

# ONS



## Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

No.231  
Spring 2018

ISSN 1818-1252

Editor: Robert Bracey,

Editor: Karan Singh,

### ONS NEWS

Welcome to no.231 of the journal. This issue features news from 2017, including meetings of the Indian and North American sections of the society, and the award to our European Secretary, Jan Lingen, of a medal in the style of Mughal coins for his contributions of numismatics.

For this issue Barbara Mears reviews Beena Sarasan's new edition of *Traversing Travancore* and Pankaj Tandon gives a fascinating account of some more forgeries of Indo-Greek coins which are an ever present concern for the collector and researcher alike. As well as these we have articles on Parthian, Arab-Sasanian, Ummayyad coins found in France, North African Marinid coins, Mughal, Nepalese, nineteenth century Tea Tokens, and twentieth century Palestine. We hope readers enjoy the selection and remain ever grateful to the hard work and patience of our authors.

### ONS Meeting held in Ahmedabad

Members of ONS South Asia gathered in Ahmedabad, Gujarat on the morning of 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2017 for holding of a ONS Meeting on the occasion of the Ahmedabad Coins & Currency Fair. The ONS Meeting was sponsored by Mr. Shatrughan Saravagi of the Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad to promote local research. Thus, the theme was coins of Gujarat on which four speakers presented papers viz. Mr. Prashant P. Kulkarni, Nagpur gave a talk on the Importance of Western Kshatrapa Coins to Indian History with important pointers to rare coins in the series.



Speakers at the ONS Meeting in Ahmedabad with sponsor, Shatrughan Saravagi; from left to right Amit Mehta, Prashant P. Kulkarni, Dilip Rajgor, Haroon Shaikh, Mahesh Kalra and Shatrughan Saravagi

The next talk by Dr. Dilip Rajgor focussed on the Mughal coins from Gujarat with a neat division of the series into local, provincial, imperial coins along with their contemporary imitations. He also focussed on the division of the imperial mints (Ahmedabad, Surat, etc., camp mints like Urdu Zafar Qarin and conquest mints like Naharwala Patan and Malpur. The talk was well received by the audience due to Dr. Rajgor's showcasing of some rare coin specimens in the presentation. The next talk was by Mr. Amit Mehta, an ONS-SA member from Ahmedabad who spoke on the much-neglected coinage of the Indian Princely States of Lunavada and Chhotta Udaipur in Reva Kantha area of Gujarat. Mr. Mehta has co-authored a book on the subject titled '*Heritage of Gujarat through Coins: The Princely States of Chhota Udaipur, Deogarh Baria, Lunavada and Sunth*'. The next presentation was on the coins of Anharwala Patan by ONS-SA member Haroon Shaikh.

The last presentation was made by myself on the topic 'A New System for Classification of Mughal Mints' based on my doctoral research on Mughal Deccan. The Meeting ended with a discussion on various fine points of each presentation and appreciation for the sponsor, Mr. Shatrughan Saravagi for his generous hosting of the venue of the Ahmedabad Coins & Currency Fair at The President Hotel.

Mahesh Kalra (Regional Secretary)

### ONS North America Section, 2017 annual meeting

The North America section of the Society held its annual meeting on January 14, 2017, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. This is our last meeting at the Waldorf, as the annual New York International Numismatic Convention is moving next year to the Grand Hyatt Hotel.

### Report on the 2017 meeting

There were four speakers at the meeting. We started with a short 5-10 minute presentation by Murli Narayan on "A unique punchmark coin with horse motif from Paratwada hoard" in which we saw a new type of punchmark coin.

The second speaker was Aleksandr Naymark, who spoke on "Early Euthydemus Imitations in Bukhara: Bactria and Sogdiana in the late 3rd century BCE." The first scholarly publication of the Central Asian imitations of Euthydemus' tetradrachms dates back to 1822. The main result brought by the two century study of this coinage is its localization: 24 stray finds and one large hoard of Euthydemus imitations have been recorded in different parts of the Bukharan oasis, and only four coins registered beyond its borders in distant Kirghizstan, Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia. The vast majority of studies devoted to the chronology of this coinage concentrated on the large main series, coins of which imitate tetradrachms of Euthydemus minted around 210-206 BCE. Hence the incipient date of this coinage accepted by the majority of the

scholars: during or immediately after the siege of Bactra by Antiochus III. Meanwhile, the study of finds of Hellenistic coins in Sogdiana suggest that the Greeks lost control of this country by or at the very beginning of Euthydemus' reign, i.e. sometime between 230-225 BCE. The presentation offered a classification of the rare coins reproducing the types of earlier tetradrachms of Euthydemus. Currently it is possible to distinguish six different series among these early imitations, the earliest of which reproduces the type, which Brian Krittr attributes to the very beginning of Euthydemus' reign. These coins fit perfectly into a 20 year period in the monetary history of the Bukharan oasis, the time that passed between the moment when the Greeks lost control over Sogdiana and the beginning of the commonly known (and in fact 7<sup>th</sup>) series in the Bukharan imitation coinage.



*Bukharan imitation Euthydemus' tetradrachm, 4<sup>th</sup> series (13.67 gm; 24.40-25.88 mm). Private collection.*

Our third speaker was Judith Lerner who spoke about the connections between Bactrian glyptics and Hunnic coinage. The coming to light in the 1990s of the Bactrian Documents, legal and economic texts and letters from northern Afghanistan, has revealed valuable information for the societies that flourished in present-day Afghanistan during the successive rules of Sasanians, Hephthalites, Western Turks, and into the Islamization of the region. Because they were dated and many retained the clay sealings that authenticated them—each small lump of clay impressed with a single intaglio—the legal documents have allowed her to better understand the stylistic developments and iconography of the glyptic art of the region across nearly 400 years, and to offer insight into other visual media, such as painting, sculpture and coins.



*Fig. 1. Alkhan Coin Type 39 (Collection J-P. Righetti; courtesy Klaus Vondrovec).*

Focusing on coins, Lerner illustrated several seals and sealings that bear the Alkhan tamgas S1 (Description: TAMGA AA 13.3\_S1.jpg) and S2 (Description: S 2a.jpg) the defining marks of Alkhan coinage. Incorporation of the tamgas S1 and S2 indicates their owners' affiliation with their Alkhan overlords, or identifies the seal owner as a member of the ruling group. Striking is the way in which the seal owners represent themselves, as a bust either in three-quarter view (a mark of status) or in profile. Equally striking is the variety of styles in which the seals were carved, no doubt the result of their manufacture in different workshops in different regions of Bactria. Although the majority of seals display these "portrait" busts, some others bear imagery that is characteristically Sasanian

or Indian and thus most likely made outside of Bactria. Their Bactrian owners have personalized them by having the Alkhan S1 tamga added to the image already engraved on the seal.



*Fig. 2. Seal of Aspand-lād showing tamga S1 (after Judith A. Lerner, Ahmad Saeedi, and Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Bactrian Sealings in the A. Saeedi Collection (London)," in *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen. Ph. Gignoux, C. Jullien, and F. Jullien, eds. [Paris: 2009], nos. 10 and 11, pp. 226-228).**



*Fig. 3. Alkhan Coin Type 33 (London, British Museum ; courtesy Klaus Vondrovec).*



*Fig. 4. Seal of Pidōd-band showing tamga S2 (after Lerner et al., 2009, no. 9, pp. 225-6)*

Our final speaker of the day was Michael Bates, whose talk was entitled "The Earliest Official Arab Coinage of Iran." Leaving aside the problematic Arab-Sasanian coinage dated 20 (which is probably mostly imitative from a later period), the earliest official Arab Muslim coinage of Iran is dated 35 Hijra, from several mints in southern Iran that were part of the government of Basra. There are also a very few such coins dated 36. The scarcity of these issues suggest that they were produced only in late 35 and early 36, the

last months of 'Uthmān's caliphate and the early days of 'Alī's, before the news of 'Uthmān's assassination reached Basra and southern Iran; thus probably only in 656 of the common era. The dates cannot possibly be Yazdigird III regnal years, because that would place them in the Hijra years 46-47 (666-67) when the Basra government produced only coins naming 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz in his second term as governor.

Such coins were minted at GW, Jundishāpūr; WYHĈ, Arrajān; BYŠ, Bīshāpūr; ART, Ardashīr Khurra; and ST, Is.takhr. Because there seem to be no such coins from the northern government, of Kufa, the responsibility for this innovation has to be granted to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir in his first term as governor of Basra, 649-56. This was not his last innovation; in his second term, 662-67, he was the first Muslim to have his name on coins, a precedent followed by all later Arab governors in seventh-century Iran. In contrast, the earliest coins, those discussed in the present study, name only Khosro, the Sasanian emperor.

This issue was superseded by another, similar to the previous, but with dates beginning with 25, up to 31 or 32 in the Basra government and to 35 or 36 in that of Kufa. In this case, the dates must be taken to be regnal years of the last Sasanian emperor, Yazdigird III (632-51). As a Hijra date, 25 would equal 645-46, before any of the cities of Fars had been taken. As a YE date, 25 coincides almost completely with the Hijra year 36. In southern Iran, Basra's government, issues of this series are recorded only from mints in Fars province, or near it: MY (uncertain, associated with Arrajan); Bishapur, Ardashir Khurra, Istakhr, and DA, Darabjird. In addition, this issue was minted in northern Iran, under Kufa, at AHM, Hamadan; GD, Jayy (Isbahan); LD, al-Rayy; and AW, NY/WY, PL, WH, WYH/NYH, all uncertain. The fact that this issue began in both governments simultaneously and continued in both for 6 or 7 years indicates that its initiator and general manager was the caliph Ali, resident in Kufa.

'Ali's issue came to an end in the Basra government with the reinstatement by his cousin Mu'awiya of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir as governor, so late in 41 Hijra that it could not take effect at the mints until 42. 'Abd Allāh reinstated Hijra dating in that year, along with another remarkable innovation: he had his name inscribed, in Pahlavi transcription, on the coins in place of the Persian emperor's. Audacious as it might seem, this innovation has not been noted by early or modern historians. His example was followed by later governors, with a partial exception by his immediate successor Ziyad; the latter's first years, 47-50, were the last period in which the Persian emperor was named on Arab coins, although the coins had Ziyad's personal slogan bism Allāh rabbī as a marker of his authority.

In the north no governor interfered with 'Ali's system, but in the year 35 of the coins (666-67) it came to an end. Why? That remains for future investigation.

After the meeting, some 15 or 20 members and guests repaired to the Bukhara Grill for our traditional Indian dinner. The Bukhara has been an excellent host these past few years; we will now need to find a restaurant near the Grand Hyatt ... ideas anyone?



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## ONS Lecture at Mumbai Coin Society Fair & Felicitation of Mr. Jan Lingen on his 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday

The latest edition of the annual Mumbai Coin Fair organized by the Mumbai Coin Society saw the successful organization of an ONS Lecture by Mr. Jan Lingen visiting India during the fair. It was a coincidence of sorts that 15 September the first day of the MCS Fair was also the 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Mr. Lingen.

The MCS graciously felicitated Mr. Lingen at the hands of Mr. Pukhraj Surana, a senior Mumbai collector and Mr. Goga Jain of New Delhi, a veteran coin dealer who knew Mr. Lingen right from his beginnings in New Delhi both as an architect and a collector of Indian coins. Mr. Girish Veera of Oswal Auctions playing the MC at the function chose to paraphrase Mr. Lingen's name as 'Gyaan Lingam' 'Fount of Knowledge' while honouring him with a traditional Indian pagree to honour his achievements. The MCS Fair also was the venue of release of a private 'coin' medal designed to commemorate Mr. Lingen's 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday with a Mughal style mohur and rupee with a Persian obverse and reverse. The limited-edition silver coin was 'sold' to 101-coin enthusiasts by the trio of Husain Makda, Jigar Jagada and Ketan Chotai from Rajkot (also ONS members from South Asia) to fund a gold mohur made exclusively for Mr. Lingen.

The Persian legends were crafted by Dr. Sanjay Garg and Shailendra Bhandare with an obverse portrait of Mr. Lingen peering at a wine cup much in the style of Mughal Emperor Jahangir with the obverse Persian legend

'HAFTAAD WA PANJ ROZ TAWALUD MUBARAK BAAD  
2017 (SAN ISWI)/ SHABIH JAAN LINGAN'

Meaning 'Happy Seventy-Fifth Birthday 2017 (Christian Era)/  
Portrait of Jan Lingen'

The reverse has the Persian legend

'LABREZ ILM-O-DANISH AST/ DAR JAAM-I JAN  
UMRAT DARA AZ LINGEN TU AST FAKHR-I-JAHAAN'

Meaning:

'The Goblet of Jan is full of Knowledge and Wisdom  
May you live long Lingen, thou are the Pride of the World!'



*Image of the 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday Coin with limited edition 101 pieces in silver; Jan Lingen received a gold, silver and copper set from the makers as a birthday gift*

The release of the 'Coin' was followed by the ONS Lecture by Mr. Lingen titled 'The Current State of Numismatics in India'. The highlight of the lecture was the spread of numismatic commerce in India from its nascent beginnings in the 1970s through the 1990s with a rise in the number of coin dealers, coin collectors and coin fairs. This was followed by the launch of auction houses and their e-auctions till the current period with e-bidding and e-catalogues of most Indian auction houses with frequent coin sale auctions in the twenty-first century.

Mr. Lingen interspersed his talk with personal anecdotes and photographs with various coin dealers and collectors and his numerous visits to India across various states and attending various coin fairs. He also dwelt on the professional attitude towards coins which rose in the new millennium and a new generation of coin

dealers and coin collectors coming into play. The lecture thus took the audience through a rare photographic journey through Indian Numismatic trade from the 1960s till the current day.

The lecture was followed by a dinner sponsored by M/s Shatrughan Saravagi, Husain Makda, Jigar Jagada and Ketan Chotai where all senior scholars, collectors and dealers mingled freely and the day ended with a sumptuous dinner followed by a birthday cake cut by Mr. Lingen.

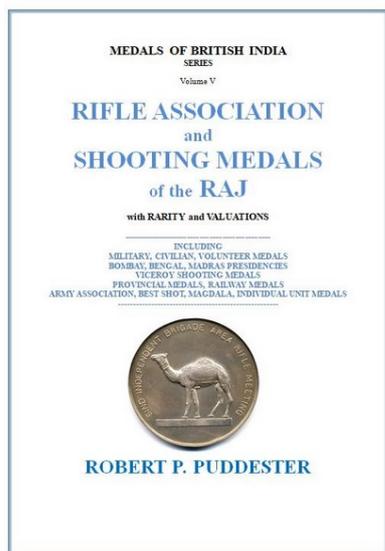
## New and Recent Publications

**Daniel Cariou, *La monnaie de l'Inde Française des origines à 1840: Histoire et catalogue*, 2016** série Monnaies d'Asie no.8, Société de Numismatique Asiatique, pp.124, colour images.

The publication covers the history and money of the French holdings in India such as Pondichery. It is now in its second edition with added sections on tokens.

**Robert P. Puddester, *RIFLE ASSOCIATION and SHOOTING MEDALS of the RAJ with Rarity and Valuation*, MEDALS OF BRITISH INDIA SERIES, Volume Five (ISBN 978-0-9920141-2-4)**

The website for this volume ([www.PuddesterFoundation.org](http://www.PuddesterFoundation.org)) announces it 'is now available in a digital PDF format and includes more than 120 rifle association and shooting medals of the RAJ, all catalogued with numbers, nearly all of which are illustrated in full colour, enlarged, high definition illustrations. Military, civilian, volunteer medals, Bombay, Bengal, Madras Presidencies, Viceroy shooting medals, provincial, railway, army association, best shot, Magdala, individual unit medals and Princely state medals' for a price of US \$24.50.

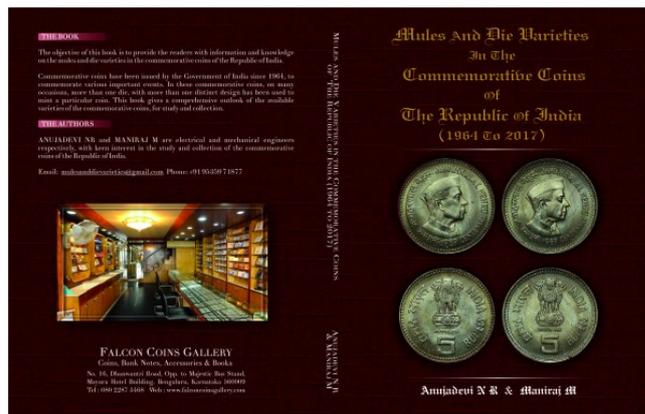


**Robert P. Puddester, *TOKENS of the INDIAN MINTS*, 2017**, Medals of British India Series, Volume Four (ISBN 978-0-9920141-1-7 -- electronic book) – (new volume in the *Medals of British India Series*) –

From the website ([www.PuddesterFoundation.org](http://www.PuddesterFoundation.org)): '600 tokens, passes, tickets, checks and weights of the British India period, struck by the Calcutta and Bombay Mints, compiled from research inside the Indian mints. This e-book contains hundreds of new tokens not previously recorded or published'. The e-book is priced at US\$ 39.50.

**Anujadevi, N. R. and Maniraj, M. *Mules and Die Varieties in the Commemorative Coins of the Republic of India (1961 to 2012)***

Remarks provided by the author "consists of 180 pages approximately. The cost of the book is 500 INR and can be purchased from 'Falcon coins gallery, Bangalore'.



## Book Reviews

**Beena Sarasan, *Traversing Travancore through the Ages on Coins (second edition) 2016***, Poorna Publications, Calicut, Kerala, India 673 001, Price US\$ 80 / Rup.3500 (India)

Developments in the study of the coins of Travancore have been progressing rapidly since Beena Sarasan published the first edition of this book in 2008, this due in large part to the efforts of the author herself. This book is a far more comprehensive volume than the previous edition, and at 210 pages, almost twice the size.

The book progresses from the earliest coins of the Sangam age through to the issues of Bala Rama Varma in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century and is illustrated in colour throughout.

Some of the earlier chapters are based on articles that the author has written for various publications and assume some prior knowledge of the history of the area. The chapter on Sangam Age coins starts well with a description of contemporary issues of the Romans and the Mauryan Empire found in Kerala, but the focus then narrow to consider a limited range of Chera coins, such as issues of Makkotai, Kolirumpuraiy, and a ring naming the Pandyan ruler Peruvazhuthi, at the expense of the wide range of copper issues the early Cheras are known to have struck.

Chapter 2, on the subject of Venad and Jayasimhanad in the early medieval period, becomes extremely complex with closely argued explanations for the origins of the various dynasties. Most notable is the concept that the Venad rulers owe their Yadava origin to the Chalukyas. The attribution of the *Achu* of Jayasimha is undeniably interesting and a breakthrough, as is the concept that the '*maduranthakan*' written on the rare gold coins of Rajendrachola refers to the denomination of the coin and not the name of a ruler. The unusual 'crocodile' coins of Vira Kerala and his successors are well covered and the chapter moves on to an interesting section on trade at the port of Kollam, subject of a different book by the author.\*

The next chapter on Medieval Coinage could well have included the subsections on Kaliyan and Rasi or Virarayan panam found in the last pages of chapter two. As it is, the 'medieval' chapter covers the period from the time of Chola influence and ends with three pages of 'Anonymous issues in copper and bronze coins attributable to c.17<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century.' I am uncertain why these coins are included here rather than with the section on Thira cash that appears in a later chapter, unless the symbols on them correspond to those on found on coins connected with North Kerala that appear before this section. The majority of the chapter provides logical and comprehensive coverage of the battle-axe coins of various types, then moves on to consider the coins of the Jayasimhanad and Chiravay branches of Venad, including issues of Butalavira, the Banas, and those featuring the Tamil legend 'Che' above a crocodile (now attributed to Chetungana mootha Thiruvadi of Venad). There is also a consideration of the denominations of the

battle-axe coins (p.45), which could have been usefully extended to the Anantasayanam and Thira cash.

The disconnect between the plethora of base-metal coins issued in the southern parts of medieval Kerala when compared with the lack of anything similar in the northernmost states is well noted. This has been covered by Beena by her re-attribution of coins previously known as 'Kongu Chera' issues to north Malabar and Cochin. Various scarce coins, bearing undeniably Venad symbols, are tentatively attributed to this area in the period before the reforms of Marthanda Varma on p.69-70.

Chapter 4, 'Venad as Vassals' is an interesting and well considered excursion through the links with the Banas, Vijayanagara, the later Pandyas and Nayaks of Madurai. Then chapter 5 considers the coins of Travancore State from the time of Marthanda Varma's accession in 1729, commencing with the Anantasayanam series. I can't help but feel that this section is going to become the most thumbed through and popular part of the book, featuring as it does many previously unpublished coins of Travancore discovered by Beena on her visits to the British Museum together with several good illustrations of the pattern coins housed in the Padmanabhapuram Palace Museum and never previously professionally photographed to a high standard. These, together with the two different types of gold pagoda recently established as being Ananthavarahan pagodas, are new to collectors. Of course the chapter also considers all the old favourites, like the various Thulabharam issues, portrait sovereigns, the rare serpent 8-, 4-, 2- and 1-Cash of Rani Parvathi Bayi, and the half and double chuckrams of Bala Rama Varma, together with all the later milled coinage, as readers would expect.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the Thira Cash, and the origin of their symbols. Then there is a chapter on Chuckrapalaka or the wooden chuckram boards used to count the thousands of tiny coins circulating in Kerala. There is mention of the mints at Kalkulam, Alleppey, Kollam and Trivandrum on p.190, but unfortunately at this stage it is not possible to ascertain what coins were struck at each place, apart from a few mentioned in the local records or *neetus*.

Various of these proclamations, for the most part in Malayalam, are published in an appendix at the end. Although they are referred to in the text and partially translated where relevant, for my own part I could only wish that they were translated in full in order to assist those not conversant with the language.

*\*Chinese cash in "Ku-lin": vestiges of Kollam's maritime history, Trivandrum, 2014*

Barbara Mears

## Articles

### A NEW COIN OF AMYNTAS AND SOME APOLLOPHANES FORGERIES

Pankaj Tandon<sup>1</sup>

This brief note brings to notice three Indo-Greek coins, seen at the New York International Numismatic Convention in January 2017 and January 2018.

#### Amyntas AE quadruple

The first coin, a bronze quadruple unit of Amyntas, is illustrated in Figure 1 and can be described as follows:



Figure 1: AE quadruple (?) of Amyntas (Tandon collection #688.72)

Obverse: City goddess, perhaps Tyche, standing three-quarters left, wearing tall head-dress (crown?), holding cornucopia in left arm and crown in outstretched right hand; Greek legend around: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΟΤΣ / ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΥ // ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Reverse: Humped bull standing right on a linear ground line, ☒ monogram below, Kharoshthi legend around: *maharajasa / jayadharasa / amitasa*.

Weight: 6.19 gm,

Dimensions: 20 x 19 mm

Die axis: 12 o'clock.

When looking at an entirely new type that has not been discovered in an archaeological context, it behoves us to look at it very critically. This coin has several problems that would lead us to doubt its authenticity. First, the weight (6.19 gm) is really too low for a quadruple and too high for a double unit. The occasional Indo-Greek quadruple whose weight falls this low tends to be quite worn; this coin, however, is in relatively pristine condition. Second, the first word in the obverse legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΟΤΣ, rather than the usual ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("king"). Presumably, this is a mis-spelling of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, which would mean "in the reign of." While this would be an acceptable term on a coin, it had been used in the Graeco-Bactrian world only by Agathocles and Antimachus in their pedigree coins;<sup>2</sup> it had never been used by a king on his own coinage and, in any case, had not been seen on any Indo-Greek coin for some 70 years.<sup>3</sup> Its use on this coin, therefore, seems rather odd. Third, the obverse Greek legend would be expected to be continuous; however, here the last word, ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ, reverses direction and must be read from the outside rather than the inside of the coin. We of course see such reversals of direction in all of the Indo-Greek silver coinage, and also sometimes in the bronze coinage. For example, there are bronze coins of Menander I and Zoilus I which have this feature.<sup>4</sup> However, in all these cases, the reversal of direction takes place when the king's name appears in the exergue, so that it can be read while holding the coin in its normal orientation. Here, the king's name is along the right side border.

For all these reasons, one must be somewhat skeptical about this coin. Against these factors, however, it should be noted that the style of the devices and the lettering on the coin is absolutely consistent with other coins of the period, the monogram is the usual one seen on much of the coinage of Amyntas, and the scratch marks on the coin are consistent with its having been vigorously cleaned of encrustations. Further, the high quality carving of the dies would indicate that, if the coin is a forgery, it was made by a highly skilled and knowledgeable person. Would such a person have made the rather elementary "mistakes" outlined in the previous paragraph? It seems unlikely. It is worth noting that the city goddess also made an appearance on some of Amyntas's silver coinage (Bopearachchi, Série 2).

I therefore feel that the coin is probably genuine. If so, we can look into its significance. The type follows the most common bronze type of Philoxenos (c. 100-95 BCE), an example of which is illustrated in Figure 2. The obverse of the Philoxenos features a city goddess three-quarters to left, holding a cornucopia, and delivering a blessing with the right hand; the reverse depicts a humped bull right. Thus the Amyntas coin departs from the Philoxenos coin in that the goddess offers a crown rather than a benediction. This

suggests that the Amyntas coin commemorates a victory and this notion is reinforced by the choice of epithet, ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡ (“victor”).

At the risk of perhaps looking too far into the significance of an individual coin, let us ask: Who might Amyntas have defeated? This is a difficult question to answer, because the chronology of the Indo-Greek kings is not at all settled. The monogram on the coin doesn't help at all either, because it is the monogram used for the first time by Amyntas.<sup>5</sup> There are at least three different competing proposals for the late Indo-Greek chronology and I will consider these in turn.

In the chronology proposed by Bopparachchi,<sup>7</sup> Amyntas succeeded Philoxenos in all the areas where he ruled. This would suggest that the king defeated by Amyntas was in fact Philoxenos, and the fact that this “victory” coin follows the type of Philoxenos might be seen as supporting this conclusion.



Figure 2: AE coin of Philoxenos<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, Senior and MacDonald proposed a chronology in which Amyntas succeeded Heliocles II,<sup>8</sup> and so it is possible that Heliocles II was the king defeated by Amyntas. This notion can be supported by at least two additional pieces of information. First, we know of at least one coin of Heliocles II that was overstruck by Amyntas,<sup>9</sup> and that suggests a possible direct link between the two kings. Second, as pointed out by Bopparachchi, Amyntas “apparently inherited ... the important monogram  $\text{X}$  ... from Heliocles II.”<sup>10</sup> That monogram was not used at all by Philoxenos, which suggests that, at least in some areas, Amyntas succeeded Heliocles II directly rather than after Philoxenos. In this interpretation, Amyntas would be an ally of Philoxenos, and his use of the Philoxenos type could thereby be explained.

Senior subsequently revised his chronology of the Indo-Greek kings<sup>11</sup>, but this does not affect the previous discussion, as he still has Amyntas following Heliocles II in at least part of his territory.

Third, Jakobsson's chronology<sup>12</sup> has Amyntas succeeding Archebios. Despite this, however, Jakobsson acknowledges that Amyntas, rather than Archebios, “may have been the one who drove [Heliocles II] out of the Punjab,”<sup>13</sup> which would support the conclusion reached in the previous paragraph.

A final possibility is that Amyntas was vying with Scythians of the family of Vonones, who were making inroads into northern India at around this time. Finally settling this question depends upon a much more detailed analysis, which is beyond the scope of this note and maybe even of any deeper analysis.

The foregoing discussion was based on the assumption that the coin under discussion was an official issue of Amyntas. In a private electronic message, Jens Jakobsson suggested to me in passing that the coin may have been an unofficial issue. I find this suggestion attractive. It would explain the use of the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΟΤΣ on the coin, as an unofficial issue would not be a coin of Amyntas but only an issue “in the reign of” Amyntas. The other anomalies on the coin might also be more understandable, and the rarity of the coin would be a direct consequence of the fact that it was a special, probably one-off, issue. The use of the figure of a city goddess would then suggest that the coin was a civic issue, perhaps of a city that surrendered to Amyntas (hence the goddess offering the crown). If this theory is true, it is perhaps most likely that the previous ruler of the city would have been Philoxenos, whose type served as the model for this coin. This theory would then provide a mild support to Bopparachchi's chronology.

### Probable Forged AE coins of Apollophanes



Figure 3: AE sextuple (?) of Apollophanes? (in trade)

The second coin I wish to present is one that purports to be a bronze sextuple of Apollophanes. It was seen at the 2017 New York coin show. If genuine, this would be the first known AE coin of that king. It is illustrated in Figure 3 and can be described as follows:

Obverse: Apollo standing three-quarters right, holding arrow in

both hands,  $\text{X}$  monogram at left; Greek legend around: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ.

Reverse: Tripod, Kharoshthi letters  $\text{ra}$  at left and  $\text{ti}$  at right, Kharoshthi legend around: maharajasa / tratarasa / apuluphanasa.

Weight: 12.72 gm

Dimensions: 23 x 22 mm

Die axis: 12 o'clock.

Once again, we need to look at this coin with a skeptical eye. There has been a spate of recent forgeries which involve the re-carving of genuine coins with new details in order to make them more marketable.<sup>14</sup> Given the similarity between the names of Apollodotus and Apollophanes, and the fact that Apollodotus II also issued coins with Apollo on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse, I took a close look at the coin to see if the Greek and Kharoshthi legends might have been altered. On both legends, the name of the king does appear somewhat different from the rest of the legend, but I could not find clear evidence that the coin had been altered. I therefore concluded that the coin might be genuine.

After I had written a first draft of this paper, I became aware of two more copper coins of Apollophanes. Shailen Bhandare pointed out that a coin sold in a CNG auction (Sale 90, lot 876) as a square Apollo/wreath type of Apollodotus II in fact was clearly a coin of Apollophanes. And Bob Senior has shown me a round coin of a third type that is also an issue of Apollophanes. Bob will be publishing these two coins shortly.

Both of these coins carry Senior's Monogram 4,  $\text{X}$ ,<sup>15</sup> which is the monogram also seen on the silver coins of Apollophanes. Whereas initially I had thought it plausible that the silver coins could have been made in one mint and the coppers in another, it seems unlikely that Apollophanes would produce copper coins at two different mints. The monogram on the coin therefore becomes a piece of evidence arguing for it to be deemed a forgery. In all probability, it was a coin of Apollodotus II that has been modified. The original would have been similar to coins 19 and 20 of the Chakwal hoard,<sup>16</sup> although the weight is somewhat lower. This could be explained by the loss of metal during the process of alteration.

At the January 2018 New York show, I saw another coin purporting to be of Apollophanes and this is presented in Figure 4. The coin is similar in design to the previous one, with a standing Apollo and tripod as the main elements, but this one is round.

The coin is rather obviously a forgery. It is probably not a modified coin of Apollodotus. If it were, it would be an example of BN Série 6,<sup>17</sup> and no coin of that series is known with this monogram.<sup>18</sup> The monogram is actually appropriate for Apollophanes. However, the coin is made with new dies (or molds). The forger is obviously not that skilled and this lack of skill is what gives the forgery away. The letters, on both obverse and reverse, are tentative and child-like, as if the die-cutter had to keep looking at a

template he was trying to reproduce. The figure of Apollo is also simplified and the forger has mistaken his arrow for a spear that extends over his right shoulder. The name of the king in Kharoshthi is mis-spelled as *apulanasa*. Overall, therefore, it is quite clear that this coin is of modern manufacture.



Figure 4: AE sextuple (?) of Apolophanes ? (in trade)  
Details: 12.76 gm, 27 mm.

#### Endnotes

- 1, Boston University. I thank Shailen Bhandare, Osmund Bopearachchi and especially Jens Jakobsson for helpful electronic exchanges, and Yogeshwar Puri for encouragement to write this paper. I remain responsible for any errors and opinions expressed herein.
- 2, See Osmund Bopearachchi: *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991, Agathocle, Séries 12-18, and Antimaque (I) Théos, Séries 9-10.
- 3, Bopearachchi dates Antimachus to c. 175-165 BCE and Amyntas to c. 95-90 BCE.
- 4, Bopearachchi, *ibid.*, Ménandre (I) Sôter, Séries 17, 21, Zoile I, Série 6.
- 5, It is not hard to see that this monogram could be formed by the letters in the name AMYNTAË being written one on top of the other.
- 6, Bopearachchi type 10D; photo, courtesy Classical Numismatic Group, sale 84, lot 799 (8.60gm, 20mm, 12h).
- 7, Bopearachchi, *ibid.*, p. 453.
- 8, R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald: *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks A reappraisal of the chronology from the time of Menander to that of Azes*, Monographs of the Hellenic Numismatic Society 2, Athens, 1998, p. 57.
- 9, See R.C. Senior and S. Mirza: "An Indo-Greek Overstrike," ONS Newsletter No. 149 (Summer 1996), p. 5.
- 10, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1998, opposite Plate 52.
- 11, Robert C. Senior: "The Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian King Sequences in the Second and First Centuries BC," *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter 179 Supplement*, Spring 2004.
- 12, Jens Jakobsson: "Relations between the Indo-Greek kings after Menander, Part 2," *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 193, Autumn 2007, pp. 8-12.
- 13, *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 14 See Pankaj Tandon: "A Spate of New Forgeries of Kushan and Parataraja coins," *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 204, Summer 2010, pp. 17-20, and "Two New Types of Kushan Forgeries," *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 221, Autumn 2014, pp. 21-22.
- 15 See R.C. Senior: *Indo-Scythian Coins and History, Vol. 4, Supplement*, Lancaster and London: Classical Numismatic Group, 2006, p. 130.
- 16 See Senior, *ibid.*, pp. 137 and 141.
- 17 Bopearachchi, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
- 18 There was also no coin of Apollodotus II with this monogram in the Chakwal hoard. See Senior, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

## A NEW TETRADRACHM OF THE FRATARAKA VAHBARZ FROM PERSEPOLIS WITH A DIE FLAW TURNED INTO A QUIVER

By Mahdi Ahrabi (MA), Hans Löschner (HL) and  
Wilhelm Mûseler (WM)

**Short Introduction to the Frataraka Coinage of Persis** When Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire he had to rely on local administration to rule his vast realms. The resulting strategy of a gradual adaptation and assimilation of existing administrative and social structures was continued by his successor Seleukos I Nikator. In particular Persis (Pars / Fars), the heartland of the former Achaemenid Empire and Persepolis, the former capital, kept numerous cultural traditions of the Achaemenid period, for example the Zoroastrian fire cult. However, in the aftermath of Alexander's conquests and under the rule of the early Seleucids a number of important innovations were launched in the Iranian highlands such as the introduction of coinage, an achievement of long standing in the Greek world and in the western parts of the Achaemenid Empire. But in Persis the use of coins had not been common at all, neither as a medium of commercial exchange nor as a vehicle of political propaganda. Therefore the coin series subsequently struck by the governors (Frataraka) of Persis, which had been installed by the Seleucids, remained rather small and hardly circulated outside their area of origin.

For quite a long time the coinage of Persis (Pars/Fars) was a neglected chapter of ancient numismatics. After the pioneering works and first systematic studies by scholars of the early 20th century Persis and its coinage had only been summarily treated. This changed in 1986 when Michael Alram published his monumental work *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis*. A few years later, in 1994, Joseph Wiesehöfer published his fundamental study of the history of the Frataraka from Persepolis. Based upon Alram's claim that the coin issues from Persepolis formed a seamless continuity without any apparent rifts or interruptions, Wiesehöfer came to the conclusion that Persid coinage as a whole could not have begun before the middle of the 2nd century BC. In 2005/6, following the donation of the important collection of Persid coins assembled by Theo Reuter from Munich to the Staatliche Münzsammlung of Bavaria, an essay of Wilhelm Mûseler challenged Wiesehöfer's and Alram's position on the low dating of the early coin series from Persepolis. In 2008 the entire holdings of Persid coins in the collection of the state of Bavaria were exhibited and published in an extensively commented catalogue by Dietrich Klose and Wilhelm Mûseler. In accordance with Mûseler's earlier research the authors favoured a high dating of the first coinage from Persis to the beginning of the 3rd century BC, - that is in the later years of the reign of Seleukos I Nikator.

Klose's and Mûseler's chronological approach has become widely accepted thereafter, although the supporters of a later dating have defended their positions by expressing doubts about the alleged weakness of Seleucid rule in Persia and about resulting centrifugal tendencies as early as the 3rd century BC, which Klose and Mûseler implied. Also in 2008 Oliver Hoover, based on a study of overstrikes on Seleucid and Persid coins, had challenged the traditional sequence of the Frataraka rulers assumed by all previous scholars. He suggested putting the coinage of the Frataraka Baydad at the end of the line of the various Frataraka issues known up to that point and not at the beginning. However, in analyzing the same overstrikes Klose and Mûseler had come to the conclusion that the coinage of Baydad together with that of Ardaxsher should be left at the onset of the Frataraka series but that both rulers should be seen as more or less contemporaneous contenders to rule in Persis. That solution seems more adequate since it also explains the highly significant change in the coinage of Baydad: From the reverse image of the governor sitting on a throne and holding a long sceptre and a flower, which has obvious parallels among the sub-Achaemenid coinages of the 4th century BC from Cilicia and the Levant, to a motif with a clear local reference to the Zoroastrian fire cult of Persepolis, that was possibly introduced by his presumed rival Ardaxsher. Moreover it takes into account the apparent similarities between the coinages of their successors Vahbarz and Vadfradad, which are not only full of military allusions but also much richer in sometimes quite crudely executed overstrikes pointing to a growing shortage in precious metal and some state of emergency.

**Finding a Tetradrachm type of Vahbarz “Carrying a Quiver”**

Early in 2017 MA asked HL to translate Mseler’s programmatic essay (Mseler 2005/6) on the early coinage of Persepolis from German into English. This evoked HL’s interest in the Persid coinage so that he had a closer look to the Vahbarz coin in his collection. He noticed that the reverse of his coin differed from the reference coins quoted in the auction catalogues in the respect of that Vahbarz, in the posture of adoration at the side of a fire altar seemed to have a quiver attached to his back reaching almost down to his left foot. Fig.1 shows the high quality photos later provided by KHM (Kunsthistorisches Museum) Vienna.



Fig.1: Vahbarz 4A in the HL collection (photos: KHM, Vienna), weight 16.58 gr, 27 mm average diameter, 7h, slightly scyphate

**Vahbarz 4A“Carrying a Quiver” in the Tehran Malek Museum**

Searching for comparable specimen in the various publications on Persid coinage MA eventually found an almost identical coin in the publication on Persid coins kept by the Malek-Museum at Tehran by Mostafa Dehpahlavan, the coin shown in Fig.2.



Fig. 2: Vahbarz Tetradrachm in the Tehran Malek-Museum # 354, 16.8 gr, 33 mm diameter (Courtesy of Mostafa Dehpahlavan)

Mostafa Dehpahlavan had stated in his publication (translated from Farsi by MA): “We are stressing that there is an additional line/scratch (or a part of quiver) at the back of the standing man as it wasn’t seen before on any other coins of this type of Vahubarz”. In two private communications of June 2017, Joe Cribb expressed his conviction that the "quiver" was in fact the result of a die-flaw because of its curious position at the lower back of the figure; moreover a detailed comparison of the two coins revealed a progressive development of this feature on the otherwise identical reverse-die, the HL-coin apparently being the result of a slightly later strike. The legends on the HL and the Malek-Museum coins are the same, shortened from otherwise 6 *whwbrz* to 5 letters *wwbrz*, with a slight obliteration of the 2nd *w* letter by the “quiver die break” (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Legend on HL (above) and Malek-Museum coin (below)

After being contacted by HL and MA, WM went through all the documents at his disposal, mainly his own notes and the manuscript for a Corpus of Persid coinage by Pieter Anne van’t Haaff and Scott van Horn (forthcoming). His search resulted in the discovery of two coins: (i) a specimen in the so called Sunrise-Collection possibly the work of the same die engraver, and (ii) a coin sold in the CNG Triton sale VII (Fig. 4). The latter was struck from the same die as

the HL-coin but before a part at the back of the human figure had broken off.



Fig. 4: CNG Triton VII, Lot 540, 2014 (© CNG Lancaster PA)

In this previous, still more or less intact state of the respective die there is no trace of any quiver-shaped object at the back of the human figure, but everything else is there: The somewhat unusual five letter legend on the outer left, that is later on partly obliterated by the die-break (as had already been noted by Joe Cribb), the small irregularity of the roof on the right side of the building, the peculiar lines around the standard on the right, which are a sign of the already deteriorating metal of the die, etc. WM therefore endorsed the previous conclusions of Joe Cribb.

**Inspection of the Vahbarz coin in the HL collection by KHM**

Subsequently HL had high quality photos of his coin made by the KHM at Vienna (Fig. 1 and Fig. 5b). In his inspection of the coin Klaus Vondrovec, keeper of ancient coins at the coin cabinet of KHM, had become convinced, however, that the quiver shaped object on the reverse was not caused by a mere flaw of the die but the result of an intentional addition to it. Possibly a not particularly skilled craftsman had attempted to repair the image disturbed by the die-break, which is nonetheless visible, and thereby deliberately altered the figure of the adorant by adding an oddly placed quiver to its back. If the conclusions of Klaus Vondrovec are justified, the intervention had just caused a new state for a pre-existing die by a secondary addition to the original design.

**Comparison of the three Vahbarz 4A coins.**

With the excellent photos of KHM in place HL did a comparison of all three specimens of the Vahbarz Tetradrachms discussed in this article. They show three different states of the reverse-dies: (i) State 1 by the coin from CNG Triton VII, (ii) State 2 by the coin from the Malek-Museum, and (iii) finally State 3 by the coin from the collection of HL himself. As a result it became apparent, that the beginning of a “die flaw” is in fact already visible in die State 1 (Fig. 5a). In order to save the precious die there was subsequently some re-engraving done, as outlined by Klaus Vondrovec, giving the die-break the shape of a “quiver” (Fig. 5b). One may assume that the mint master of Persepolis had obtained permission from the Frataraka Vahbarz to issue the coins with that alteration.

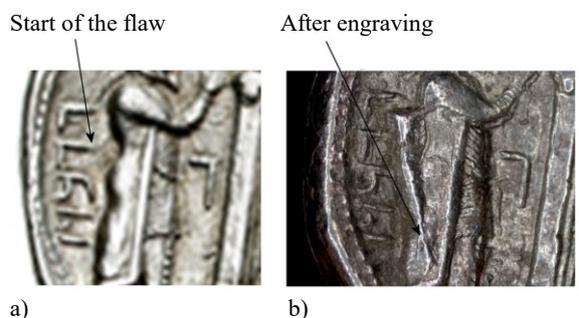


Fig. 5: Comparison of the Vahbarz 4. with 5 letter wording “wwbrz” a) of CNG Triton VII auction, and b) of the HL-piece

**Summary and Conclusions**

Overstrikes on other coins, usually the products of various Seleucid mints in Mesopotamia and Iran, are a common feature throughout the entire period of Frataraka rule at Persepolis. They point to a lack of precious metal and a resulting shortage of suitable flans at the



- 14 hdyb'l YHWWN't. KR' ayār bavād. harw čē  
MH B'YHWNd x<sup>w</sup>āhand
- 15 LWTH LK 'BYDWNty..... abāg tō kunēd.....

These lines may be translated to read 'Along with a person, come forward. (So) God will be a helper. Along with you, he (the person) should do whatever they want'<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, one would encounter the Arabic form of the expression *tā yazd ayār bavād* that appears prevalently in several Quranic verses (*āyāt*), notably in al-Saff 13 and Muhammad 7<sup>4</sup>, as well as the two extremely rare anonymous Arab-Sasanian coins illustrated in Fig. 3. A-B. The obverse of the bronze issue depicts the typical bust of a Sasanian king and bears the Pahlavi legends *GDH 'pzw't*, i.e. *xwarrah abzūd* 'Glory increased' and *plhwyh – pylwcyh*, i.e. *farroxīh – pērōzīh* 'Benediction – victory', behind and in front of the bust respectively (Curiel & Gyselen 1984a: nos. 79-80). There is also an Arabic legend in the second quarter of the margin that was read and translated as *nasar allāh al-haqq* / نصر الله الحق '(May) God give the victory to the Truth'. However, it must be noted that the Arabic word نصر lacks all its diacritics that determine its pronunciation and consequently its meaning. As correctly pointed out by Curiel and Gyselen, and because of its position in the sentence, the first Kufic word should be read *nasar<sup>a</sup>* / نَصْر (as the simple past conjugation of the verb 'helped'), whereas the incorrect reading as *nasr* / نَصْر might also present the Arabic noun 'victory'. Therefore, the correct translation of the whole sentence must be 'God helped the Truth(ful people)' or equivalently '(May) God help the Truth(ful people)'.

The reverse of the other issue (so-called *Mihrāb* and 'anaza dirham<sup>5</sup>) also includes the Arabic invocation نصر الله inside an upside-down U-shaped *structure* that most probably illustrates a triumphal arch (Fig. 3. B). Similarly, due to the lack of the diacritics on the Arabic word نصر one might read it in two different ways as just mentioned above. Treadwell has suggested to read the whole expression as the two separate words *nasr* / نَصْر 'victory' and *allāh* / الله 'God' (Treadwell 2009: 372). On the contrary, the authors believe that the legend must be read as نصر الله *nasar<sup>a</sup> allāh* « (May) God help » similar to the sentence that appears on the first example that was discussed above. These slogans appearing on these two specimens are very similar to that of the middle-Persian legend '(May) God be the faithful men's helper' on the dirham under consideration here.

The next challenge is to reliably attribute these special dirhams to a certain ruler, since their obverses bear no personal names. This necessarily calls for a thorough revision of the contemporary events in the literary sources. We are told that in the year AH 74, the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd governor of Khurāsān after dismissing the previous governor, Bukayr b. Wishāh (Tabari: Vol. XXII, 7) (A'tham al-Kūfī: VI, 288-90) (Balādhuri: Fūṭūh, 416).<sup>7</sup>

Umayyah then entered into a friendly relationship with Bukayr and offered him the governorship of Tuxāristān. Spending a great sum of money, Bukayr made the necessary arrangements for his departure. However, Bahir b. Warqā who was a prisoner of Bukayr before the arrival of Umayyah in Khurāsān, slandered Bukayr, warning Umayyah that with this appointment the latter would get the chance to revolt in Tuxāristān. Heeding Bahir's warning, Umayyah changed his mind and left Bukayr under the burden of his campaign debts. Thereupon, Bukayr's creditors had him arrested and imprisoned. Nevertheless, Bukayr somehow paid off his debts and left the prison with a hatred of Umayyah. Soon afterwards, the latter made preparations for a campaign in Bukhārā, to be followed by a march against Musā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzīm in al-Tirmidh (Tabari: Vol. XXII, 166). He took Bukayr with himself and marched east, leaving his very young son, Ziyād, as his deputy in Merv. However, after crossing the Oxus with his troops on boats, Umayyah changed his mind and instructed Bukayr to sail back and help his son, Ziyād, in his affairs, while he himself headed for Bukhara. Obeying this order, Bukayr took a number of his trusted

men and crossed back over the Oxus. However, one of his attendants 'Attab al-Liqwah suggested that he burn the boats and return to Merv, where he may throw off his allegiance to Umayyah and exploit that city's revenues for a while. Bukayr did so, returning to Merv, and seizing and imprisoning Ziyād. He also succeeded in turning the citizens of Merv against Umayyah by inviting them to repudiate their allegiance to him (Tabari, Vol. 22, 166-168) (Balādhuri, Fūṭūh, 416) (Ya'qubi, Tārīkh, Vol. II, 324). Receiving this disturbing news, Umayyah left his campaign against the Bukhārāns incomplete and headed back to Merv upon agreeing a temporary truce with the Bukhārāns for a small payment. Nevertheless, it took Umayyah some time to have his boats ready to cross back over the Oxus and march toward Merv. Ibn A'tham briefly reports that the siege of Merv by Umayyah's troops lasted four months (al-Kūfī, Fūṭūh, Vol. VI, 290). Tabari adds that after several battles between the two sides, Umayyah accepted the truce offered by Bukayr and promised to pay him 400,000 dirhams and the governorship of any districts of Khurāsān he wished to have.<sup>8</sup>

Umayyah then wrote to Caliph 'Abd al-Malik explaining the affairs concerning Bukayr and his pardoning him. The caliph responded by selecting an expeditionary force to send to Umayyah in Khurāsān (Tabari, Vol. 22, 165-176). Umayyah later imprisoned Bukayr and his concubine al-'Arimah. He also arrested al-Ahnaf (check the spelling) b. 'Abdallāh from the al-'Anbāri clan of the Tamim, saying, "You are one of those who counseled Bukayr to rebel". Thereafter, Umayyah attempted to remove Bukayr with the assistance of Bahir. In the meantime, a friend of Bukayr tried to convince Bahir and Umayyah to remain faithful to the pledge they had made to Bukayr. Nevertheless, Bahir ignored this request and murdered Bukayr (Tabari, Vol. 22, 165-176).<sup>9</sup> It is reported that upon receiving the news of Umayyah's poor performance in dealing with Bukayr, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān removed Umayyah in the next year (AH78). He then chose as the new governor of Khurāsān al-Muhallab an experienced amir who had distinguished himself during his campaigns against the Kharijites in Kirmān and Fārs. Having arrived in the province in the year AH 79, al-Muhallab took charge of the affairs of Khurāsān.

Reviewing the numismatic evidence from Khurāsān and Merv in the period AH 77-79, we encounter the isolated dirhams of *BBA* (Court mint); this is illustrated in Fig. 2. C. The obverse of these outputs depicts the typical bust of the Sasanian king being introduced as 'wm'y' Y 'ptwl'n 'Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh' as the governor of Khurāsān, whereas the reverse bears the Hijri date 77 (*hpt hpt't*) and the mint name *BBA*. A comparison between the obverse dies of these outputs with those of the above discussed dirhams from مصلح (Merv) dated سبعمائة ثمانون (AH 78) (Fig. 2. A-B) reveals some undeniable similarities. This strongly suggests that both obverse dies were prepared by a single engraver. As some notable engraving characteristics of this craftsman, he has designed a comparatively wide tiara, large eye socket, and iconographically unique tresses for the Sasanian king's bust. Additionally, both types are struck on small flans (26-29 mm) and are unusually light (2.2-2.6g), very similar to the Umayyad reform-style dirhams. On the other hand, the appearance of different mint places on these two types, in conjunction with the Hijri dates, imply that the engraver was active in the court of Umayyad and most probably accompanied him on his AH 77 campaigns. However, later in AH 77 or even in AH 78, this die-engraver relocated to Merv, whereupon he prepared the dies of the anonymous dirhams bearing the two unusual slogans '(May) God be the faithful men's helper' and 'blessing from the god' (بركة من الله) (Fig. 1. B) which are recorded on no other Arab-Sasanian dirhams. The appearance on the only two known examples of these two expressions suggests that the issuer of this brief coinage was not eager to record his personal name on them. It is possible that the issuer jointly ruled with one or more colleagues and so this prevented a single name from exclusively appearing on these coins. Considering the literary sources discussed above and the numismatic evidence, we believe that the extremely rare anonymous dirhams of Merv were most probably struck by Bukayr b. Wishah and his friend and counsellor 'Attab al-Liqwah, who had advised him to burn Umayyah's boats on the banks of the Oxus.

According to Tabari, Bukayr and 'Attab were unsure of the allegiance of the citizens of Merv to Umayyah [Tabari, Vol. 22, 167]. In order to tempt the population to change their allegiance, 'Attab suggested to Bukayr to announce to the non-Muslim citizens of Merv that they would be exempt from paying taxes upon their conversion to Islam. This plot ultimately worked and around 50,000 people pledged allegiance to Bukayr and 'Attab [Tabari, Vol. 22, 167]. Considering this key point, it would now seem logical that Bukayr and 'Attab omitted their personal names on their joint dirham so that it could be circulated in Merv, since the population of this city had remained faithful to Umayyah until they repudiated their allegiance to him.

**Endnotes**

\* University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada [k2gholam@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:k2gholam@uwaterloo.ca)

<sup>1</sup> [amini\\_coins@yahoo.com](mailto:amini_coins@yahoo.com)

<sup>1</sup> Each of the intended short vertical strokes in the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Arab-Sasanian coins are usually used to present the letter *w* or *n*

<sup>2</sup> For further information on the different forms of this noun see Mackenzie 1984, 15; Durkin 2005, 195

<sup>3</sup> Weber has translated it as '(Together) with a person come forward that God will be a help (and that), (together) with you, he (the person) should do everything they want'. For further information cf. Weber 2005: 227

<sup>4</sup> [Muhammad, 7]: *يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن تَحْسَبُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ يُحْسِنُكُمْ وَيَتَّقِيكُمْ فَبَدَأَ بِذَاتِ أَيْمَانِكُمْ* [al-Saff, 13]: *إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ* [al-Nasr, 1]: *نَصْرٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَتَغْيِيرٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ* [al-Rum, 160]: *وَأَنْحَسِرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ* [al-Baqarah, 250]: *إِن يُحْسِنُكُمْ اللَّهُ فَلَا تَغَالِبَ لَكُمْ* [al-Nisa, 47]: *يُرْكَنِي بِاللَّهِ وَلِيًّا وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ تَصَدِّيقًا* [al-Nisa, 45]: *يُرْكَانَ حَقًّا عَلَيْنَا نَسْرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ* [al-Hajj, 40]: *وَأَلْيَحْسِرُنَّ اللَّهُ مَنْ يُحْسِرُهُ*

<sup>5</sup> For further information see G. Miles 1952: 156-171, and Treadwell 2009: 357-381

<sup>6</sup> Album et al. 2002: 28, read this inscription as: *نصره الله* i.e. *naṣṣarahu allāh* « (May) God grant him victory ». However, there is obviously no *ā* letter after the Arabic word *نصر* inside the arch

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khayyāt has recorded this event in year AH 73. For further information see Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 297 (year 73 [1692-6931]) and Bosworth 1968: 49

<sup>8</sup> Tabari also narrates a secondary account as 'Some people say that Bukayr did not go out on campaign with Umayyah, but rather that when Umayyah went out on campaign, he left Bukayr as his deputy over Merw. Then Bukayr rebelled, and Umayyah returned and fought him, then made a truce with him and entered Merw. Umayyah kept faith with Bukayr and treated him with the same honor and complaisance as formerly'

<sup>9</sup> Tabari has recorded the murder of Bukayr as the last important event of AH 77 in his account. However, as will be demonstrated hereafter, the under discussion transitional dirhams of Merv suggest that he might have still been alive until early AH 78. For further information see Tabari, Vol. 22, 175

**Acknowledgements**

We would like to express our appreciation to:

- Dr. G. R. F. Assar for his kind and helpful revision and comments.
- Mr. H. Khalaj both for providing us with clear images of the second specimen of the transitional Arab-Sasanian dirham in his collection, and for permitting the publication of this valuable coin.

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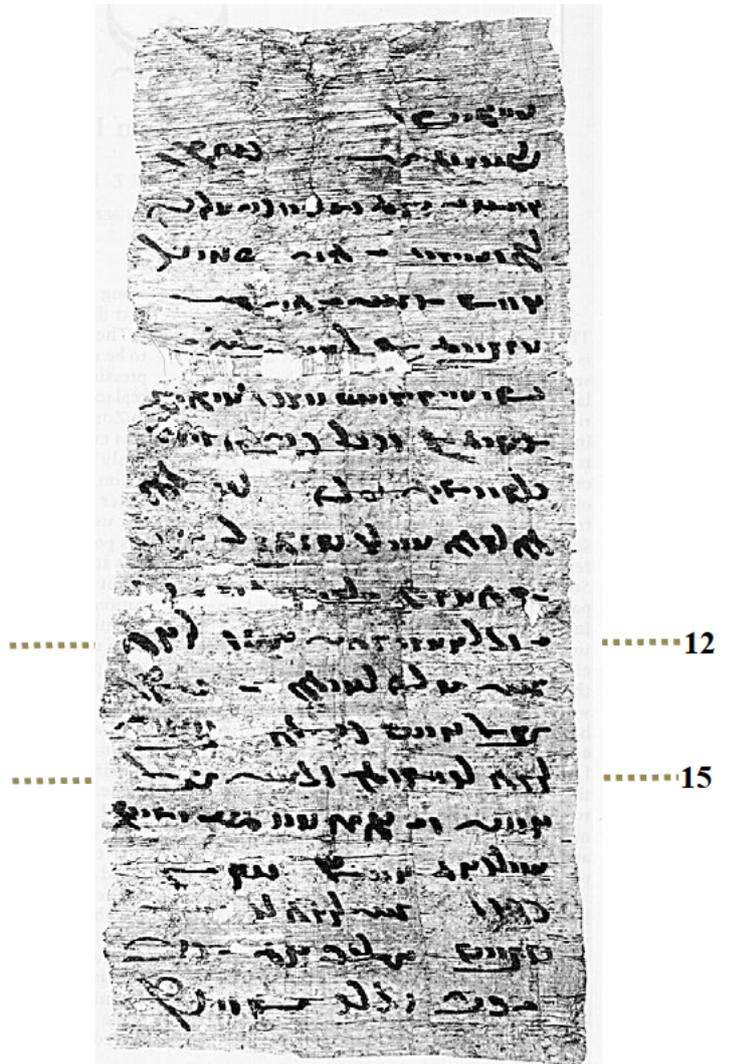


Fig. 1. Early-Islamic Pahlavi Papyrus of Egypt (Courtesy of the British Library Board).



Fig. 2.

A) Drawing and images of the first known specimen of transitional Arab-Sasanian dirham (Merv, AH 78, 26mm, 2.2g) from the authors' collection

B) Drawing and images of the second example of transitional Arab-Sasanian dirham (Merv, AH 78, 29mm, 2.6g) from the H. Khalaj collection

C) Dirham of Umayyah b. 'Abdallah (BBA, AH 77) with the marginal Pahlavi inscription *y'nbwt'* i.e. *yānbūd* « Gyānbūd? » Heritage Auctions, Inc., September 2013, Lot. 23489



Fig. 3. Photo and drawing of G-48 pashiz (*Veh Az Amid Kavād, year 82 AH*) from Gyselen 2000: plate 8, type 48.

So-called 'Mihrāb and 'Anaza' dirham by the Arabic inscription *لا اله الا الله* inside the arch (Courtesy of the Bānk-ē Sepah Museum; Foroghian 2000/2001: 18)

## A SMALL HOARD OF Umayyad FULUS FOUND NEAR RUSCINO (FRANCE)

By Marc Parvérie

This small hoard of six 8<sup>th</sup> century Umayyad *fulūs* was discovered in Perpignan, near the *oppidum* of Ruscino<sup>1</sup>, a secondary administrative and military centre on the *Via Domitia*, during the Muslim domination of the Narbonnaise (c. 719-759). The coins were found on an earlier ford on the river Têt, among Roman bronze coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

All the coins have a nice yellow-green patina but they are in rather poor condition. As usual, only a part of the legend is legible.

The first three coins (Fig.1,2,3) are of the more common type Frochoso IIa (Walker 683) with the simple religious legends in two lines.

Obverse: لا اله الا الله (There is no god but God)

Reverse: محمد رسول الله (Muhammad is the messenger of God).



Fig.1: copper fals, Frochoso IIa, 3.38 g; 19 mm; 2.3 mm; die axes 6.



Fig.2: copper fals, Frochoso IIa, 2.93 g, 17.8x16.7mm, 2.3 mm, die axes 3.



Fig.3: copper fals, Frochoso IIa, 2.32 g, 18.8x17.3 mm, 2.2 mm, die axes 2.

More interesting are the following two coins: they are also Frochoso IIa but they appear to be overstruck.



Fig.4: copper fals, Frochoso IIa, 4.97 g, 21.1x22.1 mm, 2.4 mm, die axes 9. (Enlarged by 150 %)



Fig. 5: copper fals, Frochoso IIa, 3.99 g, 18.6 mm, 2.4 mm, die axes 12. (Enlarged by 150 %).

On the first coin (Fig.4), the second line of the obverse legend overlaps the double outer circle. On the second (Fig.5), only one line of the reverse is visible and unfortunately not understandable: it could be (*r*)*asul Allah* with the *sīn* and *wāw* deformed by the subsequent striking (?) In the field, above the legend, it is possible to distinguish part of a wreath. This does not look like the branch / palm that can be seen on some North African *fulūs* but more like the wreath of Roman *nummi* or AE4 of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. So perhaps this coin was overstruck on an earlier Roman coin. There are many examples of *fulūs* overstrike on earlier types<sup>2</sup>, and some overstrikes on late Roman bronze coins are known though they are rare<sup>3</sup>.

The last coin (Fig.6) is a rare *fals* Walker 685 / SICA 1344. Despite being in very poor condition, it is possible to read the first two lines of the obverse legend: لا اله الا الله [وحده] (There is no god but God, He is Alone). On the reverse, there is a five pointed star with a triangle of pellets in each outer angle and a single pellet in the centre; two outer circles are separated by a series of zigzag that are only partially visible.

The *fals* Walker 685 is thought to be of North African origin. Its presence in the South of France together with coins of al-Andalus tends to confirm this attribution. Oriental *fulūs* are only known in Southern France from a few single finds, never associated with other coins<sup>4</sup>. In contrast to this, the two other coins probably of North African origin reported in France, were also found with *fulūs* of al-Andalus<sup>5</sup>.

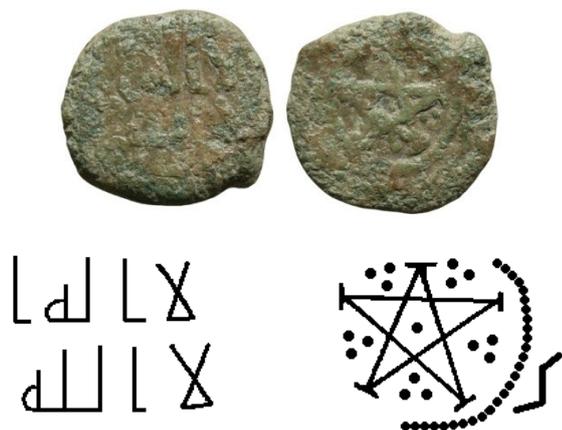


Fig.6: copper fals, Walker 685, 5.32 g, 18.3x17.4 mm, 3.3 mm.  
Enlarged by 150 %.

As far I know, this is the first time this type of fals has been found in France or Spain.

Nearly 90 fulūs from the time of the Muslim conquest have previously been discovered from Narbonnaise and Provence: 89 from al-Andalus or North Africa and 1 from Syria. They are mainly single finds, but 16 of them were found in Narbonne (the capital of Narbonnaise)<sup>6</sup> and 11 in Ruscino<sup>7</sup>. Small hoards are also known to have been found in Portel-de-Corbières<sup>8</sup>, Fleury-d'Aude<sup>9</sup> and Roubia<sup>10</sup>.

As in the Perpignan hoard, these groups of fulūs always consist of a mix of different types, sizes and weights (fig.7). Even for the main type Frochoso IIa the style, diameter and weight may vary greatly<sup>11</sup>.

	No. of fulūs	Types	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)
Narbonne	16	Frochoso IIa, IIc, Vc, XVII, Walker 696	1.59 – 5.6 average 3.44	10 – 19
Ruscino	11	Frochoso IIa, XVII, XVIIIc	2.4 – 6.4 average 3.71	13 – 22
Portel-de-Corbières	10 (probably 20 or more)	Frochoso IIa, VIIb and XVII	1.94 – 5.13 average 3.72	13.5 – 19
Fleury-d'Aude	8	Frochoso IIa	2.36 – 5.52 average 3	10 – 20
<b>Perpignan</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Frochoso IIa, Walker 685</b>	<b>2.32 – 5.32 average 3.82</b>	<b>17 – 22</b>
Roubia	4	Frochoso IIa, XVII	2.58 – 6.86 average 4.28	14.5 – 19

Fig.7: the Perpignan hoard and the other main finds in Narbonnaise

This seems to indicate that the fulūs were struck by different local mints, or most probably by itinerant mints following the troops, without any fixed metrological standard. Several issues were made quickly, sometimes overstriking earlier coins, and maybe sometimes carelessly, to insure the intendancy of the troops and the daily exchanges with the local population under Muslim rule. The small Perpignan hoard is a new example of the circulation in the Narbonnaise of this varied North African coinage.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Rébé 2014.
- <sup>2</sup> Pérez Sánchez 2013.
- <sup>3</sup> Parvérie 2016, 223-224.
- <sup>4</sup> 2 in Aquitaine (Walker 605 & 622) and 3 in Provence (Walker 610). Parvérie 2014, n. A16-17, C1-3.
- <sup>5</sup> Walker P.120 & 696, at Roquefort-de-Corbières and Narbonne (Aude). Sénac 2014, n. 6 & 21.
- <sup>6</sup> Sénac 2010.
- <sup>7</sup> Sénac 2007.
- <sup>8</sup> Sénac 2014.
- <sup>9</sup> Parvérie 2007.
- <sup>10</sup> Parvérie 2016, 218-219.
- <sup>11</sup> Parvérie 2016, 221-222.

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## REVISITING AKBAR'S COPPER COINS OF AHMEDABAD MINT

By Col (Dr) Jayanta Dutta & Dr Anjali Dutta

### Introduction

Gujarat was a prosperous province, regarded as the centre of trade with the western world. An imperialist to the core, the Mughal ruler Akbar could not have left Gujarat as an independent state with its importance as an attractive commercial hub due to the rich and flourishing ports on its coasts.

Apart from this, the prevailing anarchy of Gujarat under its nominal king, Muzaffar Shah III, arising out of the infighting among the different factions, gave him the pretext to interfere in the internal matter of the kingdom. Humayun had occupied it in 1536 and Akbar could claim Gujarat as a lost province of the Mughal Empire.

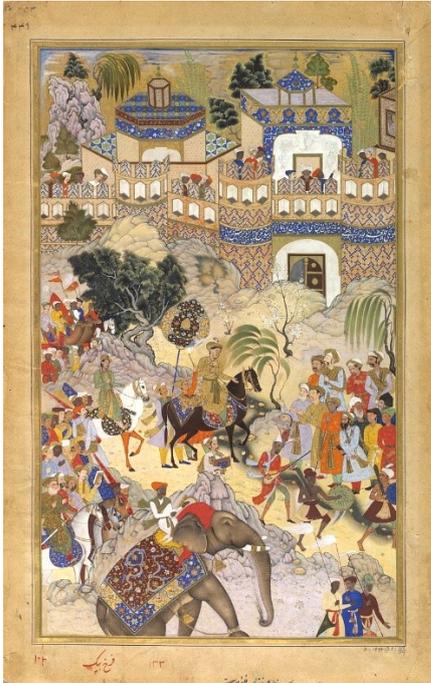


Fig. 1 Akbar's triumphal entry into Surat. Akbarnama, Farrukh Beg, 1590-95, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Muzaffar Shah III, the Ruler of Gujarat, had practically no authority over his powerful vassals. One of his nobles called Itimad Khan invited Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujarat.

Akbar reached Ahmedabad in November, 1572. Muzaffar Shah did not offer any resistance and submitted before Akbar. After making the necessary arrangements for administrative purposes, Akbar retired to Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar had hardly reached his destination when he heard of trouble in Gujarat once again. He rushed back to Gujarat and it is stated that he completed a journey of 600 miles in 9 days. It was a marvelous feat of endurance. He won a decisive victory in September 1573. A few more expeditions had to be undertaken before Gujarat was completely subdued and annexed in 1584.

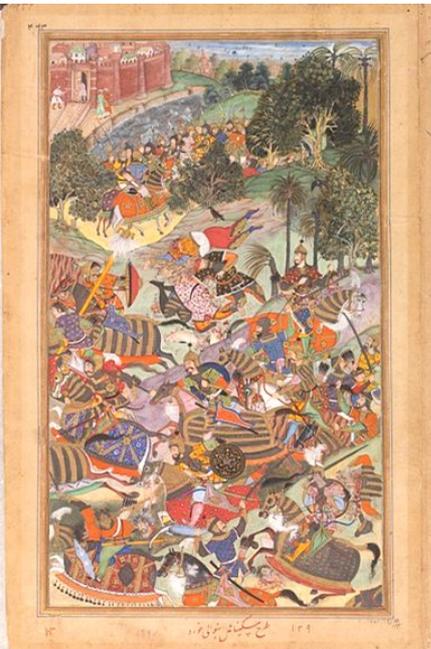


Fig. 2 The Battle between the Mughal Army and Muhammad Husain Mirza near Ahmedabad, Akbarnama, 1573



Fig. 3, Buland Darwaza or Triumphal Gate dominates the south wall of Fatehpur Sikri. Built to celebrate Akbar's brilliant conquest of Gujarat

### Akbar's Coinage

Akbar was a great innovator as far as coinage is concerned. The coins of Akbar mark a new chapter in India's numismatic history, and his relatively long reign of 50 years allowed him to experiment with the coinage.

The copper coins of Akbar from the Ahmedabad mint established in Gujarat, are of three types: a) Falus b) Tanka, and c) Tanki

#### a) Falus

These coins were first struck with the conquest of Gujarat in 980 AH (1572 AD). The whole falus with a weight of 20.73 grams and a diameter 21.59-22.86 mm, the ½ falus with a weight of 10.36 grams and diameter 17.78 mm, and the ¼ falus with a weight of 5.18 grams and diameter 15.24 mm.

#### Type 1

Known dates are AH 980 and 981.

Obv: *zarb falus Ahmedabad.*

Rev: *sane naushad hastad 980/981*

In this type the half falus is only known with a date of AH 981.



Fig. 4, Falus Type 1 *zarb falus Ahmedabad 980 AH*

#### Type 2



Fig. 5 Falus Type 2 with diameter of dots flanked by a straight line on obverse and reverse. 983 AH

These were first minted in 982 Hijri. The known dates are AH 982-988, 994 and 995. Design is elaborate and ornate with a central line of dots surrounded by a line on the obverse and reverse. Ahmedabad is referred to as *dar al saltanat Ahmedabad*. Obv: Above dotted line *Ahmedabad dar al saltanat* and below *zarb falus be*

In this type the quarter falus is known only for the date AH 985.

**Type 3**

Akbar founded a new religion by the name of *Din-e-Ilahi*. In his 29<sup>th</sup> regnal year, he changed the dates on his coins from the traditional Hijri era to the Ilahi era. This new era was based on Solar years and this new dating system continued till his death in the year 50 (AH 1012-13). These were first minted in Ilahi 38. On the obverse *dar al saltanat* is omitted with just Ahmedabad above the dotted line and *falus* below. On the reverse above the dotted line Ilahi is written in full with final *ye* swooping backwards right cross the coin, with the year of issue in numerals to the right and the month below the diameter of dots. Fractions in this type are not known.



Fig. 6. Falus Type 3

**Type 3(a)**

Same as type 3 but without the ornamental line of dots. These coins are rare.



Fig. 7. Type 3(a) Bahman month

**Type 3(b)**

Same as Type 3 with an ornamental line but *ye* of Ilahi does not sweep across the coin and the numeral indicating the year is to the left

**Type 3(c)**

The reverse has the month above the diameter and the year below it.

**Tanka**

The earliest known is Amardad 44 Ilahi. The known dates are Ilahi 44, 45 and 46.

Obv: *Tanka Akbar Shahi Zarb Ahmedabad Rev: Ilahi year month*  
The denominations weights and diameters are as follows

Large tanka	41.47 grams	diameter 27.94 mm
Small tanka	20.73 grams	22.86 mm
½ tanka	10.36 grams	17.78 mm
¼ tanka	5.18 grams	16.51 mm



Fig. 8. Large tanka



Fig. 9. Tanka Akbar Shahi type, Mule with reverse minted on both the sides, Ilahi 44, Amardad month. Rare. Rajgor Auctions 11 lot No 33

**Tanki**

These were first issued in 46 Ilahi, when the Tanki replaced Tanka. Known dates are Ilahi 46, 47, 48, 49, and 50.

Chau tanki	15.55 grams	20.32 mm
Do tanki	8.09 grams	16.51 mm
Yak tanki	4.0 grams	12.70 mm



Fig. 10. Chau tanki, Ilahi Month on top and mint name at bottom on rev



Fig. 11. Do tanki, 7.66gm, Ahmadabad Dar us Sultanat, Ilahi 'Aban', KM unlisted

**Unknown Coins**

There are no known coins of Akbar from Ahmedabad mint of the following years: 989 – 993 AH, 996 – IL 38 Mihr, IL 42 Shahrewar – IL 44 Tir, 46 Tir – IL 46 Aban.

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**REVISITING THE FARSI COUPLET ON SURAT RUPEES OF MURAD BAKHSH**

By Husain Makda

Murad Bakhsh, born 1624, was the youngest son of Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan, and his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. As a young prince he was appointed to lead the Balkh campaign by his father.

After initial success, his vacillations and insubordination incurred his father's displeasure. He was, therefore, excluded from the court and replaced by his elder brother, Aurangzeb<sup>1</sup>. Murad then served as the governor of various Mughal *subahs* such as Kashmir, Deccan, Kabul, Malwa and, lastly, Gujarat.

In September 1657, news broke out that Shahjahan had become fatally ill. Murad was then the Governor of Gujarat. The news sparked a war of succession, with Murad's brother, Shah Shuja'a, making his bid for the throne. Their eldest brother, the rightful claimant, Dara Shikoh, immediately resolved to quell the insurgence. Murad chose to ally himself with his brother, Aurangzeb, against Dara. In a bid to assert his claim, Murad declared himself emperor with Aurangzeb's connivance. In a decisive battle against Dara at Samugarh, fought on 29 May 1658, the two younger brothers inflicted a crushing defeat on him. Murad thought his moment had arrived.

Aurangzeb, however, had other designs. On 7 July 1658, Murad was drugged and imprisoned while he was in a tent with Aurangzeb. Soon afterwards, Aurangzeb made his bid for his father's throne. Shahjahan was deposed in late 1658. Shah Shuja'a was defeated on 5 January 1659 at Khajwa, and, later in the same month, Murad was transferred to the Fort of Gwalior. Aurangzeb held his formal coronation on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1659. On 14 December 1661, after three years of incarceration, Murad was executed in Gwalior Fort on charges of having murdered an official while being the Governor of Gujarat.

A testimony to Murad's short-lived claim to the Mughal throne are coins struck in his name. They were issued in AH 1068 (AD 1657) from the three principle mints of Gujarat, namely Ahmedabad, Khambayat and Surat, in both gold and silver. Copper coins struck at Surat mint are also known. The layout of his silver and gold coins resembles that of Shah Jahan with square areas enclosing the *Shahada* and his name and titles on the obverse and the reverse, respectively. Apart from the 'square areas' type, the Surat mint also struck coins of a different type. This type had the *Shahada* on the obverse, but the reverse carried a couplet with Murad's name and titles. Coins of this type are generally rarer than the 'square areas' type coins; rupees and extremely rare half rupees are known to exist.

This type, with its constituent couplet, has been mentioned / noticed by several authors but none have tried to read and report it properly. It is my intention to offer a new reading of the couplet here but, before I do that, let us revisit the past instances where the type has been published and/or described and discussed.

The earliest mention of coins of this type was made by S. Lane-Poole<sup>2</sup> who suggested its arrangement as -

مراد شاه غاز  
محمد سکندر ثانی  
یاوز صاحبقران جهانی  
ارث

The Coins of the Mughal Emperors  
of Hindustan in the  
British Museum. 1892

The arrangement reads as follows:

*ars yaft ze sāhib-qirān jahānī  
muhammad murād shāh ghāzī sikandar thānī*

This translates as "Received patrimony (or inheritance) from Lord of the Conjunctions of the World, Muhammad Murad Shah, the Warrior, the Second Alexander".

It was published again after nearly 80 years by V.P. Rode in his Nagpur Museum catalogue<sup>3</sup>. Rode read one word differently from Lane-Poole, 'girāft' instead of 'yaft'. The reading he proposed was:

گرفت ارث ز صاحبقران جهانی  
مراد شاه محمد سکندر ثانی

Central Museum  
Nagpur 1969

*girāft ars ze sāhib qirān jahānī  
murād shāh muhammad sikandar thānī*

This does not change the meaning of the couplet very much – instead of 'received', here we have 'begot' for the patrimony which Murad laid claims on.

Michael Mitchiner published the coin in 1977 and proposed the reading<sup>4</sup>:

گرفت ارث ز صاحبقران شاه جهانی  
مراد شاه محمد سکندر ثانی

World of  
Islam. 1977

*girāft ars ze sāhib qirān shāh jahānī  
murād shāh muhammad sikandar thānī*

Here, an additional word 'shāh' was inserted between 'sāhib qirān' and 'jahānī', thus qualifying the 'Lord of Conjunction' to be the 'King of the World', i.e. Shahjahan, rather than just 'of the World'. Finally it was described by Manek Jain<sup>5</sup> as:

گرفت ارث ز صاحبقران شاه جهانی  
مراد بخش شاه محمد سکندر ثانی

Couplets on  
Mughal Coins  
of India  
1998

*girāft ars za sāhib qirān shāh jahānī  
murād bakhsh shāh muhammad sikandar sānī*

Evidently, Jain proposed to see the name of the issuer inscribed in full as 'Murād Bakhsh Shāh', rather than just 'Murād Shāh', as previous publications had. The rest of his rendering remains the same.

Over the years many other coins of this type have been discovered. I illustrate a few here (see plates at the end of the paper), which show different parts of the couplet's arrangement, owing to the way the impressions have shifted on the coins flan as the coins were struck. I have attempted to reconstruct a full inscription based on these coins. Immediately, some aspects of the legend become clear.

مراد شاه  
محمد سکندر ثانی  
یاوز صاحبقران جهانی  
ارث

والله الا ان الله  
رسول الله  
ص سورت  
الاشهد

Firstly, the word extended as the lowest divider is evidently 'yaft' as read by Lane-Poole, and not 'girāft' as had been proposed by Rode, Mitchiner and Jain. However, there is no 'ghāzī' in the legend, so Lane-Poole's reconstruction of that word needs to be seen as redundant. Secondly, there is no sign of 'Bakhsh' coming after 'Murād' as per Jain's reconstruction. The name of the king is written clearly only as 'Murād Shāh'.

The calligraphic arrangement of the legend shows three horizontal dividers. Of these, the lowest is proven to be the letter 'te' of 'yaft'. There is a degree of uncertainty about what the other two dividers stand for. Taking a clue from generic Mughal coin design, the most likely letter form to be deployed in such a

calligraphic formation is the letter ‘ye’ in its *Majhool* or ‘lazy’ form. There are potentially two candidates in the legend that correspond to this – the ‘ye’ which comes at the end of the word ‘jahānī’, and the ‘ye’ that ends the word ‘thānī’. Following the convention of reading the legend with each divider relating to the line below, it is evident that the first divider would be the ‘ye’ in the word ‘thānī’, inscribed in its *Majhool* form (see the full reconstruction).

The middle divider continues to pose a problem. As evident from the drawing, the word immediately succeeding ‘sāhib qirān’ in the middle line is ‘jahā’ جها. The word coming afterwards, to the immediate left of ‘jahā’, was read by previous authors like Mitchiner and Jain as ‘shāh’, thus making the legend read ‘sāhib qirān shāhjahānī’. Thus by their contention, the middle divider would be the ‘ye’ of the word ‘jahānī’.

There are, however, problems with this reconstruction. The placement of the word clearly shows that it begins with ‘jahā’, not ‘shāh’. It would be odd to assume that if the die-engraver had envisaged the word to be ‘shāhjahānī’, he would have resorted to placing the latter part of the word first in his engraving. Also, as many specimens show, the letter coming immediately after ‘jahā’ clearly has only two downward curves, or *shoshas* (vide the coins appended at the end of the paper). Had the letter been ‘sheen’, as it would be in the word ‘shāh’, it would have had three distinct *shoshas*, not two. These aspects convinced me that the word we are looking at is not ‘shāhjahānī’, but something else that begins with ‘jahā’.

The word that best fits the orthography seen on the coins is ‘jahānbānī’, the possessive form of the word ‘jahānbān’ جهانبان. In F J Steingass’ *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* the word appears on page number 380 as:

‘Jahānbān’: Keeper or protector of the world; God Almighty; a powerful monarch.

This would make ‘jahānbānī’ an adjective meaning a person concerned or endowed with these qualities. It would be a fitting adjective to Murad’s father, Shahjahan, who is also referred to as ‘sāhib qirān’, or the ‘Lord of the two Conjunctions’, in this couplet. But of course, ‘Sāhib Qirān’ was originally the appellation of Timur, from whom the Mughal rulers claimed a proud descent. ‘Jahānbānī’ would, therefore, be an adjective for Timur, as the one endowed with the quality to be the ‘protector of the world’, or ‘powerful monarch’. Murad might be perfectly justified in claiming his patrimony directly from Timur, as his grandiose but short-lived ambitions reflected.

I, therefore, propose that the couplet on this type of coins struck by Murad Bakhsh at Surat should be restored as:

ارث یافت ز صاحبقران جهانبانے  
محمد مراد شاہ سکندر ثانیے

*ars yaft za sāhib qirān jahānbānī  
muhammad murād shāh sikandar thānī*

Received inheritance, from Sahib Qiran (= Timur), the Protector of the World,

Muhammad Murad Shah, the Second Alexander.

(I should like to thank Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg for their help in writing this paper)

#### Notes

1. See Bhandare, Shailendra - "Numismatic Reflections on Shahjahan's Balkh Campaign - 1646-47", Numismatic Digest, Vol. 39 (2015)
2. S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, ed. R. Stuart Poole, London 1892, p. 137, serial number 699.
3. *Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum, Nagpur Mughal Emperors, Part 1*, Bombay 1969, p. 160, serial number 972:5108
4. Mitchiner, Michael - *The World of Islam*, London 1977, p.395, serial number 3248a
5. Jain, Manek - *Couplets on Mughal Coins of India*, Calcutta 1998, p.66.

#### Coin 1

Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad, India - Auction 20, 12 April 2015, lot 375  
Rev and obv dies as coin 4.



#### Coin 2

Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, London, UK - Argentum 2009 Spring Auction, 14 February 2009, lot 240



Obv die as coin 5

#### Coin 3

Stephen Album Rare Coins, Santa Rosa, USA - Auction 24, 14 January 2016, lot 1465



Very weakly struck, may be the same dies as coin 2

#### Coin 4

Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad, India - Auction 12, 2 June 2013, lot 140



Rev and obv dies as coin 1.

#### Coin 5

‘Zeno’ Oriental Coins on-line database, #68621 (from Stephen Auction Rare Coins, Santa Rosa, USA - Auction 5, 7 December 2008, lot 452)



Obv die as coin 2

## Two New Marinid Coins Struck in Azammur (Morocco)

By Ludovic Liétard

### 1. Introduction

The Marinid dynasty ruled in Morocco and western north Africa from AH 614 to AH 869 (AD 1217-1465). This article introduces two new marinid coins, a dinar and a half dirham respectively, struck by the last two Marinid rulers: Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III ibn Ahmad (AH 800-823 / AD 1398-1420) and his son 'Abd al-Haqq II (AH 823-869 / AD 1420-1465).

### 2. A dinar struck in Azammur by Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III ibn Ahmad

The reign of the Marinid Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III ibn Ahmad (AH 800-823 / AD 1398-1420) is relatively obscure<sup>1</sup> and only few elements are known about this ruler. It seems that he had no real authority, the actual power being in the hands of his different successive vizirs<sup>2</sup>. He had to fight against the Portuguese who occupied Sebta in AH 818 (AD 1415)<sup>3</sup> and he lost a battle to reconquer this town in AD 1419<sup>4</sup>. Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III died in AH 823 (AD 1420)<sup>5</sup>. According to Terrasse<sup>6</sup>, he was murdered by his chamberlain whose wife he tried to seduce.

This section introduces an unpublished dinar (gold, 4.70 g and 30 mm) struck by Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III ibn Ahmad in Azammur. This dinar type is not new but it has not been reported for the mint Azammur. This dinar type has been attributed<sup>7</sup> to the Marinid Abu Sa'id 'Uthman II ibn Ya'qub (AH 710-731 / AD 1310-1331) by Hazard [6] and, later on, to Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III by El Hadri [2]. The arguments introduced by El Hadri for his revision are convincing<sup>8</sup>. As a consequence, I think that the new dinar introduced in this section should be assigned to Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III.

The obverse legend (fig. 1) is:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ  
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ  
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ  
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ



Fig. 1: a dinar (obverse) struck by Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III in Azammur.

It can be translated as:

*In the name of God, The merciful, The compassionate.  
God blesses Muhammad and his family.  
The praise is unto God alone.  
There is no god except God.  
Muhammad is the messenger of God.*

The reverse legend (fig. 2) is:

ضرب بمدينة ازموور  
عن امر عبد الله  
ابي سعيد عثمان  
امير المسلمين  
ايده الله و نصره



Fig. 2: a dinar (reverse) struck by Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III in Azammur.

It can be translated by:

*It has been struck at the city of Azammur  
at the command of the servant of God  
Abu Sa'id 'Uthman  
commander of the Muslims.  
God help him and render him victorious.*

The obverse and reverse segments bear the same legends:

و الهكم / اله واحد  
لا اله الا هو / الرحمن الرحيم

It can be translated as:

*Your God is unique.*

*There is no god except Him, The merciful, The compassionate.*

### 3. A half dirham struck in Azammur by 'Abd al-Haqq II

After the death of Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III in AH 823 (AD 1420) a succession struggle broke out immediately. Different foreign dynasties supported many candidates for the Moroccan throne but Abu Sa'id 'Uthman's son, 'Abd al-Haqq, was finally the new Marinid sultan. He was only one year old.

He was supported by his regent Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Zayyan al-Wattasi (from the Banu Wattas family) and 'Abd al-Haqq was nothing but a puppet in the hands of the Banu Wattas family. In AH 863 (AD 1458), 'Abd al-Haqq freed himself from the Banu Wattas and murdered almost all the members of this family<sup>9</sup> with the exception of two brothers who had organised some resistance and contributed to the period of anarchy which followed<sup>10</sup>. 'Abd al-Haqq was murdered<sup>11</sup> in a rebellion in Fas a short time later, in AH 869 (AD 1465). It was the end of the Marinids and the dynasty of the Wattasids could then be established.

This section introduces a half dirham (silver, 0.65 g and 15-17 mm) struck by 'Abd al-Haqq in Azammur which was not published elsewhere. Its coin type is already known and is the one of coins 402 and 403 (respectively struck in Fas and Asilah) described in [3], of those described in [7] with the mint names Meknes, Taza, Sala and in [8] with the mint name Tangier. The obverse side (fig. 3) bears the end of verse 2 of sura 65 of the Qur'an and can be translated by *And whoever fears God, He will make for him a way out*:

و من يتق  
الله يجعل  
له مخرجا



Fig. 3: an half dirham (obverse) struck by 'Abd al-Haqq II in Azammur.

The reverse side (fig. 4) shows the name of 'Abd al-Haqq II and the mint name of Azammur. The reverse legend can be translated as *Abd al-Haqq, Azammur, Commander of the Muslims*:

عبد الحق  
ازمور  
امير  
المسلمين



Fig. 4: an half dirham (reverse) struck by 'Abd al-Haqq II in Azammur.

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> [9] page 93.
- <sup>2</sup> [4] page 455 and [9] page 93.
- <sup>3</sup> [4] page 463.
- <sup>4</sup> [9] page 90 and 107.
- <sup>5</sup> [4] page 464.
- <sup>6</sup> [9] page 107.
- <sup>7</sup> It is known with the mint name Fas, see Hazard 735 [6], El Hadri 321 [3].
- <sup>8</sup> He shows that the dinars struck by Abu Sa'id 'Uthman II can only be anonymous and he points out that the dinar type we are interested in must be assigned to Abu Sa'id 'Uthman III.
- <sup>9</sup> [4] page 471 and [5].
- <sup>10</sup> [1] page 253, [4] page 471 and [10] page 256.
- <sup>11</sup> See [5] to have more details about the circumstances of his death and a critical view of the different historical sources.

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## AN UNRECORDED DAM ON THE TANKA STANDARD OF NEPAL PATAN MALLA KING SIDDHINARSIMHA

By Suman Basnet

After King Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu and before the introduction of the mohar standard around 1640 AD, tanka standard coins were prevalent in the Kathmandu valley. In addition to the full tankas, silver coins weighing around 10.3 gm, dams, weighing around 0.08 gm or 1/128<sup>th</sup> of a tanka, also exist. These dams assumed to be from the period before 1640 AD have designs on both sides. [1]

Rhodes et. al [1], in addition to describing numerous anonymous silver dams, have described dams of Siva Simha of Patan and Kathmandu, Harihar Simha of Patan, Jagajjotir of Bhaktapur and Lakshminarsimha of Kathmandu. These have been categorized as H4 type dams by Rhodes et. al. However, no dams have been recorded for Siddhinarsimha Malla of Patan (1619 to 1661 AD) in that book. Extensive search in past major auctions and other publications have not reported any dams for Siddhinarsimha. However, an image of a Siddhinarsimha tanka dam was posted on the zeno.ru oriental coins database, by Gusev (coin # 169772, photo below) on 23rd June 2016. The entry notes suggest that the coin was sold on ebay on 20th June 2016.

Recently, I acquired what I initially thought was a dam relating to the later mohar standard of Siddhinarsimha Malla. However, on closer examination, it appears to be an unrecorded dam relating to the older tanka standard, of Siddhinarsimha Malla (pictured below). Unlike the four uniface dams recorded in Rhodes et. al, this dam has designs on both sides



Photo source: Personal collection

The details of the coin are as follows:

Obv: "Sri" between two moon-dots (chandra-bindus), "Siddhi": below

Rev: "Nara" over lion (=simha)

Diameter: 8.73 mm

Weight: 0.08 gm

Stylistically it is very like the dam of Hariharsimha Malla (pictured below), Siddhinarsimha Malla's father, who was sent by his father, Shivasimha Malla, King of both Kathmandu and Patan, to rule over Patan.



Photo source: Personal collection

The details of the coin are as follows:

Obv: "Sri" between two moon-dots (chandra-bindus), "Hari": below

Rev: "Hara" over lion (=simha)

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Diameter: 9.00 mm

Weight: 0.09 gm

Both have large Shris on the obverse. Furthermore, the left facing lions on the reverse are also very similar on the two dams described above

In contrast, a similar uniface dam (relating to the later Mohar standard) of Siddhinarsimha Malla (pictured below) has a smaller Shri.



Photo source: Personal collection

The Siddhinarsimha tanka dam looks like that of Shivasimha Malla of Kathmandu (RGV 246) [1]. However, noted Newari epigraphy expert, Yogesh Ram Mishra, confirmed that the readings of the two coins are as follows:



Photo Source: zeno ru (top: coin#14523, bottom: coin# 169772)

Interestingly, the mohar standard dam above, in my collection, also weighs in at 0.07 gm. Weights of similar coins described in Rhodes et. al [1] are either 0.04 gm or 0.05 gm. However, as surmised by Rhodes et. al [1], this could be due to the imprecise techniques in the mint.

Rhodes et. al also postulates that in addition to the tanka dams of Hariharsimha, the tanka dams of Shivasimha may also have been struck in the Patan Mint. With the above tanka dam of Siddhinarsimha, we can conclude that tanka dams were minted in Patan up to Siddhinarsimha's reign.

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## FORGERIES OF CURRENCIES IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT DURING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

By Md. Shariful Islam<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Forgery or counterfeiting money is the act of illegally producing an imitation of genuine coins and banknotes with the intention of circulating them in the monetary system as the real thing for the personal profit of the counterfeiters.<sup>2</sup> There are many examples of counterfeited coins or forgeries that have been manufactured in modern times for selling to collectors. A number of papers in the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society deal the modern forgeries in coinage.<sup>3</sup> Rhodes and Bose<sup>4</sup> in their book also show a

few modern forgeries of Tripura coinage. But only a few papers deal with counterfeits or forgeries that have implications for the monetary system of their own time. This paper presents a few examples of contemporary counterfeit Murshidabad *Sikka* (1 rupee) coins of the East India Company in the Bengal presidency.

#### Brief Note on Murshidabad *Sikka*

Just like other European companies, the East India Company also required currency in the form of coins as a medium of exchange for their trade. They started with minting local currencies when they took Madraspatan on lease.<sup>5</sup> Before the East India Company secured the right of *sikka* (striking their own coins), the Mughal rulers used to consider the right to strike coins as the exclusive prerogative of the state or the Mughal authority. Later, in the year 1765, the East India Company assumed the *Diwani* (authority of revenue collection) of the Mughals in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.<sup>6</sup> That also gave them full and unrestricted power to issue *sikka* in the name of the Mughal emperors.<sup>7</sup> The English company started issuing coins in Bengal from its Calcutta mint in the name of the Mughal emperor and with the mint name Murshidabad. Later they started minting these coins from other mints such as Murshidabad, Dhaka and Patna. These silver coins of 1 rupee standard<sup>8</sup> are referred to in this paper as Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coins. Afterwards, the supreme government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal passed a series of regulations related to currency reform in the territories of the East India Company. This process began with regulation XXXV of 1793 and finally resulted in the uniform coinage system contained in Acts XVII and XXI of 1835.<sup>9</sup>

#### Counterfeiting and Laws

From various records of discovered counterfeited coins, it can be concluded that official coins have been counterfeited from the beginning of the history of coinage. One of the most widely-used methods for counterfeiting coins made of precious metal was plating, where a core made of a base metal like copper was plated with silver or gold depending on what the genuine original coin was made of. Such plating of metallic objects with gold or silver was practiced from the beginning of the third millennium BC.<sup>10</sup> Gaspar<sup>11</sup> shows that there were counterfeit coins in the Roman Empire.<sup>12</sup> In the said paper the author has shown that counterfeiting was pretty common at that time and has found up to 43% counterfeit coins out of 628 coins discovered from a site. Reiff *et al.*<sup>13</sup> investigated four contemporary forgeries of ancient gold coins, one Daric (about 450 BC) of the Persian Empire, one gold stater (posthumous, approx. 315 BC) in the name of Alexander III (the Great), and two Solidi of the late Roman emperor, Constantius II (AD 337-361). In other studies counterfeits of Bactrian, Shaka and Kushan coins have been reported.<sup>14</sup>

Counterfeiting also affected the currency system of the East India Company. In this paper three images are presented as examples of counterfeit Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coins. While genuine Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coins were originally made of silver, the coins described in this paper are made of copper with or without a silver coating. While the Mughal rulers considered the right of *sikka* as their own exclusive right, and counterfeiting the coinage was thus considered as a crime against the state, the Company in India had no such official authority to take action against counterfeiters<sup>15</sup> and had to depend on technology to deter the counterfeiters from copying their coins. According to Stevens,<sup>16</sup> 'In 1789, a major report about the coinage of the Bengal Presidency concluded that the problems of *batta* as well as counterfeiting, filing, drilling etc, could be overcome by the introduction of coin production using the 'European' method.' According to Gupta,<sup>17</sup> as a measure, milled coinage was established at the Calcutta mint in 1793 by the Company 'retaining the regnal year 19 [on the coins] and having their edge milled oblique'.<sup>18</sup> Regulation XLV of 1803 provided that, instead of hand-minting coins, the Farrukhabad mint should introduced milled edges to deter the forgers from counterfeiting, drilling, filing, defacing or debasing the coinage (Sec. VII). But neither Regulation XXXV of 1793 nor Regulation XLV of 1803 included any clause or provisions relating to the punishment for the act of counterfeiting coins.

#### Discussion on the Coins of the Paper

Figure 1 is a partly machine-struck contemporary counterfeit of a Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coin. The piece was found with a group of genuine Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coins. It consists of a copper core coated with silver. Due to wear and tear the silver coating flaked off in many areas of the coin revealing the copper core. As can be seen from the image (fig. 1) there are a number of drill marks. It is interesting to note that this piece was not withdrawn from circulation even after the drilling should have confirmed that the coin was a counterfeit.



Fig. 1 Image of a partly machined-struck, plated Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coin (10.02g, 23mm/3mm)

Figure 2 is a machine-struck obliquely milled contemporary counterfeit Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coin. It also consists of a copper core coated with silver. The copper core has become visible in places. Like the piece in fig. 1, the piece in fig. 2 was also struck from professionally-made dies as it is difficult to find any fault in the design when compared with genuine coins. Though the weight of the coin falls well outside the acceptable range of a genuine piece, the diameter is well within the range. This piece indicates that the initiative of the Company authority of introducing milled-edge coinage for reducing counterfeiting was not fully successful.



Fig. 2 Image of a machine-struck, plated Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coin, 10.07g, 26.5mm, vertical milling, silver plated copper.



Fig. 3 Milled edge of the coin in Fig. 2

Figure 4 presents a copper imitation of a Murshidabad 1 rupee *sikka* coin. There is no trace of silver plating on this piece. This piece is also very well made but with vertical milling on the edge. It is possible that the piece was intended for silver-plating at a later stage but somehow was left un-plated.



Fig. 4 Image of a machine-struck but not plated Murshidabad 1 rupee sikka coin, 9.70g, 26mm, straight milling, copper. Note the very low weight.



Fig. 5 Milled edge of the coin in Fig. 4

### Conclusion

This paper does not add any new information to what is already known about contemporary forgeries of the East India Company coinage. But it reconfirms our existing knowledge by presenting a few examples of such contemporary forgeries. The paper comments on the regulations passed and action to be taken against counterfeiting of the coinage of the Company while providing evidence that this was not always very effective. It has been observed in the paper that the forgeries of the Murshidabad silver 1 rupee *sikka* coinage used copper as the core metal. One of the possible reasons for this could be the fact that silver and copper have similar specific weights and hence the mass difference between genuine silver coins and a silver-plated forgery with a copper core cannot be noticed easily<sup>19</sup>. Despite this, it has been observed from the coins in figs. 1 and 2 that, while maintaining the official diameter of the coins, the copper core and silver-plate combination of the forgeries were or became underweight to an extent that would have been easily detected by shroffs. There are a number of possible explanations for this, such as they were probably passed off amongst the general populace before reaching the shroffs or they were mixed in with a lot of other coins in the hope that they would not be noticed.<sup>20</sup> Another finding of the paper is that counterfeiting of Murshidabad silver rupees continued even after the introduction of the milled-edge coinage system, one that was meant to deter counterfeiting. Moreover, as the author has seen the coins shown in figs. 1 and 2 in among a group of other, genuine coins, it is reasonable to presume that these counterfeit coins were in circulation in the contemporary monetary system. It is observed from the figures presented in the paper that these counterfeits were struck from dies very similar to those of the genuine coins. According to Stevens<sup>21</sup>, die production for the Company coinage was not centralised. The purity of the silver was also not uniform among the mints. This indicates a lack of proper quality control in some part of the coinage system of the Company. This is supported by another work<sup>22</sup> of Dr Stevens where he shows that, following an accusation lodged in 1800 of malpractice at the Benares mint, a committee was formed by the concerned Governor General. In May 1802, the Calcutta Council passed a resolution saying 'a committee composed of the Agent to Governor General the Magistrate of the city, and the collector be formed to control the mint.'<sup>23</sup> There might be a connection between the well-made dies of the counterfeit coins and the lack of proper governance in the mints of the Company.<sup>24</sup> As was mentioned earlier that both Regulation XXXV of 1793 and XLV of 1803 did not include any clause or provisions for punishment for the act of counterfeiting coins, the use of technology did not fully help to deter acts of counterfeiting the Company

coinage. Probably because of this, later, in Regulation XVII of 1817, finally certain provisions for punishment were incorporated to control the counterfeiting of coins (Chaudhury 1988).<sup>25</sup> More study is required to determine the impact of the introduction of such punishment in law in controlling the act of counterfeiting coinage at that time.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, Institute of Business Administration, Rajshahi University. The author is grateful to Stan Goron, John Deyell and Dr Paul Stevens for reviewing and editing the earlier version of the paper. The author expresses thanks to Vic, N. for giving permission to use the images in Figure 4 and Figure 5.
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- <sup>14</sup> Cunningham, A., (1840a), 'Notice of Some Counterfeit Bactrian Coins', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9, pp. 393-6, 543-4; Cunningham, A., (1840b), 'Second Notice of Some Forged Coins of Bactrian and Indo Scythians', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9, pp. 1217-30; Kala, S.C. (1947), 'A Rude Imitation Coin of Heliokles', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. 9.1, p. 26 in Garg, S. (2013), *op. cit.*, p.176.
- <sup>15</sup> Garg, S. (2013), *op. cit.*, p.176.
- <sup>16</sup> Stevens, D.P. (2010), 'Secret Marks on the Coins of the Bengal Presidency', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, vol. 205(supl.), p. 46.
- <sup>17</sup> Gupta, P.L. (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 211.
- <sup>18</sup> It has been mentioned by Gupta (2006, p. 211) that, oblique milling was continued till 1818 and straight milling replaced oblique milling in the same year. In 1833 and 1834, instead of milling on the edge, a dotted rim on the face was introduced by the Company. In the very next year the Mughal pattern was replaced by an English pattern as uniform currency for the whole country.
- <sup>19</sup> Wells, H.P. (1981), *Journal of Social Ancient Numismatics (SAN)*, XII:29 in Reiff, *et al.*, (2001), *op. cit.*, p. 1146.
- <sup>20</sup> The author has included these possibilities from a comment of Dr Paul Stevens which was passed by him during a personal communication.
- <sup>21</sup> Stevens, D.P. (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- <sup>22</sup> Stevens, D.P. (2012), *The Coins of the Bengal Presidency*, A H Baldwin & Sons Ltd., London, p. 316.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 318.

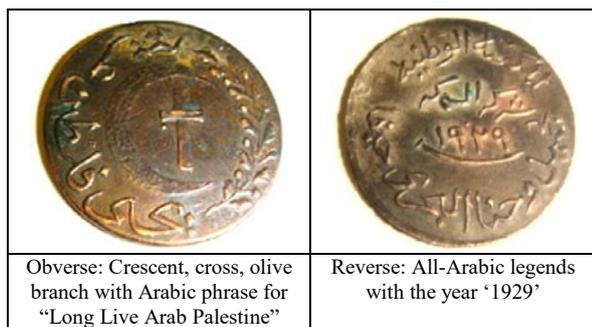
<sup>24</sup> Due to lack of evidences or known references, it is not possible to comment on the fact that whether the specimens presented in the paper have been produced in the actual mint(s) or somewhere else where there was some form of machinery.

<sup>25</sup> Chaudhuri, S. (1988), 'Merchants, Companies and Rulers: Bengal in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 31.1, pp. 74-109.

## THE 1929 HAIFA 'LONG LIVE ARAB PALESTINE' TOKEN OF JAMIL AND HANNA AL-BAHRI

Tareq A. Ramadan

In 1929, likely amidst the popularly known 'Arab Riots' in Jerusalem, Haifa-based writers, activists and Palestinian nationalists Jamil al-Bahri and his brother Hanna, issued a coin bearing the phrase 'Long Live Arab Palestine.' The parnumismatic item bears an all-Arabic legend alongside some rather intriguing, albeit, not completely unfamiliar religious and political iconography. The weight, size, and composition cannot be ascertained but I was told by one of the token's previous owners that it measured around 22mm, weighed nearly 5 grams and was likely composed of copper (not unlike most other Mandatory Palestine Arab tokens from the same period) and that it was purchased at a Haifa flea market.

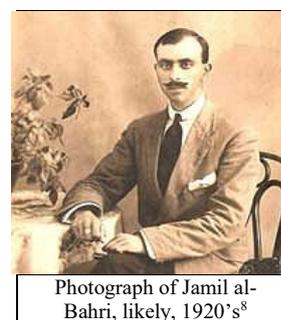


The obverse contains the Arabic phrase 'Long Live Arab Palestine' (*Tahia Filastin 'Arabiyya*) situated along the left margins, moving upward. The central depiction consists of a vertical cross within a crescent moon situated left, made of a bending olive branch that appears to make up half a wreath- a variant, of sorts, of the upright, vertical olive branch employed on all Palestine Mandate coins beginning in 1927. The reverse contains no imagery but only Arabic legends. Below are the translations.

OBVERSE	تحيا فلسطين عربية
	LONG LIVE ARAB PALESTINE
(R) LINE 1	المكتبة الوطنية
	THE NATIONAL OFFICE
LINE 2	شركة المكر *
	THE AL-MAKR COMPANY <sup>1</sup>
LINE 3	١٩٢٩
	1929
LINE 4	جميل وحناء البحري حيفا
	JAMIL AND HANNA AL BAHRI HAIFA

The origin of the token (or commemorative coin), a private issue, coincides with a tense political atmosphere in Mandatory Palestine.

Whether it was struck before or after the August, 1929 Arab-Jewish disturbances, often referred to in Western literature as the '1929 Arab Riots', is unclear. That same year saw the emergence of nationalist voices growing stronger in Haifa<sup>2</sup>, and the minting of this item must be viewed with such political circumstances in mind. As for Jamil al-Bahri (born Jamil Habib al-Bahri<sup>3</sup> in 1895), whose name appears on the reverse of the token, he was a well-known Melkite Christian Palestinian nationalist from Haifa who worked as a writer, teacher, playwright, director and founder and editor of two newspapers there.<sup>4,5</sup> He was reportedly killed in 1930- the tragic consequence of an apparent dispute resulting from Muslim and Christian claims to property within the Haifa cemetery.<sup>6</sup> His brother, Hanna al-Bahri, is similarly characterized as a nationalist who also wrote about Palestinian Arab political and social issues and who continued as a writer and editor of one of Jamil's newspapers, *al-Zuhour*, after his death.<sup>7</sup> Jamil, though, is best known as a pioneer Palestinian playwright who assembled and presented several popular plays and dramas in Palestine in the 1920's in and around Haifa. His name consistently appears in publications about early Palestinian cinema. Below is a photograph of Jamil al-Bahri.

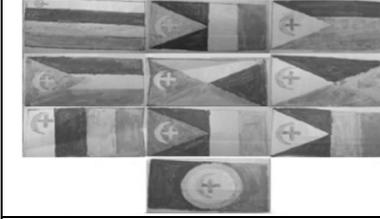


In an attempt to promote inter-communal Palestinian unity, during this time, nationalist material culture produced by private citizens began to circulate in Mandatory Palestine and Haifa appears to have been a major center for the production of such objects. Given the Arab-Jewish-British tensions over the political future of Palestine, the issuing of this token can be seen as a manifestation of a growing sense of Arab-Palestinian national consciousness, patriotism, and identity in a period ripe with political uncertainties. This cooperation between native Arab Palestinians began relatively early, and in 1917, the same year the British captured Palestine from the Ottomans, Muslim-Christian Councils formed across the country.<sup>9</sup>



The iconographic pattern present on the token also appeared on several Arab Palestine flag proposals from Haifa. A number of these crescent and cross-bearing flag proposals were published in the Jaffa-based Palestinian nationalist newspaper '*Falastin*' in 1929, many of which depict the very same layout of symbols on the aforementioned Haifa token. For example, proposals by Husein Mikdadi, Assma Tubi, Jalili, as well as ten more examples bearing, essentially, the same general religious imagery, were submitted to the newspaper by an unknown person who signed his proposal and accompanying letter '*an Arab from Haifa*'.<sup>10</sup> As can be seen below, several flag proposals from 1929 bear the crescent and vertical cross referred to by Tamir Sorek as the '*cross in the crescent*' (although great variation in color schemes and general layouts of the flags existed). The following images are Palestinian Arab flag proposals

(left) by an anonymous Arab (from Haifa) alongside Husein Mikdadi's flag (center).

	
Husein Mikdadi's Arab Palestine flag proposal, published in <i>Falastin</i> , November 9, 1929 being 'cross in crescent'	Close-up of reverse image on Haifa token bearing 'cross in crescent'
	
Haifa flag proposals for Palestine published in <i>'Falastin'</i> in 1929 all bearing the 'cross in crescent' depiction	

Additionally, during the 1936 Arab Revolt and General Strike in Mandatory Palestine, a homemade Arab-Palestinian flag was photographed bearing a 'cross in crescent' (though the cross is horizontal in this instance, rather than vertical) within the confines of the red triangle (the rest of the flag is the same as the current Palestinian flag today), similar to previous proposals from 1929. The flag may have been influenced by the green and white flag of the 1919 Egyptian Revolution against the British which similarly depicts a white crescent and a symmetrical cross.


Palestine 'Arab Revolt' flag bearing crescent and cross <sup>11</sup>

Illustrated depiction of a Palestinian 'Arab Revolt' flag bearing crescent and cross <sup>12</sup> (red triangle with white icons)

Image of the 1919 Egyptian Revolution flag bearing a crescent moon and cross (green background with white icons) <sup>13</sup>

Therefore, it appears that to various degrees, as Palestinian Arab national consciousness developed, material culture bearing popular political symbols also began to be produced and disseminated amongst an increasingly nationalistic population during the JONS Vol.231, Spring 2018

Mandatory Period. This privately issued token, produced by a famous Palestinian playwright and his brother, is just one example among many.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Line two was challenging to interpret and I ultimately decided upon a translation that reads 'Sharikat al-Makr' or 'The Makr Company.' *Al-Makr* (or *El-Makr* as it usually appears on Israeli maps), is a town of nearly 20,000 Arabs today located some 22km northeast of Haifa and which ultimately became the home of the 'Arabic Theater League' in 1983.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the town may have had some connection to Jamil al-Bahri's playwright business in the 1920's.

<sup>2</sup> May Seikaly. *Haifa: Transformation of an Arab Society, 1918-39*. I.B. Taurus Publishes. New York, (1995), p. 230

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Marwat. Jamil al-Bahri- Literary Association of Theater. Nazareth Palestinian Archives. [http://www.suhmata.com/jamil\\_bahrei.php](http://www.suhmata.com/jamil_bahrei.php)

<sup>4</sup> Noah Haiduc-Dale. *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948*, p. 103

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.passia.org/palestine\\_facts/personalities/alpha\\_b.htm](http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_b.htm)

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Haiduc-Dale p. 103

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Noah Haiduc-Dale p. 104

<sup>8</sup> Image of Jamil al-Bahri retrieved from <http://www.alarab.com/Article/36682>

<sup>9</sup> Rashid Khalidi. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Beacon Press, 2006. Boston, p. 55

<sup>10</sup> *Tamir Sorek* "The Orange And The 'Cross in The Crescent': Imagining Palestine in 1929". *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (3), 2004, 269-291 © ASEN 2004, pp. 276-277

<sup>11</sup> See *Historia y Vida*, June 2002, p. 3, Mundo Revistas S.A.

<sup>12</sup> See *Santiago Dotor and Eugene Ipavec*, 10/09/07

<sup>13</sup> See Whitney Smith's 'Flags through the Ages and Across the World', New York, McGraw-Hill, 1975 and 'Popular Movements and Democratization in the Islamic World' (New Horizons in Islamic Studies), p. 148 edited by Masatoshi Kisaichi, Routledge, New York, 2006

## TEA TOKENS: THEIR SOCIAL & CULTURAL IMPACT

by Shanker K Bose

From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, tea tokens played an important role in the life of illiterate tea workers, who came from the poverty-stricken tribal belts of eastern and central India. These tokens were intertwined with the society they formed within the limited geographical territories of the tea gardens and nearby markets. To understand the lives of these heterogeneous tribal workers, one needs to understand why the bulk of these workers agreed to travel to distant lands, totally alien to them culturally, socially and economically.



Fig.1. Coolie Lines: National Anthrographical Archives, Smithsonian Institute & Nitin Verma

When the East India Company found India more profitable through political gains than by trade, by extracting money through land revenue despite a very liberal tax policy, they engaged themselves in local politics and consolidated their status with improved arms, ammunition, discipline and administration. They imposed uniform revenues on land by treating the entire populace at par. Around this time, tribals of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, living in the periphery of forests, depended on minor forest produce

including fire-wood. Their domestic animals fed on green pastures. They had never paid taxes nor imagined paying any on what they perceived as gifts of nature. They revolted under their respective chiefs and fought the British India army with their primitive bows and arrows, resulting in a huge loss of life and unimaginable suffering. These uprisings include the Chuwar revolt (1832), the Manbhum revolt (1833-34 AD), the Kol resistance of the Hoo tribes in the Singbhum region (1833) and the Santhal revolution in 1856.

Around this time, the tea plantations in Assam needed labourers which came as a boon to the government. They wanted to uproot these tribals from their respective homes and send them to far-away places<sup>1</sup>. The planters, with active support of the government, engaged *ākratis* (agents) to entice these poverty-stricken people to Assam. This situation has been beautifully reflected in a folk song composed by the garden labourers who were chasing a futile dream of prosperity. One such song goes: “*Chal Mini Assam jābo/ deshe bado dukh re,/ Assam deshe re Mini/ Gācher upor tākāre*” (Let us go to Assam, Mini/ here is lot of suffering in our own country/ In Assam, Mini./ money is found on trees).<sup>2</sup>

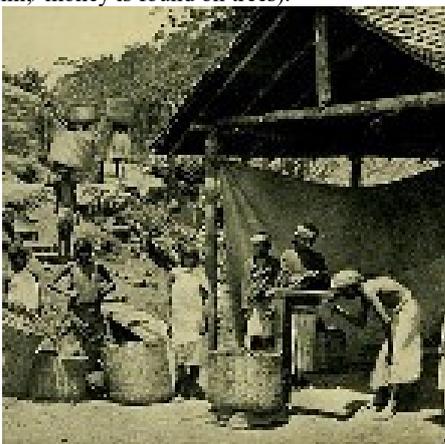


Fig. 2. *Weighing The Day's Work*: G F Scott Elliott, *The Romance of Plant Life*, Philadelphia, J B, Lippincott Company, London 1907.

Higher commission rates for every prospective garden worker influenced agents to lie and conjure images of an easy life in the land of plenty. This made the poor souls visualize tea gardens as rich and prosperous estates where, in turn, lay the key to their own prosperity. This resulted in approximately one million workers joining the various estates between late 1860 and 1921. This flow subsequently reduced due to political consciousness among Indians, along with information of the plight of the worker populace in the tea gardens.

We may now examine the methods of recruitment and remuneration of tea garden labourers. Entire families, minors included, were contracted to work in the gardens once they put their thumb imprint as signature on legal papers written in English. Being illiterate, they did so without any understanding of the terms and conditions incorporated thereon. They were therefore almost bonded labourers and were supplied with rice as a part of the remuneration, the other part being in cash. There was no fixed weekly or monthly salary, but workers were paid for specific tasks which were expected to be completed in the course of a day. This fixation of wages was called the *Hāzri*. The *Hāzri* system was replaced in many gardens by the unit system before the Second World War. Under this daily payment was made for every unit of work completed.<sup>3</sup>



Fig.3. Morapore tokens: Full, medium and small tokens, courtesy The British Museum, London .

Cash payment was made using tokens in lieu of coins. Griffiths had recorded that in the early phase labourers were often paid by the *sardārs*, who recruited them and for whom they worked. This method opened up the potential of workers being squeezed financially depending on the whims of the *sardārs*. A review report of the Labour Enquiry Committee (1906 AD) highlighted the system that prevailed during that period. Tokens were issued every morning for the work done the day before. Those tokens were of different sizes, representing a whole *hāzri* (full day's work), half, or a quarter *hāzri*. Though the tokens could be encashed in the garden once a week, they still retained monetary value in the gardens.



Fig.4. Labourers assembled to collect tokens: S. K. Bose, *Chā Bāgāner Paisa* (Bengali), Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata, 2011

For the poverty-stricken workers, receiving daily wages in cash was tempting, though it was doubtful how far this actually benefitted the entire family considering the patriarchal nature of society. Though women and children brought in wages like the man of the house, they had no say on the utilisation of the pay. A lot of this pay probably found its way to the local liquor houses, as reflected in various writings on this subject. The Enquiry Committee of 1921 also pointed out that shopkeepers did not honour the tokens at their full value. These traders could easily convince the illiterate gullible simple-minded workers with no knowledge of the local rules of trade and commerce. The tokens also benefitted the garden owners, who did away with the difficulty of obtaining small change from far-away Calcutta. It saved them the commissions payable to the bankers of the garden for arranging huge quantity of small change. From the proceedings of the Assam Provincial Banking Committee (1929-1930), it appears that the moneylender-cum-shop owner of the garden forced the workers to buy all their provisions from his shop, while accepting the tokens as a medium of exchange. Another dark side of the system was that the labourers could not leave the garden due to ill-treatment or otherwise; for the exchange value of the tokens was limited to the garden they originated from. There was also no option to transfer their savings, if any, to other geographical areas<sup>4</sup>. The tea garden authorities in many cases bypassed the Minimum Wages Act (Act VI of 1865), which financially protected oppressed workforce, by not mentioning the

value of the tokens, thereby camouflaging the amount actually paid to the labourers. The tokens were also a means of discrimination against the female workforce as they were paid less even though they worked harder than their male counterparts<sup>5</sup>.



Fig.5. Tokens: Dhamai Tea Estate & Tonganagaon Tea Estate, Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata

It is not surprising then, that the initial optimism in the folk song subsequently meandered towards a resigned hopelessness, blaming the deceit meted out by the person(s) who promised them a good life in Assam: 'Phānki diyā pāthaili Assam, re Jadu Rām' (O Jadu Rām, you have deceived us and sent us to Assam).<sup>6</sup>

The tea garden tokens, therefore, stand out not only as witnesses to a stage of the economic history of the region, but also narrate a story of betrayal. As survivors of that age, they continue to remind us how easily men take advantage of their fellow men, a human characteristic that is still so rampant in so many ways in today's world.

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- <sup>2</sup> D. Tasa, *Chā Bāgichaār jāti - Janajāti* (Assamese), Jorhat, 1986, p.173
- <sup>3</sup> P. J. Griffiths, *The history of the Indian tea industry*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1967, pp. 297-301
- <sup>4</sup> S. K. Bose, *Chā Bāgāner Paisa* (Bengali), Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata, 2011, p. 60
- <sup>5</sup> S. K. Bose, Dr Anjali Dutta & Dr Jayanta Dutta, *The Tale of Tea Tokens*, Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata (in print)
- <sup>6</sup> Nitin Verma, *Producing Tea coolies? Works, Life and Protest in the Colonial Tea Plantations of Assam, 1830s-1920*, MPhil. dissertation, Der Humbo Ldt- Universitat Zu Berlin, 2011, pp.125-127

## VESPASIAN AND A HUMPED BULL?

By Richard Abdy, Sam Moorhead, and Robert Bracey

In 2002 the British Museum received as a bequest the collection of Charles Hersh (1923-1999), who had enjoyed a particular interest in the silver coinage of the Roman Republic and the Hellenistic world.

As can be imagined the processing of any large gift is a daunting but rewarding task for curatorial staff to undertake alongside the day to day activities of presenting the museum collection to the public. The Hersh collection is particularly important as it specifically targeted the gaps in the BM collection and was so large it required its own documentation project.

However, after it provided some five thousand plus additions to the numismatic collection, there remained a little sideline of the collection left to integrate. This was a small group (96 coins) of JONS Vol.231, Spring 2018

imitative or 'barbarous' examples; typologically awkward specimens whose museum documentation had been left pending further curatorial consideration, which was undertaken by the current curator, Richard Abdy. While working through this group an unusual imitation of a coin of Vespasian was found (figure 1).



Fig.1. BM 2002,0102.5247 (3g 6h 19mm)

A casual comparison with the coinage of Vespasian (figure 2) will show that it is a fair rendering. In fact the die engraver, unlike with most imitations of this sort, seems to have been technically competent.



Fig.2 BM 3.11g 6h 1843,1024.290

For example, the inscription is not a blundered imitation of the original but rather the repetition of the most prominent shapes, particular the V and C shapes. A pseudo-legend, competently engraved, but intended to resemble the original at only the most superficial level. Readers interested in the coinage of Western India might find this type of pseudo-legend familiar, it resembles that on the later Western Satrap coins (see figure 3) which continue to repeat Greek inscriptions of earlier coins but with repetition of the more prominent characters rather than an attempt to copy the originals.



Fig.3. 1889,0105.170

The small points used to depict Vespasian's hair in figure 1 also bear some comparison to the contemporary coins of the Satavahanas which use large round dots in their depiction, though the most overtly Indian feature is the hump of the bull. The presence of a hump is not exclusively an Indian feature but the depiction of bulls usually differs as markedly as figures 1 and 2 suggest. All of which raises the question of provenance – was the imitation produced by an Indian artist who substituted a local bull for the European variety?

