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ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Number 248 Summer 2022

A Letter from Your Secretary General

Dear ONS members,



In mid-March, I sent out a message to all members for whom we had an email address. This message will repeat some of the same information, so that I can reach all members, but it will also update my earlier message. Before I continue, however, I would like to appeal to those of you who have not yet

furnished your regional secretary with your email address to please do so without delay. Not only can the Society communicate quickly and easily with you via email, but we will also be able to inform you of upcoming meetings, many if not all of which will be accessible to you by Zoom.

My first very pleasant task is to welcome the new editor of the journal, Dr Paula Turner. Paula has been a member of the Society for over forty years and has had a lifelong fascination with ancient history and archaeology, which led to her PhD research into the Roman trade with India. She published part of this research in her book, *Roman Coins from India*, published jointly by the Institute of Archaeology and the Royal Numismatic Society in 1989 and she is currently preparing an updated edition of this. She has spent her working career in academic publishing and, in addition, has taught Latin and Classical Greek for many years. Please join me in welcoming Paula to her new role.

I would like to invite you to submit articles for possible publication in *JONS*. Articles can be full-length research papers or shorter contributions pointing to new discoveries or to interesting coins. We are also looking for book reviews; if you would like to see a book reviewed, please recommend it. Finally, we are thinking of starting a Letters to the Editor section in the journal. Send your contributions, letters or queries to Paula at onseditor@gmail.com. Also, if you submitted a paper earlier and it has not yet been published,

please re-submit it to Paula in case it has been misplaced or lost.

With Paula's assumption of the editorship, we can expect the journal to return to regular publication every three months and to expand again closer to the size it had attained under Stan Goron. You will find Paula to be responsive to your communications and can look forward to a much improved journal.

The Society plans to embark on a major new initiative: the creation of a website that would have the long-term goal of cataloguing all the coins and paper currency within the purview of the ONS. The site would afford members the opportunity to upload images and details of coins in their collections (whether anonymously or not, at the member's discretion) and would display the coins in a logical, pleasing manner for the visitor. The site could become not only a catalogue but also a database for researchers. I would also love to see it use pattern recognition technology to permit a visitor to upload images of a coin and request its identification. Finally, I envision a site which will also be a virtual museum, where visitors can browse the catalogue the way they might wander through a museum.

Initial response to this idea has been enthusiastic. Many of you wrote to me pointing out that the website Zeno.ru already does much of this. Of course, I am very aware of Zeno and use it regularly for my own research. I spoke to Vladimir Belyaev in February and we have agreed to work together. But this is not a project that can be accomplished in a couple of months. So stay tuned and be patient. I will try to keep you informed of our progress. If you have specific thoughts about and ideas on how to implement this vision, please write to me at secgen.ons@gmail.com.

I would also like to invite you to write to me at the same email address (secgen.ons@gmail.com) any time with your ideas on ways in which the Society can better serve your needs.

With warm regards,

Pankaj Tandon

Note from Your New Editor



I am delighted to have been asked to edit the *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*.

We would like to think that the journal is first port of call for anyone finding or recording new oriental numismatic material, and it is our members who make this possible.

We now have an excellent Advisory

Panel for the journal consisting of leading scholars in their fields. The panel members are listed on the inside front cover. We aim to seek their advice and help, both with reviewing all submissions and also with commissioning. We have a

very wide remit, both in terms of the periods covered and the geographical areas, and inevitably some areas and periods receive more attention than others. Please get in touch, and let us know if you feel there are series that have not received sufficient attention.

The International Numismatic Congress will be meeting in Warsaw this September. We are planning a small meeting, so if anyone from the Society is going, do let Joe Cribb know.

Please get in touch, whether by submitting articles or offering news items or Letters to the Editor. I am looking forward to working on *JONS* and to hearing from you.

We have an interesting array of articles this time and some good reports of ONS meetings, so I hope you enjoy them.

Paula Turner

onseditor@gmail.com

Audumbara Coins with New Features and Disposition of Legends

Devendra Handa

Abstract The Audumbaras, who occupied the plains of Pathankot in Punjab and the hilly region of Kangra, Palampur, Jwalamukhi and Hamirpur of Himachal Pradesh, issued bilingual square copper coins during the second to first century BC under three of their rulers, named Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha. They showed on the obverse a temple with trident/battleaxe on its right or left with a wavy line below and Brāhmī legend *mahadevasa raña Śivadāsasa/ Rudradāsasa/ Dharaghoshasa/ Odu(m)barisa*, and on the reverse the forepart of an elephant to the left facing a tree in railing with wavy line below and similar Kharoṣṭhī legend. Only Dharaghosha struck round silver coins, which are very rare. A new hoard of more than 450 square pieces discovered some time during the last quarter of 2019 contains coins showing new features and varied dispositions of the legends.

The Audumbaras, known also as Udumbaras and Odumbaras, were one of the oldest tribes of ancient India. Pāṇini refers to them under the *rājanya* (ruling) class of people in his *gaṇapāṭha* (*rājanyādibhyo vuñ*). They ruled over parts of the present-day region of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh which included

Pathankot, Kangra, Palampur, Jwalamukhi and Hamirpur areas as a republican state during the second to first century BC. Their rulers named Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha and Śivaghosha are known from their square and apsidal copper coins generally showing a temple with trident/battleaxe by its side bearing the Brāhmī legend *mahadevasa raña* on top, king's name (*śivadāsasa, rudradāsasa* or *dharaghoshasa*) on the right and the tribal name *odu(m)barisa* on the left with an undulating line below on the obverse, and a tree in railing with forepart of an elephant to left on the right showing the Kharoṣṭhī legend on top, left and right on the reverse (figure 1, 1–7). Coins with complete legends are very rare and the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends being generally fragmentary and worn out are restored on cumulative evidence. Some rare varieties of the coins of Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa also show a small figure of lion to right facing the tree in railing on the reverse. Dharaghosha issued round silver coins of a different type (figure 1.8) which are quite rare and are known only from a few specimens.

The square copper coins attributed to the Audumbaras known up to now have shown the following legend pattern.



Figure 1 Audumbara coins: 1, anonymous (Cunningham (1891), 68, pl. 6.2); 2–3 Śivadāsa (Handa (2007), pl. VI nos 2 and 4); 4–6 Rudradāsa (Handa (2007), pl. VI no. 3 and (Handa (2013), p. 24 b); 7, Dharaghosha copper (Handa (2007) pl. VII no. 2) and 8, silver (Allan (1936) pl. XIV no. 14)

| Serial No. | Legend details | Kharoṣṭhī | Brāhmī |
|------------|-------------------|-----------|----------|
| (a) | (mahadevasa raña) | Above | Above |
| (b) | Name of issuer | On left | On right |
| (c) | Name of the tribe | On right | On left |

Recently Jeevandeep Singh of Ludhiana informed me of the discovery of a hoard of unknown provenance containing more than 450 square or rectangular (also some oddly shaped) copper coins of the Audumbaras some time in December 2019, many of which subsequently reached various individuals. He sent me some scans of coins which show some new features and also some variations from the general pattern. Other pieces from this hoard have also come to my notice and are being published here.

Very interesting among the scans forwarded by Jeevandeep Singh are two coins of Rudradāsa (figure 2) bearing the usual device of a temple with a trident/battleaxe on right and undulating river line below, and a vertically placed Brāhmī legend *Rudradāsasa* along the right edge on the obverse, but showing the forepart of the elephant on left walking towards the tree in railing in front and traces of the legend above and on left with undulating line below on the reverse.



Figure 2 Coins of Rudradāsa from the new hoard (Jeevandeep Singh collection)

These are the first specimens that have come to light showing the elephant facing to right and are thus an addition to the coin types of Rudradāsa. The depiction of the elephant on the first coin is very realistic and lively. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse of the first coin is not clear except the name of the issuer along the right edge though traces of the Kharoṣṭhī legend along the upper and left edges on the reverse indicate that the name existed on the left edge from top to bottom and the usual regal title *mahadevasa raña* may have been there on top from right to left. On the second coin the temple is very clear and the trident/battleaxe and issuer's name above along the right edge have survived in traces. On the reverse of this piece the Kharoṣṭhī legend on top and along the right margin has survived though not very clearly indicating the adoption of the usual pattern as noted above.

Another coin of Rudradāsa has been double-struck rather carelessly on both sides (figure 3).



Figure 3 Double-struck Rudradāsa coin from the new hoard (Jeevandeep Singh collection)

The upper part of the temple with trident/battleaxe attached to it on the right has been struck on the obverse twice, the second time by turning the planchet upside down. The reverse, however, is better preserved and shows traces of the forepart of the elephant on the left facing the tree in railing with Kharoṣṭhī legend *mahadevasa raña* above and *Rudradāsasa* from top to bottom on the left edge covering the impression of the earlier strike which may be seen by turning the coin upside down showing the reversed Kharoṣṭhī legend *mahadevasa raña* with traces of truncated letters on the right edge.

Another piece representing the reverse side shows the head and trunk of the elephant to left facing the tree in railing with small figure of lion also turned to right towards the tree in railing (figure 4). The Kharoṣṭhī legend on top *Mahadevasa raña* is also visible but the jumbled legend and vertical wavy line on left part of the coin indicate that it was struck on an earlier piece.



Figure 4 Restruck coin from the new hoard with lion (Jeevandeep Singh collection)

A coin of Rudradāsa in the lot may be distinguished as showing a tasselled trident/battleaxe very stylistically with its outer spikes turned inwards towards the central spike which has a lance head. The battleaxe is attached to the shaft on right. Though the title *mahadevasa raña* in Brāhmī characters on the top is completely gone, *Odu(m)barisa* from top to bottom on left and *Rudradāsasa* on right may be made out. The reverse shows the forepart of the elephant with trunk hanging down away from the forelegs. Traces of the tree in railing, undulating line below and parts of the Kharoṣṭhī legend – *barisa* along the right and *dāsasa* along the left edge have survived.



Figure 5 Coin from the new hoard with tasselled trident (Jeevandeep Singh collection)

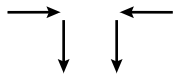
Sanjeev Chagti possesses a square copper Audumbara coin (3.0 g, 17 mm) which shows on the obverse the Brāhmī legend

(ra)ña Odu(m)barisa in the top line above the central device of temple and filleted trident/battleaxe to its right and the issuer's name Śivadāsa along the right edge placed vertically and to be read from inside from top to bottom by turning it to 90°. For the first time we see the regal title raña prefixed to the tribal name and placed in the top line. The reverse also shows the Kharoṣṭhī legend raña Odu(m)barisa (sa is out of flan) in the top line above the forepart of the elephant to the left, tree in railing in the centre and small figure of lion to the right on its left. The legend as well as the devices on the reverse have been clearly struck. The title Mahadevasa is missing on both the sides of this coin.

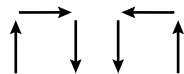


Figure 6 Śivadāsa coin from the new hoard with small lion (Sanjeev Chagti collection)

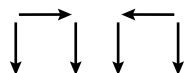
If the title mahadevasa was really missing on both the sides as also indicated by raña Odu(m)barisa on the top line of both the sides, this coin would indicate that it was struck in the beginning of Śivadāsa's reign before he assumed the title of mahadevasa raña. It would further imply that he was the first important ruler of the dynasty after the issuer of the rectangular coin showing the Vaishnava temple flanked by svastika- and chakra-dhvaja with Kharoṣṭhī legend at the bottom, on the reverse of which Cunningham could read only the name of the tribe Odumbara (figure 1.1). When he took over, the legend pattern had not been set and he struck coins adopting the legend pattern of



for obverse (on left) and reverse (on right). It represents a shorter version of the legend and raña Odu(m)barisa on the top line of both the sides betrays deviation from the set pattern of known Audumbara coins, probably implying greater importance for the name of the tribe. If we presume that the title Mahadevasa though not accommodated on the flan may have originally been there, the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends would betray the following patterns, mahadevsa / raña Odu(m)barisa / Śivadāsasa



There are, however, coins issued by Śivadāsa showing the set pattern of the legend as indicated above. After being firmly established and probably having made some achievements, he assumed the title of mahadevasa raña and set the legend pattern of mahadevasa raña/ Śivadāsasa / Odu(m)barisa, i.e., titles mahadevasa raña in the top line, tribal and issuer's name put vertically from top to bottom on right and left and vice versa for Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī.



This pattern was generally followed by his successors also.

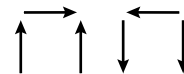
The presence of lion on the reverse of Śivadāsa's coins, though rare, is known earlier also and may be explained as resulting from Śivadāsa's devotion to Śiva's spouse Durgā also. Coins of this type seem to have been issued by him on the occasion of the construction or consecration of Durgā temples.

Sanjeev Chagti's collection contains another interesting coin, though it is very worn, lamentably.



Figure 7 Worn Śivadāsa coin from the new hoard (Sanjeev Chagti collection)

The obverse shows as usual the temple with filleted trident/battleaxe on its right, though the undulating river line below is visible only in traces. The Brāhmī legend mahadevasa raña is above the temple and trident/battleaxe has survived only in traces (the first letter ma is out of flan and ha is partially accommodated). The name of Śivadāsa, along the right edge from the bottom upwards to be read from the outside by turning the coin at a right angle, is interesting. Such an occurrence of the name of the issuer in Brāhmī has not been witnessed on any Audumbara coin known earlier. The reverse shows the forepart of the elephant to left facing the tree in railing with undulating line below. It is difficult to read the Kharoṣṭhī legend mahadevasa raña above and (Śiva)dāsasa on left completely but maha- in the top line and traces of -vadāsasa on the left edge furnish sufficient evidence to restore the legend. The right edge has preserved Odu(m)barisa from top to bottom which may be made out with certainty. The coin thus shows that the disposition of the obverse and reverse legends was



which varies from the known pattern. These coins thus betray the experimental stage of the evolution of Audumbara coins under Śivadāsa.

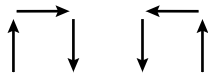
Amit Udeshi has procured a piece from the above-mentioned hoard weighing 3.06 g which shows to the left of the central temple device the first four letters of the Brāhmī title mahādeva(sa) along the left edge from bottom upwards, i.e. to be read from inside by turning the coin 90°. Interestingly the letters ha and da show vowel marks which we generally find missing on most specimens. The available space does not permit us to assume that the regal title raña was placed in

continuation of *mahādevasa*; it may have been out of flan or continued with the tribal name on the top line. The upper part of the obverse, however, is badly worn, obliterating the top line of the legend as well as the top portions of the trident battleaxe and temple. The Kharoṣṭhī legend in the top line of the reverse indicates that the title *rañā* followed *Odu(m)barisa*. Even the right side of the obverse has lost the legend which may have been there in the original die and carried the name of the issuer as suggested by the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse. The reverse has preserved traces of the forepart of the elephant to left and tree in railing in the centre but the Kharoṣṭhī legend in the top line reading *Odu(m)barisa rañā* and the vertically placed name of the issuer *Dharaghosha(sa)* from top to bottom on the left to be read from inside is very clear, suggesting that the obliterated right side on the obverse may have carried the name of the issuer. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that no Audumbara coin and none of Dharaghosha bearing such a legend pattern was known before, making it a unique piece.



Figure 8 Coin of Dharaghosha from the new hoard (Amit Udeshi collection)

The legend pattern for Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī thus seems to have been *mahādevasa/ odu(m)barisa rañā / oharaghoshasa*.



It is interesting to note that this legend pattern corresponds to the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legend patterns of the Attic standard square hemidrachms and square module coins of Apollodotos I (Bopearachchi (1991), Apollodote I, serie 3A and 6 GU; (1993), 70–1). The Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends on Dharaghosha's silver coins match with the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends of the coins of Menander I and Agathocleia (Bopearachchi (1993), 30). Dharaghosha may have struck his coins when the coins of the above-mentioned Indo-Greeks were well known in the region. The prevalence of these Indo-Greek coins in Punjab and Himachal is attested from discoveries of them at several sites in Punjab and in Sarol, Lachori, Jwalamukhi and Tappamewa hoards in Himachal Pradesh (Gupta (1988), 6–9). The disposition of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends on Dharaghosha's coins also match the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends of some of the coins of Menander,



corroborating further that these coins were issued when Menander's coins were well known in the region.

The coins described above thus reveal that as far as the obverse is concerned, the Brāhmī title *mahadevasa* could be put on the left, *rañā odu(m)barisa* on the top and issuer's name on the right of the coin, the last one from the bottom upwards also, and on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī titles *rañā mahadevasa* could be placed in the top line, issuer's name along the left edge vertically to be read from top to bottom from the inside, and the tribal name *Odu(m)barisa* along the right edge vertically to be read from top to bottom from the outside. These variations of the legend pattern of square copper Audumbara coins have been noticed here for the first time. Śivadāsa seems to have experimented with the disposition of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends before finally settling it on the pattern of Menander's coins, which may have been well known to the people at that time. Śivadāsa was succeeded by Rudradāsa, who issued the largest number of coins and probably had the longest reign. Dharaghosha too made the innovation of putting the title *mahadevasa* along the left edge from the bottom upwards on the obverse but finally adopted the legend pattern of some of Menander's coin types.

Acknowledgement

I am thankful to Sarvashri Jeevandeep Singh, Sanjeev Chagti and Amit Udeshi for kindly supplying me with scans of their coins and permitting me to publish them. The coins of figure 1 have been copied from the plates of my book on tribal coins. The illustrated coins are not to scale.

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A Hoard Parcel of Late Kushan Gold Dinars

Joe Cribb and K. K. Maheshwari

Abstract In the early 1990s this parcel of late Kushan coins belonging to a Kashmiri collector was recorded. It has the appearance of a hoard or part of a hoard. As such hoards are exceptionally scarce it seems worthy of publication, even though the location of its discovery is no longer known. It is likely that it was in the family of the collector for many generations, so its provenance cannot be determined, nevertheless it is of value because it documents the composition of currency at the end of the Kushan period. The parcel consists of 27 gold dinars inscribed in Brāhmī with the monogram Shaka (*śaka* or *śāka*) and three gold dinars with the monogram Kipunadha (*kipunadhā*).

Catalogue of the 'Kashmiri collector hoard' of 30 late Kushan gold dinars

Shaka gold dinars

All Shaka gold dinars have the same design, with minor variations of detail according to their mint and place in the sequence of issue. They were issued at two gold mints and can be divided into two phases, reflecting the shift in their main inscription from *śaka* to *śāka*.

Obverse King, head surrounded by halo, wearing Kushan court dress, overcoat over tunic and leggings, and dotted headdress with diadem ties, surmounted by crescent, holding sceptre with ribbons and a three-dot finial in raised left hand and making offering with right hand over small fire altar. Ribbioned trident above altar. Traces of Bactrian inscription $\text{PAONANO PAO KO\text{P}ANO PAO}$ around perimeter of designs, anticlockwise from 11.00, Brāhmī monograms and letters in field.

Reverse Goddess Ardochsho, head surrounded by halo, seated on high-backed throne with three turned legs visible and single or double upright on right, wearing ankle-length dress, holding cornucopia in left hand resting on lap and diadem in extended right hand. Kushan royal tamga in field above right hand. Traces of Bactrian inscription APAOXPO in right field.

Mint A, second phase

Obverse Brāhmī control marks:

right field, *śāka*; under king's left arm, *sita*; by fire altar, *vi*

Reverse Throne with single upright between cornucopia and Bactrian inscription



1 7.63 g, 19.18 mm, die axis 12:30



2 7.72 g, 19.45 mm, die axis 12:30



3 7.63 g, 18.40 mm, die axis 1:00

Mint B first phase

Obverse Brāhmī control marks:

right field, *śaka*; under king's left arm, *sita*; by fire altar, *vi*

Reverse Throne with double upright on right



4 7.75 g, 20 mm, die axis 1:00



5 7.630 g, 18 mm, die axis 12:00



6 7.650 g, 19 mm, die axis 1:00 (same obverse die as no. 19)



7 7.580 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:30



8 7.65 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:00



9 7.60 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:00 (same obverse die as no. 23)



10 7.72 g, 19.5 mm, die axis 12:30



11 7.78 g, 19.5 mm, die axis 12:00



12 7.57 g, 20 mm, die axis 1:00



13 7.61 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:30



14 7.57 g, 19 mm, die axis 11:30



15 7.58 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:30 (triple ribbon on sceptre)



16 7.71 g, 18 mm, die axis 12:00



17 7.78 g, 19 mm, die axis 1:00



18 7.66 g, 19 mm, die axis 00:00



19 7.56 g, 18.5 mm, die axis 12:30 (same obverse die as no. 6)



20 7.7 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:00



21 7.57 g, 19.5 mm, die axis 12:00



22 7.67 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:00



23 7.69 g, 18.5 mm, die axis 12:00 (same obverse die as no. 9)



24 7.62 g, 19.5 mm, die axis 1:00



25 7.64 g, 19 mm, die axis 12



26 7.67 g, 19 mm, die axis 12:00 (variety with miswritten Brāhmī, under king's arm, *si* in place of *sita*, probably a die engraver's error)

Mint B second phase

Obverse Brāhmī control marks:

right field, *śāka* (cursive *śā*); under king's left arm, *sita* (dot below); by fire altar, *bha*

Reverse Throne with double upright between cornucopia and Bactrian inscription. Goddess's diadem ribbons marked with laddering.



27 7.59 g, 18.5 mm, die axis 1:00

Kipunadha gold dinars

All Kipunadha gold dinars have the same design, with minor variations of detail according to their sequence of issue. They were issued at a single gold mint (following on from Shaka's mint B) and can be divided into two phases, reflecting the change in control mark under the king's arm from *bhadra* to *basata*.

Obverse King wearing Kushan court dress, overcoat over tunic and leggings, and dotted headdress with diadem ties and loop, holding sceptre in raised left hand and making offering with right hand over small fire altar. Ribbioned trident above altar. Brāhmī monograms and letters in field.

Reverse Goddess Ardochsho, head surrounded by halo, seated on high-backed throne with three turned legs visible and double upright on right, wearing ankle-length dress, holding cornucopia in left hand resting on lap and diadem with laddered ribbons in extended right hand. Kushan royal tamga in field above right hand.

Mint B first phase

Obverse Brāhmī control marks:

right field, *kipuṇaḍha*; under king's left arm, *bhadra*



28 7.72 g, 18 mm, die axis 12:00

Mint B second phase

Obverse Brāhmī control marks:

right field, *kipuṇaḍha*; under king's left arm, *basata*; by fire altar, *na*



29 7.64 g, 18.5 mm, die axis 12:00



30 7.66 g, 19 mm, die axis 11:30

The issuers of these coins have been variously described in past literature, but are now recognized as Kushan kings. The monograms in the right field can be understood as the names of their issuers as they are part of a sequence of coins which include such monograms, beginning with the monogram *Vasu* (*vasu*) on

coins inscribed with the name of the Kushan king Vasudeva II in Bactrian: BAZOΔHO, followed by coins with the Brāhmī monograms Meshra (*meśra*) and Mahi (*mahi*) and then by the coins of the types in this parcel. It is deduced that the monogram Vasu is an abbreviated version of the name of Vasudeva and therefore that the following names are also abbreviations of the names of the kings issuing these coins. This deduction is confirmed by the Kidarite Hun coins which follow, gold dinars in the Kushan style inscribed with Brāhmī monograms two of which can be confirmed as rulers' names from other evidence of the period. The monograms on the Kidarite Hun coins are *kirada*, *peroyśa*, *kidara* and *samudra*, two of which are known from other coins and from other sources to be the names of rulers: *kidara* is the name of the Kidarite Hun king Kidara, known from Chinese and Greek sources (Cribb 2010) and *samudra*, the abbreviation of the name of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. AD 330–85) as used on his Indian coins. The monogram *peroyśa* represents the Iranian name Peroz. For convenience's sake the Kushan kings only known from their monograms are conventionally known as Mahi, Shaka and Kipunadha, even though there may have been second parts to their names.

Although these monograms might be abbreviations of the names of the issuing kings, as yet they represent the only certain evidence of their names. Their identification as Kushan kings is based on their issue of coins in continuity from the issues of earlier kings known from other sources, mostly contemporary inscriptions, to be the successors of the first Kushan rulers, identified by their coins and by inscriptions mentioning them to be members of the Kushan dynasty. Apart from the coins with monograms associated with the Kidarite Huns, only one other coin series with a monogram can be considered non-Kushan. These are the coins with the monogram *meśra*, which are thought to be the issues of a usurper called Meshra, as they show a ruler who wears non-Kushan dress.

On the basis of the deductions outlined above a Kushan king list can be constructed which runs from Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushan ruler down to Kipunadha the thirteenth and an approximate chronology can be assigned to them (Cribb 2018, and table 1 here). This chronology suggests that the king with the monogram *śaka* or *śāka* is likely to be the Kushan king, identified as such by his titles 'king of kings' and 'son of god' who is named as *śaka* in the Allahabad inscription of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta (Bhandarkar and Chhabra 1981, 213, 218). Although the value of the initial letter is different, the different renderings in Brāhmī both represent the sound *sh* (as in Kushan) both transcribed as *ṣ* in Bactrian, so were subject to the interpretation of the transcriber. If the Allahabad inscription is interpreted in one way the second part of Shaka's name could be *murunda* (Cribb 2018, p. 11).

The hoard parcel therefore dates from the mid-fourth century in the period when the Kushan empire was in its final days as the Kidarite Huns, the Sasanian emperor Shapur II (AD 309–79) and the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 330–80) were eroding what remained of its territory in the Punjab. Kipunadha's coinage was restricted to a single mint, which had previously been the second mint under his predecessor and his coinage became progressively debased. By the end of his reign the gold content of his coinage had almost disappeared. The parcel contains early coins of that final stage as the latest coins still retain their gold appearance and probably contain about 50 per cent gold.

Table 1 Kushan king list with approximate dates

| <i>king</i> | <i>Brāhmī monogram of name</i> | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1 Kujula Kadphises | | c. 50–90 |
| 2 Wima Takto | | c. 90–113 |
| 3 Wima Kadphises | | c. 113–27 |
| 4 Kanishka I | | c. 127–51 |
| 5 Huvishka | | c. 151–90 |
| 6 Vasudeva I | | c. 190–230 |
| 7 Kanishka II | | c. 230–46 |
| 8 Vasishka | | c. 246–67 |
| 9 Kanishka III | | c. 267–72 |
| 10 Vasudeva | <i>vasu</i> | c. 267–97 |
| 11 Mahi | <i>mahi</i> | c. 297–302 |
| 12 Shaka | <i>śaka</i> or <i>śāka</i> | c. 302–42 |
| 13 Kipunadha | <i>kipuṇadha</i> | c. 342–52 |

The coinages of Shaka and Kipunadha can be attributed to two mints, A and B, on the basis of their use of monograms and the details of their designs. From the end of the reign of Vasudeva II, the two Kushan gold mints can be distinguished by the throne on their reverses, mint A showing the throne with a single upright on the right and mint B showing a double upright. At the beginning of the reign of his successor Mahi, mint B continued in production, but mint A was taken over by Meshra until returned to Kushan control before the end of Mahi's reign. Under Shaka both mints were active and then under Kipunadha only mint B was in action. The loss of gold mint A could have been the consequence of the Kidarite Hun invasion of Kushan territory. Apart from the monogram naming the king, the Kushan mints used other monograms and single letters as control marks, which also help to establish the sequence of issues and the attribution to mints (see table 2).

There are two comparable hoards of late Kushan gold coins finishing in the reign of Kipunadha (table 3). One found at Sargodha in the Punjab in 1970 and now stored in the Lahore Museum consisted of coins of the last three Kushan kings Mahi, Shaka and Kipunadha (Mitterwallner 1991) and the other acquired by London coin dealers from a Pakistani vendor in 1971 (Mitchiner 1975). The Sargodha hoard contained 38 coins of the last three Kushan rulers and the Pakistani trade hoard contained 120 coins of the last phase of Kipunadha's coinage and Kidarite issues in the name of Samudra. The Samudra coins can be identified as Kidarite issues by the crown worn by the ruler depicted, who wears the crown of Kidara (Cribb 2010). Some related coins were found in the Taxila excavation by John Marshall (1951) and republished by Gul Rahim Khan (2008). The Kashmir collector's hoard seems to have had a similar provenance.

Five hoards have been reported which finish in the reign of Shaka, two from Rustam in northern Gandhāra of 29 and 11 coins (Khan et al. 2013) and two from Bannu district to the southwest of Gandhāra of 23 and 12 coins (Burns 1985, 56–7) and the fifth from Dada Fatepur, Khetri, Jhunjhun District, Rajasthan, India, of 10 coins (Pokharna 1981). Mobin Ahmad of Islamabad has also reported over the last few years images of similar finds of the same period found in Pakistan. He saw these as they passed in trade and shared the provenances as reported by their owners.

Although the lack of provenance of the Kashmir collector's hoard parcel limits the evidence it provides about coin

Table 2 Mint attribution and sequence of Shaka and Kipunadha's gold dinars

| <i>Mint</i> | <i>Phase</i> | <i>Obverse, king's hand</i> | <i>Right, outer field</i> | <i>Right, under king's arm</i> | <i>Left, by altar</i> | <i>Reverse, throne upright</i> | <i>Reverse, diadem ribbons</i> | <i>No. in Kashmir collector hoard</i> | <i>Göbl 1984 reference</i> |
|------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Shaka | | | | | | | | | |
| A | i | open | <i>ṣaka</i> | <i>me</i> | - | single | plain | | 579 |
| | | | <i>ṣaka</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>kho</i> | | | | 580 |
| | | | <i>ṣaka</i> | <i>pa</i> | - | | | | 581 |
| | ii | closed | <i>ṣāka</i> | <i>bha</i> | <i>vi</i> | | | 3 | 583, 584 |
| | | | <i>ṣāka</i> | <i>sita</i> | <i>vi</i> | | | | — |
| | | | <i>ṣāka</i> | <i>sya</i> | <i>bha</i> | | | | 586 |
| | | | <i>ṣāka</i> | <i>sya</i> | <i>vi</i> | | | | 585 |
| | i | closed | <i>ṣaka</i> | <i>bhṛi</i> | - | double | plain | | 589 |
| | | | <i>ṣaka</i> | <i>sita</i> | <i>vi</i> | | | | 23 |
| | | ii | closed | <i>ṣāka</i> | <i>sita</i> | <i>bha</i> | | laddered | 1 |
| <i>ṣāka</i> | | | | <i>sita</i> | <i>ja</i> | — | | | |
| <i>ṣāka</i> | | | | <i>sya</i> | <i>bha</i> | 592, 594 | | | |
| Kipunadha | | | | | | | | | |
| B | i | closed | <i>kipuṇaḍha</i> | <i>bhadra</i> | — | double | laddered | 1 | 595 |
| | ii | | | <i>basata</i> | <i>na</i> | | | | 2 |

circulation in the late Kushan period, the other recorded provenances add a little insight into the possible location of the mints. The Sargodha hoard from the central Punjab contained only coins from gold mint B, suggesting that this mint might be located in the Punjab. The predominantly mint B finds reported from Taxila in the northern Punjab by Marshall (1951) and Khan (2008) link it to the Sargodha hoard. The Kashmir collector parcel is predominantly coins from gold mint B, with only 10 per cent of its content from Shaka's mint A, suggesting that it might also have been found in the Punjab. The Jhunjhunu hoard found in Rajasthan can also be linked with the territory of mint B as its final coins seems to have come from the Kushan territory nearest to Rajasthan, i.e. the Punjab. Mitchiner's Pakistani trade hoard only contains coins from the period after the Kashmir collector hoard when only one Kushan mint (B) was in operation, so its findspot could also relate to the Punjab. The Samudra coins identify their issuer with Gandhāra (*gadakhra*), but it is not possible to deduce from this where their mint was, as contemporary Kidārite coins of Kirada and Peroz also use the same association (*gadakhara*), so it is difficult to understand what this means.

The two hoards from Rustam (Khan et al. 2013) both consist primarily of coins from mint A, suggesting that it might have been located in Gandhāra. This is corroborated by the finds of mint A coins reported by Ahmad from Mardan in Gandhāra and Swat to its north, and those reported by Burns from Bannu to its south-west.

This tentatively suggests that until the reign of Kipunadha there was a Kushan mint (A) located in Gandhara and another (B) located in the Punjab. The main cities in these two regions were Peshawar in Gandhāra and Taxila in the Punjab, so perhaps these were the locations of the mints at this period. It also suggests the possibility that as the Kidārites took over territory from the Kushans in the reign of Kipunadha, they first took Gandhāra including the location of mint A and only took the northern Punjab including the location of mint B at the end of his reign.

By publishing this hoard it is hoped that other such hoards

and parcels continue to be documented so that a clearer picture of the circulation of coins in the late Kushan period and that the location of the mints proposed here can be substantiated. From such evidence a more precise understanding of where the final stages of Kushan rule took place can be established.

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Table 3 Comparison of the Kashmir collector hoard parcel with the other reported hoards of the period

| <i>Ruler</i> | <i>Mint</i> | <i>Phase</i> | <i>Brāhmī</i> | <i>Kashmir collector hoard</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>8</i> | <i>9</i> | <i>10</i> | <i>11</i> | <i>12</i> |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| MINT A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vasudeva I | A | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| Vasishka | A | 2 | <i>chu-ma-thā</i> | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | |
| | | 3 | <i>chu-ga-va</i> | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| | | | <i>chu-khu-va</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Vasudeva II | A | 1 | <i>vasu-khu-vi</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | | 2 | <i>vasu-sa-vi</i> | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 3 | | |
| | | 3 | <i>vasu-ga-bha</i> | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | | 4 | <i>vasu-ga-bha</i> | | | | 1 | | | 5 | | 6 | | 1 | | |
| | | 4 | <i>vasu-ga-vi</i> | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | | | | | |
| | | 4 | <i>vasu-ga</i> | | | | | | | 4 | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| Meshra | A | 1 | <i>meśra-ga</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Mahi | A | 1 | <i>mahi-me</i> | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Shaka | A | 1 | <i>śaka-mi-kho</i> | | | | | | | 4 | 5 | 1 | | 2 | | |
| | | | <i>śaka-mi</i> | | | | | | | 3 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | |
| | | | <i>śaka-pa</i> | | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | c. 12 |
| | | 2 | <i>śāka-sita-vi</i> | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | 23 | |
| MINT B | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mahi | B | 1 | <i>mahi-pu</i> | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shaka | B | 1 | <i>śaka-bhṛi</i> | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| | | 1 | <i>śaka-sita-vi</i> | 23 | | | | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | | | | |
| | | 2 | <i>śāka-sya-bha</i> | 1 | 20 | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| Kipunadha | B | 1 | <i>kipuṇadha-bhadra</i> | 1 | 16 | | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2 | <i>kipuṇadha-basata</i> | 2 | | 107 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| MINT C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Samudra | C | 1 | <i>samudra-gadakhra-pu</i> | | | 13 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Totals | | | | 30 | 38 | 120 | 7 | 2 | 10 | 29 | 11 | 9 | 3 | 11 | 23 | 12 |

Notes

- 1 Sargodha hoard 1970, Mitterwallner (1991)
2 Mitchiner hoard parcel, Mitchiner (1975), 3
3 Taxila excavations Taxila excavation finds, Marshall (1951), vol. 2, 821–2, (the Taxila Museum also has four more unprovenanced coins of the period: 1 Vasudeva II, mint A phase 4 and 1 Kipunadha phase 1 and 2 phase 2, Khan (2008), 52–55, 58 and 60)
4 Swabi 2021, and, information from Mobin Ahmad (Islamabad) re hoard parcel seen in trade, images supplied, but not of sufficient quality to be illustrated
5 Jhunjhunu hoard 1975, Pokharna (1981)
6–7 Rustam hoards A and B, Khan et al. (2013)
8 Mardan 2022, information as for no. 4
9 Swat 2012 information as for no. 4
10 Swat 2021 information as for no. 4
11–12 Bannu hoards A and B, Burns (1985)

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New Gold Coins of the Paramāra King Jagadeva

Deme Raja Reddy

Abstract A hoard of 30 gold coins of the Paramāra king Jagadeva was found in the Adilabad district of Telangana. The coins have four symbols punched on them, including a lingam symbol with ten dots, and they may represent a new type.

A hoard of 30 gold coins of the Paramāra king Jagadeva was found in the Adilabad district of Telangana, roughly halfway between Hyderabad and Nagpur, which was deposited with the state museum at Hyderabad on 9 August 1960. The Paramāras, a Rajput dynasty, ruled an area centred on Malwa in central India from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, so this find is on the edge of their territories.

The gold coins, often called *gadyāṇa*, have four symbols punched on the periphery of the coins; similar coins have also been reported from other areas (Bankar and Somkuwar 2009). Based on the legends and symbols Bankar and Somkuwar divided the Jagadeva coins into seven types and the coins from this hoard are similar to types V and VI, but with marks that are better struck and clearer to read than the earlier published examples. These coins may represent a new type.

One of the marks is like a lingam on a pedestal; it is well known that the Paramāras were Shaivites in their faith. There are 10 dots inside the lingam symbol and their meaning is not clear. Bankar and Somkuwar described the symbol as a 'temple'. The legend, in the Nāgarī script of the period, confirms the coins in the name of the king Jagadeva and the meaning of two other similar marks with four dots inside is not known.

Description of the coins



Coin no. 6, gold punch-marked *gadyāṇa* 03203 3.74 g, 2.0 cm

Obverse Four symbols, one with the legend *śrī jagadeva* (Sanskrit *śrī jagadeva*), are punched on the periphery of the planchet. One is a lingam on a pedestal with dots inside the lingam and around it; there are ten dots on every coin. The other two symbols are similar designs of a two-lined arc on a flat base with four dots inside.

Reverse Blank

Legend on coin no. 6



śrī ja ga de va

शी ज ग दे व

Discussion

Jagadeva was the son of Paramāra king Udayaditya (1070–86 AD) and he was made mahamandaleshvara (Sanskrit *mahāmandaleśvara*) of Kollipaka province by Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI (1076–1126 AD). There are ten inscriptions regarding Jagadeva found at Kolanupaka, Vemulavada, Sanigaram, Jainad, Doingaragaon and Medapalli dated to the years 1104–12 AD. The majority of these refer to him as mandaleshvara of Kollipaka and one from Jainad has him as a king. Inscriptions prove that Jagadeva was at Kollipaka during the years 1104–08 AD (Parabrahma Sastry 1965; 1978). Later Jagadeva declared his independence and issued coins in his own name. How long he was an independent king is not known but it must be sometime before 1116 AD when Kakatiya king Prola II repelled the Jagadeva's attack on Anumakonda and Jagadeva had to flee Telangana. He seems to have continued as a king in other areas of central India but not south of Godavari and Telangana. Thakur (2011–12) described 554 Jagadeva coins from a large hoard of from Chanaka. Some of these coins were of the types described by Bankar and Somkuwar and the number of dots vary suggesting that they may indicate the regnal year of Jagadeva.

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Coins from the Adilabad hoard of Paramāra coins, shown at approximately 1½ times actual size (photographs courtesy Heritage Telangana)

A Preliminary and Metallurgical Study on the Chola, Chinese and Venad coins from Thankasseri, Kollam

Hari Sankar B. and Sarath Chandra Babu

Abstract Coins are part of the source material for historical studies, which helps explain the economic, social, and political factors of the past formations. A large number of coins, more than ten thousand, have been collected by many institutions and individuals, mainly Chinese coins with a few coins of the Cholas and from Venad, while dredging at Thankasseri in the Kollam district. A few experts have carried out a preliminary study on the Chinese coins. However, there is limited study on the metallurgy of these coins. This paper attempts to study metallurgy using XRF (X-ray fluorescence) and identification of some of the coins. The XRF result is then be compared with known metallurgical studies. Descriptions of the coins are also included here.

In 2014 the Kerala Council for Historical Research (KCHR) carried out a salvage exploration in the Vaddi area of Kollam port and recovered a few artefacts, including Chinese ceramics and bronze coins and turquoise-glazed pottery from Mesopotamia. Chinese coins and artefacts were recovered along with very few Chola and Venad coins while dredging in the Thankasseri coastal area (Wang, Ji and Cherian 2014, 135). The Chinese experts from Palace Museum and KCHR identified and catalogued the coins as Chinese (1,215) and Chola (10). The Chinese coins mostly belong to the tenth to fourteenth centuries, but a few coins are earlier. The initial identification was that the coins were of bronze. Based on the legend on the coin and the figure, ten of the coins were identified as Chola coins and 'Islamic Chola' coins. They were later identified as copper coins, silver, and silver-coated coins, respectively.

Numerous travelogues and documents establish the trade contacts between China and South India. The writings of Faxian (Fa-Hsien) confirm the sea route between India and China, and there were several maritime activities along with the Buddhist faith that boosted the trade contacts. According to other travellers who visited the region during the time, Kollam, also known as Ku-lin and Gu-li, was the centre of trade.

The discovery of an Arab dhow associated with the Phanom Surin shipwreck in Thailand was significant in establishing trade relations with the Middle East and South Asia dating to the second half of the eighth century. The pottery found at the site includes Guangdong glazed stoneware (China), Mon earth wares (Thailand) and turquoise-glazed earthenware (Persian Gulf). Inscriptions were found on two pots, a Guangdong Yue-type green-glazed vessel and a torpedo jar with a Pahlavi inscription (Guy 2017, 188).

The Tharisapalli copper plate inscription issued in the mid-ninth century, written in Tamil, also has names written in Pahlavi, Arabic and Judaeo-Persian. This inscription falls at the same timeline suggesting a more comprehensive trade network during the time.

According to Tang dynasty records, the Chinese traders' chief settlement was Kollam, and they gave it the name Mahlai. The king of Quilon and the neighbouring districts are referred to as Benati or Venad (Aiya 1906, 244). Political

troubles in China affected maritime trade activities towards the West during the latter part of the ninth century. Later in the second part of the tenth century, maritime trade was restarted.

John of Montecorvino (1247–1328), the first Roman Catholic missionary to China and the first archbishop of China, visited Kollam towards the end of the thirteenth century. According to him, Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders at Quilon were being ousted from their commercial prominence position by the Muslims who had begun to settle there (Menon, 1964, 96).

Marco Polo (1254–1324), the famous Venetian traveller, also visited Quilon and other places in Kerala towards the end of the thirteenth century CE. He described the social and economic condition of the place in his travelogue. There were colourful descriptions of astrologers and physicians; men and women were black and half-naked. They married their cousins and a man would take his brother's wife after the brother's death. He also gave an account of animals and birds, especially different types of parrots. The merchants from Manzi (China) and Arabia and the Levant came with their ships and merchandise and made significant profits by importing and exporting (Aiya 1999, 268–9). The trade contact between Kerala and China is reflected in the native Malayalam literature of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In a mid-fourteenth-century poem, 'Unnunili sandesam', there is mention of the Chinese junks which came to the shore of Quilon (Varier 1990, 690–8).

The Cholas were one of the powerful kingdoms in south India. The earliest evidence about them comes from the Sangam literature. They were in the struggle for power with the Pandyas and the Cheras. The revival of the Cholas lasted for around 400 years, from 850 CE to 1279 CE. During the time of Rajaraja I, the Cholas began to expand their territories. The first military achievement was against the Cheras beginning from the fourth year of his reign, evident from several of his inscriptions. The Pandyas and the Cheras were allied against the Cholas, evident from several inscriptions of Bhaskara Ravi Varman Tiruvadi recovered from different parts of Travancore. Rajaraja sent more than one expedition against these allies, including one that seems to be against Kollam (Sastri 1955, 169–71). Rajendra Chola I also attacked the Cheras. Later the port of Vizhinjam came to be known as Rajendra Chola Pattanam after him. Thus, Kollam came under the Cholas, where the port was an essential landmark of the trade connecting west Asia and south Asia.

The name Venad comes from Vel nad or the land of Vels. The earliest evidence for the name Venad is found in the Terisapalli copper plates of 849 CE, issued by Ayyann Adikal Tiruvadi, the governor of Venad. It was issued in the fifth regnal year of the Mahodayapuram Chera ruler Sthanu Ravi. The strategic importance of Venad, exposed to Chola–Pandya invasions by land as well as sea, and the growth of Kollam as the centre of international trade, all these factors led to the development of Venad into a significant principality in the twelfth century CE (Sarasan 2016, 23).

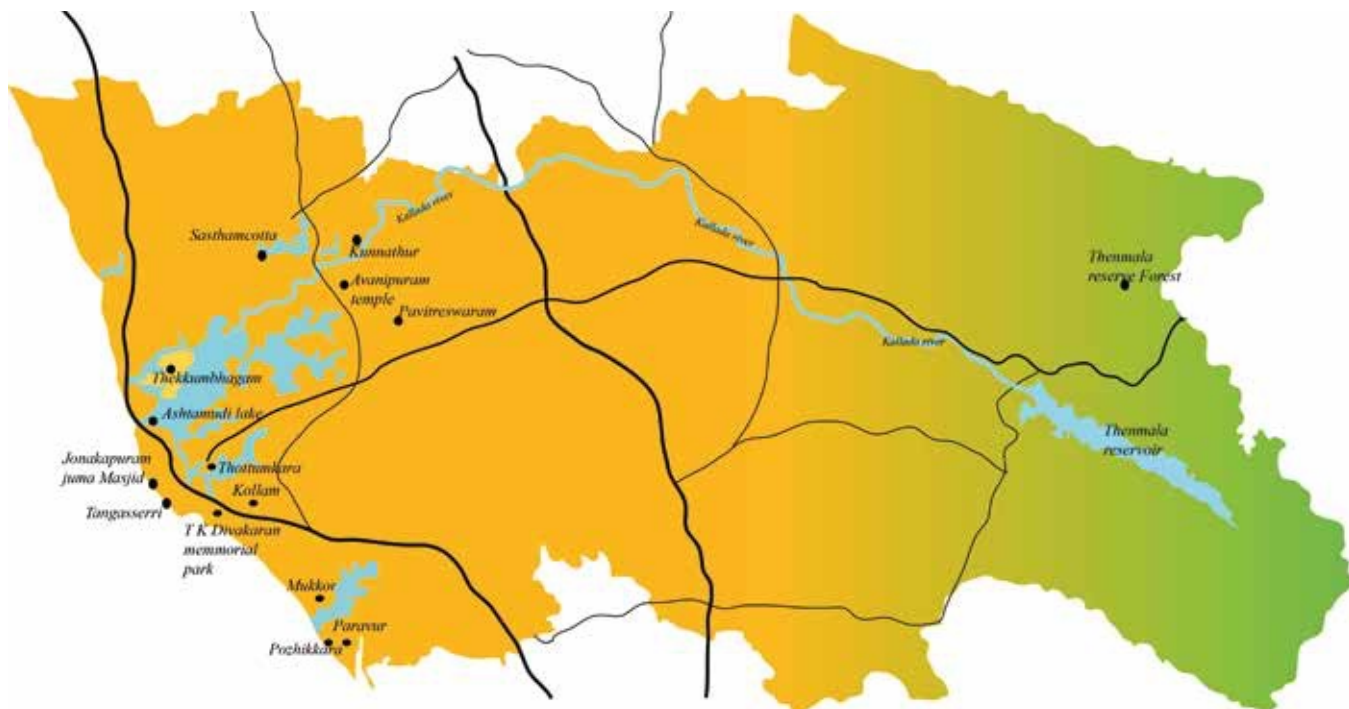


Figure 1 Kollam District map (author's artwork)



Figure 2 Dredging at Thankasseri in 2014 (Image courtesy of Jishnu S. Chandran)

The Chola coins

The Chola coins were mainly copper, but silver and gold coins were also issued by them. They are found in many places in Kerala as they were circulated in high numbers, even in the later period. There are various types of coins issued by Rajaraja, two types being well known. One of the well-known types is the stylized standing figure with the right arm bending

down at the elbow and the left one bent upwards, holding a flower; the figure is flanked by a lamp and flowers represented by pellets and a crescent to the right on the obverse. On the reverse is a stylized seated figure, with right hand down and left hand holding a conch, the legend *śrī rāja rāja* in Nāgarī script. The second type is the 'bow, tiger, fish' emblem on both sides with the legend *śrī rāja rāja*. Here, the coins were of the

first type; a king standing on the obverse and a seated figure on the reverse with the legend.

Experts from the Palace Museum (Beijing) initially identified the coins and attributed them to Rajaraja Chola. Beena Sarasan, one of the numismatics experts, confirmed it. Only Rajaraja coins were found from Thankasserri. The coins are discussed here.

The coins are all assumed to be of the following type, most are very worn; coin 3 is almost completely worn:

Obverse Standing man

Reverse Seated figure, Nāgarī legend *śrī rāja rāja*



Coin 1 (KML14-CCN0895, courtesy KCHR coin collection)
Copper, 3.30 g, 19 mm diameter, 3 mm thick



Coin 2 (KML14-CCN0896 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)
Copper, 3.12 g, 20 mm, 3 mm



Coin 3 (KML14-CCN0897 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)
Copper, 2.84 g, 19 mm, 3 mm



Coin 4 (KML14-CCN0898 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)
Copper, 3.15 g, 20 mm, 3 mm



Coin 5 (KML14-CCN0899) courtesy: KCHR coin collection
Copper, 2.46 g, 20 mm, 3 mm



Coin 6 (KML14-CCN1068)
Copper, 3.17 g, 20 mm, 3 mm



Coin 7 (KML14-CCN1069)
Copper, 3.83 g, 20 mm, 3 mm

The Chinese coins

The Chinese coins were produced by casting, which is a simple and inexpensive way of producing low-value coins. Tin was used for casting or engraving the coin's pattern to prepare the mother coin. A rectangular frame of pearwood was filled with tightly packed fine casting sand and sprinkled with coal or charcoal dust which acted as a flux. Mother coins were placed on top of the first frame. Thus, the sand in the top and bottom bore the impression of the obverse and reverse. Channels for the metal to flow along were made using a pre-assembled tree of coins joined together. The moulds were bound together tightly, and the molten metal was poured into them. After the molten metal cooled down, the coins were removed from the mould and cleaned. After polishing on sand or tubs of chaff, the coins were strung together (Hartill 2005, xviii).

Economic expansion in the Northern Song period (960–1127 CE) necessitated considerable increases in bronze coin production. Song dynasty coins remained in circulation in subsequent dynasties. The Northern Song dynasty was one of the most productive dynasties in issuing different types and variations of bronze cash coins. Before about 1068 CE, the copper content of the leaded bronze was in the range of 66–77 per cent, but it fell slightly to a lower range of 63–73 per cent. In 1127 the Song dynasty lost northern China to the Jin dynasty and lost some of its copper sources, leading to a continuing decline in standards with a widening range of copper content, with most coins falling within the range of 56–73 per cent (Cribb 1993, 3).

Song coins typically have standardized sizes and four characters on the obverse, while the reverse was usually plain, with very few exceptions. The characters are usually read in the order top, bottom, right, left (Pemayun and Nindhia 2014, 40–3), but here they are top, right, bottom, left. Chinese coins from the Tang dynasty to the Yuan dynasty have been found in most places, meaning the old coins were recirculated. The presence of a Yuan period coin among the copper coins recovered at Temasik (Singapore) suggests that Chinese traders continued to bring these coins to the Melaka Strait in the fourteenth century and most likely exchanged them for trade products at places where they were accepted either as a form of currency or as a trade item (Heng 2006, 179–203).

The Seiso temple, Hitachi province, had about two lakhs (200,000) of coins, less than a lakh in Zensho temple, Musashi province, and thousands from shipwrecks in the Melaka Strait and other areas (Cribb and Potts 1996, 1–3). In these hoards the Northern Song dynasty coins dominated. However, there was the presence of Yuan dynasty coins in small numbers in these hoards. A few coins of the Tang, Northern and Southern Song dynasties were found in Sasthamcotta (Kerala), Tamil Nadu, Sri Lanka, Oman, Iran, Bahrain, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Saudi Arabia. However, they did not contain Yuan dynasty coins. A few Chinese coins have also been found at Kottapuram dated to the tenth to the twelfth century. In Thankasseri there are very few Yuan dynasty coins reported so far. More than 10,000 coins found from dredging show similar coin distribution patterns to China. In Kerala Chinese coins are found only at Thankasseri, Sasthamcotta and Kottapuram, and they are not reported from any other places yet.

By comparison, potsherds belonging to the Chinese were found in Dharmadam (Kannur), Pandalayini-Kollam (Calicut), Kochi and Kodungallur, dated to the thirteenth century and later. A Ming dynasty sherd was found with an inscription near the Thankasseri lighthouse dated to the sixteenth century (Karashima 2009, 242–6). Copper was imported as ballast, as reported by Marco Polo towards the end of the thirteenth century CE. Early in the fifteenth century, Zheng He, the Chinese admiral, started on a series of expeditions to the countries of the South China Sea, India, Persia, Arabia and as far as the east African coast. They traded porcelain ware, textile, metal vessels and money for perfumes, spices, medicinal herbs, pearls, coral and gems (Varier 1990, 690–8). This throws light on the continuing Chinese trade in different parts of Kerala, maybe without the use of coins. No Ming dynasty coins have been reported so far from Kerala.

The Chinese coins from Thankasseri were identified and catalogued by Chinese experts. They belong to the Tang, Northern Song and Southern Song dynasties. A few Northern Song coins were selected to understand the varying metal content of the coin.



Coin 1 Emperor Tai Zong, CE 976–7 (KML14-CCN0721 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)

Obverse 至道元寶 Zhi Dao Yuan Bao, regular script (minted CE 995–7)

Reverse Plain

Bronze, 3.29 g, 25 mm, 2 mm, 7 mm square hole



Coin 2 Emperor Tai Zong, CE 976–7 (KML14-CCN0724 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)

Obverse 至道元寶 Zhi Dao Yuan Bao, grass script (minted CE 995–7)

Reverse Plain

Bronze, 3.16 g, 25 mm, 2 mm, 7 mm square hole



Coin 3 Emperor Tai Zong, CE 976–7 (KML14-CCN0729 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)

Obverse 至道元寶 Zhi Dao Yuan Bao, grass script (minted CE 995–7)

Reverse Plain

Bronze, 3.87 g, 26 mm, 2 mm, 7 mm square hole



Coin 4 Emperor Renzong, CE 1022–63 (KML14-CCN0979) courtesy: KCHR coin collection

Obverse 至和元寶 Zhi He Yuan Bao, regular script (minted CE 1054–5) (very worn)

Reverse Plain

Bronze, 3.23 gm, 25 mm, 2 mm, 8 mm square hole



Coin 5 Emperor Renzong, CE 1022–63 (KML14-CCN0980 courtesy: KCHR coin collection)

Obverse 至和元寶 Zhi He Yuan Bao, regular script (minted CE 1054–5)

Reverse Plain

Bronze, 3.23 g, 25 mm, 2 mm, 8 mm square hole

Venad coins

Compared to the Cholas and the Chinese, the Venad coins were found in few numbers. There was one silver coin and another silver-coated coin (?) which Beena Sarasan identified as a coin of Jayasimha (thirteenth century) of Venad or Jayasimhanad and Vira Kerala (1125–55 CE) respectively. It was earlier identified as 'Islamic Chola' coins by Chinese experts. There is also an unidentified coin/metal along with the coins.



Coin 1 (KML14-CCN0893 courtesy KCHR coin collection)

Obverse Two-line Nāgarī legend *swastisrija / yasimhasya*, spider between lines

Reverse *swa sti sri ja / ya sim hasya*

Silver, 1.74 g, 16 mm, 3 mm



Coin 2 (KML14-CCN1070 courtesy KCHR coin collection)

Obverse Two-line Nāgarī legend *sri Vira / keralasya*, makara or crocodile between lines (worn)

Reverse *sriganda / ramkusasya*. Spider between lines. (Worn)

Tin, 1.83 g, 16 mm, 3 mm



Coin 3 (KML14-CCN0894 courtesy KCHR coin collection)

Obverse Extremely worn, part of it is missing, but there are traces of its being worked

Reverse Worn

Lead, 3.51 g, 6 mm, 4 mm

XRF Analysis

The XRF analysis of the coins belonging to the Cholas, and the metals which have a high content in the coin are given in table 1.

Most of the Chola coins proved to be copper. There was varying antimony content in coins with a fair amount of lead content. In one research paper S. Paramasivan discusses the chemical analysis of an Andhra coin of the second century CE and a Chola coin of the ninth century CE (table 2), where the results show that tin and antimony in the Andhra coin are relatively high, so it should be harder than the Chola coin. Here the result is different. Some of the Chola coins have antimony and lead content but lack tin. The content of iron is very scarce in Chola coins.

However, the copper content in these coins is almost similar. The Chola coin of the ninth century has similar copper content but has tin in higher concentration, whereas the coins here have minimal tin content.

Five Chinese coins belonging to the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127 CE) were selected for analysis. The initial identification was that these were bronze coins. The analysis showed this to be the case. Most of the coins are rich in copper, but there is also the presence of lead in high concentrations. Tin and iron were lower than the lead content. One of the coins had titanium and zirconium content in small amounts, which might be impurities. The minor silver content was also noted in one of the coins, which may also be an impurity. All in all there was quite a variation in the composition of the coins.

Comparisons can be made with other analyses. The content in the Song dynasty coin from Bali (table 4) has zinc in a minimal amount, but the coins from Thankasserri have very minute or no zinc content. The copper content in the Thankasserri coin is lower than the amount in the other coin, but there is high lead content in the former. The tin content in both samples is almost similar. Another XRF study on the Chinese coins from the British Museum shows that there is more copper content, similar to the coin found in Bali. However, the Bali coin and British Museum coin vary in tin content, which is low in the latter one. The coins from Thankasserri have copper content within 37 and 58 per cent, while both other results range from 40 to 80 per cent. A big factor that requires attention at this point is the limitations of the XRF for the surface analysis of copper, especially for alloys with a high lead content. At worst, the error might be around ± 10 to 15 per cent (Bowman, Cowell and Cribb 1989, 6). This might indicate that the range of lead concentration is in fact at a lower level. Considering this statement, the range of the copper falls in the same category as the British Museum results. The copper content in the coin decreases with time, while the lead content in the coin increases. This can be seen in two coins of Emperor Renzong, which belong to the second half of the eleventh century.

Two of the coins were identified as belonging to the Venad Kingdom, the silver coin of Jayasimha and another Vira Kerala coin, which was identified as a tin coin through the analysis.

Table 1 XRF results of Chola coins from Thankasseri

| <i>Coin</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Sb (antimony)</i> | <i>Sn (tin)</i> | <i>Ag (silver)</i> | <i>Pb (lead)</i> | <i>Au (gold)</i> | <i>Cu (copper)</i> | <i>Fe (iron)</i> |
|-------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 | KML14-CCN0895 | | | | | | 98.321 | 0.883 |
| 2 | KML14-CCN0896 | 0.290 | | | 0.781 | | 98.258 | |
| 3 | KML14-CCN0897 | 0.552 | | | 1.687 | | 96.99 | |
| 4 | KML14-CCN0898 | 0.410 | | | 0.826 | | 98.207 | |
| 5 | KML14-CCN0899 | 0.458 | | | 1.955 | | 97.256 | |
| 6 | KML14-CCN1068 | | 0.575 | 0.73 | 1.186 | | 97.224 | |
| 7 | KML14-CCN1069 | 0.197 | | | 0.812 | | 98.548 | |

Table 2 Chemical analysis of Andhra and Chola coin (data courtesy of S. Paramasivan)

| | <i>Andhra coin second century AD</i> | <i>Chola coin ninth century AD</i> |
|----------|--|--|
| Copper | 76.69 | 96.40 |
| Tin | 18.14 | 2.13 |
| Antimony | 1.66 | trace |
| Lead | 0.31 | 1.47 |
| Iron | 3.20 | trace |
| Arsenic | trace | trace |

Table 4 XRF analysis of a Song dynasty coin from Bali, Indonesia (data courtesy of Pemayun and Nindhia)

| | <i>Weight % fraction</i> |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| Sn (tin) | 22.498 |
| Pb (lead) | 11.353 |
| Zn (zinc) | 0.238 |
| Cu (copper) | 62.221 |
| Fe (iron) | 2.611 |
| Ti (titanium) | 0.424 |
| V (vanadium) | 0.062 |

Table 3 XRF analysis of Chinese coins from Thankasseri

| <i>Coin</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Sn (tin)</i> | <i>Pb (lead)</i> | <i>Cu (copper)</i> | <i>Fe (iron)</i> | <i>Ti (titanium)</i> | <i>Ag (silver)</i> | <i>Zr (zirconium)</i> | <i>A (Arsenic)</i> |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | KML14-CCN0721 | 26.970 | 32.645 | 37.097 | 1.883 | | | | 0.899 |
| 2 | KML14-CCN0724 | 24.585 | 28.563 | 37.767 | 2.958 | 4.279 | 0.72 | 0.377 | 0.316 |
| 3 | KML14-CCN0729 | 13.322 | 17.309 | 48.492 | 20.478 | | | | |
| 4 | KML14-CCN0979 | 17.052 | 50.953 | 28.793 | 1.475 | | | | 1.415 |
| 5 | KML14-CCN0980 | 12.138 | 36.774 | 44.57 | 6.261 | | | | 0.22 |

Table 5 XRF analysis of Venad coins from Thankasseri

| <i>Coin</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Sn(tin)</i> | <i>Pb(lead)</i> | <i>Cu(copper)</i> | <i>Fe(iron)</i> | <i>Au(Gold)</i> | <i>Ag(silver)</i> | <i>Sb(antimony)</i> |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | KML14-CCN0893 | | 0.350 | 0.844 | 1.91 | 0.832 | 95.742 | |
| 2 | KML14-CCN0894 | | 98.192 | 0.234 | 0.662 | | | 0.706 |
| 3. | KML14-CCN1070 | 91.235 | | 2.761 | 5.728 | | | |

This could be the core of a silver-plated coin, but there was no silver present. There was an unidentified metal fragment with high lead content. It appeared to be a coin from its circular shape and the possible traces of a design, perhaps a portrait.

Discussion and conclusion

Three types of coins, Chinese, Chola and Venad, were found in the same context while dredging at Thankasseri. Even though the coins were found together, one cannot conclude that they were used together. The Chinese coins from the earlier dynasties were recirculated and used together. They had holes in the middle and were usually tied on strings. However, the indigenous coins were not designed to be tied that way.

The hoards of coins from China and its surroundings found in Tamil Nadu, Sri Lanka, the Middle East, Africa and Kollam, usually show coins from the Tang to Southern Song dynasties. However, in Thankasseri and China, we have the presence of later Yuan dynasty coins. There is a significant deposit of coins and potteries, but no evidence of shipwrecks reported yet from the Kollam region. It would appear that the coins were lost or abandoned in south India. Further finds of Chinese coins and pottery from different parts of Kerala would give an insight into the trade after the coins were abandoned.

Future study might involve further analysis on the local bronze-making communities, workshops and sculptures

dating to the period, to see whether the metal was reused.

Although this is a small number of analyses, the XRF results show more variation in the Chinese coins than in the Chola coins. Copper was predominant in the Chola ones, in line with other studies noted in the tables here. The result for the Chinese coins was quite surprising compared to other XRF studies of coins of the same period. The copper content in Chinese coins is not more than 60 per cent, as seen in other studies. Lead was the second dominant metal, followed by tin and iron. Studying more coins from Thankasseri would help. Also, the coins have a copper content of less than 60 per cent, which means the coins found from Thankasseri might have been produced and traded towards the end of the Song dynasty's rule as it began to loosen its territories with abundant copper ores.

In the case of Venad coins, one of the coins was identified as silver-coated, but there did not appear to be any traces of silver left.

The conditions of the coins are not good as they have been lying in the saltwater for an extended period. The tin coin of Vira Kerala is in very poor condition. While there are conservation treatments available to stabilize the metal, it is recognized that the condition of the finds makes analysis difficult to interpret.

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ONS North America Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the North America section of the Society was a hybrid meeting held on Saturday 15 January 2022, at the Barclay Intercontinental Hotel in New York and on Zoom. The meeting was held, as always, in conjunction with the New York International Numismatic Convention. Thanks go particularly to Ed Snible for conducting the in-person meeting and handling the Zoom webcast from there.

This year we tried a new feature, loosely called 'My Favorite Coin'. Five members gave brief (5–10-minute) talks on a coin or coins from their collections that had some special feature.

The first talk was by Michael Connor, who spoke about two drachms from eastern Parthia. The drachms are die-matched examples of the same type (Sellwood 38.9v). Minted around 70–60 BCE, the obverse portrait of Phraates III is in good style. The reverse features an unusually svelte, helmeted archer seated right, T (Traxiane) monogram below the bow, and a decorative legend that consists of carefully arranged random 'Greek' letters – including a Θ not present in the standard legend. One of the coins is illustrated below.



Drachm of Phraates III

The second presentation was by Peter Linenthal, who spoke about an interesting bronze of Kaniška with Buddha reverse. The special feature of this coin is that it does not have a fire altar into which the king would be casting his offering, a serious deviation from the normal design.



Kaniška bronze with Buddha reverse

Next, Robert Hoge spoke about an imitation of an 'Abbasid dinar of Al-Mansur issued by Charlemagne, known as a mancus. This most unusual coin was then in turn imitated by the English king Offa. Note the words 'OFFA REX' in the illustration.



Mancus of Charlemagne



'Dinar' of Offa

The fourth speaker was P. Hari Prasad, who highlighted a gold dinar of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Sultan of Delhi in the fourteenth century (AH729; G&G 336; 'al-sa'id, fi zaman' inscriptions; 12.72 g.) This dinar is an example of the innovation, variety, and complexity of this king's coinage, the only one in the Delhi Sultanate to issue heavy gold dinars. The coin evokes a cataclysmic turning point when the sultanate reached its height, but, ravaged by invasion, famine, pestilence, and inflation, then broke apart in provincial rebellions. This despite Muhammad's continuous military campaigns even in the face of shrinking revenues and military strength.



Gold dinar of Muhammad bin Tughlaq

The final vignette, presented by Joseph Boling, was a fascinating Chinese 100-yuan banknote of 1941 (*Standard Catalog of World Paper Money* number 243) featuring a portrait of Sun-Yat Sen. The note itself is a common one; the fascination was in the graffiti all around and over it. It had been signed by all the members of the crew of the 'First 29 [meaning B-29 bomber] raid of Japan . . . Imperial Iron and Steel Works Yawata . . . June 15, 1944'. So this is a highly interesting artefact of the first US air raids into Japan from China as the Second World War started coming to its close.



Banknote commemorating the first air-raid from China to Japan in 1944

Besides the short talks, there were three of the usual, half-hour-long research-orientated presentations. The first of these was by Aleksandr Naymark, who spoke about 'Foreign Coins of the First–Fourth Centuries CE found in Sogdiana'. Surprisingly, very few Parthian coins are found in Sogdiana, despite their long common border. Kushan coins are found in some number up to the reign of Kaniška, but they drop off after that. This may be because a wall was built by the Kushans over part of the border, perhaps in defence against raiding nomads.

Post-Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins are quite plentiful, particularly in Merv, where they have even been found in exclusion of local coins, indicating that the area around Bukhara probably came under Kushano-Sasanian rule. Finally, late Roman coppers are found also in some number in Merv and along the trade route from there to either side of the Issyk-Kul Lake. Kushano-Sasanian coins are also found along these routes, thus neatly marking the routes along which traders traveled and pointing to the increased amount of trade through Sogdiana in the fourth century.

Naymark ended his talk with an appeal to all collectors to try to record the provenance of coins in their collections, even if the evidence is hearsay. Knowing the find spots of coins can greatly help fill in the details of history.

The next speaker was Stuart Sears. The title of his talk was 'A Misunderstood Governor: al-Hakam b. Abi al-'As and the Legitimation of Umayyad Rule in Seventh Century CE Kirman'. Al-Hakam b. Abi al-'As was a governor of Kirmān whose name appears on drachms for the years 675–78 CE (56–58 H). A number of writers have incorrectly described him as an obscure ruler and possibly a Khārijite. In fact, he is widely mentioned in Muslim sources as a stalwart supporter of the Umayyads. He hailed from a prominent family of the Thaqīf of al-Ṭā'if with kinship ties to the Umayyads and Hashimites, and more distantly, the Makhzūm of Mecca. His grandfather was married to the aunt of the future caliph Marwān b. al-Hakam. His brother, 'Uthmān, was married to the daughter of Abū Lahab of the Hashimites. Al-Hakam served not only as governor of al-Ṭā'if but also of Baḥrayn. From there, he joined his brother 'Uthmān on the first Muslim raids across the Persian Gulf into Fārs and later to Hind. He was considered for an appointment to Khurāsān before receiving his post in Kirmān. Sections of the early city of al-Baṣra were named after his brothers and him.

The final talk was by Bilal Ahmed, who spoke about 'Mahmud of Ghazni's Coinage from Lahore'. Bilal presented two newly discovered dirham types of Mahmud of Ghazni from the Lahore mint. The first can be considered as the precursor to the famed bilingual dirhams that were issued from Mahmudpur (i.e., Lahore) dated to the years 418–19 H/1027–8 CE. Four specimens of the type were presented of which one was dated to 417 H/1026 CE (figure 1) and another had the mint inscribed as Mahmudpur (figure 2). The other two specimens had the mint and date off-flan. The four specimens had the same design and carried all-Arabic inscriptions similar to the widely circulated Yamini dirhams of Mahmud. This newly identified issue with all-Arabic legends from Lahore sheds new light on the evolution of Mahmud's coinage from his easternmost stronghold of Lahore.



Figure 1 Dirham of Mahmud showing date 417



Figure 2 Dirham of Mahmud showing mint Mahmudpur

Additionally, a new mint named Hind / Hund was identified on a unique Yamini dirham of Mahmud (figure 3) which may be the earliest issue of Mahmud from India. Hind would signify the general name given to the land east of river Indus and is also found inscribed on a unique medallion issue of Mahmud, on which the mint is listed as 'Dar al Jihad Hind' (Land of holy war Hind). On the other hand, the mint name can also be read as Hund which is the medieval name of a prominent town of Gandhara: Udbhandapura, whose ruins are to be found in the modern day Swabi district of Northwest Pakistan. This town was also known as Ohind or Waihind and was a major city of the Shahi kingdom which Mahmud had displaced. In either case, the newly discovered dirham shows that the Yamini dirhams, which were Mahmud's main currency, were also issued in India, bringing the newly acquired Indian domains within the Ghaznavid sphere, and connecting it to the western 'Islamic' realms.



Figure 3 Dirham of Mahmud from mint Hind

Recordings of most of the talks are available on the Oriental Numismatic Society channel on YouTube.

Pankaj Tandon
Secretary General, ONS

ONS Europe Meeting

The meeting was held on 7 May by Zoom courtesy of the Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics at the University of Tübingen (<https://uni-tuebingen.de/fint/>). It was well attended and with a varied set of papers. The abstracts of some of them are presented here.

Alaa Aldin Al Chomari, Tübingen, and Desbina Baslan, Aleppo

Interim Report on a Numismatic Project in Syria

The project, funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, is based on a previous project (2017–19, funded by the same foundation) that has resulted in a new reference database for identifying and recording individual coin finds from northern and southern Syria from the Middle Ages and the early modern period, developed at the University of Tübingen with the advice of Dr Lutz Ilisch. Now, a team in Syria that consists of eight archaeologists from the museums of Aleppo, Homs, Damascus, as-Suwayda and the University of Aleppo, together with a group of students, works practically with this database and visits schools in order to generate an understanding of the importance of archaeological work with children and the advantages of co-operation with the archaeological authorities. This is based on the experience that children are frequently the finders of casual surface finds such as single copper coins, which are of no or little commercial value but as datable historical objects deserve to be esteemed as historical information that should not be neglected. One objective is building relationships through children between the population and the authorities in Syria by presenting the database and providing information about the importance of the coins.



Another objective is to encourage children to present the coins they have found while playing to museums rather than trading them and not leave them exposed to blackmail by merchants for not knowing the value of these surface finds. The team members give them symbolic, immaterial gifts in return for this, such as candy or competitions. So far, children periodically present many important individual coins in all four work areas. Although the more spectacular coin hoards are not in the focus of the project it may be worth mentioning that a treasure of Fatimid type Crusader dinars was presented in Damascus and an Ottoman treasure was presented in Aleppo. The Syrian museums continue to receive periodically from the

customs and the police large quantities of confiscations and treasures that they cannot assign, in addition to the treasures of unstudied coins in the storage, and it is hoped that this confiscated material will no longer remain unprocessed.

The project works in co-operation with the Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics Tübingen (FINT), where the project coordinator is Dr Alaa Aldin Al Chomari. However, another aim is to build up in Syria sufficient knowledge in Islamic numismatics and to develop the ability of immediate recognition of the historical context of coin finds independent from external support. So, the Aleppo Museum was provided with a library specialized in Islamic numismatics. Despite the difficulties of movement, insecurity and widespread poverty in the country, the team makes good progress to achieve the project's goal of spreading cultural awareness, especially among children in the countryside. There will be an exhibition of the most important results of the work in the Aleppo Museum next year, a workshop will be held on that and scientific articles will be published by the work team as well.

Stefan Heidemann, Hamburg

Sūrat al-ikhhlās, al-fātiḥa or āyat al-kursī: which one has precedence on early Islamic coins and amulets?



Early Islamic amulet, probably Iraq. Obverse: demon within a binding confinement; reverse: 'sūrat al-ikhhlās'. Photograph courtesy Universität Hamburg, photo files, no. SB 10754.

The use of religious inscriptions on artefacts in the public and domestic sphere is ubiquitous. The application of Qur'ānic inscriptions expresses piety, seek apotropaic protection or they may serve as a political statement. While it is ubiquitous, the number of verses used is restricted. The survey looks at three Qur'ānic verses and their use on early Islamic coins and amulets.

The contextualization of Angelika Neuwirth of the *sūrat al-ikhhlās* emphasizes the importance of the Islamic 'Pure Faith' (Q 112) in Late Antiquity, even more than it is apparent from the Islamic context alone. The choice for the *ikhhlās* for the new coinage by 'Abd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf is meant to be a political statement of Islamic dominance over Judaism and Christianity in emphasising the sovereignty of God. This made the *ikhhlās* an extreme powerful verse even far beyond its political use. In the post-Umayyad period, the *ikhhlās* still remained the most frequently used Qur'ānic verse apart from the standard Qur'ānic inscription on coins. The *āyat al-kursī* (Q 2:255) only appears occasionally on coins, as far as I know only during the Great Saljūq period. The prayer of the *fātiḥa* (Q 1) seems to be just reserved for some rare ceremonial presentational coins of the same period.

The *ikhhlāṣ* is without any doubt the most prolific Qur'ānic inscription on early Islamic amulets, according to the material at hand. This view appears to be clouded in the literature, which lumps together amulets of all periods, metals and purposes, and excludes usually coin amulets all together, leaving them to numismatists. Kiyanrad establishes a connection between the *ikhhlāṣ* and the binding, sealing, and imprisoning of demons of Sāsānian amulets. The iconography of the bound and imprisoned *dīw* transferred culturally to Sulaymān in his role of binding and sealing of demons, and is symbolized sometimes with the hexagonal *khāṭam Sulaymān*, the seal of Salomon. It seems that an association between Sulaymān and *ikhhlāṣ* was made, serving as a protective charm. It continues in the material culture. For that connection some additional evidence was brought forward. Early Islamic metal amulets can carry the *āyat al-kursī* but in the known cases, it occurs only in conjunction with the *sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ*. The *āyat al-kursī* as sole inscription on amulets is only to be found on amulets after 1500 CE. After then, it became in the early modern period the foremost and prevalent Qur'ānic verse on amulets. The *fātiḥa* seems to have retained for all practical purpose its role as a ritual personal prayer and hardly went beyond that to grace coins or amulets. It appears on some amulets but so far only in conjunction with the *ikhhlāṣ* or with the *āyat al-kursī*. This leaves the *sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ* as the pre-eminent apotropaic Qur'ānic verse in the early Islamic world.

Ahmed Mohamed Desouky, Cairo

The relationship between Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār and the 'ṣāḥib al-Zanj' through a rare dirham minted in al-Baṣra



This paper discusses the relationship between Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār (247–265 AH/861–879 AD) and the ṣāḥib al-Zanj 'Alī b. Muḥammad (255–270 AH/869–883 AD) through a rare dirham seemingly minted in al-Baṣra 2[63?] AH. This dirham was shown at Baldwin's, Islamic Coin Auction 25, 10 December 2013, lot 668 and it was shown again at Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Auction 101, 28 September 2016, lot 3512.

This relationship occurred during an important period in which the 'Abbāsid caliphate witnessed significant disturbances: the Zanj uprising and the control of the ṣāḥib al-Zanj over many cities in southern Iraq on the one hand, and – at the same time – the revolt of the first Ṣaffārid Ya'qūb b. al-Layth in Iran against the caliph al-Mu'tamid and his attempt to conquer even the 'Abbāsid capital on the other hand.

Huda Subeh, Hamburg

The coinage of the chief amīrs ('amīr al-umarā') of the 'Abbāsids

The ten-year period from 324 H/936 to 334 H/946 was an essential period of crisis and disruption for the 'Abbāsid Empire, which is also revealed in the coinage. It is the transition from a centralized empire to a regionalized empire.

Three caliphs ruled during this period, al-Rāḍī, al-Muttaqī and al-Mustakfī. The period of their rule was marked by political, military and economic crises that paved the way for the emergence of a new regime of military leaders, who received the title *amīr al-umarā'* (amīr of the amīrs or chief amīr) by the 'Abbāsid caliph. The military commanders were of Central Asian (*atrāk*), Arab and Daylamī origin. Their actual realm included the core regions of Greater Mesopotamia to north-western Syria (Shām), including Antioch. The chief amīr, who also ruled the capital of Baghdad, had a far-reaching authority over the civil administration. The chief amīrs were the ones who appointed the rulers of the provinces of the shrunken 'Abbāsid empire. Their outsizing power compared to the viziers and commanders before this is clearly shown in the coin protocol. In addition to the names of the 'Abbāsid caliph and the heir to the throne, the names of the chief amīrs can be found at this time.

Examples are Bajkam (r. 326–8 H) is the first to appear with his *kunya*, name and title, *Abū l-Ḥusayn Bajkam / mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn*. His successor for less than three months, Kūrānkīj (r. 329 H), is not been found on coins, nor has Ibn Rā'iq (r. 329–30 H), who was chief amīr for a brief second period. Only the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla / Abū Muḥammad (r. 330–1 H) can be found again on coins as chief amīr. His successor Tūzūn (331–3 H) called himself on coins *al-Muẓaffar / Abū l-Wafā'*, but only in the years 333 and 334 H, after the caliph bestowed on him the title al-Muẓaffar. His successor Ibn Sīrẓād (334 H) is not found on coins. Soon after in the same year, 334 H, Baghdad was taken by the Būyids. This erratic practice shows that the naming of the main chief emirs and its form on coins still depended on the authority of the caliph.

Lutz Ilisch, Hayingen

Aspects of the coinage from Baghdad in the year 364 AH: Chronology, metrology, mint organization



A Baghdad dirham 364 AH of 'Aḍud al-Dawla's reform coinage

364 AH was a turbulent year for Baghdad beginning with the Būyid Bakhtiyār opposing his Turkish guards, the following resignation of the caliph Muṭī' in favour of his son al-Ṭā'i' all still at the end of 363 H, following an intervention by the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla officially to regain Baghdad and the caliphate for Būyid control, but in fact an initially successful attempt of 'Aḍud ad-dawla to remove his nephew Bakhtiyār from power. However, the supreme leader of the Būyid clan Rukn ad-Dawla insisted against his son 'Aḍud al-Dawla to reinstall Bakhtiyār to rule over Iraq and Khuzistan before the end of the year.

Five different coin types with three different constellations of names (caliph, supreme Būyid, second Būyid, third local Būyid, fourth local Būyid co-regent) are known, each of

them by several specimens, however the final constellation of personnel before the end of 364 H is only attested through coins dated 365 H. The dates of the changing constellations can only be fixed in a relative way. Both the main sources, the chronicle of Miskawayh and the correspondence of 'Aḡud al-Dawla, analysed by Bürgel, are highly biased in favour of 'Aḡud al-Dawla and against Bakhtiyār and may misrepresent the official course of rulership as documented through the coins. They neglect precise dates. The question of recognition of the change in the caliphate is neglected. Apart from changes in the constellations of names at least one monetary reform was carried out for 'Aḡud al-Dawla, by which the silver coinage of Baghdad was adjusted to the high silver purity coinage ('*adlī*) of the core region of 'Aḡud al-Dawla Fārs. 'Adlī dirhams and dinars are marked by the use of the title *al-amīr al-'adl* or *al-malik al-'adl* or *shāhānshāh al-'adl* and a preference of only one marginal legend around the obverse. One of the leading mint staff (probably the warden of the mint) of Shīrāz, identifiable on the coins through his mark *alif-bā-rā* at the top of the obverse field, signed as responsible for the reform in Baghdad. The inclusion of five annulets intersecting the outer marginal legend on part of the reformed dirhams from Baghdad should be interpreted as a reference to the Umayyad Yūsufī-dirhams, struck originally during the later part of the caliphate of Hishām (105–25 H) in Wāsiṭ, which had gained a reputation as the best Umayyad post reform dirhams. The reform was not undisputed and Bakhtiyār discontinued this coinage as soon as he was back in control of Baghdad. None of his 365 and 366 H coinage followed the '*adlī* standard. But when Bakhtiyār's protector Rukn ad-Dawla died in 367 H., his son 'Aḡud al-Dawla returned to Baghdad taking it from his nephew and striking '*adlī* coins in gold (Treadwell Ms367G).

Alexander Akopyan, Moscow

In Motion Across the Borders: The structures of Georgian numismatics in the long twelfth century



Giorgi IV, [Ani], [4]30 k'oronikon / 1210 CE, regular three-dang coin, host coin of Tamar and David ([Ani], 420 k'oronikon / 1200 CE), countermarked by the Georgian-Arabic inscription with new date ٢٣ 'k' [oronikon 4]30', copper (Zeno.ru, no. 181326)

In the report a reconstruction of the numismatic history of the Georgian kingdom during the long twelfth century (end of the eleventh–first third of the thirteenth century) is proposed. Combining the typogenetic analysis of contemporary coins, the study of the topography of their finds, as well as research of the synchronous epigraphics and narrations, a complex picture of the divergence of the coinage of western and eastern Georgia after the cessation of the influx of Arab silver from the Caliphate in the tenth century was revealed for the first time. A strict zonality of the coinage and monetary circulation in the Georgian kingdom was discovered, clearly associated with the features of the previous monetary systems in western Georgia

(former silver zone, later zone of coins with purely Georgian inscriptions), eastern Georgia (former Dar al-Islām, later zone of irregular coins) and northern Armenia (former Byzantine lands, later zone of regular coins). For the first time revealed the development of the coin typology of Georgian coins, which followed the inclusion of new territories where the local numismatic traditions preserved. The territory of regular coins' circulation, Didi Somxet'i or northern Armenia, during the long twelfth century formed a separate monetary zone in the Georgian kingdom, characterized by the circulation of coins specifically issued in it and for it. Coinage of the regular copper coins by Giorgi III in 1174 and by Tamara in 1200 occurred synchronously with the acquisition of Ani (in 1174 and 1199, respectively), and was most likely the same was case of David IV (in 1124). Such a chronological connection make to assume that the regular coins were produced in Ani, the political and economic centre of northern Armenia. The coinage for northern Armenia was characterized not only by the special legends, but it also based on other technological tradition, which refers them to a different technological province and testifies against their production in Tiflis. The parallel mintage of different type of coins for each region, as well as the practically strict existence of coins within their regions, testify the separate economic life in the two taxation zones – in Tiflis (Tblisi) and eastern Georgia and in northern Armenia. But border between them did not brake the mobility of the population within Georgia. It necessitated to determine the mutual exchange rates of the regular and irregular coins, information about which survived thanks to the Epiphanius' inscription of 1218 in Ani. Based on narrative, epigraphic and numismatic data, the meaning of all countermarks, used at that time by the Georgian kings on regular and irregular coins, as well as on foreign copper coins, is proposed (see the example illustrated). Describing in general the numismatic history of Georgia in the twelfth century, it must be noted, that the reason for its complexity was the refusal of the Georgian kings to unify the monetary policy in favour of conservation of local monetary norms in the incorporated territories and for their step by step evolution until the Rusudan's reform of 1230. The existence of several monetary zones points to the complex structure of the kingdom of Georgia, of which its structure cannot simply be reduced to a number of regions, *saeristavi*, but within which a separate large area of special monetary and fiscal practice must be singled out.

Aram Vardanyan, Yerevan

Monasteries and Fortresses as Fiscal and Coin-minting Centres in the Fourteenth-century Syunik' Province of Armenia

During the first half of the fourteenth century, coins were struck on behalf of Ilkhanid rulers in the Syunik' province of Armenia rather frequently. Their issue was implemented under control of the local princely house of the Orbelyans. Recent studies have shown that mints in this area were located in monasteries and fortresses that played a role as fiscal centers as well. Apart from the monastic complex of Eġegis, Ilkhanid-style silver coins were also struck at the fortress of Baġaberd (Baġābird) and the monastery of Gološtivank' (Kulishtawān) lying in close proximity to silver mines. At the same time,

the copper mines located near Kapan, one of the centres of Syunik' province in this period, made possible an issue of bronze coinage at a place called Ajnān or Ajanān, otherwise known as Kār Khānah ('the workshop').

Azad Iskander, Dallas

A Misdescribed Rare Tanka of the Baghdad Branch of the Qara Qoyunlu



When Qara Yūsuf, the founder of the Qara Qoyunlu dynasty, died in 1420 AD, his sons fought each other. One of them, Aspan, managed to control Baghdad in 1432 AD. He struck 'heavy tankas' in Baghdad as well as in al-Hilla – coins that have been inaccurately described to be of one type. The presentation aims to show that Aspan's 'heavy tanka' is actually of two different types.

José Ramón Vicente Echagüe, Valencia

Hansatsu: Japanese local paper money



For many centuries, long before it could be conceived in the western world, paper money has been used as a medium of exchange by different societies in East Asia. The *hansatsu* (藩札) notes, issued by the local domains or *han* during the Edo period (1603–1868) was primarily employed to cover the shortage of hard currency, at a time when significant monetary reforms were being implemented. Nevertheless, the *daimyo* or feudal lords saw in the issuance of paper money the opportunity to assert their own power through reducing fiscal deficits or promoting local trade, resulting in abuses and thus the intervention of the imperial authorities. *Hansatsu* notes, with their characteristic 'bookmark' shape and rich decoration, constitute today one of the most popular and affordable items for paper money collectors. In this presentation a general overview of this type of paper money is offered, briefly describing its historical context as well as its main recognizable features, usually difficult to decipher for those unfamiliar with *kanji* or Japanese script: first, their values, expressed in Edo currency in the centre of the obverses; second, their dates, indicated through a combination of *nengo* or eras and a zodiac calendar based on a 60-year cycle borrowed from Chinese astrology; and third, other prominent features revealing the name of the domain, local landmarks or economic reference. The last part of the presentation is dedicated to describe and explain part of the extraordinary decoration the *hansatsu* paper money contains,

focusing on the *Shichifukujin* or 'Seven Gods of Fortune', a group of deities derived from different Asian faiths and representative of Japanese mythology and popular culture.

Jonathan Ouellet, Leiden

One Hump, Two Hump: Assessing Roman knowledge of camels through Trajan's coinage.



The talk focused on the imagery of camels used in the coinage of Trajan. The coins feature both dromedary and Bactrian camels in two types of coins minted under Trajan. This was analysed in the context of theories that have been presented about what the Bactrian camel would have meant to the Romans who would have seen the camel on their coinage and the role that the coins played within. This was then compared with zoological knowledge of what the Romans knew about camels in an attempt to understand their awareness of the difference in taxonomy, which would have been significant for leaders like Trajan.

Presentation of a Festschrift in Honour of Lutz Ilisch

The meeting was the occasion at which the publication of the Festschrift in celebration of the 70th birthday of Lutz Ilisch was announced and the book was presented to him by Sebastian Hanstein.

Studia Numismatica et Islamica in Honorem Lutz Ilisch

Edited by Sebastian Hanstein, Aram Vardanyan and Peter Ilisch, published by Wasmuth & Zohlen, Berlin, 2022

ISBN 978 3 8030 1110 7

Format: 24.5 x 18 cm, cloth binding with silver embossing, dust jacket and ribbon marker, 352 pages with over 400 illustrations, mostly in colour



This Festschrift honours the outstanding German scholar Dr Lutz Ilisch, who from 1990 until his retirement in 2017 headed as collection curator the Research Center for Islamic Numismatics (FINT), which had been built up with his efforts at the University of Tübingen, Germany. Lutz Ilisch has long been regarded as an internationally recognized luminary in the field of numismatics. Just as

he represents this research area in a considerable breadth, this publication on the occasion of his 70th birthday is also characterized by a great diversity of content and methodology of the included contributions. The volume contains articles with catalog character or on coin finds as well as others on the

history of science and art, including an excursion into Islamic architecture. The timeframe in which coins, seals and weights are discussed ranges from the Sāsānian to the early modern period. With almost 20 authors, this volume, in English and German, brings together a circle of very different companions, friends and colleagues of Lutz Ilisch from no less than four continents, including coin dealers as well as professors. In addition, the Festschrift contains some personal words as well as a list of all publications by Lutz Ilisch from 1970 to 2020.

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https://www.academia.edu/78995860/_edited_Studia_Numismatica_et_Islamica_in_Honorem_Lutz_Ilisch

You can purchase this book for €48 directly from the publisher's online shop:

<https://wasmuth-verlag.de/shop/archaeologie-alte-kulturen/studia-numismatica-et-islamica-in-honorem-lutz-ilisch/>

Book Reviews

Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu [Illustrated catalogue of the currency of Tibet, China] by Yin Zhengmin

Wen wu zhu ban she, Beijing, 2021

ISBN 978 7 5010 6579 0, 298 pp, CN¥ 368

Enquiries to Mr Hao Zhai, zhaihao@hotmail.com



This is a second enlarged edition of a catalogue which the author had published in 2004 under the same title.¹ The catalogue is illustrated in colour and bound with soft covers. For the price at which the book is sold one could have expected a more user friendly and durable binding with hard covers. Only the preface by Xiao Huaiyuan and by the author as well as the postscript by the author have been translated into English; the explanations in the

main part of the book are in Chinese only.

The author mentions some important publications on Tibetan coins and paper money in his foreword by giving incomplete publication data, but does not give full details or a bibliography. Among the previous publications on Tibetan coins he mentions the booklet by Huang Peng-xiao, but Yin Zhengmin fails to include in his catalogue the interesting Sino-Tibetan palace coins found as drawings in this book. Photographs of these coins were published by Nicholas Rhodes² and myself.

The numbering system of the first edition has been preserved and numerous new variants of coins have been added by using small letters (a, b, c, etc.) following the original

number; all the additional coins, as well as some new coin types, are illustrated. The author has attempted to add small pictures of those features which are at variance with the other coin(s) listed under the same number, but this help to identify coin variants is not given in many cases. The number of newly illustrated coins is almost 1000 which brings the total amount of listed and illustrated coins to almost double when compared with the first edition of the catalogue. While the photographs of the silver coins are mostly clear, many of the copper coin images are too dark and do not allow appreciation of design details. Even some silver coins are reproduced too dark: as an example may serve the rare tangka of 57th year of Qian Long, catalogued as no. 45; the image in the catalogue of 2004 was much better than the one in the new catalogue.

The chapter about Nepalese coins which circulated in Tibet has been included with almost no changes in the second edition, but again the practise of cutting many of these coin types into fractions for small change has not been considered and no such fractions are illustrated. The existence of cut Nepalese coins is an important part of the monetary history of Tibet and has been discussed in detail in two articles.³ Also examples of Sichuan rupees cut in two halves are not illustrated.

Completely new in the second edition catalogue is a chapter on variants of 3-srang silver coins which is very helpful for collectors who want to specialize in this field and considerably expands my study of part of this subject which I had published some years ago.⁴

Also the chapter on banknotes has been enlarged, but is much less comprehensive than my own publications on this subject. Yin Zhengmin fails to mention the two different obverse printing blocks of the notes of 25 and 50 tam dated Tibetan Era (TE) 1659. He does not mention the monastic notes of Tashi Dargyas nor the issues for the Tibetan population of the former province of Xikang.

There seem to be few errors; I have spotted only three: no. 389a is not a forgery of the rare 5-sho coin of Xuan Tong, but a forgery of a quarter-sho of the same era, struck in silver. The

1 Yin Zhengmin (2004) *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu [Illustrated Catalogue of the Money of China's Tibet]* Xizang Renmin Chubanshe (Tibet People's Publishing House), Lhasa ISBN 7 223 01686 8. 31 See my review of 2006, 'A New Chinese Catalogue of Tibetan Coins by Yin Zheng Min' *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* **188**, 27–31. The second part of this review is a descriptive and illustrated list of 36 rare Tibetan coins which are missing in the catalogue of Yin Zheng Min. Apparently Yin Zhengmin has not seen my review since several of the missing coins which are listed are not included in this new catalogue.

2 N. Rhodes (ed. W. Bertsch) (2011) 'The Tibetan Coins in the Palace Museum, Beijing', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* **208**, 34–7.

3 Wang, H. (1985) 'Qing dai zai xi zang liu tong de jian sui de ni bo er yin bi' ['The Cut Nepalese Silver Coins Circulated during the Qing Dynasty'] *Wen Wu*, **11**, 92–5; W. Bertsch and N. Rhodes (2010), 'The Use of Cut Coins in Tibet', *Tibet Journal* 35:3, 19–40. Several of the books mentioned by Yin Zhengmin in his preface include illustrations of cut coins.

4 W. Bertsch, (1998) 'The Second Issue of the 3 Srang Silver Coin of Tibet', *Journal of East Asian Numismatics* 5:3 (issue 17), 19–27.

coin could be listed as no. 532b. No. 634 is not a forgery of a half-skar coin of Xuan Tong, but a fake copper striking of the silver shokang of the same era. It should be listed as no. 432c. The 2½-skar coin no. 680 has the wrong illustration which shows twice, the obverse of no. 680a.

While the estimated values assigned to the coins in the first edition were very low and probably represented the prices for which the author hoped to be able to buy the coins, the estimates given in the new catalogue mostly are realistic market values and reflect the price increases which Tibetan coins have experienced during the last ten years.

Despite my few critical remarks I wish to say that the author has done a great job, that his new catalogue is the most comprehensive presentation of Tibetan coins which presently exists and that I can recommend it to any serious collector and to institutions which own collections of Tibetan coins and/or banknotes.

Appendix:

List of books on Tibetan coins mentioned with incomplete bibliographical data by Yin Zhengmin in the English version of his preface, page 4.

- Xiao Huaiyuan (1987) *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi* [The History of Tibetan Money] Min zu chu ban she (People's Publishing House), Beijing
- Zhu Jinzhong (chief ed.), Wang Haiyan, Wang Jiafeng, Zhang Wuyi, Wu Hanlin, Wang Dui [dbang 'dus] and Tsering Pincuo (2002) *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi* [The Money of Chinese Tibet] Xi zang zi zhi ou qian bi xue hui [Tibet Autonomous Region Numismatic Society], Zhong hua shu ju, Beijing
- Huang P'eng-hsiao (Huang Peng-xiao) (1937) *Coins of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, Peking Old Palace Museum
- Li Dongyuan (1959) *Xizang you bi kao* [Studies of Tibetan Post Stamps and Coins], Taipei
- Wang Haiyan (2007) *Xi zang di fang huo bi* [The regional money of Tibet]. Zang xue wen ku (Tibetology Series). Qing hai ren min chu ban she (Qinghai Peoples's Publishing House), Xining 326 pages, coins are illustrated in black and white; banknotes and printing blocks are illustrated in colour.
- Gabrisch, K. (1990) *Geld aus Tibet: Ausstellung des Münzkabinetts der Stadt Winterthur. 27. September 1989 bis 12. August 1990*, Winterthur and Rikon, 118 pp and 43 plates.
- Bertsch, W. (2012) *The Paper Currency of Tibet*, Thyaka Research Centre, Gundernhausen near Darmstadt (Germany) and Lalitpur (Nepal), vi + 274 pp, ISBN 9789993398271
- Wang Chun Li (2012) *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Gold and Silver Coins; 1791–1949* [Zhong guo jin yin bi mu lu], Zhong guo shang ye chu ban she (China Trade Publishing House), Beijing, ISBN 078 7 5044 7683 8
- The Tibet chapter of this catalogue lists and illustrates most Tibetan silver and gold coins by date with estimated values in Chinese yuan. The listing is less comprehensive than YZM, but more detailed than L & M or Dong Wenchao.
- Zhang Cheng Guang (responsible ed.), Zhao Weng Sheng, Tu Hong Qiu, Zhang Ming Cong and Wang Tian Fu (authors) (2011) *Sichuan Zangyang: Si kron bod dngul* [Sichuan Tibet money = Sichuan Rupee]. Zhong guo guo ji wen yi chu ban she (China International Art Publishing House), n.p. (Beijing?), ISBN 978 988 19593 0 0/W 697.
- Jia Lin (2002) *Xi zang jin yin fen qing yu zang bi da guan*. [Collection of Tibetan Bullion Customs and Tibetan coins] Sichuan mei shu chu ban she (Sichuan Fine Arts Publishing

House), Chengdu, ISBN 7 5410 2119 9/J.1898

Cao Gang (1999) *Zhong guo xi zang di feng huo bi* [Chinese Tibet's Regional Currency], Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, Chengdu, ISBN 7 5409 2203 6/C.37

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Independent scholar

Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia: Sources for their origin and history, edited by Dániel Balogh
Groningen, 2020
Hardback, xxx + 437 pp

This extremely useful 400-plus page volume gathers together all the primary sources of information on the Huns of early medieval Central and South Asia. It was a product of the project *Beyond Boundaries: Religion, region, language and the state* funded by the European Research Council and led by Michael Willis at the British Museum. To quote Willis in his foreword to this book, 'The political and chronological horizon [of the project] was the Gupta dynasty and their contemporaries in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries CE [and its] purpose [was] to . . . recover a . . . compelling and complete picture of early medieval Asia.'

The Guptas, of course, were a quintessentially Indian dynasty, who ruled much of northern India during the time period in question. While much of their focus through their reign was on the area included in modern day India, one of the foreign dynasties with whom they came into vigorous and violent contact was the Huns. Thus it is impossible to study the Guptas without also studying the Huns. This sourcebook, conceived by Hans Bakker, aims to further the study of the Huns by gathering in one place the many disparate sources of information about them.

The source material covered includes literary and epigraphic sources, along with numismatic and sigillary evidence. This information is scattered in so many places that to have it gathered all in one place is a boon for the researcher. Further, sources that are normally difficult or even impossible to access are all included. Thus the material includes Chinese, Khotanese, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Bactrian, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic (including Islamic and Christian), Greek and Latin, and Indic sources. All the references are provided in the original language along with English translation and then interpretative commentaries. Where different members of the research team had differing interpretations of texts, these different opinions are noted, allowing the reader to make up their own mind as to the correct interpretation.

The book opens with a handy timeline of events, created by Bakker, surrounding the Huns in Central and South Asia. It begins with their arrival in the middle of the fourth century in Bactria and also in India (i.e., south of the Hindu Kush mountains) and ends in the late 560s with the conquest of Bactria from the Hephthalites by Khusraw and the establishment of peace in northern India under the Maukhari king of Kanauj, Sarvavarman.

We then proceed to the information sources themselves. First are the Chinese sources, contributed by Chiang Chao-jung, Imre Galambos, Max Deeg and Inaba Minoru. This is the longest chapter in the book, over 110 pages, reflecting the

wide variety of sources and the frequent mention of the Huns, who, after all, originated on the Chinese borderlands. The presentation of the material has been optimized for usefulness. Rather than simply providing in one place all the entries, say, in the *Weishu* that refer to the Huns, the entries are provided separately in different sections referring to specific topics. Thus there are entries from the *Weishu* in sections on Dong Wan's mission in 437 CE, on Song Yun's mission of 518–22, on the Yeda (i.e., Hephthalites) generally, on their expansion, on their population, on their court, political system and economy, on the characteristics of ordinary people, on their language and script, on their funeral customs, on their international status, on their wars, and on their tribute payments to China. I provide this exhaustive list to give the reader a sense of the detail to which the authors have gone. Within each section, material from other sources are interspersed with that from the *Weishu* and other sources.

Next, Mauro Maggi reviews the Khotanese and Frantz Grenet the Pahlavi sources. The dearth of material in Pahlavi is a real surprise, considering how much interaction the Sasanians had with the Huns and how well developed the Sasanian state was. There are only two entries here, neither very informative. This is followed by the extremely informative material in the Sogdian and, especially, the Bactrian sources, reviewed by Nicholas Sims-Williams. I suspect more information is to emerge from the Bactrian documents.

There is a very interesting section on the Armenian sources, authored by Giusto Traina, extending to 24 pages. These are much less familiar to most researchers, but the Armenian sources provide information on a number of topics, including the war of Shapur with the Kidarites, the war of Yazdegerd against the Huns, the defeat of the Sasanians at Herat and the use of Hun troops in the battle of Peroz against the Albanians. The chapter on Armenian sources is followed by chapters on the Syriac sources (by Mark Dickens and Christelle Jullien) and the Arabic literature, both Islamic (by Étienne de la Vaissière) and Christian (Mark Dickens and Orsolya Varsányi).

We next have over 50 pages on the Greek and Latin sources, authored by Timo Stickler. These will be more familiar to most readers but of course they are an essential part of this compendium. A total of 13 sources is cited, from the most familiar such as Priscus, Ammianus and Procopius, to lesser known authors such as Agathias of Myrina and Ioannes Lydus.

The last chapter of textual sources is on the Indic material, studied by Hans Bakker, Csaba Dezső, Gergely Hidas and Dániel Balogh. This is the second-longest chapter in the book, extending to some 90 pages. The most important material here is of course the various inscriptions of the Gupta and Hun kings, but there are references to the Huns in a wide variety of places and all are covered. I was particularly happy to see a substantial entry for the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which is given short shrift by some authors.

The last chapter in the book, by Robert Bracey, covers the numismatic and sigillary evidence. This includes a very useful concordance of the coins listed in Göbl's seminal work on the coins of the Iranian Huns with more recent works by Cribb, Pfisterer and Vondrovec. There are also lists of the Bactrian, Brāhmī and Pahlavi legends found on coins. Finally, 43 coins are illustrated in full colour.

The book closes with 22 pages of references, and a detailed seven-page index to allow the reader quick access to entries on any one topic in all of the different sources. Handsomely published in hard cover by Barkhuis, this will be an indispensable resource for all researchers in the field and to anyone interested in the history of the period.

Pankaj Tandon
Boston University

The Alkhan: A Hunnic people in South Asia

by Hans T. Bakker
 Groningen, 2020
 Hardback, xiii + 128 pp

This slim but brilliant volume is a companion to the *Sourcebook* on the Huns (reviewed above). Although coins play only a minor role in the presentation, students of the Huns will find it indispensable, as it gathers together in one place several advances made by Bakker in a series of papers published in different places. That is why it is reviewed here. It is a wonderful example of what can be achieved in our understanding of a topic once a knowledgeable and imaginative scholar has all the sources of information on that particular topic at his fingertips. In that sense, it is indeed an outgrowth of the project to gather all the primary sources of information on the Huns into one volume. Specifically, it is a reconstruction of the history of the Alkhan Huns in India based on the source material collected in the *Sourcebook*.

Bakker begins with the well-known history of the Huns, starting with the appearance of the Kidarites in the mid-fourth century both north and south of the Hindu Kush mountains. Seals and coins play an important role in establishing their presence in the area. The Alkhan were a related tribe and they appear to have replaced the Kidarites in the Kabul valley, Gandhara and Punjab late in the century. Again, coins are a crucial part of this story. Bakker subscribes to Pfisterer's theory that the Alkhan formed a quadripartite confederacy, perhaps immortalized in the famous Swat bowl. This silver bowl, in the collection of the British Museum, shows four royal Hun hunters, thereby providing concrete evidence of a 'quadrumvirate' and also suggesting that the Alkhan and Kidarites were in an alliance.

Bakker points out an aspect of the bowl that is not often discussed: an inscription that was apparently punched onto the bowl after its creation. After noting various attempts to read this legend, none satisfactory, Bakker proposes to read *khīngi* (perhaps denoting *Khīngila*), followed by two numerals, perhaps reading 206, with the letter *ka* (perhaps denoting Kidara). Assuming 206 represents a date, Bakker was unable to provide a good explanation for what year this might represent. He also notes that Harry Falk proposed that the *ka* stood for *karshapana*, a silver weight, so that 206 *ka* might represent the silver weight of the bowl. However, the weight of the bowl is actually only about half of what we might expect 206 karshapanas to weigh, leading to the suggestion that 206 *ka* might stand for the total weight of a pair of bowls, of which the Swat bowl is only one. Although the discussion is inconclusive, it is nevertheless fascinating and one that all students of the period must keep in mind.

Bakker also looks carefully at the well-known Schøyen inscription and offers a powerful new argument to locate the place where the copper plate was inscribed, Tālagāna, in the vicinity of the Salt range rather than in Bactria where Melzer (2006) had placed it. This is because the inscription mentions the princess of Śārada as the one who instigated the building of the stūpa memorialized in the inscription. Bakker makes a persuasive argument to connect this name to the Śārada Devī temple in the village of Śardi in Kashmir. Bakker's suggestion reinforces the one made by de la Vaissière (2007) that Tālagāna was not north of the Hindu Kush but rather the town of Tālagang in Pakistan, just north of the Salt Range.

Next, Bakker makes another remarkable advance: the identification of Toramāṇa's capital. Using a number of sources and leads, he argues very persuasively that Toramāṇa's capital was near the town of Akhnur, where the Chenab river flows out from the mountains towards the Indo-Gangetic plain. He identifies a very attractive site from the point of view of its strategic location and defensibility, where excavations have yielded a coin of Toramāṇa. This then would have been the launching point for Toramāṇa's campaign of conquest in the last decade of the fifth century.

The last and longest chapter brings to bear a wide array of evidence: archaeological remains, inscriptions, literary sources, and coins, to reconstruct what Bakker calls the 'Age of Hunnic Wars'. The period under review is c. 490–535. The author suggests that there were two Hunnic wars during this period and that India was left transformed by their end.

The first Hunnic war took place c. 495 or shortly thereafter, when Toramāṇa ventured south from his original base, entering the Gangetic plain and then making his way to the Betwa valley to confront the Gupta armies in the western portion of the empire. Interestingly, Bakker does not mention Sanghol in this context, where excavations have revealed coins of Toramāṇa, very much supporting the idea that he passed through that area. Since coins of the Guptas were also found in Sanghol, it is likely that Toramāṇa defeated a Gupta garrison there before moving on to Mālwa. There he defeated the Gupta armies again, as revealed by the Eran inscription, establishing his 'year one' there.

Within the next year or two, Toramāṇa ventured further west, presumably in order to control the trade route all the way to the Arabian Sea. The Sanjeli copper plate inscriptions testify to his success in this enterprise also.

Toramāṇa's next expedition was to the heart of the Gupta Empire. This effort is attested by the sealing of the Ghoshitārāma Monastery overstruck by the name Toramāṇa found in Kauśāmbī and by the fact that Toramāṇa issued coins, particularly gold dinars, on the Gupta model. This is the last we hear of Toramāṇa in the book, although some texts do report on further activities in the heart of the Gupta lands, namely the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and the testimony of Xuanzang. The first Hunnic wars come to an end, however, with a Hun defeat back in Mālwa at the hands of the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman, as attested by the Rīsthal Inscription.

Bakker turns next to Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula. He is encountered in the year 520 by the Chinese monk Songyun on the banks of the Jhelum river. He subsequently invades Mālwa again, like his father, as attested by the Gwalior inscription, which suggests that he had some preliminary

success. However, by the 530s, he seems to have been forced to bend his head to Yaśodharman, the son of Prakāśadharman, as we are informed by the Mandasor and Sondhni inscriptions of Yaśodharman. That is the end of the second Hunnic war.

Bakker shows convincingly that, at the start of this period, Vaiṣṇavism was very much in force, as this was the preferred religion of the Guptas, and Toramāṇa also showed some affinity to it. By the end of the period, however, the Guptas were no longer on the scene and Śaivism was in ascendance. The Aulikaras and Mihirakula were all Śaivites. The author argues that the critical advantage of Śaivism was that the Guru was seen as a channel to the Divine and therefore could effect worldly success.

More companion volumes to the *Sourcebook* are planned, including one on coins; stay tuned!

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Pankaj Tandon
Boston University

Rivalling Rome: Parthian coins and culture by V. Curtis and A. Magub
London, 2020
Paperback, 128 pp, £20

* The book is reprinting and will be available again shortly



As a student and enthusiast of Iranian history, it is often surprising to me that the Parthian period is often seen as an afterthought to be mentioned as a side note. This is quite odd as they in fact stood as one of the great rivals to Rome during the time in which they reigned and even defeated them in very theatrical fashion during the time of Crassus. With that in mind it is wonderful to see the book *Rivalling Rome: Parthian Coins and Culture* by Vesta Curtis and Alexandra Magub, attempt to rectify this. This book was published to accompany a special exhibition at the British Museum in 2020 which did not take place owing to Covid-19, but the book makes a contribution to the field on its own.

The book of course gives an overview of Parthian history, from its origins to the Sasanian conquest. This is of particular use as Parthian history has a tendency to be mentioned only within the context of other major political units such as Rome, the Seleucids and the Sasanians. Here, however, the authors do not write about the Parthians in a regional vacuum but take the time to compare them with other local states such as Elymais, Characene and Persis. This makes the book a

valuable resource not only for academics and students, but also for the general public who may be unfamiliar with this time period and region.

The coins themselves are also presented as part of a general discussion, rather than in the form of a never-ending catalogue. This is refreshing, as many numismatic books tend to focus more on the cataloguing of the coins in question, written more as reference material than as a readable narrative, and this makes it difficult for younger academics or the general public to get interested and familiar with a topic. This can be discouraging.

The book is structured chronologically, and takes us from the Achaemenid period all the way to the fall of the Parthians. This really helps the reader to fill in gaps in their knowledge. Furthermore, with this book I felt I could confidently identify a coin as being Parthian, even if I could not tell the exact type, mint or ruler.

The pictures of the coins featured in this book are of superb quality and really allow you to take in the details of each coin and understand what the authors are discussing. Once again the authors do not bore us with page after page of illustrations of every type of coin imaginable, but they insert them periodically so the reader can understand and get a much better context to the coins and their stories. Additionally there are a great many photographs of related items which help contextualize the coins and the period in question, such as those of cuneiform tablets and statues from Palmyra and Hatra. This last was very important to me as it reminded me that coins do not appear in a vacuum of materials, but are a reflection of a wider culture.

In conclusion, although the exhibition never took place, we are fortunate to have this book to help expand our knowledge of the field. *Rivalling Rome* is a wonderful book that leaves readers wanting to know more about the Parthians, while giving them the tools to explore a new area of knowledge that they may not have been able to access in the past.

Jonathan Ouellet
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Guqian jipin [Exceptional Rarities among the Ancient Coins]
by Huo Hongwei [in Chinese]

Beijing, 2016, paperback 289 pp, ISBN 9787101115253

霍宏伟:《古钱极品》, 中华书局



Stories of rare coins always attract attention, not only from collectors and dealers, but also from numismatists working in public collections. *Exceptional Rarities Among the Ancient Coins* by Dr Huo Hongwei, a researcher at the National Museum of China (NMC), reveals detailed information about exceptionally rare coins in the NMC. Huo specializes in archaeology from the Han to the Tang dynasties, and his

numismatic publications include *Discovery and Research of Coins in Luoyang* 《洛阳钱币发现与研究》 and *The*

Encyclopaedia of China Numismatics: Archaeological Material volume 《中国钱币大辞典·考古资料编》, for which he received the prestigious Jinquan Prize. This book was produced as part of the project, Research of Rare Coins from the Han to Tang in the National Museum of China'.

In 39 essays Huo presents 47 rare coins from the pre-Qin period to the Yuan Dynasty, with both rubbings of all coins mentioned, and colour photographs for many of them. In each essay he states when and where the coins were first discovered, gives details of each coin and comparative examples in Chinese museum collections. He then presents the provenance of each piece before it entered the NMC, and concludes each essay with a personal comment, or occasionally, a poem. His aim was to produce an accurate and popular book on numismatics, drawing on historical records and archaeological materials.

The NMC has an extensive collection of coins from China and other countries, mostly comprising the personal collections of distinguished collectors such as Luo Bozhao, Chen Rentao, and Shen Zicha, which were donated to the NMC. With personal collections it is essential to know whether the coins are genuine or not. In the Qing dynasty, coin collecting was a pastime for educated people, and there were plenty of fake coins around. Items handed down in personal collections were often suspect, especially rare coins, which often came with fascinating stories. In the case of one exceptionally rare coin, tracing its provenance of the piece was essential in order to confirm its authenticity. The piece in question is the *Guobao jinkui zhiwan* (国宝金匮直万, 'national treasure worth 10,000'), one of the rarest coinages of China. Legend has it that there are three specimens in the world (two intact, one half-piece), and that one of the intact pieces is fake. Chen Rentao owned both of the intact pieces, and sold one of them to the NMC in the 1950s. But which one was which? For a long time, coin collectors believed that the piece in the NMC was fake, and that the genuine piece was in the USA. Huo explains how provenance research enabled him to determine that the NMC piece was genuine. His research led him to a rubbing published by Mr Chen in *Money*, the journal of the Japanese Numismatic Society (Tōyō Kahei Kyōkai), which proved that the NMC piece was genuine (陳仁濤: "國寶金匱錢攷", 貨幣, 東洋貨幣協會 280 (1937), 4–9). The whereabouts of the fake piece remains unknown.

For other coins in this book, the archaeological evidence is essential. As an archaeologist himself, Huo provides details from archaeological reports and publications that specify the date and precise location of rare coin finds.

Archaeology can also throw light on coins from personal collections. For example, one of the coins donated by Luo Bozhao has the inscription *jianguo tongbao* 建國通寶.

Luo bought it in 1941, believing it to be genuine, and an abbreviated reference to the Jian Zhong jing guo 建中靖國 reign period (1101) of Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty. However, no coins with this inscription are known in the archaeological record. Huo notes that an archaeological report of an excavated Qing dynasty tomb mentions a coin with the inscription Jian Zhong jing guo 建中靖國, but he remains unconvinced. Huo's colleague, Chen Keshuang 陳克雙, also a researcher at the NMC, believes that the *Jianguo tongbao* coin is probably a fake or a fantasy piece.

Exceptional Rarities Among the Ancient Coins is an

excellent volume, providing valuable data from a very important public collection. It stands alongside the NMC's four-volume catalogue of the coin collection (from the pre-Qin period through to the Qing dynasty), 中国国家博物馆编:《中国国家博物馆馆藏文物研究丛书·钱币卷,先秦》[National Museum of China: *Studies of the Collections of the National Museum of China: Pre-Qin*, 2 vols, Shanghai 2017], 中国国家博物馆编:《中国国家博物馆馆藏文物研究丛书·钱币卷,秦-五代》[National Museum of China: *Studies of the Collections of the National Museum of China: From Qin to Five Dynasties*, Shanghai 2018]. 中国国家博物馆编:《中国国家博物馆馆藏文物研究丛书·钱

币卷,宋-清》[National Museum of China: *Studies of the Collections of the National Museum of China: From Song to Qing*, Shanghai 2018]. It is important that the NMC is publishing its numismatic collection, because it does not offer study room facilities (as, for example, the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian Institution, and many other major museums), and this is the only way we can study the coins in the NMC collection. We look forward to future catalogues of coins of the Republic of China and foreign coins in the NMC collection.

Yawei Zhang
MA in History, Lakehead University, Canada

ONS 50th Anniversary Conference

Programme

UK time (BST) 14.00–18.00, 25–26 June 2022 via Zoom

Saturday 25 June 2022

2.00–2.15 Introduction Pankaj Tandon

Chair: Pankaj Tandon

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|---------|--------------|--|
| 1 | 2.15–2.45 | Keynote | John Deyell | Indo-Sasanian coinages: interpretative challenges and new ways forward |
| 2 | 2.45–3.15 | Keynote | Dai Jianbing | Chinese coin culture |

3.15–3.30 Break

Chair: Helen Wang

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------------|--|
| 3 | 3.30–4.00 | East Asia | François Thierry | The circulation and use of the bamboo tallies in Jiangsu Province by the light of the Tongcheng Company issues |
| 4 | 4.00–4.30 | SE Asia | François Joyaux | Cataloguing the ancient Annamese private cash |

4.30–4.45 Break

Chair: Shailendra Bhandare

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|----------------|--|
| 5 | 4.45–5.15 | South Asia | Amiteshwar Jha | Fresh light on the copper coins of Vemakis |
| 6 | 5.15–5.45 | South Asia | Pankaj Tandon | The coins in the name of Chandragupta |
| | 5.45–6.00 | Farewell | | |

Sunday 26 June

2.00–2.15 Welcome Joe Cribb

Chair: Robert Bracey

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------------|-------------------|--|
| 7 | 2.15–2.4 | Iran | Ehsan Shavarebi | From Bishapur to Vienna: A hoard of late Sasanian drachms? |
| 8 | 2.45–3.15 | Central Asia | Aleksandr Naymark | Immobilized types in Sogdian coinage |

3.15–3.30 Break

Chair: Paul Stevens

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------|------------------|---|
| 9 | 3.30–4.00 | Islam | Stefan Heidemann | Mints and Urban Dynamics: Baghdād, al-Raqqa and other places |
| 10 | 4.00–4.30 | Islam | Sanjay Garg | Badshah as the Caliph: Probing caliphal pretensions of the Mughal rulers of India |

4.30–4.45 Break

Chair: Joe Cribb

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------|-------------------|--|
| 11 | 4.45–5.15 | Paper Money | Richard Morel | A biography in banknotes: The life and career of Alfred Joseph Bull, 1876–1950 |
| 12 | 5.15–5.45 | Tokens | Michael Mitchiner | Bombay tolas |
| | 5.45–6.00 | Farewell | | |

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