twelve thousand".*

The presence of the Portuguese in Malacca from 1511 may have had an influence on the international tin trade, but the Portuguese presence had little impact on the local sultanates and the trading networks they had developed. The situation at Palembang shortly after 1619 provides an example: *"The Dutch had discovered the Kingdom of Palimbang, and beyond this, for the well being of their commerce in the Isle of Java, they had made a very strong establishment there (at Palimbang), such as one also sees in their relations (elsewhere). The Portuguese had nothing there at all, but they only had permission to be able to trade there, when they were in no way prevented by the Dutch"* (Mandelslo 1659, 328).

The Dutch founded Fort Batavia in 1619 and soon developed a strong presence in the region. Nearby Banten, and the pepper trade on which its prosperity depended, was one of the first casualties of Dutch consolidation. This is reflected in Banten's coinage. By the end of the 1620's, Banten's respectable copper alloy coinage had been replaced by scarce issues of small-size lead alloy coins. Banten's commercial supremacy in the pepper trade was broken forever. Banten's phase of supremacy in the regional pepper trade had been a transient, but important, episode in commercial history whose understanding is fundamental to interpreting the numismatic history of the region. The sultanates of northern Sumatra no longer sent their pepper to Banten for marketing and Chinese traders no longer came to Banten with their diminutive trade coins. The rise of Dutch power in the region effectively curtailed Chinese trading interests, and it certainly excluded the Chinese from the lucrative pepper trade. Despite the setback to its trade, Banten remained a substantial state until disastrous conflicts with Batavia during the years 1676 to 1684 reduced Banten to the effective status of a Dutch protectorate (Hall 1968, 324-5).

Meanwhile, the growth of Dutch power at Batavia was also having a detrimental effect on Portuguese trade out of Malacca. *"Since the Dutch (Hollandois) had made such powerful establishments in Ceylon and in Java, the Portuguese of Malacca had lost the freedom of commerce with China and the Moluccas, because they were no longer masters of that sea"* (Mandelslo 1659, 321).

In 1641, the Dutch conquered Malacca from the Portuguese. This had two major consequences for the regional trade in tin and in pepper. From their base at Malacca, the Dutch set out to dominate the tin trade by establishing tin monopolies over the tin producing sultanates of the Malay Peninsula. With bases at both Batavia and Malacca, the Dutch could now begin to establish pepper monopolies over the north Sumatran sultanates.

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. In 1683, the Dutch acquired a monopoly in the export of Siak's recently discovered tin (Hall 1968, 349). This was several decades before the tin ore deposits on Bangka island, discovered in 1710, were to bring prosperity to Palembang.

The Dutch imposed their pepper monopolies over the more westerly sultanates of northern Sumatra according to the terms of the Painan contract signed in 1663, whereby the Dutch gained a monopoly on the purchase of all pepper grown in each sultanate in exchange for providing protection (Hall 1968, 349-51). At Palembang, the Dutch had already imposed a pepper monopoly in 1658 (see below). According to Yong Liu (2007, 47), the Dutch pepper monopoly dates back as far as 1642.

The Dutch stranglehold over the trade in pepper, and in tin, severely undermined the regional trading network among the sultanates and also undermined their prosperity. Whereas coins minted in several sultanates had reached Palembang in the course of trade during the early seventeenth century, the second half of the seventeenth century was characterized by the absence of non-local coins. The only coins of this period found at Palembang are the coins minted at Palembang, itself.

Having contrasted the inter-sultanate trading pattern of the early seventeenth century against the Dutch-dominated pattern of the later seventeenth century, it is appropriate to discuss some features particular to Palembang.

Palembang

Palembang, like Banten, had become an independent sultanate when Demak declined following the death of Tranggana (1521-1546) in 1546 (Hall 1968, 277-9). Thereafter, Palembang had been an active participant in the regional pepper trade during the period of Banten's hegemony, circa 1560's to 1620's. That was a period when many coins of Banten reached Palembang in the course of trade. It was also a period when numerous coins of Siak, along with smaller numbers of coins from the other Sumatran sultanates of Kampar and Jambi also reached Palembang. The details of these various coinages were discussed in the first paper.

When the Dutch became powerful in the region, their first major impact on Palembang was in 1658. In this year, the Dutch mounted a punitive expedition against Palembang. Earlier in 1658, the Sultan of Palembang had carried out an attack on the Dutch factory at Palembang. The factors were killed, and so were the crews of two ships anchored in front of the factory. The Dutch mounted a punitive expedition against Palembang. The sultan was obliged to permit the construction of a Dutch fort close to the town, and also had to grant to the Dutch an exclusive right to purchase the pepper grown in the Sultanate of Palembang (Hall 1968, 321).

In the first paper (Mitchiner JONS 213), it was suggested that the events of 1658 provided a stimulus for the Sultan of Palembang to modify the form of his coinage. The Dutch punitive expedition of 1658 had brought humiliation to the sultan. It would have provided a suitable stimulus for a nationalist reform of the coinage. Palembang's early coinage is divisible into two main series. The

first series comprises coins bearing phonetic Chinese inscriptions. These coins have four Chinese characters and the square central hole characteristic of Chinese cash coins. Two of the characters, when read phonetically name the Pangeran on some coins and the sultan on the other coins (Yih JONS 204). They have been dated to the period circa 1600 to 1658.

When the sultan reformed the coinage, he abandoned the use of Chinese inscriptions, which could not be read by most local people. He introduced Malay inscriptions that were more accessible to his subjects. The Malay inscription on these coins reads “ ‘Alamat Sultan”, which means “Mark of the Sultan” (Yih JONS 209). The “ ‘Alamat Sultan” coins were minted with both a square central hole and a circular central hole. They have been dated to the period circa 1658 to 1710.

Locally made coinage, official and unofficial, of Palembang, circa 1710 to 1825

Palembang’s 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), basing his description largely on the earlier study by Court (1821) detailed how the operation was administered. 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 teko supervised the mining activities of the various Kong-sse (Gongs: mining societies) in his particular part of Bangka Island. Millies wrote: “*He (Court) recounted that at the time when Bangka belonged to the sultan of Palembang, the direction of the affairs in the mines in the different districts was entrusted to seven of the principal local people of Palembang, under the title Teko (or Tikou), to whom the sultan advanced the capital necessary for the exploitation of the mines. The stations of these Teko and the districts joined to each other, were Djebous and Klabat in the north-west of the Isle, Blinyou in the eastern part of the bay of Klabat, Soungai Liat, Marawang and Pangkal Pinang on the east coast and Tobaoli in the centre. The Tikou were the descendants of a Chinese father and a Malay mother, who followed the Moslem religion and knew the Chinese and Malay languages. For that reason, as well as for their capability in office, their insight and subtlety, they were chosen for directing the districts of the mines, where the Chinese miners worked. These chiefs had their residence overall at Palembang, from where they sent the miners under their respective direction all the necessary provisions and merchandise. They only visited their districts from time to time for regulating their accounts with the miners and for arranging with their subordinate agents or Kong-sse’s, as one calls them, the direction of the works to be executed during their absence. These Kong-sse’s had the direction of the mines and held accounts with the miners on behalf of the Tikou, for which they received a fixed salary. The preparatory expenditure for excavating the mines, the erection of furnaces, the cost of tools, the removal of vegetation were borne by the Tikou, who afterwards paid to the miners the regulated price of around 6 dollars for each ‘picol’ of tin of around 160 katis delivered by them. Two-thirds of this payment was made in provisions and merchandise, which the miners received during the course of their work, and the other third in tin coins called pitis, which each Tikou had the privilege of adopting for circulation in his district and which did not have any currency outside the limits of this district*”. Millies attempted, without success, to discover on the coins the names of the districts on Bangka island noted by Court.

This description makes it apparent that the Sultan of Palembang owned the tin of Bangka Island, just as Ma Huan’s description, cited above, makes it clear that the Sultan of Malacca had owned the tin mined and refined in his territory. 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 1433) 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. The eighteenth century coinage of Palembang Sultanate comprises two separate series of coins. These are the sultan’s series of small-size tin-alloy pichis bearing Malay inscriptions, and the series of larger-size tin-alloy coins minted for the Chinese mining communities. The Chinese coins have commonly been attributed solely to the mining communities on Bangka Island, which is the view suggested by Millies in the passage quoted above. However, it should be remembered that the supervision of the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island was overseen by an administration based in Palembang City. The supervising officials lived in Palembang, and the coins appear to have been minted in Palembang (see above). Many coins of the Chinese series have been found at Palembang. There can be little doubt that some coins bearing Chinese inscriptions circulated side by side in Palembang City with the sultan’s small coins bearing Malay inscriptions.

The coming of a tin surplus to Palembang brought about important changes to the sultan’s local coinage. Before around 1710, the output of coins had been fairly restrained and counterfeiting had not been a major problem. During the period of Palembang’s tin surplus, the output of the sultan’s official coinage expanded and the manufacture of counterfeit coinage became a major industry. During this period, the official coinage commissioned by the sultan formed only one part of the total coinage circulating in Palembang. The quantity of coins, both official and counterfeit, showed a major increase over the volume of coins circulating during earlier times. The majority of official coins are small tin pichis measuring around 18 to 20 mm, and weighing 0.6 to 1.2 g. Most issues have a circular legend around a circular central hole, but a few issues have solid flans (Millies 1871, pp. 110-117, pl. XIX, 182-209). Tin pichis, or rather strings of tin pichis, were the reference value for market place commercial transactions.

In addition to producing the local coinage, the sultan was also responsible for the coinage of the Chinese mining communities on Bangka Island, and of their administration at Palembang City. The Chinese-style pieces are significantly larger than the Palembang pichis and have a central hole that is either circular, or square. They normally measure 26 to 28 mm., and weigh within the range three to five grams. The designs on the Bangka coins show much variety. Chinese inscriptions with up to four characters are common and it is also common to have designs on both obverse and reverse. Malay inscriptions also occur. Sometimes there are small ornaments on either the obverse or reverse, or both. 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. The role played by tin in the market place economy was the subject of the second paper (Mitchiner, JONS 214)

The end of Palembang’s tin surplus (1812) and the suppression of the sultanate (1825)

Palembang’s loss of Bangka Island occurred during the British occupation of Java and Sumatra during 1811 to 1816. When the Sultan of Palembang learned of the British landing at Batavia in August 1811, he rose up against the Dutch garrison in Palembang. All persons were killed, including women and children. Raffles determined to punish the sultan for this massacre. Gillespie was dispatched at the head of an expeditionary force. He captured Palembang in April 1812. The Sultan escaped and the British placed his brother, Ahmed Najam, on the throne. As compensation for the massacre, the new ruler was obliged to cede the tin bearing islands of Bangka and Billiton to the British in return for a cash payment (Hall 1968, 484). Two years later, by the terms of the

Convention of London signed in August 1814, Britain restored to the new Dutch Kingdom the former colonies of the Dutch East India Company conquered since 1803. The British had already exchanged Bangka Island for the definitive possession of Cochin in south India (Hall 1968, 539). The Dutch Commissioner-Generals reached Java in 1816 and the British handed over Java to the Dutch in August 1816, followed by Sumatra and the other territories. The Commissioner-Generals returned home in 1818, leaving behind one of their number, van der Capellen, as the first Governor General of the restored Dutch East Indies. In the meantime British coinage had been minted in Java from 1812 until 1816 (AH 1227 to 1232).

Palembang had lost Bangka Island to the British in 1812. The island went on to become a nominal Dutch possession in 1814 and was formally handed over to the Dutch in 1816. After 1812, Palembang no longer had a source of tin within the territory of the sultanate.

In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II had regained his throne at Palembang. He rose up against the Dutch once again (Hall 1968, 543) and was defeated by the Dutch general, de Kock, in 1821. The Dutch divested Mahmud of his powers and exiled him to Ternate in the same year. A few years later, in 1825, the Dutch took Palembang under direct Dutch administration, and suppressed the sultanate (Hall 1968, 576).

The victory over Palembang was commemorated by the following medal.

William I of the Netherlands: AD 1815 - 1840

General de Kock defeats Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II at Palembang, 24 June 1821



1. Bare head of William I, to left
Trace of signature on truncation
Wilh: Nass: Belg: Rex. Luxemb: M: Dux:

rev. Mars, brandishing sword and shield, standing on prow, to right. Winged Victory flies above, holding wreath above head of Mars.

Hostium. Munimentis. Expugnatis. Satrape. Capto. Bello. Confecto.

in exergue: Ad. Palembang. / D. XXIV. Jun. MDCCCXXI / Braemt. F.

Copper, gilded, cast, die axes 12, 41 mm, 27.85 g

Baldwin, Argentum Nov. 2012, 675; Fonr. 837; Wilmersdorffer 11396

By Auguste François Michaut (obverse) and Joseph Pierre Braemt (reverse).

Coinage of the Sultan's mint at Palembang, circa 1710 to 1825

Note: Coin reverses: All coins catalogued here have a plain flat reverse. This feature is noted here, but will not be repeated for individual catalogue entries.

1. Tin pichis of the period circa 1710 to 1778

Several related name forms have been used by western writers to describe these coins. Millies, like other nineteenth century scholars preferred the rendering *pitji*, or *pitjis*. The form *pichis* is preferred here, because this form was used on the eighteenth century coins of

Banten. The coin inscription describes the coin as a *pichis* of Banten (*pychys*: hence *pichis*).

During the period from circa 1710 until 1778 (AH 1192), large numbers of undated tin *pichis* were minted with a circular central hole and bearing the official title of Palembang City, which is Palembang Darussalam. The legend on these coins reads "*zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām*" – "Minted at the City of Palembang, Seat of Peace". This series of coins follows on from the undated *pichis* with a circular central hole whose legend, in four segments, reads "*alāmat sultān*" – "Mark of the Sultan". The date 1710 should be interpreted as a marker, rather than an exact date. The change in Palembang's coinage could have occurred a few years earlier, but is more likely to have happened a few years later. Within this period, there was a brief attempt to reform the coinage in AH 1162 (AD 1749).

The "*zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām*" coins are the most common *pichis* among recent finds from Palembang. The coins are both common and also diverse, particularly in the legibility of their inscriptions. Few coins have a fully literate inscription. The most noticeable part of the inscription to suffer contraction is the suffix "*dār al-salām*". This is contracted on the majority of coins. The coins were mass produced and they are commonly of indifferent execution. Some variation in the inscriptions would be expected among coins that were being made for a long time. However, the extent of variation from literate inscriptions to stylised derivative inscriptions begs the question of whether many *pichis* circulating in Palembang were contemporary forgeries made in the market place.

Radermacher, writing in 1779, noted the problem of counterfeit coins at Palembang (Wicks 1983, 280-1). Millies (1871, 110), also drawing his information from Radermacher's description, noted the severe penalty imposed for making false money imitating the king's *pichis* – namely having the hands cut off. Marsden (1811, 361: see Wicks 1983, 281) and Millies (1871, 110), basing their descriptions on Radermacher, noted that the *pichis* were strung in parcels of 500 coins. Each parcel was worth four sous of Holland, and sixteen parcels were worth a Spanish dollar.

The "*zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām*" coinage was clearly manufactured during the period when Palembang had a tin surplus in its economy, that is to say, after circa 1710. These would have been the dominant coins in local circulation at the time when Radermacher made his observations prior to their publication in 1779.

Millies (1871), followed by Wicks (1983), attributed some dated coins to the period before the dated issues of AH 1162 (1749) and AH 1193 (1779). Millies (1871, p. 112) noted such dates as 1103 (AD 1691) and 1113 (AD 1701) on Palembang *pichis* of the eighteenth century series, but these are error dates written on later eighteenth century *pichis*. For reasons discussed below, these early dates are considered to be fictitious. Both writers noted the "*zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām*" *pichis*, but neither discussed this issue, or rather group of issues, in detail. They also mentioned the numerous coins with corrupt legends.

zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām

(Minted at the City of Palembang, Seat of Peace)

The legend reads clockwise, with the letters base outwards.

Undated; circa 1710 to 1749, and probably to 1778

ضرب في بلاد فلنبنغ دار السلام

a) Coins with a literate inscription

Circular Malay inscription with the letters base outwards.

zarb fi beled palembang dār al-salām

(Minted at the City of Palembang, Seat of Peace)

2. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.96 g, ex Palembang

3. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 1.20 g, ex Palembang

4. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 1.08 g, ex Palembang

Millies (1871) p. 115, pl.XIX, 201; Wicks (1983) p. 287; pl. 22, 239



b) Coins with a slightly corrupt inscription

The first word, 'zarb', tends to become contracted to a figure resembling the letter 'ṣad' (ص - س). The final 'dār al-salām' becomes progressively more contracted.

Same inscription, but slightly corrupt

- 5. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.83 g, ex Palembang
- 6. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.92 g, ex Palembang
- 7. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.61 g, ex Palembang
- 8. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.03 g, ex Palembang
- 9. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.87 g, ex Palembang



c) Coins with a moderately corrupt inscription

It is a moot point how many degrees of corruption one should try to catalogue. In general terms, the coins in groups 'a' to 'c' seem to represent the range of variation in the sultan's official coinage, but one should debate the status of the coins in group 'd'. The coins representing group 'c' catalogued here are placed in this group because they have a readily recognised form of the name 'Palembang'. Much of the remaining inscription is contracted. The word 'zarb' has become more contracted to an 's' shape with one or two dots.

Same inscription, but much contracted

- 10. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang
 - 11. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.84 g, ex Palembang
 - 12. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 1.03 g, ex Palembang
- See also: Millies (1871), pl. XIX, 203



d) Coins with a corrupt inscription retaining a standardised form of mint name

d.1. 'Palembang' written -

ḡolo

The coins catalogued in the various sub-groups of group 'd' all have corrupt inscriptions. However, the corruption is far from being random. All coins belonging to this group show closely inter-related forms of corruption to the mint name 'Palembang'. This tells us something about the makers of the coins. It is not a case of randomised forgery by multiple persons. The standardised form of a corrupt mint name points to centralised manufacture. Do the coins represent especially bad products of the sultan's mint, or

were they the products of a single group of forgers? This is a question that can be debated.

Looking at the numismatic history of Palembang, it is apparent that there had been an earlier phase during which corrupt inscriptions were accepted on Palembang's coinage. This was during the later part of the period during which the Chinese phonetic inscriptions 'Sultan' and 'Pangeran' were being used during part of the seventeenth century (Yih 2010, Mitchiner 2012). Mitchiner dated this phase to the period circa 1640's to 1658. Were analogous changes occurring during the eighteenth century? It seems quite likely. The "zarb fi beled Palembang dār al-salām" coinage was issued for several decades, circa 1710 to 1778, and it is reasonable to suggest that during the later part of this period, it was acceptable for the sultan's mint to produce coins with corrupt inscriptions. This phase would be brought to an end by the currency reform that saw the introduction of new kinds of pichis, an ephemeral issue with a circular central hole in AH 1162 and a more definitive issue with solid flans dated AH 1193 (AD 1779).

The authors originally considered the pichis with corrupt inscriptions to be the products of local coin forgers. Now, it seems more likely that coins with corrupt inscriptions bearing some closely related standardised forms of the word 'Palembang' were produced by the sultan's mint. These coins are quite common and some selected examples are catalogued here as 'group d'.

Corrupt inscription, Palembang written as above, with a closed ending

- 13. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang
- 14. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.2 mm, 0.75 g, ex Palembang, Yih



d.2. 'Palembang' written and related forms

ḡ:do ḡ:ch

The inscriptions are not as standardised as on coins of the very popular group d3, which follows.

'Palembang' written -

ḡ:do

Corrupt inscription, with Palembang written as cited

- 15. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.05 g, ex Palembang
- 16. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.10 g, ex Palembang



'Palembang' written -

ḡ:ch

Corrupt inscription, with Palembang written as cited

- 17. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.00 g, ex Palembang



Palembang written in related styles

Comparable coins with corrupt inscriptions and generally similar forms of 'Palembang'

- 18. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 0.86 g, ex Palembang
 - 19. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang
 - 20. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 1.23 g, ex Palembang
 - 21. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17.3 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- Millies (1871) pl. XIX, 204



d.3. 'Palembang' written



Many coins sharing the general characteristics of this group have been encountered. This seems to have been an accepted degree of stylisation at which many coins were minted.

Corrupt inscription, with Palembang written as above

- 22. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.96 g, ex Palembang
- 23. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.95 g, ex Palembang
- 24. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.65 g, ex Palembang
- 25. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.50 g, ex Palembang
- 26. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 0.80 g, ex Palembang
- 27. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.90 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Millies (1871) pl. XIX, 202



The popularity of these coins is attested by the observation of imitative coins bearing a mirror image of the same formalised design.

Type d3 in mirror image

Same inscription, written partly in mirror image

- 28. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 29. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.5 mm, 0.79 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 30. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19.1 mm, 0.86 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Technique of manufacture illustrated by error castings

The role played by dies in stamping the moulds

Coins with off centre inscriptions provide information about the manufacturing technique. Preparing the mould for casting pichis was a process, which had several stages. The initial preparation of the mould involved making an impression that would provide a coin with a central hole, a rim around this hole and a second rim around the margin. At this stage there was no inscription.

A separate stage in preparation was to engrave a die bearing the inscription.

The final stage in preparation was to use the die to stamp the coin inscription into the mould. Various errors represented on coins show that the stage of preparing a blank mould for a coin with rims was separate from the stage of stamping the mould with the coin inscription.

Many coins show casting sprues from the channels into which the molten metal was poured. The end process of trimming appears to have been rather careless. It is likely that the moulds were made for casting coin trees, rather than single coins. Coin trees were a common product in both Malaya and China. So far, no coin trees, or part coin trees, have been seen with Palembang pichis.

A coin of group d3 with a severely off-centre inscription

- 31. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.97 g, ex Palembang, Yih



A group of type d3 coins with slightly off-centre inscriptions

On these coins, the rim and central hole are well centred on the coin. The inscription is slightly off centre. In the selected examples, the bottom of the word "Palembang" is missing.

As described

- 32. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.03 g, ex Palembang
- 33. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.02 g, ex Palembang
- 34. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.02 g, ex Palembang
- 35. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.14 g, ex Palembang
- 36. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.89 g, ex Palembang



Inscription stamped in the mould at a slight angle

Vertical stamping of the die into the mould produces an evenly applied inscription in the mould. When the die is stamped at a slight angle to the vertical, the result is an inscription that is clear across one segment of the flan, but may be completely missing from the opposite segment of the flan.

This is another common error. The selected examples belong to the common group d3 and show absence of inscription from the segment following the word "Palem".

As described

37. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang

38. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 1.19 g, ex Palembang

39. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.93 g, ex Palembang

As described (weak strokes after "Palem")

40. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 1.21 g, ex Palembang

Inscription of type d3, slightly off centre, and with blank segment after "Palem"

41. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19.8 mm, 1.09 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Generally weak impression of the inscription

The mould has been weakly stamped by the legend borne on the inscription die. The resulting coins show a normal central hole, and normal rims around the hole and around the margin. Only traces of the inscription can be made out. The coins are not worn or corroded. They have simply never received a proper inscription.

Coins possibly belonging to group d3. Traces of inscription

42. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang

43. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20 mm, 0.74 g, ex Palembang

44. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang



Coins with normal rims, but completely absent inscriptions, probably represent a more extreme version of the error coins with a very faint inscription noted above. In the present case, the mint technician charged with stamping the inscription seems to have forgotten to stamp some blanks in the mould. The result is a coin with a normal central hole and rims, but no inscription. It is not a case of the inscriptions having been worn out. The inscriptions were never there in the first place. Two examples described here have a square central hole and seem to date from the late seventeenth century period of the 'Alamat Sultan coinage. The other two examples have circular central holes and a fabric of eighteenth century form.

No inscriptions; square central hole; c. late seventeenth century

Blank field around a square central hole. Rims present around central hole and around margin on obverse.

45. Tin alloy, 20 mm, 0.75 g, ex Palembang, Yih

46. Tin alloy, 19.8 mm, 0.57 g, ex Palembang, Yih

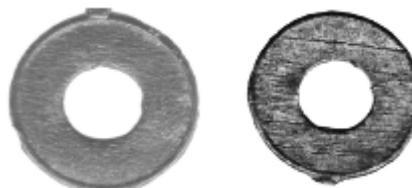


No inscription; circular central hole; c. eighteenth century

Blank field around a circular central hole. Marginal rim present on obverse.

47. Tin alloy, 19 mm, 0.81 g, ex Palembang, Yih

48. Tin alloy, 18.6 mm, 0.50 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins with various forms of corrupt inscriptions: official or forgeries ?

The coins considered thus far belong to a cohesive class showing a rational evolution to the degradation of the inscriptions. It has been suggested that they were official products of the Palembang mint.

The coins discussed in the present section bear corrupt inscriptions, whose form is random and adheres to no pattern. They show no consistency to the form of elements in the inscriptions. There is no reason for believing that there was any element of centralisation in their manufacture. The coins are fairly common and they could have been made by almost anyone with access to Palembang's market place supply of tin during the period when there was a tin surplus in the economy. The most likely interpretation is that they were made by local coin forgers.

Palembang's pichis were commonly traded as strings of coins, rather than as individual coins. Provided the coins at each end of the string had the correct general appearance, the insertion of some false coins into the string would probably not have presented a problem. The false coins would not have been noticed.

The coins catalogued in this section can reasonably be identified as the kinds of false coins noted by Radermacher in his publication of 1779.

Coins of normal size

Corrupt inscriptions

49. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang

50. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang

51. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang

52. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.67 g, ex Palembang

53. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.70 g, ex Palembang

Millies (1871) p. 115; Wicks (1983) p. 287; Pl. 22, 240

Coins of small size

Corrupt inscriptions

54. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 14 mm, 0.40 g, ex Palembang

55. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 15 mm, 0.47 g, ex Palembang

56. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 15 mm, 0.37 g, ex Palembang

57. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 15 mm, 0.51 g, ex Palembang



2. 'Alāmat fī beled Palembang dār al-salām 1162 (AD 1749)

The sultan made an abortive attempt to reform Palembang's coinage in AH 1162. The new coins are circular tin alloy pichis with a circular central hole and an increased size. They have wider and thicker flans than the circulating pichis, and their weight is significantly heavier. The inscription was written in a different way. Whereas the Malay inscriptions on earlier coins were written with the letters base outwards, and reading in a clockwise manner, the inscription on the new coins was written with the letters base inwards and it reads in an anticlockwise direction. Only the date is written clockwise. This is the only issue with the letters of the legend written with their bases inwards. All other circular tin pichis belonging to Palembang's eighteenth, to early nineteenth, century series now being discussed have the letters of their inscriptions arranged base outwards and read in a clockwise direction.

The new coins bear the inscription 'alāmat fī beled Palembang dār al-salām 1162. The script is of indifferent quality and the numbers in the date are often poorly written. The third digit is often difficult to read, with '6' and '9' being possibilities that were considered. Likewise, '2' and '3' were considered for the fourth digit. There are now a sufficient number of specimens with a legible date to show that the intended reading of the date is "1162".

علاوة في بلاد فلنڠ دار السلام 1162

Tin pichis with circular Malay legend around circular hole
'alāmat fī beled Palembang dār al-salām 1162
Mark at the City of Palembang, seat of peace, 1162

- 58. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 22 mm, 2.32 g, ex Palembang
- 59. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19.9 mm, 0.75 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 60. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 21.5 mm, 2.02 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 61. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 22.0 mm, 1.60 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 62. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 22 mm, 2.22 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 63. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 22.1 mm, 2.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih
(63. Similar, but the number '2' looks more like '3')
- 64. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 21.4 mm, 3.15 g, ex Palembang, Yih (64. Similar: number '2' is clearly '2')
- 65. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 20.8 mm, 1.11 g, ex Palembang, Yih

See: Millies (1871) p. 112, pl. XIX, 184; Wicks (1983) p. 283



Slightly modified inscriptions and casting errors

Simplified date: 1111

Same inscription. Dated simplified to 1111

66. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 21 mm, 1.75 g, ex Palembang

67. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 21.6 mm, 2.59 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Error casting

Error casting with no central hole

68. Tin alloy, solid flan, 21.7 mm, 2.09 g, ex Palembang, Yih



3. The period AH 1162 to 1193

The coinage reform of AH 1162 appears to have been short lived. The heavy new coins of AH 1162 are relatively scarce pieces and they appear to have been driven out of circulation by the traditional light-weight pichis. The traditional pichis, such as the very popular coins of group d3 discussed above, appear to have remained in circulation until a new coinage reform in AH 1193 (AD 1779) saw the introduction of coins with a much lighter weight and solid flans.

4. Al-sultān fī beled Palembang sanat 1193 (AD 1779)

The coinage reform of AH 1193 saw the introduction of small coins with solid circular flans and weighing less than half a gram. These small coins appear to have been popular, as judged by the substantial number of minor varieties. However, it was not possible to trade these coins in the traditional manner, which was as strings of cash. The experiment with solid flans was short-lived, only lasting until new coins with a central hole were introduced in AH 1198.

Minor variations in the writing of the date numbers 1193 have led to several different readings for the date. The number "9" is normally written as a vertical line with a small hook to the left at its upper end, and the space filled in to create a "9". Some coins show the vertical line with an enlarged hook to the left, so that this digit can be read as "8". Other coins have a simple vertical line without a hook, so forming the number "1". The first digit in the date is normally a simple vertical line, hence the number "1". Sometimes, it is more like an oval to circular pellet, which can be read as "0". Putting these variations together, the observed

permutations to the writing of the date are 1193, 1183, 0183, 1113, 0113, 113 and 93.

The coins were mass produced, with the result that some variations in engraving might be expected. In the cases just discussed, the remainder of the inscription is well engraved and fully legible.

السلطان في بلاد فلنبيق سنة ١١٩٣

Small tin pichis with a solid circular flan
al-sultān fī beled Palembang sanat 1193
The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1193

- 69. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 15 mm, 0.46 g, ex Palembang
- 70. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13 mm, 0.32 g, ex Palembang
- 71. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.4 mm, 0.36 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 72. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 11.9 mm, 0.25 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 73. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 12.3 mm, 0.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih

See: Millies (1871) pp. 112-3; pl. XIX 187: Wicks (1983), pp. 282-3; Pl. 22, 231



With error date: 1183

Date: 1183

- 74. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.4 mm, 0.451 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 75. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.7 mm, 0.39 g, ex Palembang, Yih

The number '8' is probably a badly written '9'.



With error date: 0183

Date: 0183

- 76. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



With error date: 1113

Similar inscription, but with date simplified to: 1113

- 77. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.8 mm, 0.30 g, ex Palembang, Yih

See: Millies (1871) pp. 112-3, pl. XIX, 185: Wicks (1983) pp. 283; pl. 22, 232

Millies, followed by Wicks, considered that '1113' was a genuine date. It is considered here that coins belong to the issue of AH 1193 and bear a simplified date. Millies also noted coins with the apparent date '1103'.



With error date: 0113

Similar inscription, but with date simplified to: 0113

- 78. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14 mm, 0.44 g, ex Palembang
- 79. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.3 mm, 0.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 80. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.2 mm, 0.48 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Cast from the same mould as the previous coin.



With error date: 113

Date: 113

- 81. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.9 mm, 0.43 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 82. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.1 mm, 0.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 83. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14 mm, ex Palembang, Yih



With error date: 93

Date: 93

- 84. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.8 mm, 0.47 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins with simplified inscriptions

One aspect of mass production was the creation of coins bearing simplified and slightly stylised inscriptions. Such coins often have abbreviated dates. The coins catalogued here were probably within the range of tolerance accepted at the mint.

With error date: 112

Simplified inscription, date: 112

- 85. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 16.0 mm, 0.85 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 86. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.3 mm, 0.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 87. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.6 mm, 0.60 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 88. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.5 mm, 0.61 g, ex Palembang, Yih



With error date: 3

Simplified inscription, date: 3

89. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 15.2 mm, 0.84 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins with corrupt inscriptions; official or forgeries?

During the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the Palembang mint appears to have been responsible for casting large numbers of coins bearing simplified and corrupt inscriptions, as exemplified by the group d3 coins catalogued above.

One can therefore question the status of the AH 1193 coins with corrupt inscriptions. In numismatic terms, Palembang had become a different place. The period AH 1193 to 1197 witnessed the manufacture of well-engraved coins with fully literate inscriptions. It seems likely that the sultan's mint would no longer have tolerated the production of coins bearing corrupt inscriptions during these years. It is reasonable to suggest that coins in the present group are false coins forged by local merchants.

There is still scope for debate. The choice made here has been to describe the coins that have been observed, rather than attempting a definitive interpretation.

With error date: 1113

Corrupt inscription, date: 1113

90. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.6 mm, 0.45 g, ex Palembang, Yih

With error date: 113

Corrupt inscription, date: 113

91. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 12.9 mm, 0.31 g, ex Palembang, Yih

92. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.0 mm, 0.49 g, ex Palembang, Yih



With error date: 13

Corrupt inscription, date: 13

93. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.2 mm, 0.58 g, ex Palembang, Yih

With error date: 1111

Corrupt inscription, date: 1111

94. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.4 mm, 0.76 g, ex Palembang, Yih

95. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 13.3 mm, 0.55 g, ex Palembang, Yih



With error date: 11183

Corrupt inscription, date: 11183

96. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

With error date: 612

Corrupt inscription, date: 612

97. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.2 mm, 0.62 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins with very corrupt inscriptions and no dates; local forgeries

Similar fabric and legend distribution. The legend is corrupt

98. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14 mm, 0.54 g, ex Palembang

99. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

100. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.8 mm, 0.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih

101. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 14.1 mm, 0.82 g, ex Palembang, Yih

102. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, ex Palembang, Yih

Several coins have been observed bearing even more corrupt inscriptions.



5. Hadha Falūs fi Beled Palembang sanat 1198 (AD 1783/4)

The central hole was restored in the coinage of AH 1198. Pichis could once again be traded as strings of coins.

The new coins of AH 1198 are pichis of superior quality. They are described in the inscription as 'falūs', which is a term normally used for copper coins. These are the only Palembang coins minted in copper. Some coins of this type were also minted in tin alloy. They are all attractive and uncommon coins that do not appear to

فلوس في بلاد فلومبڠ سنه 1198

have been subject to the preceding norm of error specimens and corrupt inscriptions. They were only in use for around two years, until a new series of smaller tin alloy coins was introduced in AH 1200.

Normal copper issue

hadha falūs fi beled Palembang sanat 1198

This copper coin at the City of Palembang, year 1198

103. Copper, circular central hole, 21 mm, 2.20 g, ex Palembang, Yih

104. Copper, circular central hole, 1.31 to 2.36 g (Wicks) Millies (1871) pp. 111, 113, pl. XIX, 188; Wicks (1983) p. 283. pl. 22, 233



Tin alloy issue

hadha falūs fi beled Palembang sanat 1198

This copper coin at the City of Palembang, year 1198

105. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 23 mm, 2.01 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Another specimen is 23 mm, 1.96 g



6. Al-Sultān fī Beled Palembang sanat 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204 (AD 1785 to 1789/90)

The coinage of AH 1198 had been a superior issue, which appears to have been produced in small quantity. The mass production of popular coinage with a central hole was restored in the prolific coinage of AH 1200 to 1204. These coins bear the new inscription “*al-sultān fī beled Palembang AH 1200 (1200-1204)*”. They weigh significantly less than the coins of AH 1198. Coins of the AH 1198 issue generally weigh around 2 grams, whereas the coins of AH 1200 to 1204 have smaller flans and weigh less than one gram. Coins dated 1200 and 1201 have their dates written retrograde, while coins dated 1202 and 1203 have the date written properly. Very few coins were dated 1204. The years 1203 and 1204 also witnessed the issuing of some coins bearing completely mirror image inscriptions.

The most frequently encountered coins bear the date 1203. One also encounters some coins bearing minor errors in the writing of this date. Whereas the coinage issued before AH 1198 had been associated with the manufacture of many specimens bearing corrupt inscriptions, this was not the case with the coinage of 1200 to 1204. Few coins of this group have been seen with severely corrupt inscriptions.

السطان في بلاد فلبيغ سنة ١٢٠١

AH 1200

al-sultān fī beled Palembang AH 1200

The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1200 (1200 retrograde)

- 106. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.61 g, ex Palembang
- 107. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang
- 108. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.54 g, ex Palembang
- 109. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 110. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.4 mm, 0.65 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- 111. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17.1 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang, Yih

See: Millies (1871) p. 113, pl. XIX, 189; Wicks (1983) p. 284
On coins dated 1200, the ‘0’ is sometimes written as a pellet, and sometimes as a small circle. On later coins, it is always written as a circle. The circle is largest on the 1203 coins.



Similar, but retrograde date written with ‘1’ above ‘2’; thus 1/200
112. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.72 g, ex Palembang

Similarly with ‘1’ above ‘2’. The date could be 1/200 or 1/201 (retrograde).

113. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.79 g, ex Palembang



AH 1201

al-sultān fī beled Palembang AH 1201

The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1201 (1201 retrograde)

- 114. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.58 g, ex Palembang
 - 115. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.66 g, ex Palembang
- See: Millies (1871) p. 113, pl. XIX, 190; Wicks (1983) p. 284



AH 1202

السطان في بلاد فلبيغ سنة ١٢٠٢

al-sultān fī beled Palembang AH 1202

The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1202 (1202 normal)

- 116. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17 mm, 1.20 g, ex Palembang
 - 117. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 17 mm, 1.06 g, ex Palembang
 - 118. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.4 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang, Yih
- See: Millies (1871) p. 113, pl. XIX, 191; Wicks (1983) p. 284



AH 1203

السطان في بلاد فلبيغ سنة ١٢٠٣

al-sultān fī beled Palembang AH 1203

The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1203 (1203 normal)

- 119. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.82 g, ex Palembang
 - 120. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.88 g, ex Palembang
 - 121. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang
 - 122. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.80 g, ex Palembang
 - 123. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.92 g, ex Palembang
- See: Millies (1871) p. 113, pl. XIX, 192; Wicks (1983) p. 284



AH 1204

Very few coins have been seen bearing the date "1204". It is more common to see coins whose last digit has been carelessly engraved, so that it could be read as a slightly corrupt "3", or a slightly corrupt "4".

السلطان في بلاد فلنبيق سنة ١٢٠٤

AH 1204 legible

al-sulṭān fī beled Palembang AH 1204

The Sultan at the City of Palembang, year 1204 (1204 normal)

124. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.59 g, ex Palembang



AH 1203 or 1204

Similar, but with date that could have been intended as 1203, or as 1204

125. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 1.32 g, ex Palembang

126. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.1 mm, 1.09 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins dated 1203 and 1204 with the inscription in mirror image

The mirror image inscription reads anticlockwise, with the letters base outwards.

Instead of stamping the mould with a die to produce the inscription, the mould may have been engraved directly, with the inscription proper. This would have produced coins with a mirror image inscription.

AH 1203

al-sulṭān fī beled Palembang AH 1203

127. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.89 g, ex Palembang

128. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.59 g, ex Palembang

129. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 18.6 mm, 0.66 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Similar, but with the date more stylised: 1203 (retrograde)

130. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 19 mm, 0.87 g, ex Palembang



AH 1204

Similar, but dated: 1204 (retrograde)

131. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.84 g, ex Palembang



Coins dated AH 1203, with minor errors

Numeral "2" reversed, so that the date reads: "1603"

132. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.9 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang, Yih

133. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18. mm, 0.59 g, ex Palembang



With numerals "2" and "3" transposed, so that the date reads: "1023"

134. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.66 g, ex Palembang, Yih

135. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.6 mm, 0.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih

136. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.3 mm, 0.79 g, ex Palembang, Yih



With numeral "1" moved right, so that the date reads: "2013"

137. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.8 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang, Yih



137

138

With numeral "0" omitted, so that the date reads: "123"

138. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.4 mm, 0.65 g, ex Palembang, Yih

With numerals 2 and 3 simplified to '1'. The date reads 0111

139. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.7 mm, 0.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih



139

140

With date uncertain

140. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.4 mm, 0.58 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Coins with slightly corrupt inscriptions

l-sulṭān beled palembang 203

141. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.56 g, ex Palembang, Yih



al-sulṭān palembang beled sanat 123

142. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 18 mm, 0.81 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Coins with slightly corrupt inscriptions in mirror image

The mirror image inscription reads anticlockwise, with the letters base outwards.

“*al-sulṭān fī beled palembang AH 1203*” slightly contracted and with date (retrograde) not fully legible.

Slightly contracted inscription in mirror image, but with the date proper. The date reads: *sanat 1 fī 02*

143. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang, Yih



Corrupt inscription and date: probably of this type

144. Tin alloy, circular flan, circular central hole, 17.7 mm, 0.57g, ex Palembang, Yih



7. Al Sulṭān fī Beled Palembang (undated)

These uncommon coins appear to belong to a derivative issue, which followed the common series of dated issues just described.

السطان في بلاد فلنبيق

al-sulṭān fī beled palembang

The Sultan at the City of Palembang

145. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.1 mm, 0.53 g, ex Palembang, Yih



With slightly corrupt inscription

Similar, but the inscription is slightly corrupt

146. Tin alloy, circular central hole, 18.0 mm, 0.92 g, ex Palembang, Yih



8. Maṣrūf fī Beled Palembang 1219 (AD 1804)

This issue consists of tin pichis with octagonal flans and a circular central hole. There is significant variation in the size of the coins.

مصروف في بلاد فلنبيق 1219

Roughly octagonal tin pichi with circular Malay legend around circular hole

maṣrūf fī beled palembang 1219

Money of Exchange at the City of Palembang 1219

147. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 18 mm, 1.09g, ex Palembang

148. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 17.3 to 18.1 mm, 0.89 g, ex Palembang, Yih

149. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.67g, ex Palembang

Millies (1871) pp. 113-4, pl. XIX, 193-9; Wicks (1983) pp. 284-5, pl. 22, 235-6

Similar, but lighter

150. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 17 mm, 0.47g, ex Palembang

Similar coins, but much smaller

151. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 13 mm, 0.21g, ex Palembang

152. Tin alloy, octagonal with circular central hole, 11.2 to 11.9 mm, 0.12 g, ex Palembang, Yih

Millies 199; Wicks 236



Coins with slightly corrupt inscriptions

maṣrūf fī beled palembang 121

153. Tin alloy, octagonal flan with circular central hole, ex Palembang, Yih

maṣrūf fī beled palembang 111

154. Tin alloy, octagonal flan with circular central hole, ex Palembang, Yih

Comparable, but with date: 819

155. Tin alloy, octagonal flan with circular central hole, 18.4 to 18.8 mm, 0.71 g, ex Palembang, Yih



9. ‘Alāmat fi Beled Palembang Dār Inglīstān, issued AD 1812 to 1816

These attractive coins with solid circular flans bear a stylised inscription, which is difficult to read. The inscription is written in lines across the field, and is not only stylised, but it is also slightly corrupt. Millies (p. 114) read the top line “*fī beled palambang*” and suggested “*dār*” on the right. The name “*palembang*” is legible on all coins examined. The words “*fī beled*” are legible on the specimen illustrated by Wicks, but stylised on the other coins catalogued here. On all coins, the bottom word is “*‘alāmat*”, with “*mat*” written above “*alā*”. The word “*dār*”, is written on the right. On these coins, it has the shorter form “*dr*”, instead of the longer form “*dār*”. It is followed by a pair of conjoined letters that can be read in Malay as “*ang*”, or “*ing*”. In the lower left, are the letters “*lstā*”, with a letter “*n*” above. In this complex, the letters “*t*” and “*n*” have the correct diacritical marks.

The readings just suggested, provide the legend: *‘alāmat fī beled palembang, dar inglīstān*. This can be translated as: Mark of the City of Palembang, seat of the State of England. The inscription makes sense when considered in context with the British occupation of Sumatra during the years 1812 to 1816. This was the period during which the British installed the puppet ruler Ahmed Najam on the throne of the Palembang Sultanate (see above).

An issue of analogous form was minted at Jambi. It will be discussed later.



‘alāmat (bottom) *fī beled palembang* (top) *dar ing* (right) *listān* (left)

Mark of the City of Palembang, seat of the English State

156. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 21 mm, 1.18 g, ex Palembang

157. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 22 mm, 1.14 g, ex Palembang

158. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 22 mm, ex Palembang, Yih

159. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 21 mm, 1.08 to 1.28 g, Wicks (1983) pl. 22, 237

Millies (1871) pp.114-5, pl. XIX, 200; Wicks (1983) p. 285, pl. 22, 237



Coins with inscriptions in mirror image

Same inscription; slightly more stylized and in mirror image

160. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 20.6 mm, 1.14 g, ex Palembang, Yih

161. Tin alloy, solid circular flan, 20.6 mm, 1.13 g, ex Palembang, Yih



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POSTSCRIPT ON THE ‘YEAR 20’ MINT

Andrew Oddy and Steve Mansfield

Following the publication of our article on the ‘Year 20’ mint in JONS 214 (Winter 2013) 4-11, Tony Goodwin has pointed out that coins 49 and 52 are not die-linked by obverse. On re-examining the coins, we agree. Tony also pointed out that 49 and 63 are not pseudo-Byzantine (Phase 1) imitations but coins of Constans II of a type generally thought to be the product of a regular mint and rather rare. There is one in the British Museum (Wroth BMC 180) and two are illustrated by Wolfgang Hahn in MIB3 (pl.28 nos 169.1 and 169.2). We agree with this identification.

These re-attributions do not alter our conclusions about the coinage of Year 20, but do raise interesting new questions.

The rare type of Constans II has a bearded facing bust on the obverse and an M on the reverse with the date 11 (in Greek) for the eleventh year of the reign of Constans – September 651-July 652. They do not have a mint mark and must be presumed to have been struck in Constantinople. We have traced 19 of these coins and it is interesting to note that at least two of them were found in Cyprus and at least seven of them came from Lebanese dealers and were probably found in there or in Syria. It seems likely that they were the models for the Class 3 coins of the Year 20 Mint published in JONS 214. We are now looking at the political background of the

650s to find an explanation for the presence of these coins in Cyprus and on the Mediterranean littoral.

An example of the regular year 11 type of Constans II is illustrated below together with a Type 3 imitation struck in Syria. (Both illustrations approx x 1.5)



Year 11 coin of Constans II [3.68g]



Class 3 issue of the Year 20 mint struck in Syria [2.86g]

SOME MORE COINS FROM THE NICHOLAS RHODES COLLECTION

Tripura



Ratna Manikya (AD 1464-1489), silver tanka, 10.61g, struck at Ratnapur in Sk 1386 (RB 21). Most Tripura coins, apart from a few very rare early ones and various later machine-struck coins, feature a lion on the obverse, facing either left or right. The earliest of the lion tankas have a “hollow” lion similar to that that can be found on some contemporary tankas of the Sultans of Bengal, which would be the inspiration for the Tripura coins. The legend around the lion reads: *Śrī Durga Pada Para Ratnapure Śake 1386* and the reverse legend: *Śrī Śrī Ratna Māni/kyā Deva* within a double octagon.



Ratna Manikya, silver tanka, 10.54g, date and mint as previous coin (RB 27). Obverse as previous coin, with the same three-line legend, this time within an incurving single octagon, with an only partially read legend around: *Nara Nārāyana.....*



Ratna Manikya, silver tanka, 10.61g, no date or mint (RB 30). Obverse with “hollow” lion facing right within a decorative border. Reverse with the three-line legend within a double square and with arabesques outside.



Ratna Manikya, silver tanka, 10.57g, no mint or date (RB 38). Obverse with “solid” lion facing left, and *Śrī Durga* in front of and below the lion, all within a toothed border. Three-line legend on the reverse within a decorative border.



Ratna Manikya, silver tanka, 10.53g, no mint or date (RB 39). Obverse similar to preceding coin but with the *Śrī Durga* in front of and behind the lion. The reverse, this time, has a four-line legend which reads: *Śrī Nārāyana/ Charana Para/ Śrī Śrī Ratna Mā/ni/kyā Deva* within an ornamental border. This issue has an invocation to Vishnu in the form of Narayana as well as to Durga.



Mukut Manikya (AD 1489-1490), silver tanka, 10.56g, no mint or date. Coins of this short-reigned ruler are of three types, all of which are extremely rare. This type reverts to the style of the very first Tripura coins, i.e. linear legends on both sides without any lion. In these the ruler cites his queen, Machtri, and also makes reference to the goddess Chandī, a unique occurrence on Tripura coins. The legends are: obv. *Śrī Machya/ndi Charana/ Charana Cha/kravartīnyau*; rev. *Śrī Machtri/ Mahādevī/ Śrī Śrī Mukut/ Māni/kyau*

Another remarkable type issued by the ruler, and unfortunately no present in the Rhodes Collection, is one featuring the image of a dancing bird deity, which is normally assumed to be Garuda, but which may possibly represent the tribal Mother Goddess, Nowi. This type can be seen illustrated on page 13 and on plate III of RB.



Dhanya Manikya (AD 1490-1520), silver tanka, 10.59g, undated (RB 43). All the coins of Dhanya Manikya have the lion motif on the obverse. On this coin the lion faces right and, instead of the *Śrī Durga* invocation found on coins of Ratna Manikya, there is a fish symbol below the lion. The four-line legend on the reverse cites Queen Kamala and reads: *Śrī Śrī Dhanya/ Mānikya Śrī/ Kamalā Ma/hā Devyau*.



Dhanya Manikya, silver tanka, 10.63g, undated (RB 46). The obverse of this coin is like that of the previous coin. The reverse has a three-line legend citing only the ruler: *Śrī Śrī Dha/nya Māni/kyā Devah*.



Dhanya Manikya, silver tanka, 10.47g (RB 52). This remarkable coin has, according to SK Bose⁸², a date in code, represented by the arrangement of the eight small circles in the field of the obverse, around the lion. The circles are interpreted as being arranged vertically, from top to bottom: 1 – 4 – 1 – 2, i.e. Sk 1412, the date that does occur on the earliest normally dated coins of this ruler. This coin has the lion facing left within a border that does not appear to occur on any other of his coins. The reverse has the usual three-line legend, within various arabesques and a decorative circular border.



Dhanya Manikya, silver tanka, (RB 48). This has a similar lion facing left on the obverse with a single small circle above the lion. On the reverse, however, in addition to the normal three-line legend, there is a circular marginal legend reading outwards and containing a date: *Śrī Nārasimha Charana Parayana Subhamastu Śake 1412*. Narasimha is an incarnation of Vishnu.

Jaintiapur



Bargosain I (c AD 1548-1563), silver tanka, 9.7g, undated (RB A1). This is the earliest known coin of Jaintiapur. The coin is anonymous and, according to Rhodes & Bose⁸³, "it is unique among coins of the Hindu North East in having neither date nor king's name, but it does proclaim itself as a coin of the Jaintia people". The reverse legend read: *Śrī Rupesya/ Banādasthan/ Jantapuramka/ Saupradhāna*, which translates as "(coin) of Śrī Rupa (presumably referring to Lord Śiva) chief ruler of the forest land and of the Jaintia people". RB provide circumstantial evidence in their book for attributing this coin to Bargosain I.



Chota Parbatrai (AD 1633-1640), silver tanka, 9.7g, Sk 1555 (RB D1). From AD 1633 to 1690, all the coins of Jaintiapur are of the same basic type, all anonymous, all with the prominent star symbol at the bottom of the reverse and all have a fixed date that is presumed to represent the accession date of the rulers that issued them. Nothing is known of Chota Parbatrai apart from the fact that his name is included in a list of Jaintia kings of the first half of the 17th century in the Jayantia Buranjis. The obverse legend reads: *Śrī Śrī Śi/va Charana Ka/mala Madhu Ka/rasya*; reverse: *Śrī Śrī Ja/yantipura Pu/randarasya Śake 1555*.



Lakshmi Simha (AD 1670-1703), silver tanka, 9.4g, Sk 1592 (RB H1). Legends as previous coin but with accession date of Lakshmi Simha

TĀRAM

By Beena Sarasan

According to Hobson-Jobson (a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words) *Tāra*, is the name of a small silver coin current in South India at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. It seems to have become indigenised and to have survived the longest in Calicut. In Malayalam, the local language, it is referred to as *tāram*.

⁸² A silver coin of Dhanya Manikya", *JNSI*, Vol. LI, 1989, pp. 33-35

⁸³ N.G. Rhodes & S.K. Bose, *The Coinage of Jaintiapur*, Kolkata, 2010, p. 11

The *tāram* was the accepted currency in 15th century North Kerala (Malabar and Cochin). This is evident from a Malayalam literary composition of the 15th century, viz. “Krishna Gatha” by Cherussery Namboodiri⁸⁴. A passage in this states “If you want *karakka* (a fruit), bring *taram*”. In 1506, D’Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy wintering his fleet in Cochin took note of the *Tāram* and Correa informs us that⁸⁵ “... for vintem of silver you get in change 20 silver coins that they call *Taras*, something like the scale of a sardine, and for which such coin they give you 12 or 15 figs, or 4 or 5 eggs, and for one tara, fish enough to fill two men’s bellies or rice enough for a days victuals, dinner and supper too.”

Duarte Barbosa⁸⁶, writing around 1518 on the subject of the land of Malabar, noted as follows: “When the Kings go to war they pay all the *Nayres* who serve therein, even though they be in the service of other Lords, their daily wages, that is to say, four *taras* each, every day (which contains five *reis*).”

Later on, in the 17th century we have, on the evidence of Pyrard de Laval⁸⁷, that four *tarams* was the daily wages of the Nair escort. This shows that four *tarams* was still a customary rate of pay in the 17th century, as it had been in Barbosa’s time.

The latest references to the *taram* are provided by Logan in his Malabar Manual. The first of these is an Agreement of 16 November 1737, entered into between the English East India Company and the Canara Nair being the head of the House of Naramport (a petty chieftain, whose descendants were in Kottayam Taluk of British Malabar)⁸⁸. This provides the following in Article III of the said agreement: “The said Canara Nair shall constantly keep in his own pay fifty Nairs and which are to be always in readiness for proceeding on any service we may appoint, but when we do employ them, then we are to allow each man 4 measures of rice and 1 tar per diem.”

Yet again, we find a reference to these coins in an Agreement with the Kottiote Rajah (Kottayam in Malabar) by the English East India Company dated 2 November 1751: “That should the Company be in want, the King of Cottiote upon being advised, to send one thousand men, the said Hon’ble Company obliging themselves to allow the said troops (while in their service) the same pay as their own immediate Nairs, that is to say three measures of rice and two Tarrs for each person per day or in default of rice, half Fanam”.

The *tāram* which survived for centuries on the Malabar coast, forming an integral part of the daily life, though initially a silver coin, appears to have become a copper coin around the 18th or 19th century. For, the Manual of Administration of Madras Presidency, Vol. III, published by the Government Press, Madras, 1893, describes the *tāram* as a copper coin. That the *Tāram* was now a copper coin is also recorded by Buchanan⁸⁹ in 1801 and also by Gundert in his dictionary. According to Buchanan, “The copper coin in use at Tellicherry was struck in England and 10 paises are always current for one silver Fanam, There is another copper coin called Tarrum, two of which are equal to one Paisa”. It is noteworthy that the copper *Tārams* referred to by Buchanan were local issues, as he distinguishes them from copper coins struck in England and also informs us that, at Palghat, a Brahmin was given exclusive rights for minting copper coins⁹⁰. It would be worth deliberating whether these latter coins could be copper *tārams* that were current in Malabar (ref: Manual of Madras administration) and whether these were comparable to the copper cash at Cochin. These coins, which were used in petty transactions and obviously

minted locally, can reasonably be assumed to have borrowed from the devices current in the neighbourhood, as in the case of gold fanams, which were local variants of the *vira-roya*. A perusal of various records shows that the *vira-roya* design originally introduced by the Hoysalas in the southwest Karnataka hill country became so popular in Malabar that, centuries later, it became the local currency and took the form of *rasi*, the coin with zodiacal signs and, in modern times, transformed into devices found on the 19th century *puthens* of Cochin. Likewise, north Malabar, under the influence of Vijayanagar, Alupa and Ikkeri rulers, would have been influenced by their coinage and the *tārams* illustrated below bear testimony to this; more so since the frontiers of the Alupa and Ikkeri rulers had extended southwards into the northernmost regions of Kerala at different periods. Likewise, the Cochin rulers in the 16th century seem to have had Pollachi in present Tamilnadu under their rule. An inscription engraved in characters of the 16th century in the Subramanya Temple at Pollachi in Coimbatore district, is dated in the 6th year of Nayanar Perumpadappukoyil.⁹¹ Perumpadappu being the name of a village in the Ponnani taluk of Malabar, said to have been the original seat of the Cochin family, Cochin kings are referred to as belonging to Perumpadappu-swarupam. Nayanar Perumpadappu-koyil must therefore have been a Cochin prince of the 16th century. From the fact that an inscription dated in his own reign has been found at Pollachi, it may be concluded that his sphere of influence had probably extended up to that place in the 16th century.

Against this backdrop, it would be as well to compare the gold fanams current in Malabar and Cochin and the copper coins which had been attributed to the Kongu Cheras⁹² and Umattur Chiefs⁹³ and later re-attributed by this author⁹⁴ as issues of Malabar/ Cochin, with the devices on the *tārams* of Malabar. As in the case of the gold *vira-roya*, the copper coins appear to have been minted over a long period in a wide area. It is worth pondering whether some of these coins could have been the copper *tārams* of Malabar and copper coins of Cochin. The one big hurdle in attributing these copper coins as issues of Cochin-Malabar was that these coins were rarely available in these regions. But it would appear that this argument is no longer valid as, a few years back when the Bharatha puzha went dry, thousands of coins were recovered from this riverbed in the vicinity of Pattambi, in erstwhile Cochin State and most collectors got access to different varieties of these coins. It is also relevant that Cochin issued copper coins for which we have as yet no identifiable coins. It is noteworthy that Charles Allen Lawson,⁹⁵ noted that, in the 19th century, the Cochin currency consisted of cash (copper) of which 10 = 1 puthen (silver) and 19¼ puthens = 1 rupee.

Some of the silver *tārams* illustrated below have already been published by the author as *Taras* of Malabar and Cochin⁹⁶. Shailendra Bhandare of the Oxford University, has published some silver *Taras* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which he also identified as *taras* of Malabar.⁹⁷ Subsequent to these publications, more coins⁹⁸ attributable to this category, have come to the notice of this author. These are now arrayed together so that a more comprehensive analysis can be made. The weight of these coins corresponds to the quarter *taras* of Vijayanagar.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Annual report on South Indian Epigraphy, ASI, for 1926-27, p.103

⁹² Vidwan I. Ramaswamy, *Later Chera Coins from Kongu*, JNSI, Vol. XLVIII, p.30

⁹³ Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and history of southern India*, London, part 11, p.35

⁹⁴ Beena Sarasan, *Coins of the Kongu Cheras - A reappraisal*, Madras Coin Society, Special Bulletin, Vol. VIII, p.46

⁹⁵ Lawson, *British and Native Cochin*, published in London in 1861, AES Reprint, 2001, p.146

⁹⁶ Beena Sarasan, *Taras of Malabar and Cochin*, Studies in South Indian Coins, Vol. XIV, p. 76

⁹⁷ Shailendra Bhandare, *Important coins in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, ONS supplement. I would like to thank Barbara Mears for the photos of these *taras*

⁹⁸ I thank Sri Surendra Rao, Calicut, for permitting me to photograph and note the details of the coins in his collection.

⁹⁹ Supra n.9, Vol. 1, p.161

⁸⁴ B.C. Balakrishnan, Ed., *Malayalam Lexicon*, University of Kerala, 1988, Vol. VI, p.278

⁸⁵ Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, AE S Reprint, 1995, p.90

⁸⁶ Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa – An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and of the inhabitants written by Barbosa and completed about the year 1518*, AES Reprint, Vol. II, p. 52

⁸⁷ *Ibid* footnote 2, p.52

⁸⁸ William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other papers of importance relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, Government of Kerala Reprint 1998, p. 96

⁸⁹ Francis Buchanan, *A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol II, p. 540

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.353,

Tārams of Malabar and Cochin



Quarter Taras

Comparable Coins



Obverse of Alupa Panam

Obverse of Ikkeri Panam

This series of copper coins found in Coimbatore, and also in the Palghat & Pattambi regions of erstwhile Cochin were initially attributed to the Kongu Cheras by Ramaswamy and subsequently to the Ummattur chiefs by M. Mitchiner. Thereafter, they has been re-appraised by this author as coins of Malabar / Cochin

Hoysala Gold Panam

Obverse: Stylised lion

Wt: 0.40 g



Reverse: Stylised boar

Adaptations of the Hoysala Panam found in Malabar and Cochin areas

<p>Gold Wt: 0.39 g</p>		<p>Gold Wt: 0.35 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.37 g</p>		<p>Base Gold Wt: 0.38 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.39 g</p>		<p>Silver Tara 7mm Wt: 0.25 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.36 g</p>		<p>Gold 8mm Wt: 0.38 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.37 g</p>		<p>Base Gold 7mm Wt: 0.36 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.38 g</p>		<p>Silver 7mm Wt: 0.32 g</p>
<p>Gold Wt: 0.38 g</p>		<p>(Early variety of <i>Puthen</i> of Cochin)</p>

(Puthu Panam of the Zamorin of Calicut)

Taram Coin No.	Metal	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Notes
1	Silver	6 – 7	0.07 – 0.10	
2	Silver	7	0.09	A similar coin of the Numismatic Study Centre, Nedumangad, Kerala, that was stated to be a base gold <i>Rassi</i> , with a weight of 0.38 g and size 7 mm (Studies in South Indian Coins, Vol. XV, page 84) is a silver quarter <i>Tara</i> and now recorded to be of wt. 0.09 g and size 7 mm. This coin is currently exhibited with the revised details of weight and dimension, at the Numismatic Study Centre, Nedumangad.
3	Silver	7	0.08 – 0.09	
4	Silver	6 – 7	0.08	The obverse symbol popularised by Sadasivaraya in 16 th century and continued by Ikkeri Nayaks in 17 th century.
5	Silver	7	0.09	
6	Silver	6	0.09	
7	Silver	6	0.07	
8	Silver	-	0.09	
9	Silver	6	0.06	
10	Silver	-	0.10	The obverse symbol of Gandabherunda holding elephants in its beak and claws are commonly found on the Vijayanagar varahas of Achyutharaya. that were current in the 16 th century.
11	Silver	-	0.07 – 0.08	
12	Silver	6	0.08	Obverse is very similar to Alupa coins
13	Silver	6	0.08	
14	Silver	-	0.09	
15	Silver	-	0.09	Obverse appears to be a stylised seated deity
16	Silver	-	0.07	Coin in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, published along with other coins in the museum by Shailendra Bhandare,

COPPER COINS EARLIER ATTRIBUTED TO KONGU CHERAS / UMMATTUR CHIEFS

(Provenance – Coimbatore, Palghat, Pattambi)

Obverse¹⁰⁰ – Deity seated on lotus holding lotus sprigs in hands, very often as a stylised depiction



Reverse – Bow, palm tree, lamp, dagger/sword, etc.



Theyyam of Aranya Bhagavathi at Karivellur near **Payyannur** in North Malabar

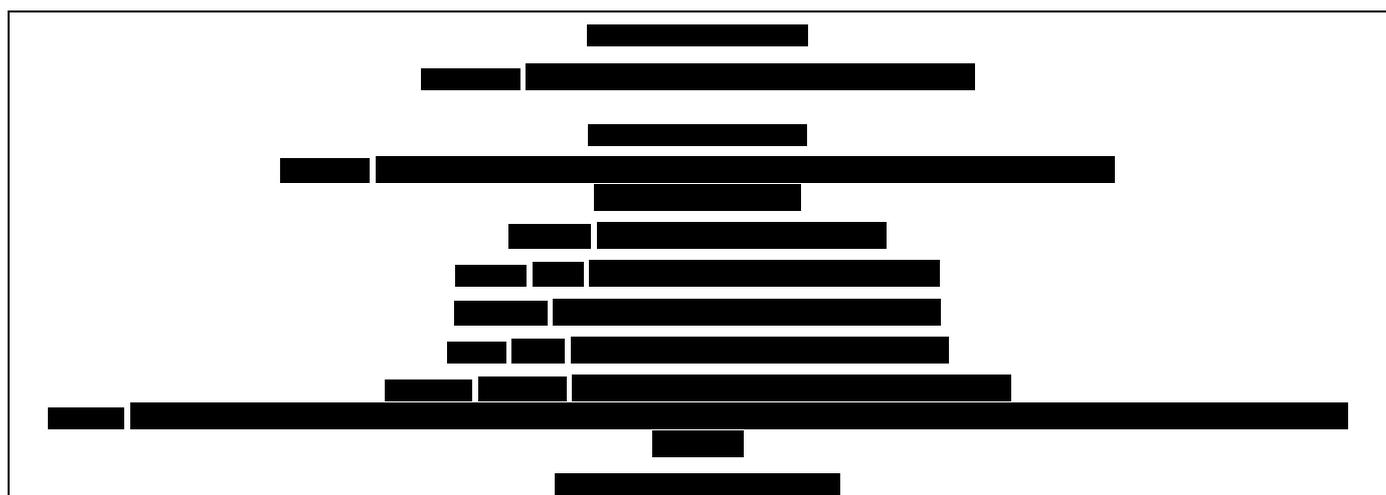


Sword on pedestal as in *Kalaris* (fencing schools)

¹⁰⁰ The correct description of the obverse of these coins has been made by Hameed Jalal, S. Raman and M.T. Karunakaran in *Kongu Chera coins for a study*, Madras Coin Society, special bulletin, vol.V11,p.46

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Printed by Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, UK.