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Keen observers of this journal will have noticed its gradual transformation taking place over the previous four issues. With issue 251 a new style was introduced along with a new monogram for the Society. Our editor Paula Turner has led the Editorial Board to bring about these changes, and we all now feel confident that the journal is back on a stable footing with the issues appearing at regular intervals with a consistent style of presentation and quality articles of broad interest to our members.

All contributions are now reviewed by the editor and the board and by a relevant specialist on our Editorial Advisory Panel to ensure the members are presented with easily accessible, accurate and useful articles. We also want to continue to include news items and shorter articles on new discoveries. All members are welcome to offer articles to the journal so they can pass through the review process and hopefully appear in these pages. Contributors are invited to read the submission instructions on our website <https://orientalnumismaticssociety.org/jons/submission-request/> before sending articles or notes to the editor. Contributors should also follow the guidance for preparing their text prior to submission: <https://orientalnumismaticssociety.org/guides/jons-style-guide-v.1.pdf>. Like all the Society's officers and council members, our editor is a volunteer and the closer submissions are to the guidance the less work she has to do in preparing your offerings for publication.

The current issue presents us with a broad range of topics. New information on a rare series of Islamic coins is always welcome. The recent growth of interest in the coinage history of Indonesia is illustrated by two articles. The story of private monetary payments sent home by overseas Chinese introduces us to a new subject. The story of coin collecting and research in South Asia is furthered by a recent discovery relating to a renowned expert on Sri Lankan coins. A review of an important new book on Indian coins signals our intention to

continue to inform members of new publications when they appear either as news items or through reviews.

I am sorry to end on a sad note. We have learnt of the death of our former Secretary Peter Smith, a collector of ancient and medieval Indian, Iranian and Afghan coins. Peter played a key role in the Society following the establishment of its Council in 1997, when he helped draft our Constitution and has since overseen its updates to keep the Society in line with recent developments in digital activities. Peter served as the Society's Secretary from 1999 until 2016, at the same time he also acted as the UK and Ireland Regional Secretary. The Society is deeply grateful for Peter's contribution and we express our sincere condolences to his widow Isabella and his family.



Peter Smith (left) enjoying lunch at an ONS meeting in Oxford, 2012

Joe Cribb
JONS Editorial Board

Coins of Rustam Aq Qoyunlu countermarked in Varamin (Warāmīn)

Seyed Omid Mohammadi and Saeed Soleimani

Abstract Varamin (Persian or Farsi, Warāmīn in Arabic as used on the coins) was a prosperous city in Iran in the Ilkhanid era. However, there are few numismatic references to the city, and not many coin types struck in Varamin are known to numismatists. Also, almost no coins have been reported from the second half of the ninth century to the first half of the tenth century AH (CE 1450–1550) for this mint. This article introduces a small group of coins countermarked by Rustam Aq Qoyunlu (897–902 AH, CE 1491–6) in Varamin. These are the first published coins of this dynasty to bear this mint name, and they add Varamin to the long list of cities in which Aq Qoyunlu sultans minted coins.

The modern city of Varamin, also written as Waramin, is located 35 kilometres south-east of Tehran, the capital of Iran, as shown in figure 1. Historical structures and remains like Iraj castle near the city suggest that this city goes back to at least the Sasanian era (Mousavinia 2016), and some archaeological finds put this date to much earlier times.

Varamin was a small agricultural village in the state of Ray before the Mongol invasion of Iran. However, after the city of Ray was invaded and captured by Mongols in 617 AH (CE 1220), most of its population fled to nearby places, especially Varamin and Tehran (Le Strange 1905, 216). As Varamin had a better climate than Ray, many chose this place as their home



Figure 1 Map of modern Iran showing the location of Varamin



Figure 2 Masjed Jāme' in 1881, Qajar era (Dieulafoy 1887, 141) and this factor made Varamin the most prosperous city of the Ray state in the eighth century.

In fact, many of the city's most significant historical monuments are from that period of flourishing. Among the most famous are Imamzadeh Yahya's mausoleum (Overton 2021; Blair 2016) and Masjed Jāme' (Nakhaei 2019). Masjed Jāme', meaning 'congregational mosque', was built in the Ilkhanid era. Its art and architecture, along with the magnitude of the work needed to construct such a building, show that it was not an ordinary mosque such as one might find in any city. Thus, Varamin must have been of great importance in that period.

However, the time of prosperity soon came to an end as the battles of Timur and his sons led to destruction. The toll of these wars on the city was so great that when Clavijo, ambassador of Henry III of Castile to the court of Timur, visited the town on 23 January 1406 CE (23 Rajab 808 AH), he found a vast city with empty, uninhabited houses. He met Suleiman Mirza, one of Timur's sons-in-law there (Rajabnia 1965, 303).

With the rise of the Safavids, it seemed that Varamin might get a chance to rejuvenate. However, Tehran gained more importance in this era and started actively minting coins, so when it was fortified by Tahmasb I, it received more attention than Ray and Varamin. With the decline of the Safavids and the invasion of Iran by the Hotakis, many cities were ravaged once again, and Varamin was no exception (Lockhart 1964, 379).

After that the city never healed until very recently. The illustrations and well-known writings of Madam Dieulafoy, who visited Iran during the time of Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar,



Figure 3 Modern photograph of Masjed Jāme'

show us that Varamin was not in a decent state when she saw it. By June 1881 Varamin was a small village with agricultural lands and no caravanserai (Dieulafoy 1887, 140–43). As can be seen in figure 2, Masjed Jāme' was almost in ruins. Another noticeable feature of this illustration is that the mosque seems to be in the middle of nowhere, on vacant farmland outside the village. It may be that the city moved from its original location. Masjed Jāme' was reconstructed in the 1980s, and figure 3 shows the mosque as it is now.

Coins of Varamin

Numismatic references barely include any coins of Varamin. The city is not mentioned in *Iranian Mints of the Islamic Era*, a Persian book by Abdullah Aghili (1998), and no Timurid or Aq Qoyunlu coins of this mint are reported in other references written about the coins of these dynasties (Tabataba'i 1976). Ömer Diler, on the other hand, reported several coins minted in Varamin. He mentioned Ilkhanid coins of Uljaytu dated 711 AH (figures 4–6), 712 (figure 7), and 713, a Taghay Timur coin of year 739 (figure 8), and a Timurid coin dated 828 (Diler 2009, 1296). Apart from these, a coin from the time of Amir Wali of Amirs of Astarabad dated 775 has also been spotted on the market (figure 9).¹



Figure 4 Ilkhanid, Uljaytu, AR 2 dirhams, Varamin, 711? AH, with inverted reverse marginal legend, 4.19 g²



Figure 5 Flipped and cropped image of the coin in figure 4, showing the mint name and date

1 Stephen Album Rare Coins, Auction 18, Lot 738.

2 American Numismatic Society (hereafter ANS) 1968.212.39.



Figure 6 Ilkhanid, Uljaytu, AR 2 dirhams, Varamin, 711? AH, 4.29 g³

The coins depicted in figures 4 and 6 seem to be different designs of the same year. The reverse marginal legend on the coin in figure 4 is inverted (Blair 1982, 215). But even after flipping the image (figure 5), the date is still strange as it seems that number one is written in its Arabic numerical form '1' and is read mixed with the next word as *احدى عشرة*, with *ة* moving place to form *عشر*, maybe for aesthetic reasons. Such movements of letters happen a lot in Nasta'liq style, and to see it happen here in Naskh is interesting. So, the date for this specimen seems to be 711. The same thing can be seen on the coin in figure 6, this time without the inversion. However, the engraver used the form *اثنى عشر و سبعمائة* to write the date 712 on the coin in figure 7. In fact, to show the number 12, apart from *اثنى عشر*, all forms of *اثنى عشرة*, *اثنتا عشرة* and *عشر* are correct and used in Qur'ān. On this specimen, the mint is written as *مدينة ورامين* Madinat-i Varamin.⁴



Figure 7 Ilkhanid, Uljaytu, AR 2 dirhams, Madinat-i Varamin, 712 AH, 4.6 g



Figure 8 Ilkhanid, Taghay Timur⁵, AR 6 dirhams, Varamin, 739 AH, 6.89 g⁶



Figure 9 Amirs of Astarabad, Amir Wali, AR 6 dirhams, Varamin, (77)5 AH, 4.50 g (Zeno #8270)

3 ANS 1974.241.10.

4 Similar coins are on Zeno 304229 and Solidus Numismatik, auktion 9, lot 807, both mistakenly read as Bazar-i Varamin.

5 This coin is only in the name of Taghay Timur as he did not have any real authority in these regions.

6 ANS 1938.148.327.



Figure 10 Safavid, Isma'il I, AR 1 shahi, Varamin, 919 AH, 9.05 g, 25 mm

Another specimen that came to our attention was a Safavid coin of Isma'il I minted in Varamin (figure 10). Until now, this type is the latest minted coin in Varamin in 919 that we know of. Of course, this does not mean that no other rulers minted coins in this city. Conversely, with the introduction of coins of Rustam Aq Qoyunlu in this article, our hopes of finding more Safavid and Aq Qoyunlu coins of Varamin increase.

Rustam's countermarked coins

A total of 30 coins are introduced and analysed in this article, all countermarked by Rustam Aq Qoyunlu (897–902 AH) in the city of Varamin. Before this, no coin of this dynasty had been found bearing this mint name, and in fact, almost no other coins had been reported to be struck between 775 to 919 in Varamin.

As can be seen in figures 11–13, the countermark is in the shape of a square and reads

عدل سلطان رستم ضرب ورامين

'adl-i sulṭān rustam ḡarb-i varāmīn

(The justice of Sultan Rustam, minted in Varamin).

This is a typical countermark of Sultan Rustam, and the same formula exists bearing the name of numerous cities.



Figure 11 Aq Qoyunlu, Rustam, countermarked silver tanka, 4.8 g, 21 mm



Figure 12 (left) Detail of the countermark in figure 11

Figure 13 (right) Interpretation of the countermark

These countermarks, all similar and possibly from the same die, can be found on a variety of tanka coins and countermarks of former rulers, mostly Shahrukh (807–50 AH) of the Timurid dynasty and Ya'qub Aq Qoyunlu (883–96 AH). Among these hosts, mints of Amul, Astarabad, Kashan, Qazwin, Soltaniyeh, and Tabriz can be identified. Images of these coins are shown

in figures 14–42. As all Rustam countermarks on these coins are the same they are not repeated in the figure captions.



Figure 14 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 5.1 g



Figure 15 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 4.9 g



Figure 16 On an obliterated host, 5.1 g



Figure 17 On earlier countermarks, 'adl and 'sultan . . .', 5.1 g



Figure 18 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya 'qub?, 891?, 5.1 g



Figure 19 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya 'qub countermark 'adl sultan ya 'qub zarb qazwin', 5.3 g



Figure 20 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 5.1 g



Figure 21 On an obliterated host, 5.2 g



Figure 22 On an earlier countermark of Rustam, unknown mint, 5.1 g



Figure 23 On 3 earlier countermarks, Sultan Husayn's 'bihbud' and 'bihbud astarabad' and a fully obliterated countermark on ya 'qub as a host, 5.1 g



Figure 24 On Shahrukh's countermark 'shahrukh bahadur' on Timur as a host, 5.8 g



Figure 25 On Qara Qoyunlu countermark 'adl sultan jahanshah 857' and Timurid countermark 'adl sultan abu sa'id kurakan' on Timurid host, 4.9 g



Figure 26 On Aq Qoyunlu, Rustam, 5.1 g



Figure 27 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub countermark 'adl sultan ya'qub kashan' on a host of Hasan Beik, Amul, 5.1 g



Figure 28 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub countermark 'adl sultan ya'qub kashan' on Timurid host, 4.9 g



Figure 29 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub countermark 'adl sultan ya'qub soltaniyeh' on Timurid host, Shahrukh, 5.0 g



Figure 30 Under Timurid, Sultan Husayn countermark 'bihbud astarabad' on Aq Qoyunlu host, Sultan Bāysunghur, 5.0 g



Figure 31 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub, 5.1 g



Figure 32 On earlier countermark 'adl sultan' in a circle, 5.1 g



Figure 33 On Aq Qoyunlu, Rustam, Kashan, 5.1 g



Figure 34 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 5.1 g



Figure 35 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 5.1 g



Figure 36 On Aq Qoyunlu host, Rustam?, 5.1 g



Figure 37 Under an unknown partial countermark, on Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub 'adl sultan ya'qub' on Timurid host, Shahrukh, 5.1 g



Figure 38 On Aq Qoyunlu, Rustam, 899, 5.1 g



Figure 39 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub, 894?, 4.9 g



Figure 40 On Aq Qoyunlu, Ya'qub, Tabriz, 5.1 g



Figure 41 On Aq Qoyunlu host, 5.0 g



Figure 42 Under a later unknown countermark, 5.1 g

Conclusion

We have used in our research numismatic books and references, private collections and internet sources, including the Zeno database, online auctions and the American Numismatic Society and British Museum online catalogues to list the coins minted in this city. A group of 30 coins countermarked by Rustam Aq Qoyunlu in Varamin was introduced. These countermarks all seem to be from the same die and struck on coins of former rulers from at least six different mints. As the first coins of this dynasty reported to be minted in Varamin,

these specimens add this city to the list of Aq Qoyunlu mints and strengthen the possibility that other rulers could have also minted coins in Varamin. This paper also showed that Varamin's mint was still active in the interregnum between the time of Uljaytu to the early Safavid rulers who struck coins in this city. Although Varamin experienced a period of turmoil between the eighth century to the tenth century AH, it is to be hoped that more coins minted in this city from that time will come to light as time passes.

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Saeed Soleimani is a highly experienced Iranian numismatist, with a PhD in the history of Iran after Islam. He co-authored a book with Torabi Tabataba'i and has also published a book on the coins of local Iranian dynasties, as well as several articles in Persian.

Chinese influence in the former Dutch East Indies as evidenced by the use of cash-like coinage

T. D. Yih

Abstract Relatively few papers have been published on the typology of the cash-like local coinage (*picis*) that was the main circulating currency at the time of the arrival of the Europeans in the East Indies. Local cash-like coins from Java have been reported and recently on Sumatra, due to dredgings in the Musi river at Palembang and the Batanghari river at Jambi a substantial number of new types turned up. The aim of this paper is to extend the knowledge of this neglected coinage by providing a small catalogue. These coins reflect the influence of the Chinese in the archipelago.¹

It is well documented that towards the end of the Majapahit empire with its main centre on the island of Java, there was a shift from the local gold and silver coinage to the use of Chinese cash (*picis* or *pitis*). The first notice of *picis*, also called *caixas* in Javanese inscriptions, is dated 1350 (Pigeaud 1960). When the Dutch arrived at Bantam they reported the circulation of lead *picis* as substitute for the copper *ch'ien*. Some have been illustrated in ancient journals of voyages (in 1597 and 1598, Langenes 1597) that mention the circulating coinage at the time of the arrival of the Dutch in the archipelago. An illustration from 1597 shows a copper Wan Li tong bao piece and a lead Xian Ping yuan bao piece. However, the copper piece is shown upside down, whereas the Xian Ping piece is in mirror image and has a full character bao. On the 1598 drawing the Wan Li piece is still upside down, but the Xian Ping piece is now presented correctly. Peculiarly, both pieces show a double ring on both obverse and reverse sides. During the second half of the nineteenth century, under the supervision of the Batavian Society of Arts, finds of coins were carefully recorded, but mainly in terms of numbers without detailed descriptions. Even in the standard works of Netcher/van der Chijs (1863) and Millies (1871) relatively few drawings of Chinese-style coins are shown, with the exception of the so-called *gobogs* from Java and the minor *gongsis* coins from Borneo and Bangka. Now, however, the number of different types of Bangka *gongsis* pieces has increased greatly due to dredging in the Musi river at Palembang (Mitchiner and Yih 2013). During recent decades more detailed papers have been published on cash-styled pieces. Van Aelst (1995) discussed the small bronze pieces with Northern Song reign titles with a lower copper and higher lead content that circulated together with the original bronze Chinese pieces. The most abundant reign titles were Xian Ping, Xiang Fu and Tian Xi. It is still a matter of debate whether these smaller pieces were imported from southern China or cast locally in the archipelago. Other papers on cash-like pieces in the former Dutch East Indies comprise a paper on tin cash pieces reported to originate from the northern coast of mid-Java, the region of Tegal and Cheribon (Yih 2018). These pieces bear corrupted Chinese legends such as *xian ping tong bao*, *tai ping yuan bao* and most remarkably the legend *tian xia tai ping*; the legends are often surrounded by a single or a double circle and show

Table 1 Overview of the minimal numbers of new pieces observed so far

<i>Types with legends/word</i>	<i>Minimal number</i>
xian ping yuan bao (simplified <i>bao</i>)	5
shang ping yuan bao	23
shang xia zhong ping	3
ge	11
li	6
tong	3
decorated cash	2
alamat sultan (large)	4
chanpi raj	42
Sumatran–Javanese (large) inscription	71
Sumatran–Javanese (small) inscription	13
Sumatran–Javanese (cramped) inscription	86

mainly the simplified form of the character *bao* (宝). There are, however, also blank pieces without any legends and pieces with geometrical motifs such as dots or crosses (x or +). Other papers deal with tin pieces from the Palembang region. They involve tin pieces with the legend *shi dan li bao* (often with corrupt Chinese characters, Yih 2010), tin pieces with a round and square central hole and the Arabic legends *alamat sultan* (Yih 2011) and most surprisingly a large number of tin pieces with Northern Song reign titles (Yih 2012). Although these are very common nowadays, until a few years ago they were not known and also not described in the numismatic literature.

The aim of this paper is to supplement our existing knowledge of the circulation of cash-like coins in the former Dutch East Indies with the newest findings. A preliminary catalogue of them is presented here.

As a result of dredgings in the Musi river at Palembang and in the Batanghari river at Jambi more to the north-west of Palembang, a fair number of hitherto unknown cash-like coins has appeared on the market. Table 1 summarizes the numbers observed so far. It should be noted that these numbers represent a minimal estimate. The actual number might be larger.

Discussion

The coins illustrated in figure 1 show on their obverses geometrical wave-like symbols as also have been seen in some pieces from the Tegal hoard together with possible a corrupted character *bao* at left (no. 1) and a character *wang* at the bottom (no. 2). The symbols on coin 3 might also be corrupt Chinese characters. The same holds for coin no.4 that might have a corrupted Chinese character beside the character *ping* at right.

The five *xian ping* pieces reported by the seller to originate from Palembang have the same appearance as the ones from the Tegal hoard from Java with respect to the presence of the simplified character *bao*, but they are significantly larger and weigh more. They correspond more to the tin *xian ping* pieces from Malacca described by Saran Singh (1986, SS17) also in view of their metrics. According to him these coins were issued privately towards the middle of the fifteenth century

¹ Originally published in the series 'Monnaies d'Asie' no. 11, 2017 57–67, Société Numismatique Asiatique.

by the Chinese captain or merchants in Malacca. However, it should be noted that in the past such pieces as appeared on the market that are suspect in view of their high antimony content (Yih 2007).

The tin pieces with Ming reign titles as well as the 'decorated' tin pieces appeared on the market together with the tin series with northern Song reign titles, but they are much scarcer. Incidentally, the tin Northern Song series contains also pieces with the legends *xian ping yuan bao*, but so far no pieces with the simplified character *bao* have been encountered. Nothing can be said about the single character pieces and *ge* pieces except that they appeared occasionally in offerings of the tin northern Song pieces and also have been mentioned to originate from the Musi river. The *shang ping* pieces suddenly turned up on eBay, but presently are seldom seen.

Similarly to the Bangka gongsi coins that formerly were rare, many new cash coin types turned up in substantial quantities only very recently, especially those with a Sumatran–Javanese inscription. They suddenly appeared on the market around mid-July 2016. As can be seen in table 1 their total comprises now at least 170 pieces. The first pieces that appeared on the market were reported to originate from the Musi river at Palembang, but later such pieces were also reported from the Batanghari river at Jambi. A few pieces offered by sellers from Indonesia have been described as lead coins from Banten. Another seller, however, mentioned that they are not found at Banten. It is amazing that they were not mentioned in the numismatic literature on the coinage from the former Dutch East Indies that described the coinage from Palembang and Jambi. A deterioration can be observed from the well-written legends (nos 28 and 29) via a type with smaller characters (nos 30 and 31) to finally a type with less space for the characters resulting in poorly recognizable legends (nos 32 and 33).

According to Millies, Javanese was used on Sumatra until the late seventeenth century. Hence, it is reasonable to date these pieces to that period at the latest or based on the presence of a square central hole even earlier around 1600 as Mitchiner (2012) argued based on coins from Siak.

The small *alamat sultan* coins are indeed described by Millies. They are dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. The larger specimens, however, were not known and are still very rare.

The first *chanpi raj* piece was encountered several years before the appearance of the pieces with a Sumatran–Javanese legends and it was uploaded in the Zeno Oriental coins database in February 2013, number ZN121766. The legend was erroneously supposed to contain the word *khan* which is problematic for Southeast Asian coins. In recent years more pieces turned up reported as originating from the Musi and Batanghari river. Now the legends of these coins and the pieces with Sumatran–Javanese legends have been clarified as a result of the work of two fellow numismatists from the USA, known as TuckHard and Bgriff, on the Zeno website, where a time schedule has been proposed for these pieces.

Chanpi Raj (1590–1620)
Pangeran Jambi (1610–29)
Pangeran Ratou (1629–30)
Sri Pangeran Ratu (1642–61)

Conclusion

The discovery of so many new types of cash-like coins indicates that the Chinese influence in the former Dutch East Indies was much greater than assumed until now. It is expected that this numismatic *terra incognita* will be further explored by new findings and studies in the future.

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T. D. Yih is a long-term ONS member with numismatic interests in Southeast and Central Asia. He has made a number of presentations to ONS meetings, and written more than 40 publications in various numismatic journals, some of which have been translated into Chinese.

Catalogue

Pieces with geometrical motifs or corrupt Chinese characters



Figure 1 Pieces with geometrical motifs

- 1 *Obverse* single ring around symbols, no rim around central hole
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 19.0 mm, 1.02 mm, ex Java
- 2 *Obverse* four symbols, no rim around central hole, marginal rim present.
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 24.0 mm, 1.30 mm, ex Java



Figure 2 Pieces with corrupt Chinese characters

- 3 *Obverse* single ring around symbols or corrupt Chinese characters, no rim around central hole
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 17.0 mm, 0.66 g, ex Java
- 4 *Obverse* possibly four Chinese characters
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 18.4 mm, 0.69 g, ex Java

Pieces with the inscription *xian ping yuanbao* (咸平元宝) and a simplified character *bao*



Figure 3 Pieces inscribed 'xian ping tongbao'

- 5 *Obverse* weak marginal rim, no rim around central hole
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 21.8 mm, 2.07 g, ex Palembang
- 6 Tin alloy, similar, 22.1 mm, 2.02 g, ex Palembang

These pieces have a higher weight and larger diameter than their Tegal analogues

Tin pieces with Ming reign titles

Inscription *hong wu tongbao* (洪武通寶)



Figure 4 Pieces inscribed 'hong wu tongbao'

- 7 *Obverse* Weak marginal rim, no rim around central hole
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 19.8 mm, 0.95 g, ex Palembang
- 8 Similar, mirror legends
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 20.3 mm, 1.26 g, ex Palembang

Inscription *yong le tongbao* (永樂通寶)



Figure 5 Pieces inscribed 'yong le tongbao'

- 9 *Obverse* inner and outer rim, rather corrupt characters
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 23.8 mm, 1.28 g, ex Palembang
- 10 Tin alloy, similar, 24.3 mm, 1.07 g, ex Palembang
Reverse flat

Inscription *wan li tongbao* (萬曆通寶)



Figure 6 Pieces inscribed 'wan li tongbao'

- 11 *Obverse* inner and outer rim, (acquired as a Bangka gongsi piece entitled 'Wan Cik')
Reverse outer rim
 Tin alloy, 24.8 mm, 2.82 g, ex Palembang
- 12 Tin alloy, similar, 21.9 mm, 1.87 g, ex Palembang
Reverse flat

'Decorated' tin cash

Figure 7 'Decorated' pieces

- 13** *Obverse* inner and outer rim, fantasy legends with at left seal-script character *bao*
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 20.4 mm, 0.65 g, ex Palembang
- 14** *Obverse* similar, at bottom possibly the character *yuan*
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 20.7 mm, 0.84 g, ex Palembang

Single character pieces

Figure 8 Single character pieces

- 15** *Obverse* character *tong* (同) at left, marginal rim present
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 18.1 mm, 0.39 g, ex Palembang
- 16** Similar, character *tong* at right
 Tin alloy, 17.9 mm, 0.38 g, ex Palembang.
- 17** *Obverse* character *xin* (信), marginal rim present.
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 17.9 mm, 0.37 g, ex Palembang



Figure 9 Single character pieces continued

- 18** *Obverse* character *li* (礼), weak marginal rim
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 18.9 mm, 0.52 g, ex Palembang
- 19** *Obverse* character *li* (礼), 4 times?, marginal rim present.
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 17.6 mm, 0.51 g, ex Palembang

Four-character pieces

Figure 10 Pieces inscribed 'shang ping yuanbao'

- 20** *Obverse* *shang ping yuanbao* (尚平元宝), marginal rim present
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 19.8 mm, 0.92 g, ex Palembang
- 21** Similar
 Tin alloy, 20.2 mm, 1.08 g, ex Palembang



Figure 11 Pieces inscribed 'shang xia zhong ping'

- 22** *Obverse* *shang xia zhong ping* (上下中平), inner and outer rim present
Reverse Inner and outer rim
 Tin alloy, 23.0 mm, 2.61 g, ex Palembang
- 23** *Obverse* *x dan yuanbao* (X丹元宝), inner and outer rim present
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 19.6 mm, 0.68 g, ex Palembang

Tin pieces with legends containing the character *ge* (个) and numerals, possibly gamble tokens

Figure 12 Pieces with containing the character 'ge'

- 24** *Obverse* character *ge* (个) and possibly character *nian* (廿), trace of marginal rim
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 17.0 mm, 0.44 g, ex Palembang
- 25** *Obverse* character *ge* (个) and character *shi* (十), trace of marginal rim present.
Reverse flat
 Tin alloy, 16.7 mm, 0.38 g, ex Palembang

Pieces with non-Chinese characters



Figure 13 Pieces with legends 'chanpi Raj'

26 Obverse Arabic/Malay legends *chanpi raj* (جان في راج), inner and outer rim present
Reverse flat

Tin alloy, 19.2 mm, 1.54 g, ex Palembang

27. Tin alloy, similar, 19.1 mm, 0.70 g, ex Jambi

The following shows three new types with a Sumatran–Javanese inscription containing the phrase *sri pangeran ratu*

سرى پانگراى راتو



Figure 14 Pieces with large Sumatran–Javanese legends

28 Obverse Large Sumatran–Javanese legends containing the phrase *sri pangeran ratu*

Reverse marginal rim

Tin alloy, 21.5–22.3 mm, 1.31 g, ex Jambi

29 Tin alloy, similar, 22.3 mm, 1.18 g, ex Palembang

Reverse inner and outer rim



Figure 15 Pieces with small Sumatran–Javanese legends

30 Obverse Smaller Sumatran–Javanese legends containing the phrase *picis jambi*

Reverse flat

Tin alloy, 20.1 mm, 0.75 g, ex Palembang

31 Tin alloy, similar, 19.6 mm, 0.69 g, ex Palembang
Reverse flat



Figure 16 Pieces with cramped Sumatran–Javanese legends

32 Obverse Crude, cramped Sumatran–Javanese legends containing the phrase *pangeran jambi*

Reverse flat

Tin alloy, 20.1 mm, 1.67 g, ex Palembang

33 Tin alloy, similar, 20.6 mm, 1.33 g, ex Jambi

A new larger and heavier specimen of the Palembang *alamat sultan* coins



Figure 17 Pieces with the legends 'alamat Sultan'

34 Obverse *alamat sultan*

Reverse flat

Tin alloy, 17.3 mm, 0.64 g, ex Palembang

35 Tin alloy, similar, 25.0 mm, 3.75 g, ex Palembang

Reverse flat

The discovery of coins in Batu Bahara: The existence of Batu Bahara sultanate in 1745 AD?

Saparudin Barus

Abstract This paper describes a discovery of coins from the Batu Bahara region of Sumatra. The coins show that in the early part of the eighteenth century the area had autonomy as a local sultanate and thus had hegemony over the lower-ranking districts called kedatuans, which was not previously known.

In the early eighteenth century the Batu Bahara region was a *kedatuan* or city state, comprised of four regions under a local sultanate, each ruled over by a *datuk*, or elder (Putri et al. 2000). The sultanates of Johor and Siak contested the area, but for the purposes of government the datuks were given a seal by the sultan of Siak. These datuks had important positions in the Siak kingdom; besides organizing administrative affairs, they also served as the advisors with the authority to appoint and discharge the sultan. The positions were granted by the Siak sultanate by order of Sultan Kecik in 1717 (Ariyani et al. 2017). Hence Batu Bahara had become the administrative capital (Jufrida 2001). This was a historical milestone for Batu Bahara as it became a political unit with an organized power structure, the division of authority and influence shared among the datuks.

A similar situation existed for the people that lived in inland settlements upstream of the river. There were small kingdoms on the coast of east Sumatra from the north to the south, such as Perlak, Tamiang, Aru, Langkat, Deli, Serdang, Bedagai, Batu Bahara, Asahan, Kualuh, Panai and Bilah. These political units were areas contested for by the big powers in the Malacca Strait, such as Aceh, whose power domination spread as far as Tanah Putih Rokan, causing dispute with Johor. Similarly, after seizing power from Johor, Siak tried to expand northward to Langkat, contending with Aceh. The small kingdoms served an important purpose as supplier of inland products for trade in the international market, such as black pepper, rattan, rice, nutmeg and minerals and gold found in the Sumatran inland areas. Batu Bahara was one of the small political units on the coast of east Sumatra but often contested by neighbouring kingdoms' political interests. By 1745 Johor was forced to give its control over Siak to colonists (Jufrida 2001). The transfer of power to the Netherlands was made through compensation. This caused the independence of kingdoms in east Sumatra that were later bound by political contract with the Dutch East Indies (Pelita Hati 2019).

Batu Bahara was described in a Western account by John Anderson's visit. He travelled along small rivers on the east coast of Sumatra, when the traditional centres of the region were on the banks of rivers, such as the Langkat (Kwala Bubun/Batang Serangan), Deli, Serdang and Asahan rivers. He noted that 'Batubara is so called from a large stone in the interior, which at night has the appearance of being red hot, and throws a light round it. Batu signifies stone, and Bara live coals or glowing cinders.' (Anderson 1826, 310). The name still has connotations of coal.

The people inhabiting the east coast of North Sumatra, from the modern Langkat Regency to Labuhan Batu



Figure 1 Map showing the regions of Sumatra

Regency, came from Minangkabau in the the west to trade. They travelled by sea and along the rivers in Bengkalis (Sinar 2006). The kingdom of Minangkabau was founded around 1676–80 (Kahin 2003) and became important in trade. Chinese and European ceramic fragments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and ruins have been found there (McKinnon 1984). An important commodity of the trade was songket, a traditional fabric used for formal Malay costumes produced as a handicraft from the eighteenth century (Jufrida 2007).

The coastal area of the east coast of Sumatra where Batu Bahara is had a number of ports, including Aceh, Pasai, Deli, Asahan, Kampar, Indragiri, Siak, Jambi, and Palembang. Batu Bahara's port was Boga that was subsumed in tectonic activity in the early nineteenth century (Jufrida 2001). The importance of the region as an international trade port at the time can also be seen from coins found in the Boga region, including coins of the English and Dutch East India companies, and English currency (Pelita Hati 2019).

Locations on the east coast of Sumatra involved in trade activities included Siak, Deli, Aceh and Batu Bahara. Deli and Batu Bahara autonomously controlled the trade through the currencies used, as the discovery of coins of the Deli sultanate in Batu Bahara shows (Barus et al. 2021). Both places, besides being directly connected with Penang and Malacca and other Malay regions, were also connected with Europe, India and China (Hussin 2012).

The port cities each issued their own currency, distributed through trade activities in East Sumatra, including Siak, Deli, Aceh and Batubara, contributing in the early period to the



Figure 2 Selection of Batu Bahara coins in three sizes or denominations, obverses on left, reverses on right (Collection of the Sumatran Numismatic Museum)

prosperity of Penang and Malacca owing to the importance of the commodities sent from those regions. Trade commodities from Batu Bahara were silk and gold-threaded fabric. Hence it is not surprising that coins of the sultan of Batu Bahara have been found in trade areas, both domestic and overseas. Yet not much has been published about this. Discussion about coins has tended to concentrate on important sites such as Kampai Island, Kota Cina Site and Asahan.

Find spots include Bengkalis, Pahang and Malacca. Coins of the Kedah sultanate, tin money in the shape of a cockerel perched on rings and tin ornaments in the form of flower petals and cone-shaped ingots in different sizes are often found.

Batu Bahara and its Minangkabau people opened up the country and the 'Batu Bahara Malays' were known to the people of Malay peninsula, especially the north Malays in areas such as Kedah and Pinang islands. In the early nineteenth century, people from Batu Bahara helped the people of Kedah against invasion by Siam and Bugis (Langkawi 2020). Kedah was the most important port on the west coast of the Malay peninsula during Sriwijaya kingdom's glorious period (Reid 2011).

Currency of the Kedah sultanate is frequently found from the time of the nineteenth sultan, Sultan Muhammad Jiwa II with the title Sultan Zainal Adilin Muazam Syah (1710–78). From the same period there are coins of Batu Bahara.

Thousands of pieces of currency were found at Batu Bahara regency, in the Rawa Dolek village, Lima Puluh District. An area of 40 hectares, which was previously a coastal area in the port, is now an oil palm plantation. There were two old tombs of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries that, according to the local people, were the cemetery of a datuk. The site has not yet been registered and identified by any of the heritage or archaeological authorities.

The coins fall into three fractional sizes, or denominations, based on the pitis ('piece', see figure 1).

- 1 pitis, diameter 16–22 mm, weight 1.10–2.02 grams
- ½ pitis, diameter 10–13.06 mm, weight 0.60–0.80 grams
- ¼ pitis, diameter 3–5 mm, weight 0.22–0.31 grams

The year of minting, 1158 AH (1745 AD), is seen on the large coins, but the medium- and small-sized currency have no date. The large-size coins without a date are believed to be later. The inscription on the obverse of the coins says 'Sultan Zainan Abidin Muazam Syah', and on the reverse 'Masruf Batu Bahara'.



Obverse

سلطان
زين العابدين
معظم شاه

Reverse

مصرف
بوتوبهار
١١٥٨
سنه

Figure 2 A Batu Bahara coin showing the legends, obverse 'sultan/zainal abidin/muadzam shah' and reverse 'masruf/batubhara/1158/sanat' (Collection of Sumatran Numismatic Museum)

The Batu Bahara currency belongs to the period when Batu Bahara was under the power of the Siak sultanate, when Sultan Abdul Jalil Rahmadsyah was ruling, shown by the date on the coins. The issuing of coins, besides serving as the medium of exchange in the economic system, also served as a symbol of sovereignty of territory they had control over.

These Batu Bahara coins show that the people were not merely vassals in the kedatuan system, but that they operated as an autonomous sultanate system. This is a significant discovery and shows that they were influential. They are an important part of the historical and cultural treasure of Batu Bahara.

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Qiaopi: a modern Chinese letter and remittance means of payment

Zhang Ruiqi

Abstract *Qiaopi* 侨批, also known as a 'silver letter' 银信 (*yinxin*), was a combination of letter and remittance receipt sent by Chinese overseas back to relatives in China. In Chinese, *qiao* means people who live abroad, and *pi* means letter. It is a unique product of a special historical period, which began in the mid-nineteenth century and ended in the 1970s.

In the Ming (1368–1564) and Qing dynasties (1644–1912), Chinese people in south-east coastal areas, such as Guangdong and Fujian, started to go abroad to earn money. Most of them migrated to Southeast Asia and formed Chinese communities. At that period China, especially the south-east coastal areas, lagged behind much of the world commercially, while areas in Southeast Asia, as a result of the influence of European colonization, had more opportunities to make money. Hence Chinese migrants went there to make a living. However, there were few transnational postal and remittance services, making it difficult for the Chinese overseas to send money or letters back home through official agencies. Therefore, many people asked their fellows who travelled back and forth between China and abroad to help them take letters and money with them back to China. Gradually, the role of such intermediaries became a fixed occupation, and they were known as 'South Sea agents' 水客 (*shuike*). The letters and remittance vouchers which they brought back to China were combined into one document, which had a fixed format and was called *qiaopi*.

Qiaopi, like other mail, consisted of an envelope and a letter. The front side of the envelope was inscribed with the basic elements of an ordinary letter, including the address and name of the recipient and the sender, and the upper left corner would be marked with an indication that it was a currency remittance and the amount. On the back of the

qiaopi envelope, there were stamps (those sent in batches by parcel post did not have stamps), the sign of the *qiaopi* office, and a flower code motif 花码字 (*huamazi*). Figure 1 shows a typical envelope of a *qiaopi*.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the mid- to late twentieth century, a *qiaopi* was the main way for overseas Chinese to remit money to China, which was often a vital source of money for those at home. *Qiaopi* had a great impact on China's overall economy.

A glossary of terms is provided in the appendix.

How *qiaopi* works

The initial method of *qiaopi* delivery relied on the South Sea agents. At first the business was based on personal acquaintances and the personal credit of the agents. The overseas Chinese would pay a certain fee and give *qiaopi* and money to the South Sea agent. This agent would deliver them back to China and take them to the recipient directly. Some of South Sea agents did not charge fees, but instead they used the money from the overseas Chinese to buy goods locally and sold them once back in China at a profit.

With the increase of migrants, the volume of *qiaopi* business also gradually increased. As a result, some South Sea agents set up a special organization dealing with *qiaopi* business called a *qiaopi* office 侨批局 (*qiaopiju*), a private delivery and financial institution whose main business was to deliver the *qiaopi* and the collect the letter of reply. In the early days, some of the *qiaopi* offices also relied on Chinese money shops, which had better financial turnovers and credit.

Later the *qiaopi* business developed a tight organizational structure, which would connect the domestic and foreign countries, and they had a complete processing system,

including qiaopi collection, position (the amount of a security, asset or property that is owned (or sold short) by some individual or other entity) allocation, transfer, delivery and settlement. In general, there was a foreign exchange collection office and its branch, called a South Sea qiaopi office 南洋侨批局 (*nanyang qiaopiju*), in the place of residence of the overseas Chinese. When people wanted to send qiaopi to China, they paid the money to a South Sea qiaopi office and left qiaopi to be forwarded back to China. The South Sea qiaopi office would put together a package of qiaopis (known as 总包, *zongbao*) to send back to China. Meanwhile, the collected remittances were transferred by local banks or other institutions to China. In the Chinese port cities, such as Xiamen, there were the main branch offices of South Sea qiaopi office, called the head office 头盘局 (*toupanju*), and an agent office, called the second branch office 二盘局 (*erpanju*). They were responsible for receiving the qiaopi and money from overseas and transferring them to other areas in China, so they were also known as transfer offices. In the home towns of the overseas Chinese, there were third branch offices 三盘局 (*sanpanju*) which would distribute qiaopi from the first two offices, collect the letters of reply, and send them to the first two offices to deliver back to overseas. In addition to this franchise business, some qiaopi businesses also relied on banks, money shops or other financial institutions to collect remittances and deliver payments.

Qiaopi covered three forms of financial exchange: mail transfer, demand draft and telegraphic transfer. Mail transfer was the most common way for overseas Chinese to remit money by qiaopi, and the remittance information was written on the cover. Demand draft is the remittance method in which the remitter made their remittance to a qiaopi office and the qiaopi office issued a bill and sent it to the designated place in China for payment. This kind of bill was usually packed with the letter in a qiaopi cover, on the front of which is marked 'internal payment of ticket XX'. Sometimes the draft was also brought back by returning overseas Chinese. The main difference between a demand draft and a mail transfer is that the letter and payment of mail transfer were delivered by couriers to the door, while a demand draft was collected by the payee holding the ticket at the designated qiaopi office. A mail transfer was more expensive, and a demand draft was cheaper. Therefore, when the amount of an overseas Chinese remittance was large, they usually paid a small amount of mail transfer with a large amount of demand draft inside. A telegraphic transfer involved sending the remittance request by the overseas qiaopi office to the domestic qiaopi office by telegram, and the domestic office immediately paid the payee, convenient and fast, but expensive.

From the 1840s to the early twentieth century, China's international remittance business was mainly controlled by foreign banks such as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking



Figure 1 Qiaopi sent from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) to a recipient in Huyanglongshan town, Yongchun County, Fujian Province (private collection)

Corporation (HSBC). In the early twentieth century, overseas Chinese banks, such as the Chinese Commercial Bank of Singapore and the Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation (OCBC), began operating and an overseas Chinese remittance business gradually emerged. In 1915 the Bank of China in Xiamen also began to accept the overseas Chinese exchange business in Southeast Asia which had been entrusted to the Bank of Communications of Hong Kong and by Hong Kong merchants, thus officially becoming involved in the Southeast Asian Chinese immigrant remittance market. During this period, the qiaopi offices and the banks had interlaced business networks in the qiaopi business, and they had formed this complementary relationship due to their business scopes. Some overseas banks such as OCBC Bank also operated qiaopi business directly in addition to allocating positions for qiaopi business.

In the 1970s China's qiaopi business was subdivided between the national banks, but overseas qiaopi offices still existed. It was not until the 1990s that the qiaopi finally and completely ended its historical mission.

Qiaopi and the Chinese money shop

There is a close connection between qiaopi business and Chinese money shops 票号 (*piaohao*) (also translated as exchange shops). Their origins and development also have similarities. Some people even call qiaopi offices 'maritime financial money shops'. Generally speaking, people know more about Chinese money shops, but the understanding and research of qiaopi is relatively scarce. Therefore, it is useful for us to compare money shop business with qiaopi office business to have a clearer understanding of qiaopi.

The Chinese money shop was a traditional Chinese financial institution operating business with coins. It was similar to a private bank. The reason for the appearance of the Chinese money shop was to solve the problem of the inconvenience of transporting silver on long cross-country journeys. Merchants gave the money to be paid at a distance to the Chinese money shop, and the money shop wrote the amount of deposit on a paper document with its own special mark. With the deposit paper, merchants could withdraw silver from the Chinese money shop and its branch(es). Large transactions between merchants could be done directly with the deposit paper, rather than carrying heavy money. In essence the Chinese money shop business was also a kind of remittance business, so the money shops were also called remittance shops 汇兑庄 (*huidui zhuang*). As the credit of those deposit paper increased, they became private paper money as they could be exchanged directly for goods. For the money shop, the remittance fee was one of the main sources of income, and their other main source of income relied on their redeployment of the deposited silver. Since there was a considerable gap between the date of draft and the date of payment, silver could be lent to other institutions or individuals during this period. Chinese money shops were extremely popular in the late Qing Dynasty, and almost all the large expenditure of the Qing government depended on borrowing from Chinese money shops.

Qiaopis were a combination of letters and remittances, so had financial attributes. Like the Chinese money shops, qiaopi business was also an extremely important part in the modern

financial history of China. As we mentioned before, the reason why overseas Chinese created qiaopi was that money transportation was inconvenient. At that time, there were no modern banks, and the postal industry was not developed, so it was difficult for overseas Chinese in the settlements around the South China Sea to send their money back to China. Therefore, South Sea agents (*shuike*) appeared to take letters and money for them, and subsequently these formed collectives and became qiaopi offices. As shown above qiaopi was also a kind of remittance, mainly by letter remittance, but later with both demand draft and telegraphic transfer. Like Chinese money shops, a big source of revenue for qiaopi business was from loans or investments that took advantage of the time difference between the date of remittance and the expected date of receipt.

In the early days many qiaopi business operated in China, relying on Chinese money shops as their agencies; at that time qiaopi were delivered by the South Sea agents. But the quantity of qiaopi that the agent could carry was limited. As Chinese money shops generally had a large amount of capital and high reputation, some agents entrusted them to be engaged in the work of delivery, payment and return of approval in order to expand business and improve operational efficiency. This co-operating mode and the exclusive mode of the qiaopi offices meant they coexisted with the money shops for a long time.

The private paper money issued by the Chinese money shops were a major source of private currency in China at that time. Qiaopi offices also issued similar private notes. In the early period of the Republic of China, due to the fights between warlords in Fujian, local public order fell into chaos and banditry was rife, so in order to avoid being robbed, some qiaopi offices began to issue mountain tickets 山票 (*shānpiao*) to settle qiaopi. After receiving qiaopi sent from abroad, a qiaopi office (transfer office) would have to deliver the cash to the family members of overseas Chinese, but because of the danger of sending the cash, it was converted into 'mountain tickets' (figure 2). When the family members of overseas Chinese got those mountain tickets, they could exchange them for cash at the issuing qiaopi office or use them as cash at local grocery stores. Mountain tickets were similar to the private paper money issued by Chinese money shop. They had certain monetary attributes. However, mountain tickets had no reserves and were arbitrarily issued, which caused financial chaos.

Unlike the Chinese money shops, qiaopi businesses mostly operated on personal credit. The foreign exchange recipients were mainly from the same hometown, while the domestic investors are mainly related to father and son or brother. Therefore, qiaopi did not have the same anti-counterfeiting measures as the private paper money issued by the Chinese money shops. However, in order to ensure that qiaopi could be delivered to the consignee, the remitter would get a numbered receipt from the South Sea qiaopi office as proof, and write the Chinese characters like the flower code motif (*huamazi*) on the seal (these were also known as 'merchants' marks'). When the payee received a qiaopi, the payee needed to sign the other two copies of the receipt and write the same flower code motif on the reply letter. Qiaopi offices would send the reply letter and one copy of the signed receipt to the South



Figure 2 Mountain ticket of the Yongruixin office, 1931, issued in Xiamen (Amoy) (by kind permission of the academic editorial department, Zhonghua Book Company, from 'History of Fujian Province Currency, China', (2001) by Fujian Province Numismatic Association, 323. fig.144)

Sea qiaopi office, and keep the other copy of the receipt for reference.

Qiaopi offices and Chinese money shops emerged around the same time. One of their main businesses was the remittance business, and they also had deposit and loan business. Some scholars called qiaopi business and Chinese money shop as the 'twin sisters' in China's financial history.

The significance of qiaopi

1 Economic significance

From the late Qing Dynasty to the mid- to late twentieth century, the remittances contained in qiaopi were the main economic source for the society of the hometowns of overseas Chinese, and also an important part of the whole foreign exchange economic system of China.

In the late Qing Dynasty, due to a series of unequal treaties signed by the Qing government, a large amount of silver flowed out, and the export of porcelain, silk, tea and other commodities at that time could not fill the gap. There was such a huge trade deficit, that if the Qing government could not fill the gap, it was likely to produce extremely dire consequences – the total collapse of the economy. The American Hosea Ballou Morse (1855–1934), who was then chief of the Foreign Inspectorate General of Customs of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (which at that time employed foreign officials who retained their citizenship), found that one of the reasons why the economy of the Qing dynasty did not collapse was that the qiaopi system was filling this gap. At that time, he estimated that 73 million HK. *Tls* 海关两 (*haiguanliang*; a currency used by Chinese customs to collect taxes) were being remitted to China from abroad each year (Morse 1908, 301). This amount of money helped to balance the economy (Takeshi 2006, 145).

In the period of the Republic of China, the qiaopi system was still an important support for China's economy. From the

first year of the Republic of China (1912) to the ninth year of the Republic of China (1920), the amount of money overseas Chinese remitted through Xiamen was about 17 million yuan (national currency, the same below) every year; In the tenth year of the Republic of China (1921), it increased to more than 20 million yuan, and reached a peak in the twentieth and twenty-first year of the Republic of China (1931, 1932), at around 80 million yuan (*Xiamen Overseas Chinese Records* 1991, 150). According to the statistics of *Hong Kong Financial Daily* on 23 January 1950, in the four years from 1937 to 1940, the total remittance income of overseas Chinese was worth 143 million US dollars. It was 126.8 per cent of the average annual revenue of the state finances in the same period. These foreign exchange funds not only maintained the livelihood of those poor families, but also balanced the economy and played an extremely important role in winning the Second Sino-Japanese War.

2 Historical significance

Although remittance and international exchange were important functions of the qiaopi, the most important difference between qiaopi and other bank notes is that qiaopi carried lots of information. As a letter to communicate from overseas Chinese to their Chinese relatives back at home, qiaopi recorded people's lives at that time. Generally, qiaopi recorded the everyday lives of people overseas and in their hometowns, but we can also see the customs of ancestor worship, economic conditions and changes in customs and other historical changes in southern Fujian and around the South China Sea. Through systematic collection and research of qiaopi, we should be able to draw a real historical picture of the social transformations in modern China, and explore the living conditions of the people who are rarely recorded in books. Therefore, qiaopi is also a world memory heritage source. It fills the gaps in local historical records and in official



Figure 3 Photograph found enclosed in qiaopi (private collection), illustrating the scene of overseas Chinese holding a traditional Chinese funeral for their family member. They sent the photograph back home to tell other relatives that the deceased had been buried in the ground to comfort them. The mourning dress they wore and other funerary items they hold are interesting insights into the funeral practice of the period.

archives, so it is invaluable for the study of modern southern Chinese society and the history of overseas Chinese.

For example, a qiaopi from the Second Sino-Japanese War period recorded that after the bombing of Shenzhen and Shanghai in 1940, Wu Shilin, a Filipino Chinese, sent back 3,000 Chinese yuan to relieve victims and comfort military families. This is a source of primary information of the historical events of that time. In addition, qiaopis collected by us also mentioned the economic situation of Southeast Asia, China's reform and opening up and so on. From a large number of qiaopi letters, we could see many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia were engaged in work extracting rubber and other very labour-intensive work. They scrimped and saved to send money back to China, for children to go to school, build ancestral homes, relatives to get married. Later, with the gradual development of China's economy, qiaopi remittances to China tended to decrease. Sometimes they even sought financial support from relatives in China in their qiaopi letters. Those qiaopis reflected the changing economic situation.

Some qiaopi letters contained photographs, so can show us the real events of the period. These photographs mainly reflected important events in the overseas Chinese people's lives like births, weddings, funerals and other life events. Hui Wang and Na Wang (2021) considered photographs to be the most important objects for overseas Chinese to connect with their relatives. They showed a strong sense of loyalty to their hometown, and such connections were also important features of traditional lineage society in South China. These photos contained in qiaopi letters are good materials for the study of history, folklore and sociology (figure 3).

Qiaopi business continued through three periods, the late Qing Dynasty, the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China. The changes of the style and format of the qiaopi itself also reflected clashes between the old and the new Chinese culture at that time. The envelope of qiaopi gradually changed from the ancient Chinese traditional vertical envelope style to the more modern horizontal envelope style; the writing instrument changed from brush pen to fountain pen and ballpoint pen; The writing habits also changed from the traditional vertical writing style from right to left to the horizontal writing style from left to right. This was the period when Chinese tradition gradually gave way to modernity.

The change in the forms of money they used can also be seen from qiaopi. It was the most chaotic period for Chinese money from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. There were not only traditional Chinese cash with the distinctive square hole and silver ingots, but also copper coins, silver coins, legal tender notes, bank notes, and private paper money. The currency used was marked on the envelope of qiaopi and reflects the actual currency in circulation at that time. At the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, qiaopi were often denominated in dragon silver 龙银 (*longyin*) and in Qing silver 清银 (*qingyin*), i.e. silver coins struck by the Qing central government and provincial governments. Silver coins struck by other countries also circulated in China, such as Mexican silver dollars 鹰洋 (*yingyang*) and other foreign silver coins 洋银 (*yangyin*). From the early period of the Republic of China to 1935, before the legal currency reform, qiaopi were often denominated in big silver 大银 (*dayin*, i.e. silver dollars), silver 银 (*yin*), Zhongshan silver 中山银 (*zhongshanyin*; named after the

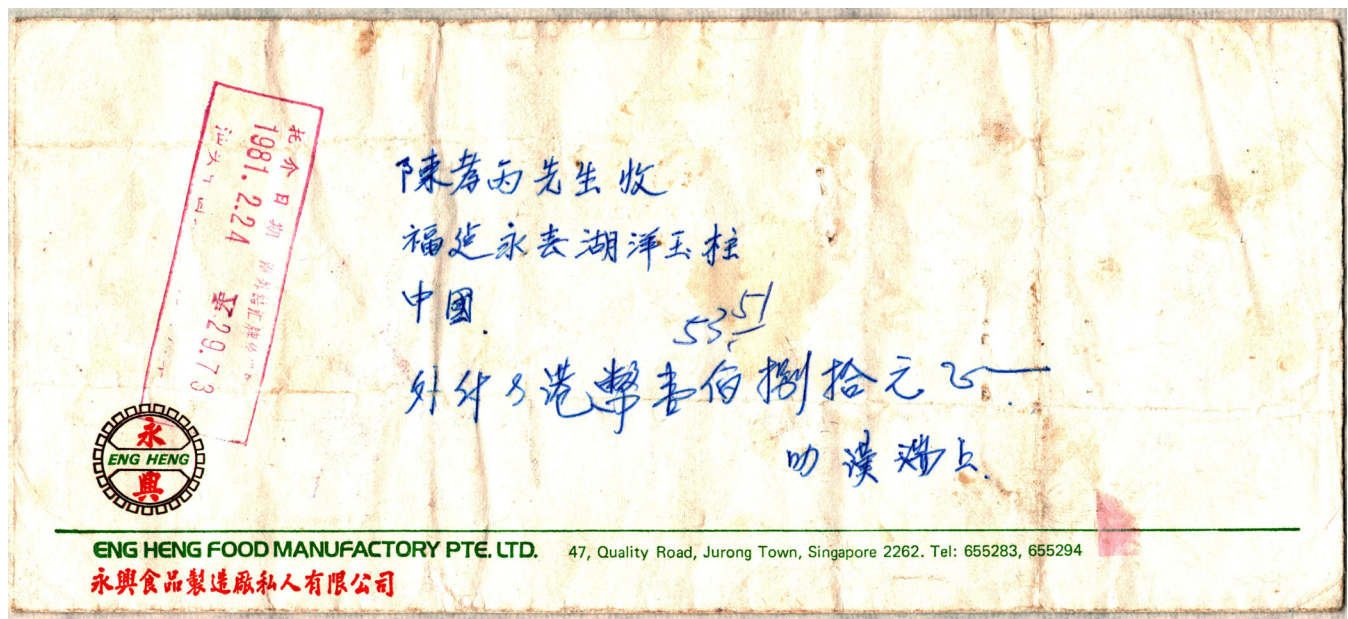


Figure 4 Modern qiaopi (private collection), sent from Singapore to a recipient in Huyangyuzhu Town, Yongchun County, Fujian Province

portrait of Sun Yatsen (Sun Zhongshan in Mandarin Chinese) on Republican coins. During the legal currency period and the golden yuan notes 金圓券 (*jinyuanquan*) period of the Republic of China (after 1935), legal currency 法幣 (*fabi*), national silver 國銀 (*guoyin*), national currency 國幣 (*guobi*) and gold yuan (note) 金圓 (*jinyuan*) were often written on the covers of qiaopi. Before and after 1949, original currency 本幣 (*benbi*), US currency 美幣 (*meibi*), US dollar 美元 (*meiyuan*), Hong Kong dollar 香港元 (*xianggangyuan*), Hong Kong currency 港幣 (*gangbi*) and RMB 人民幣 (*renminbi*) all featured on qiaopi. These currency names appeared on the envelope of qiaopi at different periods varying as the currency system changed.

Conclusion

As the main method of money remittance from overseas Chinese to their relatives back home in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, qiaopi have recorded aspects of China's economy, culture, history, politics, etc. They have great significance in modern China, and are part of the memory and heritage of the Chinese nation and even the world. There is now much research into qiaopi being done, but it is as yet somewhat scattered and unsystematic. There is also some research on qiaopi in Southeast Asia, the birthplace of the qiaopi offices. Qiaopi connect China with the rest of the world, records the real lives of people everywhere, and reflects the economic conditions of various places. It will thus be worthwhile to continue the research on qiaopi in the context of global history and economy.

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Appendix Glossary of terms relating to the remittance systems

Chinese	Pinyin	English	Meaning
银信	yinxin	silver letter	another way of saying qiaopi
水客	shuiké	South Sea agent	agent who took qiaopi sent by overseas Chinese back to China
侨批局	qiaopiju	Qiaopi Office	an organization that dealt with qiaopi business
花码字	huamazi	flower code motif	a special code, illustrated date
南洋侨批局	nanyang qiaopiju	South Sea Qiaopi Office	a branch of qiaopi office in Southeast Asia
头盘局	toupanju	head office	the main branch office of South Sea qiaopi office in China
二盘局	erpanju	second branch office	the agent office in China
三盘局	sanpanju	third branch office	the agent office in village
总包	zongbao	a package of qiaopis	Term used for bulk dispatch of qiaopi
票号	piaohao	Chinese money or exchange shop	Chinese traditional private 'bank'
汇兑庄	huiduizhuang	remittance shop	another way of saying piaohao office
山票	shanpiao	mountain ticket	private note to settle qiaopi
海关两	haiguanliang	Maritime Customs tael	

The names of currencies used in China appearing on qiaopi

龙银	longyin	dragon silver	Qing dynasty Imperial coins with dragon design
清银	qingyin	Qing silver	Qing dynasty Imperial coins with dragon design
鹰洋	yingyang	Eagle foreign coin	Mexican silver dollar with eagle design
洋银	yangyin	foreign silver	any foreign silver dollar
大银	dayin	big silver	any silver dollar
银	yin	silver	any silver coin
中山银	zhongshanyin	Zhongshan silver	silver dollar with bust of Sun Yat Sen
金圆券	jinyuanquan	golden yuan note	bank note denominated in gold yuan
法币	fabi	legal currency	
国银	guoyin	national silver	silver dollar of Nationalist government
国币	guobi	national currency	currency of Nationalist government
金圆	jinyuan	gold yuan	bank note denominated in gold yuan
本币	benbi	original currency	local currency
美元	meibi	US currency	
美元	meiyuan	US dollar	
香港元	xianggangyuan	Hong Kong dollar	
港币	gangbi	Hong Kong currency	
人民币	renminbi	RMB/Chinese yuan	Peoples Republic of China currency

A find of coins and letters relating to H. W. Codrington

Barbara Mears

Abstract A client was intrigued by an old box of coins and letters he discovered in a drawing room cupboard and brought them to me for identification. The letters were dated between 1913 and 1915, their subject being a discussion of the coins recently acquired by a tea planter in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and the local coin expert, who happened to be H. W. Codrington. Being in their original numbered wrapping papers, it was easy to see how Codrington had described each coin. It appeared that most were from a group of Persian, Portuguese and Dutch coins discovered in 1913 that Codrington went on to refer to in his book *Ceylon Coins and Currency*. They are an interesting glimpse of what was available to collectors in early twentieth-century Ceylon, the methods of Codrington himself, as well as providing some background information on postal history.

One of the joys of working in the coin trade is that one never knows what will turn up next. In 2021 I catalogued a box of Ceylon (Sri Lankan) coins that were consigned to auction. The box included correspondence dated between 1913 and 1915 between a Mr Neill Campbell, tea planter of Nuwara Eliya in Ceylon, and Mr H. W. Codrington, then Assistant Government Agent in Kegalla. The envelopes were stamped, secured with wax seals, and sent by registered post, some marked 'insured for Rs. 250/-', or similar. Their contents had originally been coins purchased by Campbell in the interior and sent to Codrington for identification. Codrington is, of course, famous for having later written *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (published by Richards, Government Printer, Ceylon, 1924), which is still a standard reference work on the subject today. From his detailed handwritten replies it is evident he was considered an authority on the subject long before this publication.

The personal handwritten letters of Humphrey William Codrington (1876–1942) are perhaps equally interesting to students of both numismatic and colonial history. The son of Rear-Admiral William Codrington, he was posted to Ceylon in 1903 to start a career in the Civil Service, where he served in various capacities until 1932. During his many postings he took the opportunity to study local historical documents becoming, we are told, fluent in Sinhala and Tamil as well as the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit in which many ancient texts were written.¹ Apart from the coinage and inscriptions of Ceylon, his publications also include works on local customs, land tenure and dialects as one may expect, but also many on the liturgies; notably those of the Jacobites, the Syrian church and those of St Peter in particular.

A mark of the meticulous character of Codrington was the careful numbering and identification of each coin he received. Luckily for us, the consigned coins had remained in their original wrappings for over 100 years, and the numbers on these related to those in the correspondence. Therefore they give an interesting snapshot of what was available to local collectors in the early twentieth century. An inspection revealed that the oldest were a group of Lakshmi plaques, followed by a

handful of Roman coins, imported as loose change in the fifth and sixth centuries, and their local imitations. There were a few locally struck coins of the medieval period and a group of tiny Kandyan fanams from the seventeenth century. A couple of Chinese coins marked the period of trade with the Song Dynasty, or perhaps one of the voyages of Zheng He in the fifteenth century. Coins of Portugal and Portuguese India, and Persian coins countermarked for use in the Dutch territories were more numerous; there was a scattering of coppers from the British period, and small change from the pockets of visitors from Denmark, Spanish Netherlands, the German states, etc. However, by far the most numerous were Dutch stuivers of the seventeenth century and Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) duits of the Netherlands East Indies.²

Therefore, we can assume a collector like Mr Campbell had a wide range of coins to choose from when he formed his collection. Nevertheless, his acquisitions had a decidedly Eurocentric bias, especially when compared with lots 4443–4470 in a Spink auction held earlier in 2021 consigned by a collector of Sri Lankan descent.³ A cursory comparison might lead one to think they originated in different countries. While it would be reasonable to assume that a person from Europe might naturally be drawn to more familiar coins, after reading the letters it became clear that this was not necessarily the case. In an early letter, dated 4 March 1913, Codrington mentions the fact that the discovery of 'the present find' has made native dealers charge 'preposterous prices which we doubt will fall again'. The contents of this find are outlined in *Ceylon Coins and Currency* in the chapter on Kandyan fanams (Codrington 1924, 175), 'These fanams formed part of a large find of Persian, Portuguese and Dutch coins discovered in 1913, of which the latest date is 1709.' The correspondence details how Codrington pieced together the information necessary to make this statement, as by 21 May he had evidently decided that the 'find' was worth recording and he writes to Campbell, 'Since I saw your coins I have had some 700 through my hands. I have an idea of writing a paper or a note on the find, and should be much obliged if you would send me a list of the coins in your hands.' In his letter of 30 May Codrington is still referring to this find in the context of the high prices charged by local dealers (a perennial cause of concern to all collectors), 'Prices in Ceylon are often fanciful: for Portuguese & Dutch coins from the same find as yours I have been paying from 40 cents to Rs 1/- a piece, & I must say have been asked Rs 10/- by another

¹ <https://lakdiva.org/codrington/remembering.html> by Cecil Jayasinghe, 8 November 1997.

² A full list of the coins, mostly illustrated, can be found here, <https://live.spink.com/auctions/4-201UGZ/21125-spink-numismatic-e-circular-11-indian-islamic-coins>, Spink London Auction 21125, 27 September 2021, lots 7184 to 7216. Where possible the coins were offered in the same lot as the letters supplied by Mr Campbell and Codrington's handwritten descriptions and annotations. However, as the value of coins with a VOC countermark now far exceeds the 'preposterous' price of Rs 10, this was not always a realistic proposition for me as cataloguer.

³ <https://live.spink.com/auctions/4-1612RH/21117-indian-islamic-and-world-coins-e-auction>, Spink London Auction 21117, 26 January 2021, lots 4443 to 4470



Figure 1 Top, a selection of the correspondence between Neill Campbell and H. W. Codrington. The parcel below shows interesting details about insurance and what constituted a valid address.

dealer.' From this, and from the fact the returned coins were never fully unpacked by Campbell, it is a possibility that his coin-collecting interest was brief, and sparked by the arrival of such a trove of local history on his doorstep. The last letter from Codrington (then based in Puttalam) is dated 1915 and still had the coin under discussion pinned to it.

To turn to the coins themselves, is evident that that 'legal tender' was a very loose term during the seventeenth century, as can be ascertained from reading Codrington's chapter on Dutch currency (Codrington 1924, 107–57). For the first 60 years of occupation the Dutch were intent on wresting as much control as possible from the Portuguese, and forming alliances with the local rulers. Silver was in short supply and many coins such as stuivers and double stuivers were imported from the Dutch provinces. Silver coins from the Netherlands remained legal tender throughout the seventeenth century, but were subject to a complicated system of account based on the 'light' stuiver, as Codrington described, '60 of these coins of account equalled 48 Netherlands silver stuivers supposed to be of full weight' at this time (Codrington 1924, 108). These appeared in some quantity in the collection and



Figure 2 An example of a letter from Codrington to Campbell, showing the rubbings sent by Campbell with the coins alongside, and Codrington's annotations by the rubbings

are too numerous to list here, but they can be found in lots 7190 and 7191, Spink Auction, 21125.

Ceylon had several local currency systems, and also various types of Portuguese coins struck at Goa, Malacca and (latterly) Colombo circulated freely (coin 1). The collection contained several of these dating from the mid-seventeenth century, the most interesting of which were countermarked. A resolution of the local council at Galle on 19 April 1655 authorized a countermark specific to Galle (illustrations 5 and 6). Soon after this the countermarking of foreign coins became the norm. In 1660 the Dutch issued a decree (*plakaat*) that only foreign silver or copper coins marked by the VOC were to be accepted as currency. Codrington described the

types (Codrington 1924, 102).

The countermarks found on the Portuguese coins are three:-

The monogram GALE (Galle) [his image no. 118]

The monogram of the Dutch East India Company, either plain, or surmounted by C (Colombo) or by I (Jaffna) [his images nos 119, 120]

The letter R. [his image no. 121]

Coins with each type of countermark formed part of the collection (coins 2–6), although it is evident from the correspondence that Codrington was allowed to swap a few duplicates into his own collection.

Ceylon was also apparently a clearing house for Persian mahmudis and 'abbāsis that were destined for southern India, but were also acceptable in Ceylon (Codrington 1924, 157–65). The collection contained over 20 of these, most of which were countermarked (coins 7–11; also see lots 7193–7205 Spink Auction, 21125). Scholten notes (quoting Valentijn) that coins current in Colombo at this time included the 'large Persian 'Abbassi (5 shahis) for 22½ stivers, the common 'Abbassi (4 shahis) for 18 stivers and the Mahmudi or ½ 'Abbassi (2 shahis) for 9 stivers' (Scholten 1953, 150–1). A resolution of the council of Colombo of 1688 recorded that many unstamped coins were still in circulation, and called for them to be presented for stamping before 30 September or be demonetized. Nevertheless, in 1691 another warning was published against false counter-stamped 'abbāsis made of lead, copper and tutenag (a copper alloy containing nickel and tin), that were in circulation. Codrington lists mahmudis and 'abbāsis of Sulayaman found on the island and his illustrations of these, numbered 164, 165, were probably swaps from Campbell. He gave much thought to one coin, probably one of the false ones (figure 11), and asked to see it twice. The first time he wrote,

I can make nothing out of 7. Had it not been passed by the Dutch Govt. I should be doubtful of its genuinness. It is much lighter than the other abbasis and may perhaps be an Indian Muhammadan coin. It is difficult to read the legend when countermarked.

The second time he writes, 'VII still beats me, as does B.'

To present-day collectors, the provenance these letters provide is invaluable. There is no doubt that the collection contains a good selection of the very coins found in 1913,

and that these were representative of the wide range of currency circulating in Ceylon in the early Colonial period, prior to 1709. They also demonstrate the painstaking way that Codrington undertook his research, as Campbell must have been just one of many correspondents over the years.

Postal history also plays a part. The stamped envelopes are interesting in themselves. In his letter of 30 May 1913 Codrington wrote, 'I have won my fight with the G.P.O. & one can send old coins by post now,' from which it is evident that prior to this he had been experiencing a problem still encountered today when sending old coins through the postal service.

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Barbara Mears had a very general interest in numismatics until she discovered some mystery coins on a holiday to India in the late 1980s. When she took them to an ONS meeting for identification, a whole new world opened up. This resulted in her studying South Asian history, language and culture at SOAS, and taking up a new career as a specialist in Indian and Islamic coins at Spink. Now semi-retired she lives in Devon.

Examples of coins from the correspondence



1 Portuguese Colony, tanga, 2.40 g, 1640, arms between C – Lo (for Ceylon or Colombo). Reverse, gridiron of St Lawrence divides date, crown below (Ref. *Ceylon*, KM 9.2; *Gomes* 15.01; *Codrington* 106)



2 Dutch Colony, host coin Portuguese Colony, tanga, 2.26 g, 1640, arms between C – Lo. Reverse, gridiron of St Lawrence divides date, crown below, with obverse countermark R



3 Dutch Colony, host coin Portuguese Goa, tanga, 2.16 g, date not visible, arms between G – A (for Goa). Reverse, tanga monogram between D – S, with obverse countermark R



4 Dutch Colony, tanga, 2.17 g, Jaffna, undated (about 1680), host coin Portuguese Goa struck for Ceylon, tanga, 1642, arms between G – A. Reverse, tanga monogram between D – S (De Seylão), countermark VOC with I above for Jaffna



5 Dutch Colony, 2 tanga, 4.23 g, Galle, host coin Portuguese Goa, 2 tanga, (16)50, arms between G – A. Reverse standing figure of St John between S – I (São João), obverse countermark G / LL Galle (Ref. host coin India Goa, KM 68; with countermark, Ceylon, KM 56; Scho. 1266; Codrington notes that this countermark was authorized by a resolution of the Galle council on 19 April 1655)



9 Dutch Colony, Persian coin used in Ceylon, Sulayman I (1667–94), Mahmudi, Huwayza (Khuzistan), 3.42 g, date uncertain, VOC countermark with no letter above (host coin Iran, KM 235; with countermark, Ceylon, KM 48; Scho. 1286)



6 Dutch Colony, tanga, 3.01 g, Galle, undated (about 1680), host coin Portuguese Malacca, tanga, date not visible, arms between A – M (Asia Malacca). Reverse, tanga monogram between D – M (De Malacca), obverse countermark G / LL Galle (Ref. host coin Malacca, Gomes 11.01; with countermark, Ceylon, KM 53; Scho. 1267; Codrington, see previous notes)



10 Dutch Colony, Persian coin used in Ceylon, Sulayman I (1667–94), 'abbāssi, 7.13 g, Tiflis, AH1091, with VOC countermark with C (appears like a G) above for Colombo, 7.33 grams (host Iran, KM 220.8, with countermark, Ceylon, KM 50; Scho. 1285b)



7 Dutch Colony, Persian coin used in Ceylon, Sulayman I (1667–94), Mahmudi, Huwayza (Khuzistan), 3.40 g, date uncertain, VOC countermark with C above for Colombo (host coin Iran, KM 235; with countermark, Ceylon, KM 48; Scho. 1286)



11 Dutch Colony, Persian coin used in Ceylon, host coin uncertain, possibly a contemporary forgery of an abbāssi, 6.55 g, date unclear, VOC countermark with C above for Colombo (for type see Ceylon, KM 49-50; Scho. 1285)



8 Dutch Colony, Persian coin used in Ceylon, Sulayman I (1667–94), Mahmudi, Huwayza (Khuzistan), 3.57 g, date uncertain, VOC countermark with C above for Colombo (host coin Iran, KM 235; with countermark, Ceylon, KM 48; Scho. 1286i)

ONS News

ONS Europe Meeting
6–7 May 2023
Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik
Tübingen (FINT)

After the introduction by Dr Sebastian Hanstein with general announcements and the presentation of *sikka:būya*, an online portal for the coinage of the Būyids, the 25 participants of this meeting received a packed Saturday afternoon session with six lectures and a book presentation.

The first speaker was Alberto Canto García (Madrid) on the coins of the Banū Khazrūn in the Santa Elena hoard. The hoard, known as the ‘Treasure of Santa Elena Street’ (Valencia), is a group of nearly 2,000 dinars and fractions of dinar; most belong to the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba, to coins of different kingdoms of Taifas of the eleventh century, and another large part of Fatimid coins of chronology of the tenth–eleventh century. Another part is composed of more than 300 coins of the Banū Khazrūn and the Banū Mas‘ūd. This group, which from the closing dates of all the dynasties must have been hidden in the third quarter of the eleventh century, presents, in the series attributed to Sijilmāsa, a wide variety of types with the transition of coins in the name of the Umayyads to those of Mas‘ūd ibn Wanudīn.

Afterwards Thomas Sinclair (Nicosia) spoke on the Erzincan hoard of the mid-fifteenth century AD, the puzzle of many archaizing silver types issued in a single year, and Aram Vardanyan (Yerevan) followed on some coins of the Shaybānīd rulers of Armenia (ninth century AD). According to the agreement of 261 AH (875 AD), the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Mu‘tamīd divided his empire into two influence zones, the eastern provinces including Iran, Iraq and Yemen which came under the jurisdiction of his brother al-Muwaffaq, and the western provinces, including Egypt, Syria and al-Jazīra, which were entrusted to the caliph’s son and heir Ja‘far, better known as al-Mufawwiḍ. The border between these two zones passed through Armenia, which in fact was also divided into two parts. Whereas the northern provinces, with centres at Dabīl and Barda‘a, were under al-Muwaffaq’s jurisdiction, the southern regions of Armenia, which included the principalities of the Qaysids, ‘Uthmānīds, Zurārīds as well as the powerful Shaybānīds (whose representatives ruled in Armenia in the capacity of caliphal governors (*ostakans*) since early Islamic times) belonged to al-Mufawwiḍ’s sphere. These administrative changes left their impact on the local coinage as well. As a result, several mints called ‘Armīniya’ were set up in different parts of Armenia during this period. They operated nearly simultaneously, producing coins on behalf of the contemporary ‘Abbāsid caliph and various local rulers. The Shaybānīd silver dirhams citing Armīniya and struck in the 260s–270s AH were apparently struck in the city of Mayyāfāriqīn, the ancient capital of the Artaxiad kingdom of Armenia, Tigranocerta. The characteristic feature of this coinage was the appearance of the name of a Shaybānīd ruler being split into two parts; the beginning of the name was engraved beneath the caliphal title on the reverse, with the rest of the name on the obverse. Based on the available coins, one can conclude that ‘Īsā ibn al-Shaykh had at least five sons,

Manšūr, al-Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad and al-‘Abbās.

Yngve Karlsson (Gothenburg) presented his new book *Silver Coins of the Muslim Caliphate*, volume 1, *The Umayyad Dynasty*. The book is a direct continuation of *Sasanian Silver Coins* by the same author. The time frame for the content is 652 to 751. Both the Arab-Sasanian and the post-reform silver coins are covered. An attempt is made to list all combinations of mint and year for this period. Identification tools are provided for reading mint, year of manufacture and any name that may appear on the coin. Conversion tables for years of different eras, such as the Muslim Era, Yazdgerd Era and Post-Yazdgerd Era to the Common Era are also given.

Evrin Binbaş (Bonn) spoke on the Tīmūrid condominium coinage and Arturo Annucci (Naples and Vienna) on the identity of Abū Manšūr Nūshtigīn al-Ḥārith between Sīstān and Swāt. With Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigīn’s conquest of Sīstān in the sixth to eleventh centuries, the issuing of bronze coinage restarted after a brief interruption. On fulūs struck under the Ghaznavid emir, his name is usually followed by the names of Nāsr b. Sebūktigīn or Abū Manšūr Nūshtigīn al-Ḥārith. The latter type is represented by a single specimen in the FINT collection. Nūshtigīn’s identity has not been certainly proven, but comparison with an inscription found in Rāja Gīrā (Uḍgrām, Swāt) and dated 440/1048–1049 may provide new insights, contributing to clarify and confirm also the reliability of this inscription. Through the comparison of numismatic and epigraphic data, the paper tried to reconstruct the significance of Nūshtigīn, who seems to have held on to power in different periods and regions.



Lutz Ilisch speaking on Sāmānīd minor silver coins.

The last lecture of the session was by Lutz Ilisch (Hayingen) on ‘Sāmānīd minor silver coins – need of fractions or donatives?’ In 2016 at the 2nd International Conference on Oriental Numismatics held in St Petersburg and organized by the State Hermitage Numismatic Department, Professor Ilisch gave an overview of a group of small Sāmānīd silver coins issued in Bukhārā between 355 and 378 AH, mostly of around 0.5g weight. These were compared to similar emissions of the Ḥamdānīds and other states, and consequently interpreted as strikes of *dāniq* or $\frac{1}{4}$ dirham to counterbalance the demand of some legal schools of Islam not to break dirhams and thus to damage the *tawḥīd* on the coins. More recently two small Bukhārān Sāmānīd coins were offered in sale and



ONS Regional Secretary Partrick Pasmans talking at FINT.

might be acquired for the Tübingen University collection, one gold and one silver, which challenge this interpretation that fractional coins were minted to prevent the breaking of dirhams, because both of them are styled as dinars and not as dirhams. A similar practice had been observed in the master's thesis of the present contributor of 1978 as a common practice of fourth-century AH donatives to support court life, struck or cast indiscriminately in silver and in gold with the same moulds or dies. The question to be discussed is whether such minor gold or silver coins have to be understood only on the background of court life, distinguishing between small and high value, or as a response by court life to demands of Islamic religious madhāhib (as the Ḥanābila), demanding the prohibition of breaking dirhams.

The group concluded the Saturday session with dinner in Hotel-Gaststätte Meteora.

The Sunday morning session started with two contributions from Belgian numismatists, the first contribution was from ONS Secretary Patrick Pasmans (Aarschot) on the historical evolution from the silver and copper ratio in tetradrachms from the Characanian kings in Mesene and the Persian/Arabian Gulf region, struck in the period 24/23 BC to 44/45 AD. He presented the results of the X-ray fluorescence analysis of a limited number of dated Characanian tetradrachms for the period 288–355 SE. François Gurnet (La Louvière) gave a lecture 'Did Varhan VI strike drachms in the name of Khusrau II? A reappraisal'. After a break Stefan Moeller (Halle) spoke on 'Selected Problems of Siculo-Norman Coinage'. Since the far-reaching research of Lucia Travaini and Philip Grierson, not much new literature has been published about this interesting part of medieval numismatics. The lesson focuses first on the early copper coinage of Count Roger II of Sicily and the impact of the political history during the regency of his mother Adelasia, second on the introduction of the Ducale by King Roger in 1140 and his political and monetary impact in southern Italy, and third on the heavy copper coinage of King William II. An attribution of the rare counterstamps on

some of his Sicilian trifollaros finished the lesson. The last contribution was by Ibtissam Kaoutar and Bouchaib Elrharib (Casablanca) on the Moroccan coins from the early Islamic and the 'Alawid period.

The Sunday session concluded with lunch at the Flavours of India restaurant and a guided visit to the special exhibition *Troia, Schliemann and Tübingen* in the University Museum of Ancient Cultures at Hohentübingen Castle.

The next ONS meeting in Tübingen will be 4–5 May 2024.

ONS Europe Meeting 9 September 2023, Leiden Call for papers

The next meeting of the ONS in Europe is on Saturday 9 September 2023 in Leiden! As usual, there will be a number of lectures and in the late afternoon a member auction. Finally, the hungry can have dinner at a Chinese restaurant. During this meeting the *Festschrift in honour of Dr Ellen Raven* will also be presented and the first copy will be given to Ellen. The authors will also receive their copy and interested members can purchase a copy at a reduced price.

Accordingly, I am looking forward to seeing many of you during this meeting and in case you would like to give a presentation, the call for papers is open now!

Please submit your presentation title by email to patrick.pasmans@hotmail.com. So far Fabrice Lefèvre, François Gurnet, Mao Anran and Patrick Pasmans, Razieh Taasob, and Khodadad Rezakhani have already agreed to give a lecture. As soon as our meeting programme is fixed, I will send it around together with additional information (only by email and on Facebook).

A couple of weeks before the meeting, the auction will be online on Zeno.ru at

<https://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=24911>

Patrick Pasmans, Europe

**ONS UK Meeting
20 May 2023
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford**

On Saturday 20 May an in-person meeting of the UK Section of the ONS was held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, hosted by Dr Shailendra Bhandare, Assistant Keeper of South Asian coins at the Museum.

The meeting was small, but well engaged with the four papers presented. The meeting was held in person rather than online as a move towards re-establishing the pre-pandemic style of meeting, with members presenting papers framed within a social occasion, meeting beforehand for coffee in the museum café and taking lunch together in Oxford's open market, where dishes from all over the world are available. I personally recommend the northern Chinese fried dumplings and Shailendra sang the praises of the Goanese vinadaloo!

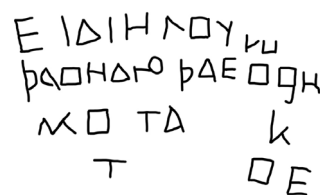
The first paper was presented by Alessandro Magnani, a doctoral student at the University of Bologna, who had just completed three months studying Kushan coins and history in Oxford. His topic addressed an important issue of the early Kushan period, 'The "Roman" coin of Kujula Kadphises – an issue for merchants'. He showed how the first Kushan king (about AD 50–90) issued coins inspired by the previous coinages of Greek, Scythian and Parthian rulers in Central Asia and the north-west of the south Asian subcontinent as he conquered the region now represented by south-eastern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, northern and central Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kashmir. He showed Kujula Kadphises's innovation in creating a coinage for Taxila with a Roman-style imperial head on the obverse and a seated image of the Kushan king on the reverse. He linked the choice of design with the import of Roman coins into the region, suggesting that the coin was making use of the familiarity with Roman coins in the markets locally.



The Roman head coin of Kujula Kadphises (ANS 1973.56.220)

Joe Cribb also gave a paper on a Kushan topic, 'A new Kushan inscription from Tajikistan and its bearing on coinage'. He told the meeting about a new discovery high in the mountains of Tajikistan, a royal inscription in Bactrian of the second Kushan king Wima Takto, the son of Kujula Kadphises. He explained the significance of the inscription in terms of how it reinforces the identification of Wima Takto as the Kushan ruler who consolidated and expanded the territory of the Kushans to complete the overthrow of the previous Scythian and Parthian rulers, thus expanding Kushan rule into India. Alongside the historical significance of the new inscription, this find provides an insight into a mysterious script used by the early Kushans. On the same rock as the inscription of Wima Takto there were lines in the mysterious script. Seeing this as a potential clue to reading this unknown script two attempts have now been made to decipher it as a

translation of the Bactrian inscription into a different form of writing. Bactrian was written using Greek letters, but the mysterious script seems to have been adapted from Aramaic script to write either Bactrian or a closely related language. More research on the script is ongoing.



Drawing of the new inscription naming the Kushan king. EIDHIAOY AO . . . PAONONO PAE OOHMO TAKTOE (eidiēlo do . . . šaonano šae ooēmo taktoe), meaning 'this do . . . of king of kings Wima Takto').

Shailendra Bhandare's paper was 'Sātavāhana silver coins – new insights', and for those familiar with this coinage many new varieties and insights were presented. This coinage, initially based on the Indo-Greek coins and their satrap counterparts circulating in the first century AD in western India, developed its own artistic visual repertoire and introduced inscriptions in a south Indian language. His presentation showed how the silver coins introduced a new phase in Sātavāhana coinage shifting production from localised issues to a kingdom-wide royal coinage. He also commented on the range of portrait styles on these coins.



Silver drama of Vāsithiputra Siri Sātakarni (about 120–147 AD)

Paul Stevens concluded the meeting with a broad-ranging introduction to his website 'Coins of India, an introduction to the online database <http://www.psindiancoins.com>'. Over many years Paul has built this website into an important tool for studying the coinages of India. It is a work in progress and the best populated parts of the site are those related to Paul's detailed research on British Indian coins. For those familiar with his publications on this subject, all the data in the books can now be seen on the site and downloaded as PDFs. He showed us his methodology and how rich the resources already on the site have become. He also talked about how he is gradually expanding the website back into the early Indian period and the difficulties encountered in the classification of early Indian coins. He is creating a truly remarkable and important resource for all interested in or collecting Indian coins.

It is hoped that such in-person meetings can now continue for the UK section and in time we look forward to opening these out to other sections either through Zoom participation or through recordings on the ONS YouTube channel. In due course Alessandro, Shailendra and Paul's talks will be available online, but unfortunately the technology failed when recording Joe's talk.

Joe Cribb, UK

John C. Huntington (1937–2021)



John Huntington passed away on 28 November 2021 in Columbus, Ohio following a long illness. He was well known for his extensive knowledge of Buddhist art and iconography. After completing his PhD at the University of California, Los Angeles on the topic of style and stylistic sources in Tibetan

painting, John settled at the Ohio State University where he taught in the history of art department for more than 40 years, chiefly in the areas of Buddhist and Himalayan art traditions. His influence will be long felt through an extensive series of publications and the work of numerous graduate students, more than 80, who are now employed in academic institutions around the world. An extensive listing of his publications, many of which are available digitally, can be found at <https://huntingtonarchive.org/resources/JCHPublications.php> and <https://osu.academia.edu/JohnHuntington>

Together with his wife and fellow art historian Susan L. Huntington, John established the Huntington Photographic Archive of Buddhist Art, also known as the John and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Asian Art, comprised of more than 200,000 images of the arts of Asia. This extensive collection is in the process of being fully digitized. The archive website is currently being hosted by the University of Chicago and can be reached at <https://www.huntingtonarchive.org>

John was actively engaged in the study of Kushan numismatic iconography throughout his career. One early paper was 'A Re-examination of a Kaniška Period Tetradrachm Coin Type with an Image of Metrago/Maitreya on the Reverse (Göbl 793.1) and a Brief Notice on the Importance

of the Inscription Relative to Bactro-Gandharan Buddhist Iconography of the Period', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16.2 (1993), 355–74.

Due to his training as a professional photographer, John was an early advocate of the detailed examination of coin images through the use of photographic enlargements and complex lighting used to make drawings which could be used to reconstruct coin designs.

Further researches into Kushan iconography resulted in 'A Preliminary Introduction to Kushan Numismatic Iconographics', completed in 2013. While never formally published, versions of his draft study are available online, one at https://www.academia.edu/13549386/Kushan_Numismatic_Iconography_Preliminary_Study

John's analysis is composed of careful drawings of Kushan coin inscriptions supplemented by photographs of the best specimens available for study at that time. The first section consists of an 'Alphabetical List of Deities Depicted on the Reverse of Coins', with the common Romanization, transcription into Greek letters, drawing of the Kushano-Bactrian script as it appears on the coins, and an indication of which rulers produced coins containing the various reverse images. This is followed by a tabular examination of the deities found on Kushan coins, arranged by ruler. Enlargements of the reverse images, together with comparative materials such as sculpture, paintings and an occasional seal, are included for selected coins in order to support his transcriptions and iconographic identities of the deities depicted.

In addition to providing insight into John's working method, the surviving drafts are valuable even today for the clarity with which the iconographic information found on Kushan coins is presented and interpreted. They will remain an important part of his legacy.

Robert S. Wicks

Emeritus Professor, Miami University Art Museum

Howard A. Daniel III (1941–2023)

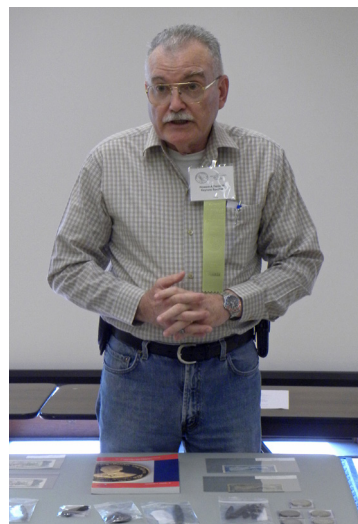
Howard A. Daniel passed away in Fort Pierce, Florida on 6 April 2023 following a six-month battle with melanoma. Howard was a well-respected coin and currency specialist of Southeast Asia, particularly issues associated with the former French Indochina. He is survived by his wife of 50 years, Phung.

In 1957 he enlisted in the United States Army, where he served until his retirement in 1981, achieving the rank of master sergeant. His postings included France, Okinawa, Japan, Germany and Viet Nam, and it was there that he met and married his wife, and began a lifelong study of Southeast Asian numismatics.

Beginning in 1975 Howard published a series of six volumes on Southeast Asian coins and currency under the general title of *The Catalog and Guidebook of Southeast Asian Coins and Currency*. Several of the volumes were issued in multiple editions with variant titles.

In the 1990s Howard wrote a regular column for *World Coin News* and frequently contributed to *Numismatics International*, the *Bank Note Reporter* and the *E-Sylum*, newsletter of the Numismatic Bibliomania Society.

He was a life member of the International Bank-note Society, and was inducted into the IBNS Hall of Fame in 2017, recognized for his service to the society as well as his role as mentor to younger collectors. He was also a life member of the American Numismatic Association, receiving the Glenn Smedley Memorial Award for his dedication to numismatics in 1978 and the Presidential Award in 2003. Numismatic News awarded him their Numismatic Ambassador Award in 2004.



Howard A. Daniel at the 2014 Pacific Northwest Numismatic Association annual convention

Robert S. Wicks

Emeritus Professor, Miami University Art Museum

Book review

John S. Deyell *Lakshmī Bearer of Riches: Indian gold coinage after the tenth century*
 Mumbai, IIRNS Publications
 2022, hardback, xii + 323 pages, ISBN 9789392280023

John S. Deyell's *Lakshmī Bearer of Riches* discusses the early medieval revival of gold coinage after the tenth century CE. It is the perfect sequel to his masterpiece of Indian numismatics *Living Without Silver* (Delhi, 1990), a thoroughly researched work put together for a range of readers, from researchers of monetary history to the collectors of these exquisite and not so exquisite pieces of gold coins. Before *Living Without Silver*, the only study on these coins was *The Coinage of Northern India* by P. C. Roy. That book had been the first to tackle these difficult series, and Deyell opened up the area to the extent that his numbering was adopted for the types. With this new book he has concentrated on the trimetallic seated Lakshmī series, hence the title of the book. This is the gold coinage found mostly in the Ganga valley with major concentrations in Kasi and Benaras, but the author takes into consideration all the available varieties of gold coins issued and in circulation in the period under study, from the tenth century to beginning of the fourteenth.

Brevity is the soul of wit, it has been said, and the author reflects his skill, expertise and clarity of understanding in the sometimes extremely short chapters which make it an easy read for a complex subject like monetary history. The arguments are developed in nineteen chapters, two appendices and a comprehensive catalogue of 76 pages, accompanied by a detailed bibliography and an index.

After four chapters providing a thematic introduction, separate chapters mark the evolution of the various coin series by region. Here the author does not limit himself to the central theme of the book, i.e. Lakshmī gold coinage alone, but brings into discussion all the gold coinages and relevant silver, copper and billon coinages that circulated contemporaneously. The author also discusses issues such as access to metal, metal trade, minting technology and its shared usage, production and circulation.

The adoption of a singular trimetallic coinage using gold, silver and copper with a common metrology of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* by several rulers, going beyond the boundaries of their kingdoms, indicates a shared common practice, with, naturally, localized variations in style and calligraphy. This alone makes these coins unusual.

The re-emergence of gold coins in north India in the eleventh century and in south India in the tenth is not mere coincidence. The author considers the choice of the seated Lakshmī figure and its variants, with symbolism such as the lotus on south Indian padma (lotus) *taṅkāś* as not merely a monetary or economic phenomenon but further as an indicator of strong cultural trends and changes in religious observances and practices. The seated Lakshmī device which became the shared symbol originated in the Kalachuri kingdom of Dāhala, though the author overlooks the significance of the reach of the Kalachuris; while the story about the eighteen sons of Kokkalla carving out territories in eighteen different regions may be an exaggeration, nevertheless this is what

took the symbolism of Lakshmī out to the other regions and caused it to be adopted by other moneyers in the kingdoms of contemporary powers. Private moneyers played an important role in its adoption as a common theme for the gold coinage.

The book tends to overemphasize the role of the goddess and her depiction on the coins; some of the discussion about the profusion of dots in the depiction of Lakshmī being a tantric element is fanciful, for example, when it is known that in the forest kingdoms of Dāhala, Kosala and so on such dots were commonplace in the depiction of human bodies, as can be seen in the early historic coinage of Kosala as well (the three dots on the crude series of the so-called elephant/deity coins of Kosala). Deyell sets store on the acceptance of Lakshmī across the religious barriers by Śaivites, Vaiṣṇavites and also by the Jains. However, it seems clear that gold coins with any level of purity do not need religious or cultural devices to be acceptable. He states that the Lakshmī device enhanced its utility in trade and exchange but if the religio-cultural element was so significant, perhaps the device would have been used very carefully, without being partially off the flan as it often is. The author also argues that the issuers traded on the reputation of the religious image in order to profit through the long-term debasement of coins. However, in case of precious metal, this seems unlikely, as coins were assessed meticulously in transaction and even the slightest debasement would have been noted by money changers. Social recognition of a religious symbolism is an important factor but when a coin is functioning as money what matters is its exchange value and its value relative to other contemporary pieces. For tax or revenue assessment the symbolism and its social recognition would not have been the main consideration. Indeed Deyell himself quotes a letter (p.13) from the *Lekhapaddhati* which mentions a loan of 50,000 dramma current in the gold market as 'superior money', being tested three times.

Chapter three, 'Mobility, Piety and Business Networks' emphasizes the post-Gupta and pre-Sultanate phase when there was a profusion of pilgrim centres, migrations, travel and social mobility. The section on pilgrimage is slightly out of context and leads to a digression from the main theme of the book which could have been avoided. Lakshmī was never a part of the Buddhist tradition and in making her a universal feature for acceptability by the masses, the author seems to ignore the large Buddhist populace which was equally active in monetary transactions and trade activities. But Deyell here reflects on how locally based merchant communities spread their activities for business opportunities. He points out that this early medieval phase where one sees increasing regionalization does not indicate cultural or commercial isolation of the regions. Minting of a regional coin type in another region reflects the significance of transactional and commercial ties rather than political influence.

Metal content being the key to the monetary rationale makes chapter four, 'Precious Metals and the Seated Lakshmī Coins', seminal. This chapter discusses the singular trimetallic coins, and here the author has provided XRF scanning of a sample of seated Lakshmī coins and the variations are quite striking. As far as the sources of the precious metals are concerned, he mentions mining, both lode and alluvial and also placer gold,

gold acquired through trade both overland and maritime and finally metal obtained by recycling of plundered booty. .

The next chapters deal with the regional and dynastic traits of the coins, the first being 'New Coinages: The Yaminids of Ghazna and Lahore'. A comparative study of the graphs of Yaminid coins and Indian gold and silver in the twelfth century shows that the mint practices in Afghanistan and India were distinctly different, with Yaminids following the Central Asian norms. Gold coins underwent debasement over time from Mahmud to Ibrahim along with a deterioration in quality of execution and fabric. All this, according to the author, reflects a decrease in security, prosperity and territorial ambit of the Yaminids.

The sixth chapter, 'Contemporary South Indian Gold Coins', brings into notice recent researches of coins that have been attributed to the Rāshtrakūṭas and their local tributaries, covering southern Maharashtra, Konkan, Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra. The coins have been divided into two broad categories according to minting method, i.e. die-struck and punchmarked. The author very carefully discusses the effects and impacts of possession of gold mines by powers, e.g. how the Gaṅgas controlled the Kolar gold fields and the passing of them to the Hoysalas who continued the Gaṅga minting tradition. This chapter addresses the highly monetized Chola state, the Bahmanid gold and silver coins and so on. It is a well-crafted chapter.

The following chapters deal in turn with different regions. Chapters seven and eight consider the important series of Gāṅgeyadeva and Govindachandra issues. In these two chapters the inconsistency of production of coins is clearly demonstrated by the author in great detail. Chapter nine deals mainly with the Paramāras of Malwa and Vidarbha, and chapter ten focuses on the coins issued by the Chandellas. Chapter eleven looks at the Kalachuris of Ratnapur and also discusses the coins of the Nāgas of Chakrakotya (Bastar) and uncertain feudatories like Yaśoraja and Kanharadeva of Chhattisgarh. Chapter twelve moves on to the Kachchhapaghatas of Gopadri (Gwalior). In chapter thirteen the coins of the Yadavas of Tribhuvanagiri (Bayana) are covered; they initially modelled their coinage on the issues of Chauhans of Ajayameru which were mainly billon coins. Though the coins issued by Kumārapāla on a closer examination would pass as trimetallic, the medieval assay master Thakkura Pheru designated them as gold coins with silver alloy probably due to their negligible copper content.

In chapter fourteen the author highlights the Ghurid-Gāhaḍalavāla conflict and the death of Jayachandra in the battle and finally the capture of Kasi and Prayaga. The chapter very significantly highlights the century-long thread of continuity in the issue of Gāṅgeyadeva-Govindachandra and Muhammad bin Sam coins. This shows that the minting process was quite separate from royal administration. It was controlled by financiers, traditional moneyers, of course with the sanction from the royal authority. .

Chapter fifteen deals with the Yādavas (Sevunas) of Devagiri, who were eleventh-century feudatories of the Chalukyas, until the Yādava chief became independent. Both gold and silver coins were minted in the Yādava kingdom but their circulation areas were different. It is worth mentioning that the focus of this chapter is not on the seated Lakshmī gold

coins, but the author has chosen to extend his study in order to complete the discussion of monetary patterns, which shows the rigour of his research.

Chapter sixteen on the thirteenth century Rajput issues deals with the later Paramāras, Chauhans (Chahamanas) and Qubacha of Sindh and chapter seventeen, 'Twelfth century mysteries: coins still unattributed', lists a few coins which seem to be of problematic attribution.

Chapter eighteen makes the basic argument that regions in the early medieval phase, at least from eleventh century, were divided into distinct currency zones with very little overlap. The seated Lakshmī type was the dominant coin type of upper Ganges region. It did not penetrate into Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan or Gujarat. Bihar and Bengal opted for a cashless economy and followed more or less a non-minting strategy with money of account and using alternative currency such as cowrie shells, gold and silver ingots and dust money. Here Deyell raises several significant and complex issues, such as how coins of different value served the same economic function in different regions and how the principal users of these coins managed with the assessment of relative valuation of these coins in different currency zones. In this chapter he highlights the relationships between the commercial classes and how this went beyond the boundaries of their respective kingdoms. What comes out clearly from the analysis is that both state-owned mints and mints owned by private licensed moneyers were run by a community of skilled specialized workmen with their own norms. The nexus between the royal official mint and the commercial community including different guilds was a very organized one. The author could have taken the issue a level higher by indicating that the state sanction for private minting was imperative, as it not only would have generated regular revenue for the state but also would have allowed it to raise income from minting permissions. The amount of money in circulation and also the reserve versus production could be kept in check by doing so. The financiers, as the author himself points out, could be major customers of the mint's products.

The final chapter provides a general overview of the author's conclusions. As far as the debasement of the coins and the image of Lakshmī is concerned, the author concludes that a trimetallic coinage made debasement not only possible but easy, since the actual metal content of the coins was, and even now is, hard to evaluate. Hence the perpetrators were trading 'on the good name and noble image of Lakshmī. They debased not only the coin but the high reputation of the goddess' (p. 160).

The money changers or *sarrafs* were intermediaries between the merchants and the mints; they not only regulated the bullion market and provided mints with raw material, but they also assayed precious metals and old coins, being engaged on fixing their localized market value. The book goes beyond tightly woven arguments and critical analyses with its over-estimation of the role of the goddess Lakshmī in the choice of coin type. The author is intrigued by recent practices of worshipping with tokens and medals using vermilion on several occasions, such as Diwali, daily prayers, beginning and ending of fiscal years and so on and so forth. But applying the sociology of this to numismatics can only ever be speculative.

Deyell has provided a masterly summary of these coins series, and in emphasizing the dynastic nature of some of the series has shed light on the longevity and significance of these series. As so often with numismatic works, the appendices are the core of the research and will be invaluable to all scholars of these series. The metallurgical analyses are a major contribution to knowledge.

On a practical level, the large type size makes it quite comfortable to read and the welcome colour pictures are of

excellent quality. The copy-editing of the book is poor, and there are many errors and infelicities, such as chapter titles not matching the contents list. The use of diacritical marks inconsistent throughout. But these criticisms cannot take away the erudite scholarly rigour that the book exhibits and the contribution that it makes.

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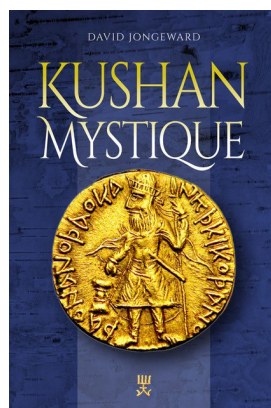
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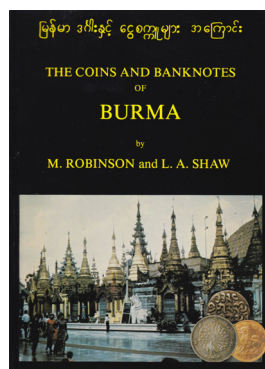
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