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From the Editor
I am pleased to report that the Journal is moving to a new layout, with a greater emphasis on academic research in numismatics. Our papers are peer-reviewed and are increasingly referred to in the study of oriental numismatics.

In this issue we have papers on topics ranging from Indo-Greek bronzes and Kobadian coins, to medieval Hindu coinage and 19th century countermarked Spanish dollars. We look forward to submissions from interested members.

Our thanks once again to Spink, who have graciously sponsored the editing of the journal for 2019.

Karan Singh

A HOARD OF 216 BRONZE COINS OF LATER INDO-GREEK KINGS

Heinz Gawlik

A remarkable number of silver drachms and bronze coins of later Indo-Greek kings began to appear in the markets of northern Pakistan during March-May 2017. A friend took photos and collected additional information about the drachms offered by a shopkeeper in Peshawar – these were compiled in a paper titled ‘A Hoard of 127 Drachms of Later Indo-Greek Kings’, published in JONS 234 (Gawlik 2018).

Almost parallel to and separate from the drachms, an unusual number of bronze coins of later Indo-Greek kings were offered with an almost similar composition of rulers: Apollodotos II, Dionysios, Zoilos II and Strato II. The coins were not sold as a complete hoard, but were offered as small and larger lots, and even single pieces, by dealers and villagers. The two largest lots contained 73 and 52 coins respectively. In contrast to the hoard of drachms, most of the bronze coins were inferior in quality and suffered from heavy corrosion. The low quality might have been the reason why professional dealers selected only single pieces or smaller lots of the better bronzes. The remaining coins of lower quality were sold by villagers and hawkers.

It is obvious from the sudden quantity of such coins that they are most probably parts of one or even more than one hoard. It was not confirmed by any of the villagers nor any dealer whether the hoard consisted of bronzes alone or whether they were found with the drachms. As is usual practice, the location of the find(s) was not revealed for both the drachms and the bronzes. With respect to the find of bronze coins dealt with in this paper, the dealers took the view that these bronzes come from the same area as the drachms. The area in question is not far away from the city of Chakwal, a place already known for another hoard of late Indo-Greek coins described by Senior (2006). It seems that the bronze coins surfaced under similar circumstances as described for the drachms (Gawlik 2018).

The bronze coinage of the later Indo-Greek kings is characteristic in that many of the coins, in particular the obols, follow a standard design with the Greek god Apollo on obverse and a tripod on reverse. The tripod, together with a bow and arrow as well as the kithara (a version of lyre), are attributes or symbols associated with the prophetic deity Apollo. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi, with the exception of the king’s name, are almost uniform on the coins. The total number of bronze coins covered by this paper is 216 pieces. The classification of the coin types follows Mitchiner (1975), and if a type is not listed by Mitchiner other references are used, such as Senior (2006), Boppearachchi (1991) and Jakobsson
The earliest, and also the majority, of the 216 coins are struck in the name of king Apollodotos II. The various monograms identified on the coins of the hoard are illustrated in Fig. 1. The numbering of the monograms is in line with those on the drachms described in Gawlik (2018).

Monograms are linked with the locations of mintage, and the monograms illustrated in Fig. 1 are linked by scholars in the past to Jammu, a town and region in the foothills of the western Himalayas. Most coins bear, in addition to the monogram, a single symbol or a combination of field symbols, mainly in the form of Kharoshthi letters/ aksharas. Kharoshthi is a syllabary script and akshara is a Sanskrit term for syllables.

Fig. 1. Monograms on coins of the hoard

1.1 Apollodotos II: Æ unit, Type 432e Mitchiner

The circular bilingual Æ obols/units of Type 432e Mitchiner with monogram D (Fig. 2) are the most common coins in the hoard. Falk (2016) describes the Greek monogram D as a composition of the letters P, Δ and E or O, Δ, I and E.

Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow, monogram D left, Greek legend on three sides: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΟΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ (King Apollodotus the Saviour).

Reverse: tripod with field letters U and Di, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (Great King Apollodotus the Saviour).

Fig. 2: Apollodotos II: 4 Æ obols, Type 432e Mitchiner

Three of the four illustrated coins are struck on larger flans showing the full size of the obverse die and the Greek legend is surrounded by a raised ring. About 20 coins could be checked and all were found to be made of non-magnetic material. This circular type with monogram D and the field letters Di and U is not only the most common coin in the hoard, but it seems that this was also the most common obol issued by Apollodotos II.

1.2 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 432f Mitchiner

Eight coins in the hoard bear the same monogram D on obverse as it is known from Type 432e, but the reverse has a different combination of field letters, Di and Ram (Fig. 3). The text and arrangement of the legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are similar to the coins of the previous type.

Fig. 3: Apollodotos II: 3 Æ obols, Type 432f Mitchiner

A certain inconsistency is observed in the reading of the Kharoshthi characters Ti and Di on bronze coins of later Indo-Greek rulers. Senior read the characters correctly as U and Di on Type 432e, but he changed the reading from Di to Ti on Type 432f. Mitchiner illustrated the Kharoshthi letters as Ti and Di or Ta and Da, but he did not write down the spelling. There is no doubt that the characters Da, Ta and Ra look quite similar and that the limited space on a die for the work of an engraver can lead to some inconsistency and misunderstanding. If the reverse of coins in Figs. 2-3 are compared it is clear that the Kharoshthi character in the left field of Type 432f looks similar to the character in the right field of Type 432e. This similarity leads to the conclusion that the characters are the same.
and should be read as $Di$ on both coins. This conclusion is supported by the form of the two characters $Da$ and $Ta$ in the king’s name Apaladatasa, marked here in a close-up of the second coin illustrated in Fig. 3.

Considering the form of the characters $Ta$ and $Da$ in Apaladatasa the characters $Ti$ and $Di$ used by the mints as field letters have consequently this form:

$\overline{Ti} \overline{Di}$

The check for magnetic properties shows that in general almost all circular obols of Apollodotos II with the monogram D are made of non-magnetic material. Only one of the coins illustrated in Fig. 3 showed a magnetic reaction as the coin could be lifted with the help of a magnet.

1.3 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, unpublished

Coins: 2

Fig. 4 shows two obols of an unpublished square type of Apollodotos II which corresponds to the common round Type 432e Mitchiner with monogram D and the field letters $U$ and $Di$.

$\overline{D} \overline{U} \overline{Di}$

15.52 g, 26.1 x 25.5 mm, NM

16.47 g, 24.4 x 25.0 mm, NM

13.76 g, 29.4 x 30.1 mm, NM

Fig. 4. Apollodotos II: 2 Æ obols, unpublished

1.4 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 (Senior)

Coins: 17

The introduction of the monogram H on obverse and the rectangular arranged legends in Greek and Kharoshthi on three sides are the differences between the square and the circular obols discussed above. The combination of the control marks is different, with the Kharoshthi characters $Ra$ in the left and $Ti$ in the right field. The difference in writing $Ti$ in comparison to the letter $Di$ is clearly visible. Bopearachchi (2010) states that this type of square obol with the monogram H and the Kharoshthi field letters $Ra$ and $Ti$ is so far unknown, but the type was described earlier by Senior (2006). Bopearachchi might have missed the supplementary volume of Senior that discusses the Chakwal Hoard, including two obols of this type. Senior describes the coins as slightly magnetic. 16 obols of this rare variety could be identified in the present hoard, of which three are illustrated in Fig. 5.

$\overline{H} \overline{Ra} \overline{Ti}$

The fourth coin in Fig. 5 is of lower quality, but the flan is of a remarkable size. The weight, the cracks and the size are all indications that it was overstruck on another coin. There are traces of the legend of the undertype on the left side on obverse, but it is also possible that this was caused by a double strike. The last coin in Fig. 5 shows additional field letters below the normal $Ra$ and $Ti$. The cause might be double striking or an unknown undertype. The magnetic properties of eight coins could be checked, with the result that three showed a magnetic response.

1.5 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 19-20 (Senior); unpublished

Coins: 1

The coin in Fig. 6 bears the monogram H on obverse, similar to the square obols illustrated above, but this coin has only a single field letter $Bu$ on reverse. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are the same as on the coins before. It is therefore an unpublished variant of the type listed above as 1.4. The Type 428c in Mitchiner also shows a single Kharoshthi field letter $Bu$ on the reverse, but the type is without a monogram on obverse.
1.6 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)

Coins: 6

This type was unknown to Mitchiner, but Senior published a specimen from the Chakwal Hoard (no. 27) for the first time. Despite the quality, four coins of this rare type are illustrated in Fig. 7. Senior describes the single coin of the Chakwal Hoard as slightly magnetic, while two of the specimens from the present hoard could be checked and were found to be non-magnetic.

The dies used for this type of circular obol are similar to the dies used for the square coins discussed in 1.3. It seems that similar dies were used on both square and circular flans. Senior considered this question for the coins of Diomysios and wrote: “Why coins of same design, possibly even struck from the same dies (?), should be issued in both round and square form is uncertain”. If these rare coins are compared with the most common circular obols of Type 432e with monogram D, then it is noticeable that the weight is slightly lower, the diameter is slightly larger and the thickness is slightly less. A possible explanation could be that due to a shortage of square flans some old or worn round coins were flattened and reused for striking these circular coins.

1.7 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 432g Mitchiner

Coins: 4

All the following types of Apollodotos’ circular and square obols are without a monogram or mintmark on the obverse, but the design and the legends are similar to obols with a monogram. The two coins shown in Fig. 8 are similar to Type 432f Mitchiner and also the combination of the field letters is the same with Di and Ram. The size of the dies used for these circular obols is noticeably smaller than the other circular obols of Apollodotos II. Mitchiner has illustrated one coin of this variety, but did not mention anything about the size of the die. This particular variety of circular obol was absent from the Chakwal Hoard.

1.8 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428a Mitchiner

Coins: 7

Four square coins of Type 428a Mitchiner without a monogram on obverse, and the combination of field letters Ji and Mim, are illustrated in Fig. 9. Senior published a coin of this type as no. 23 of the Chakwal Hoard. Unfortunately, he has mistaken the description of coin no. 23 with coin no. 24, and read the field letters beside the tripod on reverse as a combination of Na and Mi, despite his coin having the field letters Ji and Mim. Mitchiner (1975) has drawn the field letters as Ti and Mim, but the letter in the left field is a quite clear Ji in my opinion.
Three of the seven coins could be checked by magnet and all three coins showed magnetic properties.

1.9 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428b & c Mitchiner

Mitchiner and Senior have illustrated similar coins as Type 428b & c and coin no. 24 of the Chakwal Hoard respectively. Senior did not provide the correct description for coin no. 24 due to a mix up with coin no. 23. The obols of Type 428b & c (Fig. 10) follow the design of the unpublished type with monogram H illustrated in Fig. 6, but do not have a monogram; what they have in common is a single field letter Ba or Bu on the reverse. The general design and arrangement of legends is the same as on other square obols.

The weight of the last coin (12.96 g) is clearly below the standard. This deviation might be caused by workers who prepared the flans. There is also the possibility of a different denomination – 6 chalkoi with a standard weight of 12.75 g – but this is uncertain because the size of all the coins here is almost the same. All four coins were found to be made of magnetic material.

1.10 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished

Mitchiner does not list this variety of a square obol of Type 428 without monogram (Fig. 11) and the combination of characters Ti and Ram. The design of the coin with Apollo tripod and legends on three sides is similar to other square types with monogram. The coin corresponds to circular obols of Type 432g Mitchiner without monogram and the same characters Ti and Ram. It is worth mentioning that the letter O in Apollodotos II is reduced to a dot. The coins of this type may be later issues rather than the issues of a particular mint.

1.11 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 428 var. 2 Mitchiner, unpublished

Another new variety of a square obol with similar design as above, but without monogram, is illustrated in Fig. 12. The combination of field characters Na (?) with Kra on reverse is unknown so far. The left field letter Na could be also a wrongly engraved Ra or Va, because such errors appear from time to time if the engravers failed to engrave the mirror image on the die.
1.12 Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 431 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished

Coins: 1

The coin in Fig. 13 appears to be a new variety of a circular type with angular arranged legends. The obverse is without monogram and the reverse bears a retrograde Di and Mim as the field letters. It seems the engraver failed to cut the mirrored image of the Kharoshthi character Di into the die. Mitchiner has illustrated the field letters for Type 431b as Ji or Dhi and Mim, but this is questionable in my opinion. Another two coins of Type 431 are illustrated by Senior for the Chakwal Hoard as nos. 17-18, but he notes the combination as Gi and Du and Ji and Ga (?) respectively.

Fig. 13. Apollodotos II: Æ obol, Type 431 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished

15.86 g, 26.3-28.0 mm, 12 h, M

1.13 Apollodotos II: Æ hemi-obol, Type 429a Mitchiner

Coins: 1

A single bilingual hemi-obol issued by Apollodotos II was offered along with the obols by a dealer. This specimen is shown in Fig. 14. Obverse: similar design as on square obols, with Greek legend on three sides. Reverse: tripod in a beaded border, surrounded by a Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa. The monogram D is part of the border on the right side, while the Kharoshthi character Tri is in the border on the left.

Fig. 14. Apollodotos II: Æ hemi-obol, Type 429a Mitchiner

6.63 g, 19.6 x 19.2 mm, M

1.14 Apollodotos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 437 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

A monolingual di-chalkon issued by Apollodotos II is shown in Fig. 15. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; bead and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa.

Fig. 15. Apollodotos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 437 Mitchiner

1.15 Apollodotos II: Æ units of uncertain type

Coins: 5

Three square obols of Apollodotos II without a monogram, and two round obols with monogram D on obverse, are mentioned here only because all their reverses are heavily corroded and make any classification impossible.

2. Dionysios: Æ obol, Type 455b Mitchiner

Coins: 13

The hoard contained 13 square obols issued by Dionysios, of which five are illustrated in Fig. 16. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow, monogram left, Greek legend on three sides: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, monogram H left. Reverse: tripod, Ra and Ti, Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Dionisyasa. Mitchiner has written Dionisyasa, but on most coins u looks rather like an a.
Six of the 13 coins could be checked for magnetic properties and only one was found to be made from magnetic material.

2.2 Dionysios: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 27 (Senior)

Two of the four circular obols with monogram H and the Kharoshthi characters Ra and Ti are shown in Fig. 17. Senior describes a single coin of the type in the Chakwal Hoard as unique. Additional coins of the type appeared in the Jhang Hoard (Senior 2013). It is the specimen from the Chakwal Hoard for which Senior raised the question: Why are coins with a similar design, and probably the same die, struck on both square and round flans? The answer might be as simple as it was discussed for similar coins of Apollodotos II. It is assumed that there might have been a shortage of square flans and so round flans were used. These round flans might have come from outdated or worn circular coins. An example for the reuse of such coins has been published by Senior (2008). He records a round obol of Apollodotos II with a circular legend overstruck by Dionysios with a square legend and the Kharoshthi field letters Ra and Ti, similar to the coins illustrated in Fig. 17. Traces of Apollodotos II’s name written in Kharoshthi (Apaladata…) are still visible on the overstrike discussed by Senior (2008). Senior states further that this coin might be the first identified overstrike confirming the relative sequence of these two kings.

2.3 Dionysios: Æ obol, Type 455 Mitchiner

A heavily corroded single coin of Dionysios belongs to the square Type 455 Mitchiner. The coin is without a monogram on obverse, but it was impossible to identify the Kharoshthi field letters on reverse. The coin is magnetic and the other details are as follows: 17.63 g, 23.8 x 23.4 mm, M

2.4 Dionysios: Æ obol (?), type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 32 (Senior)

Senior describes a similar coin in the Chakwal Hoard (no. 32) as the most important coin, because it is the earliest known coin to bear the boxy ‘Jammu’ monogram. The coin illustrated in Fig. 18 is the second known coin of this type, but in a better quality with all details, and it confirms the observations of Senior. At 11.11 g and 12.30 g, both coins are clearly lighter than the other square obols (Type 455 Mitchiner) of Dionysios with the Greek legend on three sides: ΒΑΣΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. Also, the size of the two specimens is visibly less than the square obols. As mentioned above, the remarkable difference is the boxy ‘Jammu’ monogram B3 with the Kharoshthi field characters Pi and E. The Kharoshthi legend on three sides reads: Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisyasa with the last two characters off the flan. Senior wasn’t sure whether the second character of the name is a ya or a, but on this coin it is more likely an a. The coin of the Chakwal Hoard weighs 11.11 g – quite a low weight for an obol compared to the standard of 17.0 g. Senior therefore mentioned the possibility that this coin could be of a lighter standard. The specimen from the present hoard weighs 12.30 g, thereby supporting his assumption. This would match with the weight of a 6 chalkoi known from Apollodotos II. Another observation is the new combination of Kharoshthi field letters Pi and E on reverse. This combination will become the standard combination on square obols, bearing the names of Strato or Strato with Strato Philopator, that are referred to later in this paper.

2.5 Dionysios: Æ hemi-obol (?), type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 35 as obol (Senior); unpublished

An unpublished denomination of the type with Apollo/ tripod, weighing about 5 g, is illustrated in Fig. 19. Senior describes a comparable coin in the Chakwal Hoard, but that specimen has the weight of an obol. Both coins have no monogram on obverse, but
they do have the same combination of Kharoshthi field letters, Di or Ti and Spa, on reverse.

\[ \text{Di or Ti} \quad \text{Spa} \]

4.98 g, 19 x 17 mm

Fig. 19. Dionysios: \( \text{Ӕ} \) hemi-obol (?), not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 35 as obol (Senior), unpublished

A hemi-obol or half unit is unknown for Dionysios. There is the impression that this specimen was slightly tooled and repatinated, but even under these circumstances the size speaks for a hemi-obol.

2.6 Dionysios: \( \text{Ӕ} \) di-chalkon, Type 457 Mitchiner

Coins: 2

This type of monolingual di-chalkon (Fig. 20) is known in two metals: lead and bronze. One coin could be checked and showed magnetic properties. Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; head and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Diunisiyasa.

4.30 g, 15.8 x 15.6 mm, M

4.29 g, 15 x 15 mm

Fig. 20. Dionysios: 2 \( \text{Ӕ} \) di-chalkon, Type 457 Mitchiner

3. Zoilos II (c. 75-50 BCE Mitchiner; c. 65-55 BCE Bopapeachchi; c. 55-35 BCE Jakobsson)/ Zoilos III (c. 55-35 BCE Jakobsson)

Coins: 74

If the proposed introduction of a Zoilos III by Jakobsson with respect to the variation in portraits on drachms is still comprehensible, the classification of the bronze coinage and their assignment to Zoilos II or a Zoilos III is rather difficult, if not impossible, given our present knowledge. Therefore all \( \text{Ӕ} \) coins of Zoilos II/III are listed together as Zoilos II.

3.1 Zoilos II: \( \text{Ӕ} \) obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior)

Coins: 19

The type of square obol with monogram H and Apollo/ tripod, with the combination of field letters Ra and Ti, is the most common type issued in the name of Zoilos II. Senior (2006) described and published the type for the first time. Six specimens are illustrated in Fig. 21. The Greek legend is on three sides and reads: \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \quad \text{ΩΠΗΡΟΣ} \quad \text{ΖΟΙΛΟΥ} \). The Kharoshthi legend is also on three sides and reads: Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa. 15 out of the 19 coins of this type could be checked and all were magnetic except for four coins. Magnetism was not noted by Senior for this type, but he did mention the variation in size which is most probably the result of reusing old coins.

15.39 g, 25.6 x 24.9 mm, M

14.70 g, 23.9 x 26.3mm, M

13.65 g, 26.6 x 29.1 mm, M

The size and cracks of the coin above indicate that it may have been struck on a flattened and reused flan, rather than enlarged by double striking.

15.16 g, 24.8 x 24.1 mm, NM

14.5 g, 25 x 25.5 mm NM

13.52 g, 25.5 x 25 mm, NM

Fig. 21. Zoilos II: 6 \( \text{Ӕ} \) obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior)

The Kharoshthi character Ti in the right field on the reverse of the second coin appears to be retrograde. The engraver has failed to mirror the character on the die to appear correctly on the coin. The Zeta in \( \text{ΖΟΙΛΟΥ} \) is engraved on 15 coins of this type in the archaic/classical form as \( \text{Z} \). It is the form of Zeta derived from the Phoenician letter Zayim. The Zeta appears as a Z on a single coin, illustrated as the third coin in Fig. 21. The flan of this coin is larger.
than the others, which might be caused by a double strike or a restrike on an old flattened flan.

A friend from Pakistan sent photos of nine obols of the same type (Fig. 22) which he acquired from a dealer recently. The Zeta is seen in the form of a Z on five coins, of which three are illustrated in Fig. 22.

![Fig. 22. Zoilos II: 3 Æ obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior)](image)

(These specimens are not part of the present hoard)

3.2 Zoilos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 75-81 (Senior); unpublished

Coins: 1

An unpublished variety of a square obol is shown in Fig. 23. It bears the monogram H and the combination of Kharoshthi characters Pa and a second control letter that is not readable due to corrosion.

![Fig. 23. Zoilos II: Æ obol, not in Mitchiner, variety of Chakwal Hoard no. 75-81 (Senior), unpublished](image)

15.41 g, 25.0 x 24.8 mm, NM

3.3 Zoilos II: Æ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 74 (Senior) unpublished

Coins: 5

Senior was the first to report a single coin of this circular obol with legend on three sides as known from square coins. Five coins of this rare type (Fig. 24) have been identified among the coins of the hoard. The coins have the same monogram H and combination of Kharoshthi characters as the rectangular obols and they correspond with similar circular coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The letter Zeta in ΖΩΙΟΥ is written as Z on the second and third coin of this type.

![Fig. 24. Zoilos II: 3 Æ obols, not in Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 74 (Senior)](image)

The Kharoshthi legend on the upper coin in Fig. 24 is the same as it is on the square coins in Fig. 21 and reads: Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa, but the Greek legend shows a deviation from the standard. For a better understanding, the angular arrangement of the Greek legends on obols of Apollodotos II, Dionysios, and Zoilos II and III is shown in Fig. 25. The titles and names in the legend have different lengths, so the engravers have either changed the starting point or compressed/ stretched the words on the die to match the size of the flan.

![Fig. 25. Angular arrangement of Greek legends on Æ units](image)

The obverse of the overstruck coin in Fig. 24 is shown in detail in Fig. 26, with the Greek letters highlighted to make the differences more visible. A comparison with the design of legends on the obols of other rulers (Fig. 25) shows that the left leg of the legend with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is in line with the arrangement on obols of Zoilos II and it ends with a Z on top. The top line on obols of Zoilos II with ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ should continue, but the first Z is missing. It is an indication that ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the coin is left from the undertype and this could be a coin of Apollodotos II or Dionysios. The last Z of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ is the end of the top line on coins of Zoilos II, but there is another letter as on the coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The first two letters of the undertype read most probably ΔΙ with an l away from the upper line, and that speaks for a coin of Dionysios. Coins of Apollodotos II have the first leg of ΔI always close to the upper line, because the engravers have to accommodate more letters for Apollodotos II than for Dionysios. The name of Zoilos II is quite
clearly readable, especially the last letters \textit{IAOY}. The conclusion would be that this coin is an overstrike of Zoilos II on Dionysios.

A similar coin turned up in trade during the preparation of this paper. The author would like to thank Saad Mirza for the permission to use his photos. The obverse of the coin with the Greek legend highlighted (Fig. 27) is an obol of Zoilos II. The legend \textit{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ} is almost clearly readable, except the \textit{Z} of Zoilos is weak. On top of \textit{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} are additional letters visible of the undertype, which also read \textit{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ}, but the title starts in the left corner as on coins of Apollodotos II and Dionysios. The upper line of the undertype ends with a \textit{Δ} of the king’s name. The arrangement of \textit{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} also ends with a \textit{Δ} of the right vertical line. The conclusion is that a coin of Apollodotos II or Dionysios was used. There are also traces of \textit{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} of the undertype on the left side which are not marked. The reverse shows the Kharoshthi legend of obols struck in the name of Zoilos II, without traces of the undertype. The overstrikes of Dionysios on Apollodotos II (Senior 2008, 2018) and these two coins of Zoilos II on Apollodotos II/ Dionysios are good examples of the reuse of circulated coins. Such overstrikes provide information about the sequence of rulers, and indicate they may have succeeded each other or at least that their reigns were close chronologically.

![Fig. 26. Zoilos II: Obverse of \$ unit overstruck on an obol of Dionysios? (Fig. 23)](image)

![Fig. 27. Zoilos II: \$ obol, overstrike on Dionysios or Apollodotos II? (this coin is not part of the hoard)](image)

**3.4 Zoilos II: \$ obol, Type 460a Mitchiner**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Coins: 1
  \item The boxy monogram of ‘Jammu’ is mentioned for the first time on a single coin (no. 32) of Dionysios in the Chakwal Hoard by Senior, and the use of the monogram continues on coins of Zoilos II and his successors. The obol with Apollo/ tripod illustrated in Fig. 28 has the boxy monogram B on the obverse. The field letters on the reverse are \textit{Ja} and \textit{Ku}, while Senior has illustrated six coins from the Chakwal Hoard with a combination of \textit{Ja} and \textit{Kam}. In my opinion it is \textit{Ja} and \textit{Ku} on all the coins, including the six coins of the Chakwal Hoard. The boxy monogram is also seen on all the coins, including the coins of the Chakwal Hoard, as variant M-B6 with two wings on top in the centre. The Greek and Kharoshthi legends on the three sides are the same as on the types discussed earlier. The illustrated coin has the \textit{Zeta} in \textit{ΖΩΙΛΟΥ} written as \textit{Z}, just like the coin in Mitchiner and the coins of the Chakwal Hoard.
\end{itemize}

![Fig. 28: Zoilos II: \$ obol, Type 460a Mitchiner](image)

**3.5 Zoilos II: \$ obol, type not in Mitchiner; unpublished**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Coins: 3
  \item The square Apollo/ tripod coins illustrated in Fig. 29 are of a new variety of Type 460 which is not recorded in Mitchiner nor found in the Chakwal Hoard (Senior). The obverse bears the monogram \textit{B} and the Kharoshthi character \textit{Ji}. The field letters on the reverse are \textit{Ma} and \textit{Tam} (?), while Senior (2018) states a combination of \textit{Ma} and \textit{Dham} (?).
\end{itemize}

![Fig. 29. Zoilos II: 3 \$ obols, Type 460 var. 1 Mitchiner, unpublished](image)

**3.6 Zoilos II: \$ obol, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 84 (Senior)**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Coins: 3
  \item Three obols shown in Fig. 30 bear two unique varieties of a monogram classified as B9/ B10. The field letters on reverse are \textit{Mi} and \textit{Sa}. Senior describes a similar coin as no. 84 in the Chakwal Hoard. The coin has the same field letters \textit{Mi} and \textit{Sa}, but the sketch of the monogram differs in the lower part from the monogram on the actual coins. The reason for the difference can be put down to the condition of the coin, which looks worn or damaged in the lower part of the monogram. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are the same as the legends found on other obols of Zoilos II and III.
\end{itemize}
The unique monograms on the obols in Fig. 30 have the body of monograms attributed to Taxila by Mitchiner and the top of the ‘Jammu’ monograms. The illustration (Fig. 31) of two rectangular 6 chalkoi of Apollodotos II (Type 433 Mitchiner) is shown for an easy comparison of monograms. On the obverse Apollo stands facing with a dorsal bow. The reverse shows a slightly different design of tripod, with the discussed monogram in the left field and a single letter in the right field. The field letter is uncertain, but close to a Ňa with two small ends on top left. It has to be noted that the two coins of 6 chalkoi are not part of the hoard. The ‘Taxila’ monograms on the 6 chalkoi also show minor variations in the execution of the lines inside the box. These variations, along with those on the obols of Zoilos II, might be the result of the inaccuracy of the engravers.

Another observation is the design of the tripod. The reverse shows a broad tripod with a prominent top, which differs from most other obols of Zoilos II. The first character tra in tratarasa has the form of a ‘W’.

3.8 Zoilos II: Æ obol without monogram, type not in Mitchiner; unpublished Coins: 1

The coin shown in Fig. 33 is almost similar to nos. 75-81 of the Chakwal Hoard (Senior). It has the same combination of field letters Ra and Ti, but the difference is the missing monogram on the obverse. Another feature is the starting point of ΣΩΘΡΟΣ in the left corner of the upper line and the missing last Σ of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on this specimen.

3.9 Zoilos II: Æ obol, Type 462 Mitchiner Coins: 1

A single coin of Type 462 Mitchiner was found in the hoard (Fig. 34). This circular obol does not have a monogram, but a small elephant in the left field on the obverse. The combination of the Kharoshthi characters on the reverse is Ra and A.

3.10 Zoilos II: Æ chalkous, type not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 90-92 (Senior) Coins: 2

This type was first published by Senior, with three coins found in the Chakwal Hoard. Another two coins of this rare type are illustrated in Fig. 35. Obverse: Apollo standing right, ‘Jammu’ monogram B in left field, no legend; square bead and reel border. Reverse: royal diadem with Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa, without any field letter.
3.11 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 (Apollo/elephant) Mitchiner
Coins: 36

Several varieties of the lower Æ denomination of Apollo/elephant type are known already. Senior mentions 81 coins in the Chakwal Hoard, with five illustrated, and 41 coins in the Jhang Hoard (Senior 2013). The high number of varieties is remarkable, and is much more than shown in literature. Several varieties, including new ones, are illustrated in this paper. The large number of varieties might indicate an extensive mintage, but this is not reflected in the market nor in literature. One reason for this may be the general low quality of these small coins makes them less attractive to dealers and collectors. Another issue is the assignment of the coins. All have been issued by a ruler with the name Zoilos, but there are good reasons that there may have been more than one ruler with the name Zoilos during this period (Jakobsson). All these coins have only a Kharoshthi legend on three sides of the reverse: Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa. The trarasa of tratarasa is engraved on all coins in the correct form where it is visible.

3.11.1 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 1 Mitchiner; B3-4 Senior (2018)

Coins: 1

The coin shown in Fig. 36 seems to be an early issue with monogram H attributed to the area of Jammu. This type has been reported by Senior (2018). Obverse: Apollo standing right with dorsal quiver, stringing arrow in bow; monogram H in the left field; square bead and reel border. Reverse: elephant right, without any monogram or field letter; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa. The trarasa of tratarasa is engraved on all coins in the correct form where it is visible.

3.11.2 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 2 Mitchiner; unpublished

Coins: 1

An unpublished variety of Type 466 Mitchiner is illustrated in Fig. 37. The obverse is worn and the possible monogram on the left side is off the flan. Below the bow of Apollo is most probably the field letter Ra. The reverse shows the monogram E1, which is known from the obverse on other varieties of this type.

3.11.3 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 3a, 3b & 3c Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 95 (Senior)
Coins: 6

Mitchiner illustrated just a single coin as a chalkous of Type 466 with the boxy monogram, field letter Ra, and probably monogram E1 on obverse. The denomination weight is given as 2.35 g. The illustrations in Fig. 38 show several varieties of a similar Apollo/elephant type with monogram B and monogram E1, known already in a mirrored form on rare drachms of Zoilos. Obverse: Apollo right with ‘Jammu’ monogram B left and monogram M-E1 right, with field letter Ra below. Senior reads the character on obverse as Va, which could be the result of an inaccurate engraving as Va and Ra are quite similar. Reverse: elephant right, and above, a combination of field letter Pa with Ga or Go.
Fig. 38. Zoilos II: 4 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 3a, 3b & 3c Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 95 (Senior)

3.11.4 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 4 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

The next coin (Fig. 39) also bears the two monograms B and E1 on obverse, but the combination of Kharoshthi characters is different, with Ra left and Na right. The reverse shows Pa, but the second letter cannot be identified.

Fig. 39. Zoilos II: 2 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 4 Mitchiner

3.11.5 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 5 Mitchiner

Coins: 4

Two coins of this unpublished variety of Apollo/elephant type are illustrated in Fig. 40. The coins most probably also have the two monograms B and E1 together with Kharoshthi characters Ra and Va on the obverse. Some parts of the design are off flan and others are not readable, but it seems that both coins are of the same variety. The reverse bears the characters Sa and Ga.

Fig. 40: Zoilos II: 3 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 5 Mitchiner

3.11.6 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 6 Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 97 (Senior); Jhang Hoard nos. 27a-42 (Senior 2013)

Coins: 3

The variety shown in Fig. 41 seems to be another example of coin no. 97 of the Chakwal Hoard. It has on obverse the ‘Jammu’ monogram B and the letter Ji in the right field below the bow. The reverse has the combination of field letters Sa and Pa above the elephant.

Fig. 41. Zoilos II: 3 Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 6 Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 97 (Senior), Jhang Hoard nos. 27a-42 (Senior 2013)

3.11.7 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 7 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

Another variety of Type 466 with the ‘Jammu’ monogram B, but with the field letter Na in the right field on the obverse and the characters Sa and Pu on the reverse (Fig. 42). The single coin in the present hoard may be the result of an error made by the engraver rather than another variety.

Fig. 42. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 7 Mitchiner

3.11.8 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 8 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

The unpublished variety in Fig. 43 is almost similar to the previous coin, but it bears the combination of letters Na and Sa on reverse.

Fig. 43. Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 8 Mitchiner
3.11.9 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 9a & 9b Mitchiner

Coins: 6

Six coins could be identified of this variety with the monogram B and letter Va on the obverse, and a combination of field letters Dha and Bu on the reverse. Four of the five coins are illustrated in Fig. 44.

![Coins Illustration](image)

The last coin above shows a minor deviation because it has a Ba in place of Bu, but this could be an inaccuracy on the part of the engraver. The worn surface of the obverse shows a part of the boxy monogram in the left field, but the other field letters or monograms are not visible.

3.11.10 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 10 Mitchiner

Coins: 1

Although the obverse of the coin in Fig. 46 is not very clear, the boxy 'Jammu' monogram can be seen. The combination of field

3.11.11 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 466 var. 11 Mitchiner

Coins: 2

An additional nine coins belong to the same Type 466 Mitchiner with Apollo/elephant, but their condition is so weak that these cannot be assigned to any particular variety. Two coins could be checked and both showed magnetism.

3.12 Zoilos II: Æ di-chalkon, Type 464 variety Mitchiner

Coins: 9

The Æ di-chalkon of Type 464 Mitchiner with elephant/tripod is known as a circular coin. The variety shown in Fig. 47 is struck on a square flan, but the die used for the obverse left a circular image. Obverse: elephant walking right, no legend; circular bead and reel border. It is uncertain whether there is a monogram in the left field behind the elephant. Reverse: tripod with an angular-looking legend Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa. The combination of field letters is Śi on the right side and possibly Thi or Ji on the left side of the tripod.

![Coins Illustration](image)

4. Strato II (c. 40-15 BCE Mitchiner; c. 40-25 BCE Senior 2003; c. 25 BCE-10 CE Bopearachchi, Jacobsson)

Coins: 10

The Æ coinage struck in the name of Strato contributes the smallest number, only 10 coins, out of the total quantity of 216 coins in the hoard. Besides the rarity of these coins, this might also be an indication that the hoard was deposited in the early part of Strato II’s reign.

4.1 Strato II: Æ obol/6 chalkoi (?), Type 470? Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard no. 107? (Senior)

Coins: 1

Hemi-obols of Strato II, and Strato II with Strato III, are illustrated by Mitchiner as Types 470 and 474 respectively. The coin shown in Fig. 48 does not have a monogram, and the few visible letters of the legends suggest that it was issued by Strato II.
Senior has identified coin no. 107 with field letters Na and A in the Chakwal Hoard as struck by Strato II, and describes it with a weight of 11.70 g as a new denomination. The field letters on the coin in the Chakwal Hoard as struck by Strato II, and describes it with a weight of 11.94 g is clearly lower compared to the standard weight of 17.0 g for a full unit. There are a few additional differences. Senior (2003) mentions that the left leg of the Greek letter Nu seems to be missing in ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ, but the illustrated coin shows a perfect Greek N. The first letter of ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ looks either like a weak Σ or a C. The tra in tratarasa which looks like a ‘W’ on the coins of Apollodotos II, Zoilos II and Dionysios is missing on this coin. The Kharoshthi legend reads: Maharajasa tarara Stratasa. Finally, the engraving of the tripod looks rougher than the tripod on other bronze coins of Strato II.

It is not clear whether these deviations are caused by the carelessness of the engraver and the low weight of the flan is just a coincidence, or whether the coin has been tooled to improve its appearance. Alternatively, it could be a different denomination altogether.

4.4 Strato II: Æ obol, unpublished
Coins: 1

An unpublished half unit of Apollo/ tripod type issued in the name of Strato is shown in Fig. 51. The coin bears monogram B3 on the obverse with the combination of field letters Ti and Ra. The top line of the Greek legend shows parallels to the coin in Fig. 50, because the last Σ of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ is either missing or the Σ of ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ looks like a C. The Greek legend reads: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ. The missing first character Tra of tratarasa (top line) causes a blundered Kharoshthi legend: Maharajasa tarara Stratasa.

4.5 Strato II: Æ hemi-obol, unpublished
Coins: 1

Senior describes a till-now unlisted half unit of Strato II in the Chakwal Hoard as no. 117. The coin is without a monogram on the obverse, and on the reverse, beside the field letter Ha the second letter on the left side is uncertain. A similar coin is listed by Senior (2013) as no. 79 in the Jhang Hoard. He identifies the field letters on reverse as Ha and Π in the left field as Stri. The coin illustrated in Fig 52 is also a half unit issued in the name of Strato. The letter Ha is in the right field, but the letter on the left looks more like a Phsa. A similar coin offered by CNG in e-Auction no. 425 (July 2018), as part of Lot 837, has beside the Ha a letter very similar to the letter on the coin in the Jhang Hoard. The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are not missing any letters on the three sides, and read as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ and Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa respectively.

Fig. 48. Strato II: Æ obol/6 chalkoi (?). Type 470? Mitchiner, Chakwal Hoard no. 107? (Senior)

Fig. 49. Strato II: 3 Æ obols, not in Mitchiner; Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior)

Fig. 50. Strato II: Æ obol, not in Mitchiner, variety of Chakwal Hoard nos. 108-116 (Senior), unpublished

Fig. 51. Strato II: Æ hemi-obol, unpublished
connection with infrastructure construction activity in northern Pakistan. Hoads are an important source to understand and confirm the sequence of rulers, particularly if other information is not available. Unfortunately, in many cases valuable details of a hoard like its find spot and composition are rare because such information is often kept secret for commercial reasons.

The 216 coins of the present hoard are an important reference to confirm the details described by Senior (2006) for the Chakwal Hoard, but also for adding a number of new varieties and denominations. One of the interesting finds is a second coin of Dionysios with the so-called boxy 'Jammu' monogram, which confirms the finding of Senior (2006) that the monogram in all probability was introduced by Dionysios. Out of the total number, about 50% of the coins studied were issued by Apollodot os II, followed by Zoilos II. This could be an indication of their relative importance and influence, as well as the duration of their rule.

The 51 circular obols of Type 432e Mitchiner, issued by Apollodotos II with monogram M-D, constitute the largest number of coins in the hoard, at about 25%. A rough estimation of Apollodotos II’s obols, referred to in literature, catalogues, auctions etc., reveals that the number with the ‘Jammu’ monogram exceeds the number with monograms associated with other mints. This result for obols is not reflected in Apollodotos II’s silver coinage nor in smaller A obol denominations like hemi-obols or di-chalkons. The majority of these coins have monograms associated with Taxila.

This observation leads to a question about the importance of mintage in the Jammu area for bronze coinage in general, and for obols in particular. On the other hand, one might also question associating the various monograms with specific mints. With respect to the quality of coinage it seems that the dies used for coins with ‘Taxila’ monograms were of a higher standard. From this might arise another question whether the number of experienced engravers was limited and the best of them were used for silver coinage?

Also remarkable is that a large number of bronze coins and coin types issued by the later Indo-Greeks have surfaced during the last 15-20 years and these have been published for the first time during this period. It might be a reflection of a general rarity, but also that these bronze coins had a limited area of circulation only.

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the numerous varieties of certain coins, like the di-chalkons issued in the name of Zoilos II, are evidence of an extensive mintage. In addition, it is noticeable that the coins of Apollodotos II’s western mints are missing in the present hoard. The absence of coins issued by Hippostratos and Azes also indicates that their sphere of influence was most likely to have been west of this region.

Table A. Distribution of the 216 coins in the hoard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indo-Greek Ruler</th>
<th>No. of coins</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apollodot os II</td>
<td>110 coins</td>
<td>50.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysios</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoilos</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>34.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strato</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
The author apologises for the quality of some photos. Often photos of several coins were taken together in a shop or on the street, and the quality is therefore inconsistent. The dimensions of square coins have been provided using height and width.

Abbreviations
CNG  Classical Numismatic Group
JONS  Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society
M   magnetic
LM  light magnetic but coin can’t be lifted
NM  non-magnetic
var. variation
12h  die axis
Bibliography

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KOBIADIAN COINS WITH TURKIC STAG-SHAPED TAMGA

Michael Fedorov and Andrew Kuznetsov

The first such coin was found in 1967 at Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort and published 11 years later in 1978 (Zeimal 1978, 205, 210, table V/18; 1983, 164). The Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort is well-known for the famous ‘Treasure of the Oxus’, consisting of jewellery and coins of Achaemenid and early Hellenistic times (circa 600-300 BCE), which was found here in 1877. It was probably a depository of some ancient temple, where the treasure was amassed and kept for several ages. This find was brought by merchants to India and is now kept in the British Museum (Zeimal 1979, 5).

The Takhti-Kuvad hill-fort is situated near the confluence of rivers Pindj and Vakhsh, which form the Amu Darya. About five kilometres higher, on the right bank of the Vakhsh there lies another well-known hill-fort, Takhti-Sangin. It is quite possible that both these hill-forts made a common complex near the ancient Amu Darya crossing known in the Middle Ages as Mela (Staviskii 1977, 74).

In 1978 E.V. Zeimal (1978, 205, 210, table V/18) did not give any description and identification of the coin. He only provided a photo and wrote that this coin had so far not been properly identified. By 1983 another 3 such coins were known: two were found at Takhti-Kuvad, while the provenance of the third coin is not known. Zeimal (1983, 164) named these coins “Kobadian mintage of V-VI centuries”. He wrote: “On the reverse side all the coin field occupies tamga of complicated configuration”.

Fig. 1. Variants of tamga on Chachian coins, according to V.D. Shagalov and A.V. Kuznetsov

Michael Fedorov identified this tamga as a Turkic ‘stag-shaped tamga’ with two Turkic runic letters: S and B. It resembles a schematic picture of a stag, with antlers going back and then turning forth as it is with stags (the stag could be the tribal totem). On earlier variants of this tamga the “neck of the stag” was bent and the “head of the stag” was thrown back, as seen on the rutting stag. He throws his head back and roars, challenging rivals and summoning up females. Fedorov also established that the date given by Zeimal was not correct. He dated such coins to the first half-middle of the 7th century CE.

There are early-medieval Chachian coins with tamga which scholars, including Fedorov (Fedorov 2003, 14), named “lyre-shaped”. Later Fedorov changed the name of this tamga. If we turn it at a right angle, we shall have a stylized picture of a stag with antlers going back and turning forth (as it is with the stags), head, body and legs (Fig. 2, upper row). Later this tamga became even more sophisticated: the mythical creature acquired a sinuous tail and bowed its head forward (Fig. 2, lower row).

Fig. 2. Later variants of the stag-shaped tamga on Chachian coins, according to Fedorov

The correctness of this label, ‘stag-shaped tamga’, is confirmed by the coin with the king sitting astride a horse and the queen standing in front of him (Fig. 3, 5-6). The fire altar on the reverse allows us to realise the correct position of the tamga. On the left of the altar is the standing “stag” with “head” thrown back. It is also possible to determine the correct position of the Turkic runes S and Y. On other Chachian coins with the stag-shaped tamga, we find runes SP and St. The Turkic stag-shaped tamga unites the series of copper Cazhian coins, which may have different obverses and reverses, but all have the stag-shaped tamga and Turkic runes (Fig. 3, 1-9). The full series of such coins was published by V.D. Shagalov and A.V. Kuznetsov (2006, 60-160).
The following is a description of Kobadian coins with stag-shaped tamga:

1. **Coin 1**
Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned left) and runes $SB$ (Zeilmal 1978, 210, tb. V/18; 1983, 164. D. 17 mm, W. 0.73 g.).

**Obverse:** Bust of ruler without beard and moustache, with long lean face, round eyes, aquiline nose and straight chin. On his head is a ribbon-diadem tied at occiput.

**Reverse:** In linear circle “stag with tail” tamga and runes $SB$.

2. **Coin 2**
Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and runes $SB$ (Zeno.ru no. 197853. D. 17 mm, W. not given; Zeno.ru no. 166591. D. and W. not given).

**Obverse:** In broad linear circle, bust of ruler without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal), with oblong face, brow with high temples, arched eyebrows, round eyes, massive aquiline nose, thick lips and straight chin. His hair, combed back above the brow, falls down the sides of his face, covering his ears and reaching his shoulders. The ruler had a diadem adorned above the brow with a crescent and tied at the occiput. In front of his face there are three circlets (two above, one below).

**Reverse:** In broad linear circle “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes $SB$.

3. **Coin 3**
Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes $SB$ (Zeno.ru no. 48390. D. not given, W. 1.3 g.).

**Obverse:** In linear circle, the ruler’s bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal). His swept-up hair leaves his ears open and is apparently collected in chignon at sinciput (the bad preservation of this coin, though, does not leave one certain about the chignon). If there was the chignon at sinciput, then it was a Buddhist coiffure. The ruler had a round face, small eyes and a short nose. The lower part of his face did not survive. He did not wear a diadem, but had a necklace. In front of his face is the Sogdian legend $prn$ (‘glory, royal charisma’). Behind his head is something indiscernible.

**Reverse:** In linear circle “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and runes $SB$.

4. **Coin 4**
Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes $SB$ (Zeno.ru no. 25362. D. 17x19 mm, W. 0.9 g.).

**Obverse:** In linear circle the ruler’s bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal). His swept-up hair leaves his ears open and is apparently collected in chignon at sinciput (the bad preservation of this coin, though, does not leave one certain about the chignon). If there was the chignon at sinciput, then it was a Buddhist coiffure. The ruler had a round face, small eyes and a short nose. The lower part of his face did not survive. He did not wear a diadem, but had a necklace. In front of his face is the Sogdian legend $prn$ (‘glory, royal charisma’). Behind his head is something indiscernible.

**Reverse:** In linear circle “stag with tail” tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes $SB$.
hat curly locks of hair fall down, leaving his ears uncovered, and not reaching his shoulder. In front of the face is the Sogdian legend mx/sym/s: ‘Mc(a)khgh(u)m(a)n’, ‘M(a)shghum(a)n’, ‘M(a)khgh(u)m(a)n’ or ‘M(a)khshumaz’ (a name?). Behind the head is something indiscernible (a rune?).

**Reverse:** In linear circle “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and runes SB.

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**Coin 5**

Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned left) and Turkic runes SB (zeno.ru no. 77536. D. and W. are not given).

**Obverse:** In linear circle (with free space around it) is the ruler’s bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal) with round face, low brow, arched eyebrows, small round eyes, short nose, fleshy lips and straight chin. He wore a hemispherical hat with diadem (or cap-band). Along the hat’s top is a line of pearls (from brow to occiput). From under the hat, curly locks of hair fall down, covering the ears and reaching his shoulder. The ruler had a necklace of pearls. In front of his face is the Sogdian legend prn (‘glory, royal charisma’).

**Reverse:** In the same circle (with free space around) “stag with tail” tamga (turned left) and runes SB.

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**Coin 6**

Kobadian coin with “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes SB (zeno.ru no. 45815. D. not given, W. 1.2 g.; zeno.ru no. 166591, D. and W. not given).

**Obverse:** Ruler’s bust without beard and moustache (face to right, shoulders frontal), with slightly puffy face, low brow, almond-shaped eyes aquiline nose, thick lips and straight chin. His hair, cut short, leaves his ears uncovered. The ruler wore a tape diadem, adorned with a row of adjoining round plaques (or pearls?), tied at his occiput. Above his brow a heart-shaped adornment hangs down from the diadem. A triangular lapel of the ruler’s caftan is seen. Behind his head is something indiscernible (a rune?).

**Reverse:** In broad linear circle “stag with tail” tamga (turned right) and Turkic runes SB.

The Turkic dynasty with stag-shaped tamga appeared in Chach in 605 CE, when the Turks, having killed a native ruler, put a Turkic prince on the throne. The coins found in Kobadian tell that some part of Turkic tribes with the stag-shaped tamga, who created in Chach their principality, went south, participating in the Ton dynasty. As one can see the rune S is omnipresent. Second runes are various: SB, SL, SP, SY. These combinations of runes represented different clans of the same S dynasty.

E. V. Zeimal dated such coins to the 5th–6th centuries, but actually they were minted in the last three quarters of the 7th century, after the Turks conquered Tokharistan.

Chinese pilgrims Hsuan-Tsiang (about 629-645 CE) and Hsuan-Chao (about 726 CE) wrote about the Turks in Tokharistan. According to Hsuan-Tsiang, all 27 states in Tokharistan submitted to the Turks and some of those Turks were kings. Hsuan-Tsiang wrote that the king of Shuman (the eastern neighbour of Kobadian) was a Turk. According to Hsuan-Chao, the king of Khuttal (the western neighbour of Kobadian) was also a Turk, and that half of Khuttal’s population were Turks and speaking the Turkic language (The Life of Hsuan-Tsiang 1959, 48-49; Fuchs, 1938, 449, 452-453; Gafurov 1972, 226-227).

The coins of Kobadian with Turkic stag-shaped tamga and Turkic runes SB show that the kings of Kobadian were also Turks.

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**THE CHHINDAKA NAGAS OF CHAKRAKOTA**

Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor

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**Fig. 1. The ‘Vyagra-Savatsa Dhenu’ Lanchana of the Chhindaka Nagas**

**Synopsis**

The history of this dynasty and its coinage were first covered in an article on the Eluru Hoard in JONS 206. That article exhibited all the available coins of the hoard, including those of the Chhindaka Nagas. Now that the hoard has been completely dispersed and more information and details have become available, it is now possible to fill in the previous gaps.

Interestingly, another group of five coins belonging to the same dynasty subsequently appeared in the market in 2016. The exact provenance has yet to be ascertained, but this lot first appeared in the hands of a Rajahmundry jeweller. Rajahmundry is about 100 km...
northwest of Eluru. With this additional data, the present article attempts to attribute the coins of the Chhindaka Nagas in full and with more precision, and, together with information from stone inscriptions, literary sources and a copper plate, to reconstruct the hitherto unknown history of this dynasty.

The Chhindaka Nagas founded their kingdom along the river basins of the Godavari and the Indravati, a region referred to as Chakrakota. This encompassed the southernmost districts of the present-day state of Chhattisgarh, including Bastar, Jagdalpur and Dantewada. The Vengi Chalukyas and Kalinga Gangas were their southern and eastern neighbours respectively. The Chakrakota kingdom soon expanded east and westward, eventually coming to be known as Chakrakota Mandala. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence suggest that they ruled this region for more than 500 years from the 8th and 14th centuries CE.

The dynasty linked their lineage to Nagavamsha and carried the snake banner. Literary sources suggest that they were devoted Shaivites belonging to the Kashyapa gotra. The royal emblem of the kingdom was a tiger with a calf. One of the significant titles for the kings was ‘The Lord of Bhogavati’. The dynasty declined after their defeat by the Kakatiya ruler, Prola, who was a Kalyani Chalukya feudatory. Though there are a few inscriptions of later Chhindaka Naga rulers, not many details are available other than the name of the rulers and their grants.

Chhindaka Naga coins are interesting as the legends are inscribed in both Kannada and Telugu. All the coins observed so far have a central crest comprising the tiger and calf motif, and stand out among the gold coins of medieval India for their richness of size, elegance and design.

**Fig. 2. Geographical location of the Chakrakota Mandala**

**History**

The first known historical record of this dynasty is a copper plate found at the village of Upet near Chitrakuta. The inscription is dated 760 CE and records the name of the ruler Vallabharaja. A second inscription from around the 8th century CE records the name of the ruler Rajamalla. A third inscription from the same period mentions the ruler Vankhaditya, who was perhaps the successor to Rajamalla. A Paramara record reveals yet another name, Shankhapala, which is also known from a historical account, *Kaviya Navasahasanka Charita*. The poetry therein describes the help sought by the Chhindaka Nagas from Sindhubhara, who was, in turn, accompanied by the Vidhyadharas. Although a handful of records is known for the Chhindaka Naga dynasty, the chronology is unclear except for a brief period when the Kakatiyas overthrew them.

The inscription dated 1023 CE at Errakot, 16 km from Jagdalpur, belongs to king Nripathibhushana. Another fragmentary inscription attributed to this ruler is known, but most of the inscription is illegible. Dharavarsha, the successor of Nripathibhushana, left four recorded inscriptions mentioning his name. The inscription dated 1060 CE at Barsur, 90 km west of Jagdalpur, Bastar state, refers to Dharavarsha by the title *Maharaja Jagadekabhusana*. The next significant information about the dynasty comes from the Narayanpur inscription. This refers to Mahadevi as the chief queen of Maharaja Dharavarsha and the mother of Someshvaradeva. This record also mentions the place as Narayanpal. It is in this record that we see the dynasty’s claim to Nagavamsha lineage and Kashyapa gotra. Moreover, the dynastic crest – tiger with a calf – is also mentioned. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the lords of Bhogavati.4 The inscriptions of Dharavarsha are scattered over a radius of 100 km from Jagdalpur. His grants are also known from the Potinar and Barsur inscriptions. The Dantewada inscription, dated 1061 CE, also belongs to Dharavarsha’s reign. He was a vassal of the Kalyani Chalukya ruler, Someshvara.1

The Rajapur plate, dated 1065 CE, dates to the Chola occupation of Chhindaka Naga territory. It refers to the capital as *Bhraramarakotya Mandala*, which is another name for Chakrakota Mandala.2 The record mentions the grant of the village of Rajapur, along with 70 *gadyanaka*, perhaps as compensation given to a family for human sacrifice. This ritual practice was common even in the recent past, perhaps as a belief followed since the days of the Chhindaka Naga kings. Human sacrifice to goddess Danteshwari of Danteshwara, Bastar, was celebrated as a public oblation during natural disasters or diseases, or whenever death by tigers or other wild beasts increased. The *Madurantakadeva* mentioned in this record may be a title of Chola king Vira Rajendra.

The next Chhindaka Naga ruler, Someshvaradeva, is known from several inscriptions. His inscription at Gadia, 30 km from Jagdalpur, records the grant of land to the same god. The record names the king with the title *Rajabhushana* and is dated 1065 CE. It also mentions the continuation of dancing girls. The next known record of this king is the Kuruspal inscription, dated 1069 CE. This mentions that the *Rajabhushana* killed *Madurantaka* in battle. With this war, the five-year occupation by the Cholas ended in victory for the Chhindaka Nagas. The inscription at Kuruspal village, 35 km from Jagdalpur, mentions the land granted to the village by Someshvaradeva. It is also mentioned that he had a tiger crest and snake banner, and he acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakota through the favour of the goddess Vindhyavasini. His father was Dharavarsha and his son was Kanharadeva. The record states that Someshvara burnt Vengi, subjugated Bhradarpattana and Vajra, and took 600,096 villages of the Kosala country. The Chakrakota kings appear to have had a long feud with the rulers of Vengi. The taking of over half a million Kosala villages was clearly an exaggeration and may have in fact referred to the entire Mahakosala or modern-day Chhattisgarh. The political success of this king is evident from the discovery of gold coins at Sonasari in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The other inscription found on the tank slab belongs to Dharana Mahadevi, the queen of Someshvaradeva, wherein a grant of land is mentioned to the god Kamesvara. This record is dated 1099 CE.

Kuruspal has yielded two more inscriptions of Someshvaradeva. One of them is dated 1097 CE and mentions the dedication of a lamp to the god Lokesvara with a subscription of 11 *gadyanaka*.3 Another inscription, of his queen and dated to 1108 CE, records the gift of a village to two temples. A younger sister’s name, Masakadevi, is known from the Gadia inscription. This stone mentions that she is the sister of *Rajabhushana Maharastra*, the crest jewel of the Chhindaka Nagas. The inscription labels a few tax-collecting officers as traitors for collecting taxes in advance. An inscription dated 1109 CE mentions Mahadevi, the queen of Someshvaradeva. It also records that the king belonged to the Nagavamsha and his capital was Bhogavati.4 An inscription found 38 km northwest of Jagdalpur mentions the queen’s name as Ganga Mahadevi. It records the grant of the village to Lord Narayana.5 The inscription names Someshvaradeva who killed *Madurantaka*. The battle with *Madurantaka* may have taken place when Someshvaradeva was very young, and, if so, he would have had a long reign. The Barsur inscription of 1108 CE records the grant of a village given by the Ganga Mahadevi, the chief queen of Someshvaradeva, to a temple of Shiva.

An inscription found in Narayanpal dates to 1111 CE and records the grant given by Gunda Mahadevi, the chief queen of the deceased king, Dharavasha, and the mother of Someshvaradeva. This
inscription names the grandson as Kanharadeva. Someshvara must have died before 1111 CE and the chief queen must have acted as regent for Kanharadeva. In the year 1158 CE, another inscription records that the Kakatiya king, Prola II, feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, defeated the Chhindaka Nagas.

An inscription dated 1218 CE at Jatapal,10 a village 65 km from Dantewada, mentions a grant of land by the king Narasimhadeva. The Dantewada pillar inscription,11 dated 1224 CE, records the name of Jagadekabhushana Maharaja Narasimhadeva. There is yet another inscription belonging to the same king, at Sunarpol,12 16 km from Narayanpal, which mentions a gift given by the queen of Jayasimhadeva in the same year. This also mentions the dynastic crest, the tiger with a calf. The queen’s name is given as Lakamhadevi and the great queen’s name is Sasanadevi.

An inscription dated 1324 CE13 at Temar, near Kuruspal, records the immolation of the wife of an officer of the king Harischandradeva. Nothing is recorded of the Chhindaka Naga dynasty after this point and it is hard to know what their status was thereafter.

Chronology
The chronology of the Chhindaka Nagas is shown below, along with the inscription dates known for each ruler.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler’s name</th>
<th>Inscription date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vallabharaja</td>
<td>760 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajamallal</td>
<td>9th century CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vankhadiya</td>
<td>9th century CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shankapala</td>
<td>10th century CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nripathibhushana</td>
<td>1023 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadekabhushana</td>
<td>Dharavarsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurantakadeva</td>
<td>(Chola rule and control)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajabhushana Maharaja Someshvaradeva</td>
<td>1065-1069 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanharadeva I</td>
<td>1111 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prola II (Kakatiya)</td>
<td>1158 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadekabhushana Narasimhadeva</td>
<td>1218, 1224 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanharadeva II</td>
<td>1242 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimhadeva</td>
<td>Undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harischandradeva</td>
<td>1324 CE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table B. Royal titles on Chhindaka Naga coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achala Narayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raj Bhushana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anana Singama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenkana Singama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pralaganda Bhairava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratiganda Bhairava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribhuvana Pratiganda Bhairava Raja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on their inscriptions, the gold coins of the Chhindaka Nagas were called gadyanaka. All the coins observed are circular punch-marked coins. Interestingly, similar coins called padmatanka are already known to exist from other southern kingdoms. Around the periphery of the coins, there are typically eight punches with Chalukya-style Kannada legends, though some exceptions have been noted. The central, bigger punch shows the ‘tiger and calf’ crest along with sun and moon symbols. With eight peripheral punches and one central punch, the coin resembles a lotus flower. The lotus represents goddess Lakshmi and such a representation is common in medieval coins that bear a lotus symbol or are in the form of a lotus with a legend punch of Sri.

The Sri Rajabhushana type is assigned to Someshvara I based on the title Rajabhushana,14 which translates as ‘Precious among kings’. The Anana Singama coins have been also been attributed to the same ruler, based on the legend translation as ‘As fierce as a lion’. Someshvaradeva had not only defeated the Cholas, but also saved the pride of the Chalukyas and the Gangas. Interestingly, all known hoards contained both types of coins together in large numbers.

Coins have also been recorded with the titles Sri Pralaganda Bhairava, Sri Pratiganda Bhairava and Tribhuvana Sri Pratiganda Bhairava Raja. These three types were found only in the Eluru hoard. All five specimens belonging to these three types are tentatively attributed to Someshvaradeva’s predecessor, Dharavarsha, because of their relatively worn state. Moreover, the form of the script is consistent with an earlier period than the Rajabhushana type.

The coins with the legend Sri Achala Narayana have been attributed to Someshvaradeva. The fish symbol, along with the tiger-calf crest, shows the allegiance of the Matsyas of Oddadi.

The Lenkana Singama title seen in the AP-2016 hoard has the script form of the 12th century CE and therefore probably belongs to a later period. The central punch is also much more stylised than the earlier types. In addition, the word Lenka is commonly found on the punch-marked coins of the Kakatiyas and means ‘bodyguard’. Lenkana Singama perhaps means ‘the Lion of the Army’.

It is surprising to note that all the known coins of the Chhindaka Nagas have been found outside the territory of Chakrakota Mandala, such as Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh, the Koraput district of Orissa, the Khammam district, and the Rajahmundry and West Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Vishakhapatnam was the nearest port and was under the rule of the Chalukyas and Matsyas during different periods. It is suggested that a thriving sea trade may be the reason for the coins of the Matsyas, Vengi Chalukyas, Kalinga Gangas, and Chhindaka Nagas being found in this region.

### Coinage

Numismatic records mention two discoveries of Chhindaka Naga gold coins. The first was found in the Sonasari region of the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh, and the second from the Dumadei Reserve Forest area under the Kodinga Police station in the Koraput district of Orissa in 1957. The Orissa hoard is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Twenty seven of the coins bear the name of Rajabhushana14 and one is in the name of Papratiganda Bhairava. Similar coins were discovered from the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh in a small hoard, comprising coins of Lenkana Singama and Rajabhushana.15

The next known hoard of Chhindaka Naga gold coins was found in 2007, containing about eight coins of the Rajabhushana type. In 2009 a hoard of approximately 80 coins of the Vengi Chalukyas, Matsyas and Chhindaka Nagas were found in Eluru, Andhra Pradesh. In this hoard, only four coins were of the Vengi Chalukyas, one was of the Matsyas, and the rest were coins of the Chhindaka Nagas. Since the Chhindaka Nagas were more or less independent throughout their rule, it is hard to understand the migration of those coins to Eluru.

In 2016, yet another hoard of an unknown number surfaced in Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh – named AP-2016 – before it was confiscated by the police. Prior to its seizure, a few pieces made it to local jewellers. This hoard contained coins carrying the title Lenkana Singama. Other than these six hoards, no other major hoards are known for this dynasty.

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**Catalogue of Coins**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image-url" alt="Coin Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image-url" alt="Coin Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gold \textit{gadyanaka}, 3.8 g, 41 mm
Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE)
Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - 
\textit{Bhuvana Sri Sri, Pratiganda, Bhairava Rajasri};
1 central punch with tiger and calf standing left; sun and crescent symbols above.
Note: Perhaps the title is intended to read \textit{Tribhuvana Pratiganda Bhairava Raja}
Ex Eluru hoard (2009)

Gold \textit{gadyanaka}, 3.8 g, 40 mm
Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE)
Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - 
\textit{Sri Pratiganda Bhairava}; 1 central punch with tiger and calf standing left; sun and crescent symbols above.
Ex Eluru hoard (2009)

Gold \textit{gadyanaka}, 3.8 g, 40 mm
Ruler: Dharavarsha (1045-1065 CE)
Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - 
\textit{Sri Pralaganda Bhairava}; bow-arrow-flywhisk punch on the periphery; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above.
Ex Eluru hoard (2009)

Gold \textit{gadyanaka}, 3.76 g, 41 mm
Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE)
Obverse: 8 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - 
\textit{Sri Sri Aanana Singama}; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above.
Ex Eluru hoard (2009)

Gold \textit{gadyanaka}, 3.77 g, 40 mm
Ruler: Someshvaradeva (1065-1108 CE)
Obverse: 7 x Kannada legend punches on the periphery - 
\textit{Sri Sri Rajabhushana}; 1 central punch of tiger and calf standing left; sun and moon symbols above.
Ex Eluru hoard (2009)
Acknowledgements

The author expresses his sincere gratitude to all the authors of the materials that are referred to in this work. The paper would be incomplete without acknowledging the hardship of review by Murli Narayan, USA, and Stan Goron, UK. The author is grateful to them.

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KĀKHETĀBĀD, A NEW GEORGIAN-SAFAVID MINT

Irakli Paghava

By means of this short article we would like to publish a so-far unique coin bearing a previously unknown mint name: Kākhetābād. We will attempt to establish the location and chronology of the money-issuing activity at this mint, as well as the general historical background and significance of this discovery.

The coin was discovered (presumably, by metal-detecting activities) in 2016. We know only the approximate find location: Zaqatala or Qax rayon of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan (i.e. Saingilo, south-eastern part of the historical east-Georgian province/ Kingdom of K’akheti, occupied by the Safavids by the early 17th century and still preserving a significant Georgian minority).

The coin constitutes a regular full-weight (1 tūmān = 2000 nökød, ‘abbāşī of 7.68 g) Safavid silver issue in the name of ‘Abbās I, namely, an ‘abbāşī (mint, date and royal protocol in the centre, neat calligraphy, the die not significantly broader than the flan, i.e. D2 type); AR, weight 7.62 g, dimensions 19-21 mm, die axis 6:30 o’clock (Fig. 1).
follows:

Our reasons for attributing both mint names to the same mint are as follows:

1. The origin and general similarity of both words, derived from the name of the corresponding province of Georgia – K’akheti (کاختی) (Kingdom of K’akheti) (this Georgian name was normally spelled in both Safavid and Ottoman primary sources) as Kākheti, although we know an instance of a later spelling as Qīketū. While the previously published copper and possibly also silver coins bore the distorted variant of Kākhetābād was produced by adding to a more authentic Kākhet (instead of Kākhetābād) a standard Persian suffix "-ābād" (~cultivated place, i.e. village or city);

2. The provenance of the coin with the mint name Kākhetābād: the region of historical Georgia, which abound in finds of the Kākhet coins, and where the actual city minting the coins with the latter mint-name has been located (vide infra);

We consider that these two arguments are convincing enough to claim the equivalence of Kākhetābād and Kākhet, i.e. the Kākhet and Kākhetābād coins were both issued at the same mint.

But where was this mint located? We have already shown in an earlier work that Kākhet coins were minted at one of the prominent contemporary Georgian cities in the province/kingdom of K’akheti – K’ak’i (modern Qax in Azerbaijan, center of the Qax rayon; the Georgian variant of spelling being K’ak’hi (قاخی) or Kakh). 7

We tend to interpret the indicated date (1031/1621-2 CE) with one extra dot (†): that fits very well the reign of Shah ’Abbās I (1587-1629), whose name is indicated, as well the time period when his type D2 coins were issued (AH 1026-1038). 8

Alexandre II, king of K’akheti, had to cede the city of K’ak’i and its vicinity to the Safavid puppet state of Elisu Sultanate. According to prince Vakhushti Bagratroni, the Georgian historian, it happened (right?) after ’Abbās I seized the Yerevan fortress, i.e. in 1604 (as the siege started in AH 1011 (1602/3),10 and lasted till 1604).11 Since then the Sultanate and K’ak’i, its economic centre (as we would conjecture), were seemingly controlled by ‘Alī-Sultān (Alikeb II),12 who took sides alternately with the Safavids and Ottomans (during the Safavid-Ottoman war of 1603-1618), as demonstrated by correspondingly Ottoman and Safavid farmans bestowed upon him.13 ‘Alī-Sultān was killed by Georgians in 1629 (1630).14 Therefore, all the K’ak’i coinage within the above said timeframe (1604-1629) was de facto issued by the Elisu Sultanate (de jure in the name of ’Abbās I, the Safavid overlord), namely by ‘Alī-Sultān, and not the kings of the Georgian Christian state of K’akheti.

We can now discuss the historiographical meaning of our discovery. Firstly, in terms of the general numismatic history of Georgia, and even the entire Caucasus, as well as that of the Safavid dynasty, a discovery of an absolutely new mint/ mint name is a valuable addition to the data collected by other scholars. We now have one more (Georgian) mint and money-issuing political unit on the regional numismatic map.

Secondly, the general historical significance of our discovery seems to be substantial as well. Naturally, this finding with its historical implications bears a particular value for those researching the past of Georgia and the Georgian nation. It sheds some more light on the complex relations between the east-Georgian kingdom of K’akheti, the Safavids, and the mountainous tribes of Dagestan by the early 17th century; the political and economic transformation of the then frontier area of K’akheti; and its gradual annexation by the Ts’akhrs, Avars and Qizilbash, initiated under the aegis of ’Abbās I. The recent discoveries provide interested scholars with an opportunity to base their research of Georgian-Safavid relations, specifically K’akheti and the Elisu Sultanate, on the numismatic data as well.15

Acknowledgement
We are grateful to Malkhaz Archvadze for his consultation.

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4. Irakli Paghava, Goga Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kakhet” in the Kingdom of Kakheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?” Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society 223 (2015): 20-21 (the silver coins were minted in the name of the Ottoman sultan, and not the Safavid shah, as the authors of the latter article considered initially). Paghava Irakli, “Telavi Hoard: New Data on the Ottoman Coinage Minted in the Georgian Kingdom of Kakheti” (in print).
Spanish dollars countermarked with the impression of an Arcot rupee have been known for some time, although they are quite rare. The reason for the existence of these pieces has not been known. However, in my searches through the records of the East India Company, held in the British Library in London, I came across these two entries, which seem to provide the answer:

April 1804

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council having been pleased to resolve that the coining of dollars into Arcot rupees at the Honorable Company’s mint in Fort St George shall for the present be suspended, notice is hereby given that during such temporary suspension, all dollars which may be brought to the mint will be returned to proprietors after having been stamped with the impression of our Arcot rupee in the centre of each dollar.

All dollars which have been so stamped at the mint, will be receiv ed into the Honorable Company’s treasury and in general circulation at the exchange of 15 3/8 dollars for 10 star pagodas, being the amount which standard Spanish dollars yield when coined at the mint.

When it shall be deemed advisable that the coining of Arcot rupees should recommence, of which public notice will be given, all stamped dollars will be first coined at the mint, in preference to any other dollars or to bullion.

COUNTERMARKED DOLLARS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Paul Stevens
Notice is hereby given that the treasury of Fort St George will until further intimation be open for the receipt of Dollars at the exchange of 15/2 Spanish Dollars for 10 pagodas to be repaid either in bills on Bengal at the present rate of exchange, in treasury notes or in promissory notes according to the terms of the loan which was opened under date the 2nd instant. All stamped Dollars which may be paid into the treasury will be received on the terms of this advertisement. Persons paying Dollars into the treasury will state to the sub-treasurer the mode in which they be desirous that repayment should be made.

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council having resolved that the coinage of Dollars on individual account, which was suspended by the advertisement dated the 21st April last, shall be renewed. Notice is given that all persons having stamped Dollars shall be at liberty to send them to the treasury for the purpose of their being coined into Arcot rupees in the usual manner.

The major variants of the silver Gaden tangkas were classified by various authors (see the bibliography), the most widely used being the classification by Nicholas Rhodes (1983).

However, none of these publications mentions that there exist some specimens of Gaden tangkas produced in gold, which appeared for the first time in Nepal in the 1960s. The Italian collector Carlo Valdettaro (1921-1988) was probably the first student of Tibetan coins to mention the gold issues of Gaden tangkas of Rhodes Type F viii. He remarks the following (Valdettaro, 1974): “From information gathered from Tibetan friends, it has been confirmed that AV Tangkas (single) did circulate in Tibet.” This ‘confirmation’ may be based on a misunderstanding. Between 1918 and 1921 Tibetan gold coins were struck, the denomination of which is marked on the coins as ṭam srang 20 (20 Srang); Tibetans referred to these issues as gser ṭam (gold tangka), and it is quite possible that Valdettaro’s informants referred to these coins (Fig. 2).

Valdettaro also mentions a gold tangka of double weight and larger diameter (10.8 g; 25.5 mm) and writes: ‘Doubtful coin; it looks cast and not struck; moreover the existence of ‘double’ AV tangkas has
still to be confirmed, as my Tibetan informers were not aware of them.”

The German collector Karl Gabrisch (1927–1995), an expert in Tibetan coins, mentions in a footnote that the gold tangkas which appear occasionally are thought to be forgeries (Gabrisch, 1990, p. 44, footnote 12). As supporting evidence for his assertion, he quotes a statement by Charles Bell, saying that there are no gold coins in Tibet (Bell, 1919 and 1977, p. 137).

According to my information, the Gaden tangkas of Rhodes Type F viii made of gold are only found in Nepal. Both the single and the double tangkas in gold have the appearance of being cast rather than struck coins. Originally, they may have been made by Nepalese craftsmen to serve as offerings for pujas (religious worships) or as talismans, since the eight auspicious symbols found on these coins would make them very suitable for such a purpose. Later on, when western collectors starting buying Nepalese and Tibetan coins in Nepal, they may also have been offered as genuine coins to interested parties.

These gold tangkas are quite rare, and we know of the existence of only three double tangkas and five single tangkas; all appear to have been produced from two pairs of moulds. The specimens from the Valdettaro collection (now in the British Museum; Figs. 4 and 5) have a clearer design than those which exist in other collections or those which were sold recently by the auction house Gorny & Mosch (Figs. 6 and 7). This may be attributable to the fact that the moulds which were probably made from clay, were wearing out after little use or had not been properly cleaned before casting some of the coins.

The double tangka illustrated by Valdettaro (ex Nepalese collection, Fig. 3) and the one ex Gorny & Mosch (Fig. 7) have a larger diameter than their single counterparts. However, the double and single tangka in gold which were bequeathed to the British Museum by Carlo Valdettaro (Figs. 4 and 5) are catalogued as having the same diameter of 25 mm, which is probably incorrect.

Bibliography

the coins was his personal name, and that the word Kujula Kadphises, that the word Kushan (conclusions of Joe Cribb, that the Heraios coinage was minted by yabgus issued in different phases of production by the head of the four of 89 tetradrachms, Taasob argued that the Heraios coins were its variations referred to a mint or magistrate. Using a die analysis Chronology: Revisited. In her talk, Taasob examined the on March 22), a testament to the usefulness of recording them. Special the talks. Collectively, the four talks have been viewed 1,330 times (as of four speakers and their talks were webcast on Facebook Live and Julliard Room at The Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York. There were was held on the evening of Saturday, January 12, 2019, in the The Annual Meeting of the North America branch of the Society to bring order to the bewildering variety of base metal ‘Deb’ classification adopted by Nicholas Rhodes, he took the opportunity book The Coinage of Bhutan and collectible items of that region.  With his life and collecte d numismatic and other with Tyll Kroha and others of continuing the standard Catalog of World Coins. He travelled regularly to the Himalayan states in the last 30 years of his life and collected numismatic and other collectible items of that region. With his book The Coinage of Bhutan continuing the classification adopted by Nicholas Rhodes, he took the opportunity to bring order to the bewildering variety of base metal ‘Deb’ (½) rupees, struck from the 19th century until 1928. The numismatic world, and in particular our Society, has lost a dear member. Patrick Pasmins ONS NEWS Obituary: Klaus Bronny Klaus Bronny, a well-known, dedicated and impassioned numismatist and researcher, died on June 20, 2019. He was the author of The Coinage of Bhutan (2014), co-author with Tyll Kroha and others of Lexikon der Numismatik (1977) and provided assistance to the Standard Catalog of World Coins. He travelled regularly to the Himalayan states in the last 30 years of his life and collected numismatic and other collectible items of that region. With his book The Coinage of Bhutan continuing the classification adopted by Nicholas Rhodes, he took the opportunity to bring order to the bewildering variety of base metal ‘Deb’ (½) rupees, struck from the 19th century until 1928. The numismatic world, and in particular our Society, has lost a dear member. Patrick Pasmins ONS North America meeting, New York (12 January, 2019) The Annual Meeting of the North America branch of the Society was held on the evening of Saturday, January 12, 2019, in the Julliard Room at The Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York. There were four speakers and their talks were webcast on Facebook Live and continue to be available on the ONS-North America Facebook page. Collectively, the four talks have been viewed 1,330 times (as of March 22), a testament to the usefulness of recording them. Special thanks are due to member Ed Snible for handling the webcasting of the talks. The first speaker, Razieh Taasob of Princeton University, spoke on The Heraios Coinage and Khalkhayyan, Attribution and Chronology: Revisited. In her talk, Taasob examined the conclusions of Joe Cribb, that the Heraios coinage was minted by Kujula Kadphises, that the word Kushan (KOPPAN) appearing on the coins was his personal name, and that the word ΣΑΝΑΒ with all its variations referred to a mint or magistrate. Using a die analysis of 89 tetradrachms, Taasob argued that the Heraios coins were issued in different phases of production by the head of the four yabgus, ΗΑΟΥ, ΣΑΝΑΒ, ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ and ΑΝΤΕΙΞ, who were seen as “allied princes” in Bactria. The clan identity as an ethnic affiliation, rather than a personal name, was clearly attested on the coins as KOPPANOY. It is therefore likely that power was granted to these local princes to coin money in Bactria to keep the political dominance of the Kushan in the north Oxus, while Kujula Kadphises was expanding and establishing his power toward the south of the Hindu Kush.

The next speaker was Aleksandr Naymark of Hofstra University, who spoke on The Coinage of South Soghd. After reviewing the history of our growing knowledge of this coinage since the 1960s, Naymark pointed out that, as of today, we know 11 series of Nakhshab coins that cover the period of roughly 770 years from the beginning of CE to the third quarter of the 8th century:

1. Early horse head series, first half of the 1st century CE
2. Three denominational coinage of Ashitat(w), second half of the 1st century CE
3. Imitations of Ashitat(w) coins, 2nd century CE
4. Silver and copper archer coins with the title MR’Y in the legend, datable to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century
5. Silver and copper sword-bearer coins, first half of the 3rd century
6. Late copper archer series, second half of the 3rd-first half of the 4th century
7. Leontomachia (king slaying a lion) coins with the profile portrait, middle of the 4th to the middle of the 6th centuries
8. Leontomachia coins with the obverse portrait in ¾ turn, second half of the 6th century
9. Coins with the obverse portrait in ¾ turn and the reverse with a large tamgha in the center
10. Coins with portraits on both sides

Fig. 1 Heraios, ΣΑΝΑΒ Series, potential minting place A, Group I, Variety A. Gorny & Mosch Auction 211, 2013/03/04, no. 465

Fig. 2. Nakhshab horsehead type (zeno.ru no. 202957)
11. Five types of the walking horse series.

We are just at the beginning of our study of Nakhshab coinage: the dates assigned to individual series are still vague, typology is rather incomplete (there are series for which we have 3 or fewer coins), and we can expect additions and adjustments to this scheme on an annual basis. There are also major questions to answer: for example, we still do not know what money circulated in Nakhshab from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 1st centuries BCE.

The localisation of multiple early series in Nakhshab “pushed” the coins with Hercules and Zeus, which Zeimal had already attributed to South Soghd, towards a more precise localisation in the principality of Kesh as the second major realm in Kashkada valley. The Hercules and Zeus coinage is the latest in the sequence of three series:

1. Alexander imitations started in 220s BCE
2. Phseihchacharis coins started in the third quarter of the 1st century CE
3. Hercules and Zeus coinage started at the end of the 2nd century CE and continued to the middle of the 3rd century.

The known find spots of the coins belonging to these three series confirm the attribution: altogether there are 17 recorded finds of coins belonging to these three series on the territory of ancient Kesh, while no single specimen has come to light in the Nakhshab oasis. We are currently not aware of Kesh coins datable to the long time span from the second half of the 3rd to the end of the 7th century. It is possible that some known coins belong to the period from the second half the 4th to the middle of the 6th century.

Fig. 3. Nakhshab leontomachia type (CNG 72, 1122)

The first part of the legend on leontomachia coins with a profile portrait definitely reads kyšnk, which is a legitimate Sogdian demonym from Kish/Kesh. It seems plausible that the Kesh dynasty seized control over Nakhshab in the middle of the 4th century, uniting the entire Kashkada valley under its sway until the middle of the 6th century. Indeed, the leontomachia coins are quite numerous in the western Kesh area. We are aware of Kesh coppers minted under Lord Akhurpat in the 8th century, which are represented by three different types minted during 720-730s CE. In the late 730s or in 740s a ruler of Kesh, whose name hasn’t survived on the three known specimens, introduced a type combining a Sogdian obverse, in the style of Akhurpat coins, with a reverse of Zeus, minted fulus where both sides were in Arabic. The first known fulus of Kesh struck on a regular Caliphate pattern dates to 173 AH/ 789-790 CE.

In addition to the 11 series of Nakhshab and 6 series of Kesh coins, there are 3 non-localised ones. The first of these is known from just four specimens, marking four successive stages in the development of the imitation of the imitation (sic!) of Eukratides to a completely new type. Of the second, we know four types with trident-anchor tamgha datable to the 8th century. This series cannot be assigned to Nakhshab or Kesh, because the dates of its coins fall upon the time when Nakhshab issued the horse series coins, while Kesh struck coins in the name of Akhurpat. Finally, there is a South Sogdian series, coins of which carry a sinusoid tamgha. This one can currently be dated only within the broad bracket of the second half of the 7th to the middle of the 8th century and still cannot be localised precisely.

Tandon acknowledged that the list is still incomplete and more will be added as needed. Of all the coins, only one reflects a woman who was actually ruling on the ground and was represented with a realistic portrait while she was alive: the Indo-Greek queen Agathokleia. The other women rulers who were represented with realistic portraits were either distant figureheads: the Portuguese queens Maria I and Maria II, and the British queens Victoria and Elizabeth II, or were honored posthumously: Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto.

After the meeting, the gathering adjourned to Bukhara Grill for the traditional post-meeting dinner.

New Members

North America

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Pankaj Tandon
Book Review


If we take this book’s title at face value, it concerns silver coins with odd names. For those not well-versed in the denomination terminology of medieval India, it’s about the tiny ‘three-dot’ coins that have appeared in numbers only in recent decades. It also deals with the parallel series of equally tiny coins known for many generations as ‘Sind Amirs’. The authors ascribe their use of the term *damma* to a pioneering work by Robert Tye, acknowledging that this term was not in use during the period of the coins’ circulation. It has, however, caught on in the coin trade, and so was adopted to facilitate recognition by modern collectors. They see it as a term of convenience, to differentiate these coins (less than a gram), from the more common *dramma* (three to four grams).

For collectors wanting to identify, classify or understand the myriad minuscule coins of these (and related) series, this is the one book to own. It is profusely illustrated with numerous specimens of every type, carefully selected and very clearly printed. Photos and explanatory line drawings abound. It has a plethora of tables giving the metrology (size and weight) of virtually all types listed. It presents, for the first time, many tables of metallic content for practically all coins in each series. It lists and analyses the contents of an impressive number of hoards. It maps the find-spots of these coins. More than a catalogue, it is a corpus, listing and discussing literally every type and variety known to the cataloguers. It is a significant primary resource, an irreplaceable reference work of high technical merit. Its historical background is simply the icing on the cake.

It has been noticed by many that parts of western India have always had a preference for small silver coins. Even in the recent eras of the universal Mughal and British Indian one-*tola* silver rupees, these regions preferred much smaller local *koris*. The preference of the Sind Amirs for even tinier silver coins of less than a gram apecis, has also been long remarked. However, the context, antecedents, purpose and influence of the miniscule coins was imperfectly understood until fairly recently. Tiny ‘three-dot’ coins started appearing in the market and started being published in very tentative ways by researchers in India and elsewhere. The authors of this book have upped the game considerably, by studying dozens of hoards containing thousands of coins, subjecting the coins to metrological and metallurgical analysis on a large scale. The resultant book is a major contribution to the numismatics of northwest India and Pakistan, especially the Punjab and Sind.

Alex Fishman has had first-hand access to numerous hoards of all these coins through commercial channels. Indeed, coin hoards distributed in the trade form the bulk of the evidence. Normally one would be critical of using un-provenanced groups of coins passing through private hands, but if one were to rely solely on official treasure trove reports for modern Pakistan, there would be nothing to study. With few exceptions, there has been virtually no publication of coins in Pakistani archaeological digs. The authors are careful to assess the reliability of whatever provenance testimony was available to them and make clear the limitations of this information.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, of which the most important sections are likely the following:

Chapter 2 explores the uniface Gandharan *dammas* (ca. 650 to 800 CE), which may have evolved from the Multani three-dot coins (Chapter 8), or the Yashaditya series (Chapter 4). It includes coins in the name of ‘Ranavigraha’ in two distinct types. The chapter’s main focus is the obscure, uniface, four-dot coinage. Some 35 different types are catalogued, most previously unpublished.

Chapter 4’s 40 pages examine the tiny coins of Yashaditya (previously published by Tye, Senior, Preper, Tandon and Fishman), with coins of three new rulers. A comprehensive analysis of style and metrology leads to the conclusion that the coins may be attributed to particular rulers of the Rai and Chach dynasties of Sind.

Chapter 5 deals with coins of the Caliphal province of Sind, ca. 712-854 CE. At 31 pages, it is a major study, based on close inspection of six coin hoards, comprising 8,500 coins, many of them tested for silver content. It had long been assumed that the first Islamic Sindhi *dammas* were minted by the Habbarid Amirs in the later 9th century CE. However, this chapter catalogues the coins of numerous governors, covering the entire period of gubernatorial rule of the Al-Sindh province from the Arab invasion, previously unattributed and unpublished.

Chapter 6 catalogues the coinage of Habbarid Sindh, ca. 854/55-1025 CE. Its 56 pages propose a completely new classification of the Habbarid series based on a three-mint model. Numerous discoveries are revealed for the first time. The catalogue of 48 coin types enables reconstruction of both a tentative genealogy and a broad chronology of the Habbarid Amirs.

Chapter 7 documents a strange and fairly extensive series of *dammas* conceivably minted in the last years of the Habbarid dynasty or perhaps by the early Soomras who succeeded them. The nine types listed are all previously unpublished.

Chapter 8, the largest in the book at 143 pages, examines in detail the ‘three-dot’ coinage of Multan, ca. 650-950 CE. Based on the close inspection of over 3,000 coins, it catalogues 80 distinct types issued by as many as 20 or more Amirs over three centuries. Tables of silver content and close attention to metrology, considerably enhance the catalogue of types and support the proposed sequencing and chronology.

Chapter 9 examines the Qarmatian-Isma’ili *dammas* from Multan issued from ca. 965-1010 CE, first catalogued by Nicholas Lowick. His typology is expanded with new discoveries.

Chapter 10 and 11 concern the Ghaznavid *dammas* issued after 998 CE. Although most of the Ghaznavid coins are well-studied and understood (and are outside the scope of this book), the tiny silver and billon *dammas* have received scant attention. Chapter 10 bases its typology on Goron & Goenka, while Chapter 11 introduces a fresh classification. Many new, unpublished and hitherto untranslated types appear in this chapter for the first time.
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In such a wealth of new and exciting types, it is difficult to focus on the most important. Clearly chapters 5 to 7 offer important observations on the coinage of early Arab Sind, offering a chronological and historical framework that considerably advances our knowledge. It proposes a three-mint model to help understand the complexity of the typology. Starting with a concordance with the prior listings of Album, Cribb and Bracey, it goes on to develop its own chronology, introducing many new coins in the process.

In my mind, by far the most important contribution of this book is the eighth chapter on ‘three-dot’ coins and their analogues. The pioneers in the field (Handa, Cribb, Bhandare, etc.) have established an interpretive framework under considerable difficulties, managing to decipher a large number (but not all) of the Kufic and Sarada legends. Fishman and Todd complete this task, bringing clarity to the coin legends. Given the tiny size of the coin flans, it is surprising that so few of the coins still resist conclusive reading.

But although the coins are read, what is one to make of the information they bear? The authors propose two scenarios: one involving a succession of nineteen rulers from a single mint, with many names repeating (Muhammad I, II, IV, for example). This is called the ‘linear arrangement’. The second scenario proposes multiple mints for a succession of only eleven rulers. This is called the ‘parallel issues’. In either event, their final ordering exactly reverses that proposed by Goron & Goenka.

These coins generally mix Arab and Indian names and/or titles. The book proposes three explanations for this situation: First, acknowledgement by the Islamic rulers (named in Arabic), of the religious beliefs of the majority of the population, by referring to Hindu deities in local temples (in Prakrit). A second explanation explains the Prakrit names as epithets of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperors, implying a subordinate relationship of the Multan rulers to the imperial neighbours on their eastern frontier. The third, preferred, explanation, is that the Prakrit name on each coin is the biruda (honorific) of the Amir himself. Without revealing the plot, it is recommended that the reader take up the volume to find the solution to the mystery.

No book can meet the expectations of all readers, and this is no exception. The period and region has attracted considerable academic attention, but it appears it is not the purpose of this book to contribute to this vein of scholarship. Considering its very rich narrative and interpretive structure, the book is very lightly annotated as to references. Long sections of historical summary give little or no guidance as to sources. The original works that are cited, have been carefully chosen for their utility in developing a chronological and political framework, but for the most part, are used uncritically.

Given the book’s purpose of identifying, organising, measuring, illustrating, analysing and interpreting such a great number of poorly-understood coin types, this can be forgiven. This is a highly capable technical work that presents a very large body of observations in a rigorous analytic framework. It provides a major body of new evidence and leaves considerable scope for future researchers to carry forward the historical and numismatic studies.

John Deyell

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