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ONS News

From the Assistant Editor

In October a dinner was held in London to celebrate the two hundredth issue of the society's journal and to thank Stan Goron for his hard work over some 25 years in making the journal such a success.





Stan with fellow ONS members celebrating his stewardship of the Journal.

ONS Meeting Utrecht 2009

This year's ONS meeting in Utrecht took place at the Geldmuseum on Saturday 17 October. The attendance was good, numbering 36, including participants from Belgium, Germany, Russia and the U.K..

After introductory refreshments, the programme of talks began with one by **Paul Stevens**. Paul spoke about, and illustrated, the coinage of the British in Bengal between c1760 and c1790, and discussed the problems the authorities faced in trying to reduce or remove *batta*. Their first attempts involved standardising the coins produced at the four mints of Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca



Henk van dem Hombergh, Rudy Dillen, Dirk Hiemstra and Ad Lansen chatting over refreshments.

These attempts all failed and eventually led to the closure of all the mints except Calcutta. In order to remove the annual batta imposed each year when the regnal year (RY) changed, the authorities decided to fix the RY on the coins at RY 12. For reasons that are not clear, three years later they issued coins with the correct RY, 15, and *batta* was immediately imposed, by the local bankers, on all coins with an earlier date. The RY was again fixed, this time at 15, but yet again, a few years later, coins were issued with the correct RY of 19, with the same results as before. It was not until the production of the machine-struck coinage after 1790 that *batta* was eventually brought under control.



Mrs. Ans ter Woerds (librarian of the Geldmuseum), Mrs Nel Boezelijn and Loek Boezelijn

The next talk was given by **Vladimir Belyaev**, who, together with Sergey Sidorovich, had researched the meaning of the character *bao* on Chinese cash coins. The first coin of the Tang dynasty – *kai-yuan- tong-bao* – was issued in AD 621, and its design and manner of composing the legend became a standard for China and neighbouring countries for the next 1300 years. The first two

characters on the obverse side of the coin in most cases reflected the current reign title or state name, while the other characters usually represented the word-combinations *tong-bao, yuan-bao, zhong-bao*, etc. According to a well-established interpretation, based on the translation of the word *bao* as 'coin', 'money' or 'treasure', these combinations of words are the different names of coins – 'circulating coin', 'heavy coin' and others.



Members eagerly awaiting the start of proceedings

In the authors' opinion, such an interpretation needed to be revised. There is no word *bao* with the meaning of 'coin' or 'money' in medieval Chinese sources. Another traditional translation – 'treasure' – does not reflect the full meaning of *bao* on the coins: 'Imperial Treasure', i.e. the emperor's seal. This meaning appeared in Chinese documents from the 7th century. *Bao* on Chinese coins is the declaration of the legality of the issue. Thus the legend on the coins consisted of two parts: the designation of the ruler responsible for the issue, and the word *bao* – the symbol of the issue's legality, which referred to the emperor's seal.



Vladimir Belyaev talking about the Chinese character Bao

Nicholas Rhodes gave a talk on the gold coinage of Samudra-Pasai in Northern Sumatra. He said that, along with the coinage of Aceh, it was the most prolific gold coinage of South-East Asia, and yet had received very little attention from numismatists. Recently two publications have assisted the study of the series considerably, firstly the book on the coins by J. Leyten, published by the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society in 2007 (Leyten; see review JONS 194, p.3-4), and secondly a book on the grave epitaphs of Pasai, by C. Guillot and K. Kalus, 'Les Monuments Funéraires et l'Histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra', published as 'Cahier d'Archipel 37' in Paris in 2008 (G&K). While the first book provides a beautifully illustrated catalogue of the coins, together with a historical commentary, the latter transcribes and translates, most for the first time, a large number of the grave epitaphs that litter the ancient territory of Pasai, and which are located in no fewer than 29 graveyards.

The historical information available before the publication of G&K was mainly derived from some Malay Chronicles written in the early 15th century, from Chinese sources spanning the period from 1400-1430 and from the accounts of European travellers who arrived in the early 16th century, leaving the last seven decades of the 15th century a virtual 'dark age'. The tomb epitaphs, however, fill this gap, and present a very different view of the history of Pasai than that postulated by earlier historians, and reflected in Leyten.

Previously it had been thought that Pasai was rich from its founding in c1260 until c1350, suffered foreign invasions for much of the second part of the 14th century, recovered in the first quarter of the 15th century and declined for the rest of the 15th century. It was thought that Pasai was replaced by Malacca as the main port in the region for entrepôt trade after c1430, and hence became relatively poor, only benefiting from a temporary resurgence in the early 16th century, after the arrival of the Europeans.



Nick Rhodes during his talk on Samudra-Pasai

The tombstones, however, give a very different picture. Only fourteen graves are known for the period before 1420, a period of a century and a half following the founding of the sultanate, but from then until 1520, about ninety-five dated tombs are known, an average of about one a year, spaced fairly evenly over the period. From the data on these tombstones, G&K record the names and genealogy of no fewer than 32 sultans, most of whom were not previously known, but many of whom had familiar names. For example, previously only one Sultan Muhammad was known, ruling from 1297 to 1326, and only two Sultan Ahmads were known ruling from c1326 to c1350. Most of the coins of Pasai are in the names of Muhammad and Ahmad, so it was natural to attribute most coins of the Sultanate to the first half of the 14th century. Now, however, two more Sultan Muhammads are known, and six more Sultan Ahmads, all ruling between c1420 and c1520, so it is not impossible that most, if not all, of these coins should be attributed to this later period. In fact, as a result of this new historical information, the attributions of all the coins of Pasai should be reconsidered.

Nick Rhodes then pointed out certain differences in fabric and calligraphic style which can be used to place the coins in a chronological framework on purely numismatic grounds, without consideration of the names of the sultans on them. He then made some suggestions as to how the various types of coins could be attributed to various known sultans, and came to the conclusion that it was not necessary for any of the gold dirhems (weight 0.6g) to be attributed to the period before about 1420, and that from then on, coins were probably struck continuously in large numbers until c1520. If those new attributions of the coins are correct, the frequency of tombs would match the volume of coin production,

and would probably reflect the growing wealth of Pasai over the period. Also in certain cases the evidence of the coins could provide useful corroborative historical information.

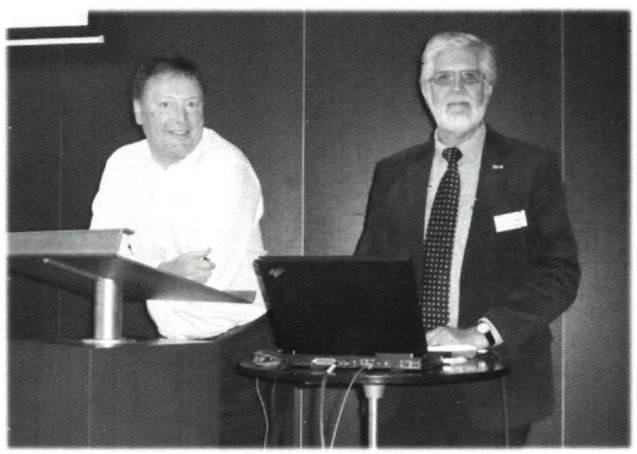
Nick Rhodes also mentioned the rare small gold half dirhems, weighing 0.3g or less, which were attributed by Leyten to the very beginning of the sultanate in the late 13th century, and which are called 'Mata Ayam' (Chickens eyes) by the local people of Geudong, where they are found. The attribution of these coins presents many problems, but Nick pointed out that an alternative attribution was possible and they may have been struck c1600, for some special purpose, but this was very uncertain.

Hans Leyten then spoke, questioning the list of sultans reconstructed by G&K from the tomb epigraphs. He mentioned four titles that appear in the epigraphs, Shah, Raja, Sultan and Malik. He noted that the appearance of the title 'sultan' on the tombstone did not necessarily mean that the deceased ruled was a king, but it might merely indicate that he was a member of the royal family. The title 'Malik', on the other hand, which appears on most of the coins of Pasai, would certainly indicate a king, but appears only rarely on the tomb epitaphs. As a result he thought that it may not be appropriate to assume that all the sultans in the list prepared by G&K were in a position to issue coins.



Hans Leyten responding

Jan Lingen and **Paul Stevens** ended the pre-lunch session by reporting a rupee of the Allahabad mint issued in the name of Akbar Shah. This coin had previously been thought to be a coin of Muhammad Akbar II, but evidence was found to show that it could not have been issued from Allahabad by the British during Muhammad Akbar's main reign, nor was it likely to have been issued during his first brief reign.



Paul Stevens and Jan Lingen

For various reasons, an unofficial striking at Allahabad during Muhammad Akbar's reign was also not considered likely. This led to the search for another Moghul Emperor named Akbar, in whose name this coin could have been issued. A boy, named in the histories, Akbar 'Adil Shah, was discovered to have been elevated to the status of emperor by Safdar Jang, the Wazir of Ahmad Shah Bahadur, during a rebellion in 1753. Allahabad was under the control of Safdar Jang at that time, so the issue of a rupee in the name of his puppet emperor is entirely consistent with the known historical facts. This research had therefore revealed a Mughal emperor, albeit an ephemeral puppet, not previously known to have issued coins. (See article in this issue, p.44-47)

During the lunch break, Mrs Ans ter Woerds, the librarian of the Geldmuseum, made it possible to pay a visit the library of the museum where various books on Oriental coinage were on display. On the way to the library the exhibition "The Gentleman XVII and the Shogun; 400 years of Dutch-Japanese trade relations", could be viewed. In this fine numismatic exhibition various coins were on display which illustrate the long-standing Dutch trade relation with Japan. Some of the highlights in the exhibition were a gold *Oban* (the largest gold coin in the museum's collection) and a *Koban* of the Keicho period (1596-1614) countermarked by the Dutch at Batavia with the lion of Holland.

After lunch **Anne van't Haaff** presented a paper on his forthcoming publication on the coinage of Persis, which is expected in Spring 2010. In his lecture he particularly featured some overstrikes on coins of Persis and explained their significance.



The editor, with Jan Lingen, prior to giving his talk

The last talk was given by **Stan Goron**, who provided an overview of the Durrani coin issues of Qandahar/Ahmadshahi. The overview in fact began with the coins struck by Nadir Shah in Qandahar and his new city of Nadirabad, nearby. It was Nadir who had expelled the Ghilzais from Qandahar and allowed the Abdalis to settle there. One of these latter was Ahmad, who, on Nadir's death, was chosen as king of Afghanistan and whose epithet *durr-i durrān (pearl of pearls)* gave rise to the dynastic name of the Durranis. On his succession, Ahmad decided to dismantle Nadir's city of Nadirabad and build a new one, which he called Ahmadshahi. No coins were struck at the city for the first ten years while it was being constructed. Rare coins with the mint name Dār al-Qarār Qandahār are known from year 9, but the first coins with the mint name Aḥmadshāhī are known definitely from AH 1171 year 11 and one possibly dated year 10 also exists. Ahmadshahi is given the epithet *ashraf al-bilād (most noble of cities)* on the coins.

All Durrani coins have the ruler's name as part of a couplet on the obverse and the mint-name on the reverse. The date and regnal year may be on either side. The layout of the legends of Ahmadshahi issues varies considerably, e.g. the reverses of Ahmad Shah issues and both sides of those of his successor, Taimur Shah. The talk described the issues of the ephemeral rulers, Sulaiman and Humayun, and the longer-lasting Zaman Shah, Mahmud and Shuja' al-Mulk.

Then, after a tea break, followed the traditional auction of oriental coins and related books, which this year realised a total of 750 euros for the benefit of the ONS. Thanks to all those who supplied and donated material for the auction as well as those participating in the bidding. The day ended with some 20 participants enjoying a nice Chinese meal at a nearby restaurant.

Our thanks are particularly due to the Geldmuseum, who most generously enabled us to make use of the facilities for this meeting and to Jan Lingen for all his work in organising the event.



Enjoying the dinner in the evening

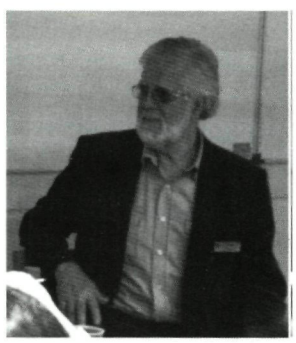
The next meeting is planned to take place at the same venue, the Geldmuseum, Leidseweg 90, Utrecht, on **Saturday, 16 October 2010**. 2010 will be the 40th anniversary of the Oriental Numismatic Society, all the more reason already to make a note of this in your diary.

Upcoming Events

Members in the Oriental Numismatic Society, North American Branch, should note a talk by Dr Stefan Heidemann of Jena University and the Bard Graduate Center on 'Formulating an Islamic Iconography: The Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and its Elite Religion on Coinage in Its First Hundred Years'.

The meeting will be held on Saturday, 9 January 2010, at 5.30, in conjunction with the New York International Numismatic Convention at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The meeting is open to all without charge. For more information please contact Michael Bates, Tiesenhausen@yahoo.com.

The Numismatic Congress 2009



Jan Lingen Chairs the session

The International Numismatic Congress was held in Glasgow from 31 August to 5 September. There was a very successful and well attended strand of papers on Oriental & African topics which attracted many scholars. A session was held on the first day organised by the Oriental Numismatic Society at which conference participants were encouraged to give news about developments in their field. This session was chaired by Jan Lingen and Joe Cribb.

Rachel Barkay reported on her research on Nabataean coins.

Joe Cribb discussed work at the British Museum to make Oriental collections accessible via the web, and the work by Elizabeth Errington on Charles Masson's finds at Begram in Afghanistan.

Judith Kolbas spoke about the creation of a Central Asian Numismatic Research Group.

A report was given on the Parthian coin project, a multi-institutional project directed by Michael Alram of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and V. S. Curtis, representing the British Museum and the British Institute of Persian Studies. Its aim is the creation of a coin catalogue in nine volumes of the important Parthian holdings in London, Vienna, Tehran, Paris, Berlin and New York. The inclusion of the coins in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, will make them available to scholars in the west for the first time. The first volume will be authored by Dr Fabrizio Sinisi and should go to press in 2010. The other volumes will appear over the next few years.

Vesta Curtis reported that the Sasanian Coin Project is looking for funding to publish three volumes. These will publish the Sasanian holdings of the National Museum of Iran in their entirety – around 4,500 coins.

The Newly Refurbished Ashmolean Museum

The Ashmolean museum in Oxford has undergone an enormous redevelopment and has now re-opened to the public. The new building features thirty-eight new galleries. This includes a new 'money' gallery featuring coins and other forms of money from throughout history.

On Saturday 9 January Shailendra Bhandare, Assistant Keeper at the Heberden Coin Room will host a meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society in the newly refurbished museum. This will commence with talks in the morning and then, after lunch, members will have an opportunity for a tour of the new facilities. Participants should meet at the front entrance of the museum at 10.30 am.

ONS/NSI Seminar

The Numismatic Society of India was officially founded on 28 December 1910 in Allahabad, which means it will enjoy its centenary next year. The Oriental Numismatic Society will be holding a seminar in conjunction with the NSI to celebrate this event. Papers on any aspect of Oriental coins will be welcome at this meeting but a particular focus will be given to historiographic issues in Indian numismatics. The seminar will be held on Friday 14 May and Saturday 15 May in the British Museum. Members interested in attending or in giving a short of long paper should contact Robert Bracey, robert@kushan.org.

Lists Received and Auction News

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 246 (August 2009), 247 (Sept.2009), 248 (november 2009)

2. Early World Coins (7 Clifford Street, York, UK, YO1 9RA; tel +44(0)845 4900 724; orders@earlyworldcoins.com; http://earlyworldcoins.com) List S5 of mainly oriental coins.

New and Recent Publications

Robert Tye: *Early World Coins & Early Weight Standards*, card cover, 183 pages; price UK £15 (post paid).

The author describes the first part of this work as follows "Over the last 30 years I have made drawings of several hundred commoner early Islamic, Indian and Chinese coin types, and it occurred to me to collect together and publish these drawings, with the addition of some 19th century drawings of Greek, Roman and early Medieval coins, to make an inexpensive catalogue of some of the world's commoner, and its most influential, early coinages". This is not the full extent of the publication, the author also includes maps intended to illustrate the geographic and chronological context, as well as discussions on the importance of denominations, weight systems and standards. We hope to have a lengthy review article responding to some of the interesting ideas raised in this publication in a future journal (Co-Editor).

Michael Fedorov "Notes on the early medieval numismatics of Khwarezm" in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, Band 40, 2008

Normam D Nicol: *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*: Volume 2 – *Early Post-Reform Coinage*. ISBN 9781854442383. Price £60

The second volume covers coins from the seventh to the tenth centuries from the Heberden Coin Room and the Samir Shamma Collection, over 1600 coins in total.

Gullak, a new coin collectors' newsletter published in India by Reesha Books and edited by Dilip Rajgor, has had its inaugural issue. The first two newsletters can be downloaded at www.gullak.in. For more information contact info@reeshabooks.com.

Articles

FROM DEMETRIOS I TO DEMETRIOS III, THE 'KING OF THE INDIANS'?

By L.M.Wilson

This is an attempt to outline a framework for the problematic chronology of the kings of Bactria after Euthydemos I, taking into account the available evidence and to reconcile the current conflicting views – in particular to evaluate the three candidates for the 'King of the Indians' mentioned by Justin as fighting against Eukratides I. The three kings named Demetrios that we know from the coins are Demetrios I (elephant headdress), Demetrios II (Athena reverse) and Demetrios III (with Indo-Greek coinage and Aniketos epithet). What is written about 'Demetrios, king of the Indians' comes from Justin[1] (there are also passing references in medieval works presumably derived from Justin, but it is hard to extract much solid information from these).

"The Bactrians, for their part, were buffeted in various conflicts and lost not just their empire but their liberty as well. Worn down by wars with the Sogdians, Arachosians, Drancae, Arei and the Indians, they finally fell, virtually in a state of exhaustion, under the power of the Parthians, a weaker people than themselves. (41.6.4)... Eukratides nevertheless conducted many wars with great valour. Weakened by these, he found himself facing a siege by *Demetrius, king of the Indians*, but by making repeated sorties he was able to defeat 60,000 of the enemy with 300 men. Delivered from the siege after four months, he then brought India under his sway. (41.6.5): During the return journey from India, he was murdered by his son, whom he had made partner in his royal power."

The unreliability of Justin's text has been discussed many times and it is indeed compressed and quite selective. Justin's account is an "epitome", ie. a 'selection', of Trogus' history, and so we should expect him to omit a large number of events, but if we accept that the order of events in the text is correct, and not inverted, then placing the 'king of the Indians' at the beginning of the reign of Eukratides I is problematic[3]. If there was a conflation of two separate events, one possibility could perhaps be an earlier major conflict (with a king such as Demetrios I or Antimachos I) and a later one (with 'Demetrios, king of the Indians'). Furthermore, Justin is not explicit or precise, so it is of course still possible that the conflict with this 'Demetrios' was a] in Bactria and b] before his Indian campaign, although Justin does imply it is both in 'India' and possibly during the Indian campaign at the end of Eukratides' reign.

I will consider each of the possible identifications of Demetrios commencing with Demetrios I. Demetrios I was certainly a conqueror of 'Indian' territory; the Greek dedication[5] inscribed on a stone stele (altar), discovered in Kouliab, Afghanistan, referring to the victories of the prince (not yet 'king') Demetrios during the reign of his father (...the greatest of all kings Euthydemos, as well as his son, the glorious, victorious and remarkable Demetrios...). It thus seems reasonable to propose that Demetrios I made conquests in India before he became absolute king on the death of Euthydemos I. Also, Strabo refers to Demetrios as a conqueror of India and as the son of Euthydemos I; "The Greeks who caused Bactria to revolt grew so powerful on account of the fertility of the country that ....more tribes were subdued by them than by Alexander....some by Menander.....and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus the king of the Bactrians" (Strabo 11.11.1). One of the areas that Demetrios ruled was Arachosia, since a city named Demetrias is located there, and another could be Taxila, since many of his coins were found in the archaeological site of Sirkap, these being the first Bactrian Greek coins at the site. Hence Demetrios I could justifiably be described as 'king of the Indians', but actually all we know with certainty from the extant literature is that he was only described as the 'son of Euthydemos'.

Assuming Justin's 'King of the Indians' is Demetrios I, there were also several other kings that ruled in Bactria around the time

of Demetrios I and Eukratides I (Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Antimachos I and Eukratides I). How can these be fitted into a historical framework? One possibility discussed previously[2,6,19,20] is that there was an overlap of their reigns in Bactria after the death of Demetrios I, although it is difficult to place them all in Bactria at the same time, particularly as Euthydemos II and Agathokles (and Pantaleon) both issued the 'nickel coinage', but Antimachos I and Eukratides I did not[7,3], although Agathokles and Antimachos I did issue the (very similar) commemorative coinage which links them. Hence it is difficult to accommodate all of these kings (Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Antimachos I) into the Bactrian kingdom *if* Demetrios I actually survived until the start of the usurpation of Eukratides I, as they would all have to be compressed into the earliest part of the reign of Eukratides I (and in different parts of Bactria).

Some of the known hoard evidence is relevant to these arguments, especially the Oxus[24] 'treasure', consisting of 49 Bactrian coins from Diodotos onwards, with the latest being Antimachos I (4 coins) but containing none of Eukratides. Thus the Oxus treasure supports the view that Antimachos I preceded Eukratides I. Crucially the Oxus hoard also supports the earlier dating of Demetrios I relative to Eukratides; Eukratides I seems to have been later because coins of Demetrios I were found but there were none of Eukratides. The scenario outlined many times, with Pantaleon and Euthydemos II coming directly after Demetrios I, Agathokles following and then Antimachos I being succeeded by Eukratides I in Bactria thus seems most likely. Instead of an overlap, there may have been a gap of 15 or more years between Demetrios I (if he reigned until c.185/180) and Eukratides I (reigned from c.170/165[4]) and we need to look elsewhere for the 'King of the Indians' mentioned by Justin.

The next candidate, Demetrios II, has generally been ruled out[2,15,18,3,22] since he has no connection to India, has no Indian coinage and is considered to be a (minor) late king in the period of Eukratides II and Heliokles I. All his coinage is Attic standard silver and all his monograms are late Bactrian and similar to those of Eukratides II and Heliokles I. We seem to be left only with Demetrios III, who could be re-considered as an alternative. He does not require the compression of Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles and Antimachos I into the reign of Demetrios I or into the space of just a few years after Demetrios I in the early part of the reign of Eukratides I. The main question is; can we place him in the reign of Eukratides I, or better, in the second half of it? If this is possible then he should be considered as a serious candidate for Justin's 'King of the Indians', despite his ephemeral reign.

The timing of Eukratides' Indian campaign is then crucial to an estimated time period for this Demetrios, but this is complex and tied to the attribution of some monograms to specific locations. Bopearachchi has located[11,23] three monograms ( , ) to the south of the Hindu Kush, these being purely 'Indian' monograms. All three are used by Eukratides I, Menander as well as Antimachos II, with Eukratides using 2 on his silver and the third on his Indian bronze and Menander and Antimachos II using all 3 on their Indo-Greek silver coinage. The monogram is also used as one of his main monograms by Antimachos I on his Attic silver tetradrachm issues. Another of these is Plato's only monogram, based on H and Y, and again found on his purely Attic silver issues. Eukratides I also used 2 of these on his Attic issues; () on the famous gold 20-stater piece and () commonly found on his attic silver tetradrachms (like the coinage of Antimachos I). Even the Attic silver tetradrachm of Apollodotos I uses this same monogram. There are some obols *without* helmeted portrait[13] that have the monogram, which is certainly unexpected and this monogram does not appear on any other pre-epithet coinage. Moreover, this author has not found any of the expected helmeted-type obols with this monogram, so its use on obols seems to have been discontinued (in favour of other production, such as the tetradrachms). These obols are not particularly common and are probably the first issues of Eukratides I with this monogram and may be another example of a transitional 'intermediate' type before the new helmeted obverse dies were prepared. The situation may be a little more complicated because they do not have the Megas epithet in the (reverse) inscription. In fact none of the obols have the 'Megas', whether they have helmeted obverse portraits or not, so it may be possible there was a mix-up of reverse dies with the older obverse dies (there seem to be just a few different reverse and obverse dies for this issue). They could still have been struck in the south ('India') if the adoption of the epithet by Eukratides I happened at about the same time as the adoption of these 'Indian' monograms (by an invasion and conquest). What can be concluded from this? There is some uncertainty whether the Attic coins with 'Indian' monograms were actually minted in the southern 'Indian' territories. Bopearachchi seems to argue for them being from the south. If the mints (or in fact moneyers) associated with these monograms are indeed located in the south[11,12,8], then these coins were all issued in the Indo-Greek territories, outside Bactria. Even if the 20-stater gold piece, with altered 'transitional inscription' was issued in Bactria, the use of an 'Indian' monogram may indicate some Indian connection and hence date the invasion of India by Eukratides, by linking the adoption of the epithet to the coinage of Timarchos. This invasion is relevant to a possible dating of Demetrios III, if he is the 'king of the Indians' encountered by Eukratides, as mentioned by Justin.

Hence the next crucial point is *when* Eukratides I took his Megalou epithet. If the arguments are followed[14,23,7] concerning the connection with the coinage of Timarchos and if the ideas of Bopearachchi concerning the re-engraving and the monogram connecting the 20-stater gold piece to the Indian south are not ignored (ie. if the 20-stater gold piece is actually[11,23] *linked to India*), then this seems to have been some time before c.161 BC. This is complicated again by the fact that there is a very rare intermediate coinage[15,23] of Eukratides I, with the epithet, but arranged in 2 straight horizontal lines. However these are very rare coins and this issue may have only lasted for about one year, so, even taking this issue into account, the adoption of the epithet would have been only about a year earlier than the issue of the 20-stater gold piece, still putting the adoption of the epithet a little before c.161 BC. Considering the possible dating of Eukratides and Timarchos, this adoption would seem to have been after 165 BC and perhaps before 162 BC, which is quite a narrow period. If this is somehow linked to India, we have a date for the invasion by Eukratides I.

Overall, Bopearachchi's sequence of the inscription arrangements on the 'Indian' coinage from Antimachos II to Menander looks reasonable, since we go from continuous to discontinuous legends, but as so often happens when we are forced to work with such scant evidence, if we look more closely at the coinage changes of Menander (as also set out by Bivar), there are a few features that seem anomalous and raise doubts. Firstly we notice there are 2 series of intermediate types (series 4 and 5 in ref. 11 [Bopearachchi], although these are not discussed in the text), with both being very rare (type 5 is described in ref. 12 [Bivar] as a rare mule). Type 4 has a continuous legend on the obverse just like the older series, but the reverse legend shows the beginning of a discontinuous legend like the later coinage, while keeping the older orientation and attributes of Pallas (facing right). Both are in fact very rare and, while type 5 is undeniably a mule, type 4 must be an intermediate type. In fact Bivar comments on this apparent continuous evolution, making it hard to postulate a disruptive invasion of any length of time. The use of all three major monograms for the new legend types of Menander also suggests a smooth evolution. Bivar also postulates that the invasion of Eukratides was quite late in the reign of both Menander and Eukratides (specifically it occurred after about 5 'years', identified with the first 5 *series* of Menander's coinage out of a total of 8; hence actually quite late in the reign of Menander). If we accept a continuous evolution of Menander's coinage without any disruption, then the actual invasion and conquest by Eukratides seems problematic. Secondly, we notice

that the helmeted type of Eukratides is not copied by Menander until apparently quite late in the series of his coinage, if the later series are indeed chronological (but we have no evidence for their actual chronology). Thirdly, the Attic issues of Menander do not seem to change to the legend arrangement of Eukratides I at the same time, as far as we know. In fact these Attic coins seem to use the same legend arrangements as the (Attic) coins of Eukratides II: both the earlier two straight vertical lines and the later (Soter coinage) canopy arrangement. Possibly this indicates their chronology (c.145 BC) or it is just an accident of the design; they both have standing figures, which makes more space for the legend on *each side* of the standing figure, later modified to a continuous canopy.

On the other hand, it must be asked *why* Menander (and Zoilos) changed their legend arrangement. It seems reasonable to propose a chronological connection between these types, whether or not this involved a major conquest (by Eukratides I[11,23]). If this event was not caused by an invasion by Eukratides I, he may of course have staged his actual invasion later, as Justin describes, although it seems very reasonable that Eukratides I staged several campaigns into India, perhaps starting during or near the end of the reign of Antimachos II but the earlier ones may have been more like raids for booty rather than a permanent conquest. If, for example, Eukratides had conquered Antimachos II and then issued his 'Indian' bilingual coins, we would seem to have a sequence as follows: continuous legends (Antimachos), split legends (Eukratides), continuous legends (Menander) and then split legends again, which seems illogical. Also, monogram 174 (similar to ), supposedly moving directly from Antimachos to Eukratides, may actually have been used by Menander on some of his bronzes[11] (in series 30 and 32), making a conquest of Antimachos by Eukratides uncertain. Some objections may be valid, but it is quite hard to quantify them and, looking at the whole picture, it still seems reasonable to go from the early continuous legends to the discontinuous ones at about the time that Eukratides I adopted his epithet. It seems too much of a coincidence that the type was used by Eukratides I (and copied by Timarchos) and then just happened to be adopted by Menander at some quite different time. Hence the best chronological marker we presently have for the inception date of Menander seems to remain c.165 (or at least some years before 160 BC). The gold 20-stater monogram and its legend re-engraving[11,23] still remains and seems harder to explain if Eukratides I did not actually invade the south and take these mints/monograms, but this has been discussed elsewhere[3,23]. But it must also be admitted that if there is no immediate chronological connection between these legend changes of Menander and Eukratides then the reign of Menander could start later, as has been proposed in the past.

Unfortunately Justin states that Eukratides I went on to conquer India *after* his conflict with Demetrios, king of the Indians, not the other way round. Therefore, there is an inherent problem if this coinage comes after the reform of Menander *and* if the order of events given in Justin is accepted, for then Demetrios III is later than this coinage reform so he is most likely significantly *later* than the invasion of India by Eukratides that Justin states he is supposed to be opposing. The coins themselves were used as indicators of their relative dating since we have no other data. Although the coins do use the Indian (Kharosthi) title 'maharajah', this only indicates a date later than Apollodotos I, who also used it (rather than necessarily being later than Eukratides I, who used it on his Indian issues). The larger, silver Indo-Greek tetradrachm type of Demetrios III places them after Menander's reform of the coinage (and hence after the invasion of India by Eukratides I, so after c.160 BC).

The exact bronze coin weight standard[11,21] used by Demetrios III is unclear, mainly because there are so few specimens, but the known AE coins seem to be of one type and have a weight of 4 to 6.1 grams (in reference 11 and data for coins from British Museum, ANS, Lahore Museum and Berlin Bode Museum)*. The weights of all the coins that this author could track down were as follows, 3.94g (BM), 4.95g (BM), 5.16g (ANS), 5.46g (Bode), 6.09g (Lahore). The Lahore and Bode coins were in the best condition, with very little wear (EF), so these have the most reliable weight. They do *not* seem to follow the weight standard of 8.50 grams (as claimed in ref. 11 and usually assumed); although the flans are approximately the same *size* as the usual late 8.50 gram coins of other Indo-Greek issues (18-20mm) they are substantially thinner. There are several possibilities close to 5 or 6 grams; the weigh standard *could* be an approximation of the '5.5' gram bronze ('double unit') weight of Menander after his coinage reform *or* they are half of the early 9.8 gram weight (i.e. 4.9 grams) *or* they could be a different weight standard of about 6 to 6.5 grams, as in Menander's series 32[11]. The coins of the bronze series 32 of Menander are also about 18 to 20 mm square, just like the Demetrios III coins and are of the same thickness.

We should be cautious because there is so little data, but some analysis is possible. The average 'mean' values for the relevant coin series were calculated (the total weight divided by the number of coins) and the standard deviation (the 'spread') for each series was also found. Data was taken from the BN[11], BM, ANS and CoinArchives (on the internet) and the number of coins used in calculating each series (sample size) is given. The data for these series are shown in Table 1; the possibility that they are '4.9 gram' types as are Menander's series 23 coins, seems less likely as this weight is slightly lower according to the present data and the '4.9 gram' series 23 coins are normally smaller (c.17 mm). It should also be noted that the series 23 coins are supposed to be half the weight of the 9.8 gram coins (such as Menander's series 21 and 22), and so are unlikely to have a weight higher than 4.9 grams. A comparison with the rare '5.5 gram' coin series 27 of Menander shows that the average weight is somewhat higher (although there are very few coins) and these coins are also often slightly smaller than the Demetrios III coins (c17mm). A comparison with the bronze coin series 32 of Menander seems to give the best fit. A bronze coin of Demetrios III is illustrated, together with a bronze of Menander's series 32. These coins show closer similarities, having the same size, very similar weights and the same legend arrangements.

In general, the spread in the weights of bronze coins, even for 'good' specimens with less wear is quite significant, typically being at least 0.5 grams and up to about 1 gram from their intended weight standard. In order to try to fix the weight standard with a little more certainty, the weights of the bronze coins of Demetrios III are shown plotted on the weight chart (shown as larger squares) together with the bronzes of Menander's series 32 (having Head of Athena/Nike[11], shown as smaller diamonds. All the Menander weights are taken from ref.11). The chart shows there is a good match to the other Menander coins, so the Demetrios bronze series probably follows the weight standard of this Menander series. This weight standard may be close to 6.5 grams (although a 6.80 gram 'average' value is claimed in ref.11) since the weights in the chart level off at the top end to between 6 and 6.5 grams. This would of course be the notional or aspirational top value for the coins, but as can be seen in Table 1 the average value is always lower. The actual average weight is a little over 5 grams for both Menander's series 32 and the bronze coins of Demetrios III. Menander's series 32 is associated with a double weight series (series 31 of Menander[11], having an upper value of about 12-13 grams). The bronze series 32 of Menander seems to have similar monograms to the *silver* Menander series 13[11], so it may have appeared at about the same time, after Menander's reform of the coinage and in the later part of Menander's reign. Since this is such an unusual bronze weight standard, it does seem to place Demetrios III in this period. It would seem that this fits well with Justin's 'King of the Indians' late in the reign of Eukratides I and therefore places Demetrios III earlier than previously thought, roughly after 160 and before 145 BC. For comparison, the data for several other bronze series are shown for kings down to Heliokles II, but the only similar weight coinage belongs to Menander. None of the kings after Menander issued any coins with an average weight of less than about 8 grams, except for the *round* coin series 15 of Antialkidas, which has a weight significantly lower than the Demetrios bronzes. It is

not until Apollodotos II and his successors that lower weight coinages were again issued.

We can try to put Demetrios III into a framework of the period but just one continuous invasion of 'India' by Eukratides seems unlikely because of the continuous evolution of Menander's coinage[8,12,11] and the death of Eukratides on his return. Although the bilingual coinage of Eukratides I is extremely rare there is also no need to assume a very short Indian occupation by Eukratides if all the Attic silver with 'Indian' monograms is added to the very rare bilingual silver (especially the Attic coins with monogram). If this is all taken together with the bilingual bronze coinage we have a considerable output that could have spanned several years. Since Justin's account is obviously incomplete, it could be suggested that Eukratides made two distinct campaigns into India, and that Justin has simply omitted the first (or conflated them). Justin certainly does not exclude more than one Indian campaign and Demetrios III himself does not seem to fit into the earlier c.160 period because of his post-reform coinage. We could take into account the details described above and attempt to rationalise the events concerning Eukratides I and India as follows: in c.162 BC Eukratides attacks a young Menander and makes conquests in Paropamisadae/Arachosia and starts issuing his coins there with the southern monograms. Perhaps due to "....various conflicts .... and .... Worn down by wars with the Sogdians, Arachosians, Drancae, Arei and the Indians...." ie. several wars according to Justin, he is, however, unable to subdue the whole Indo-Greek kingdom. Here we get the connections between the coinage of Eukratides and Menander; not only Menander's reform and change of the legend arrangements but the spearthruster type on the Attic coins of Eukratides which seems to be copied directly from the early coinage series of Menander (or vice-versa, but this connection would still place them close together in time). This magnificent spearthruster type of Eukratides also seems to be early in his Megas series, since it uses only the early monogram. Thus it appears to come soon after the great gold 20-stater piece. Copying the same coin type as used by Menander could of course commemorate the conquest of Indian lands by Eukratides I, at the expense of Menander, and supports the idea that this issue does indeed follow his invasion of India.

Soon after, perhaps in c.150 BC we have a second invasion by Eukratides I and the war described in Justin's account during which the siege took place, with Demetrios III attacking Eukratides (perhaps with Menander's help[3]) and is initially successful. Demetrios III issues his rare coins during this period, but is soon overcome by Eukratides, who may have gone on to drive Menander out of the Paropamisadae and even Gandhara, as Justin says, ".... he then brought India under his sway". Eukratides then returned to Bactria (c.145[9,10,]) to meet his fate at the hands of his son[17]. This possible second Indian campaign of Eukratides I would not be expected to leave such a mark on the coinage since it would only involve a short occupation. This chronology seems to leave enough time for Eukratides' Indian coinage. Thus Demetrios III could be later than the initial invasion of India (i.e. after the coinage reform), satisfying the description in Justin. In this case a date of around 150/145 for this Demetrios seems possible. A summary of possible dates is given in Table 2. It is difficult to date Demetrios III further; his monogram is supposedly unique and his rare coins have not been found in any hoards. There is only one monogram found on the coins of Demetrios III, and it is not too different from some used by Antimachos II and Menander, based on Φ and H. In fact there is a monogram of Menander listed in ref. 11 (and discussed on p.67, one of the later monograms), no. 266, that looks similar to the Demetrios III monogram and may be based on the same two letters.

Now Jens Jakobsson 'Additions to Indo-Greek chronology c. 145 BC' in this issue, seems to have found another indication that supports an early dating of Demetrios III. A reverse study shows that Demetrios' coins were based on the same prototype model of standing Zeus as the early king Agathokles, while a number of rulers, from Heliocles I and onwards, use a different (more or less mirror-reversed) version for Zeus' posture. The Demetrios of Justin is problematic, but it is worth reconsidering Demetrios III. Perhaps Demetrios III is after all a more likely candidate, and Jens' and my studies seem to have supported some of Kraay's reconstruction[16].



Bronze coin of Menander, Series 32 (5.21g)



Bronze of Demetrios III (6.09g)

Chart 1. Bronze coin weights for Demetrios III and for Menander series 32

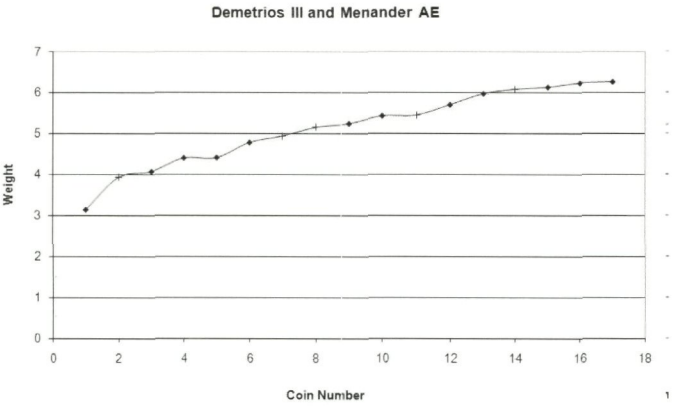


Table 1. Summary of Square Bronze Coin weight data, from Menander to Heliokles II

King	BN Coin Series[11]	Average Weight	+/- Std.Deviation	Sample size
Menander	23	5.03	0.737	7
Menander	27	5.43	0.490	6
Menander	32	**5.13**	0.917	32
Demetrios III	3	**5.12**	0.787	5
Nikias	4	7.99	0.471	4
Theophilos	5	8.42	0.352	5
Lysias	8	8.00	0.503	13
Antialkidas	17	8.01	0.798	20
Antialkidas	15 (Round coins)	3.48	0.458	5
Philoxenos	10	8.00	0.905	10
Strato I	29	8.02	0.544	13
Heliokles II	7	7.80	0.816	10

Data from BN, BM, ANS and Coinarchives.
Table 2. Summary of Dates (in BCE), in Bactria and India.

In Bactria	
Demetrios I	c.190/5- c.185/180
Euthydemos II /Pantaleon	c.180/5
Agathokles	c.180- c.170
Antimachos I	c.174- c.165
Eukratides I	c.170/165- c.145
(takes Megas epithet	c.162/165)
Eukratides II	c.145/150- c.140
Heliokles I	c.145- c.130

In India	
Demetrios I in India	c.186
Pantaleon/Agathokles in India	c.180/175
Apollodotos I	c.180-c.170
Antimachos I in India,	c.170
Antimachos II	c.165
Menander	c.165/160-135/130
Eukratides I in India	c.160/150
(takes Megas epithet	c.162/165)

Many thanks to Jens Jakobsson for many helpful and fruitful discussions. Also thanks to CNG Inc. for illustration 1, bronze coin of Menander.

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SOME ADDITIONS TO 'INDO-GREEK CHRONOLOGY'

By Jens Jakobsen

A possible indication for dating Demetrios III

My article 'Indo-Greek chronology c.200-145 BC' in JONS 198 contained a discussion about Demetrios III. I attempted to identify him with Justin's *'Demetrius, king of the Indians'*, claiming that Demetrios III fought with Eukratides I c. 150 BC, perhaps as a vassal-king of Menander I. This would be in accordance with Kraay's dating, but much earlier than current datings of Demetrios III by Bopearachchi and Senior (c. 100 and 65 BC, respectively[1]).

It is admittedly difficult to date the minor ruler Demetrios III, whose sole monogram (see Fig.1) was unique (even though it resembles several others, including a number of Menander's), and whose rare coins have not been found in any hoards. There may, however, be two new clues that support an early dating. The first is found in L.M. Wilson's *'From Demetrios I to Demetrios III, the 'King of the Indians'?'* (the previous article), where Wilson matches the weight of Demetrios' rare bronzes with one of Menander's early series. The second clue is related to the design of the reverse of Demetrios' silver, which depicts a standing Zeus, facing forward. This type was introduced in Bactria by Agathokles (c.180 BC), and later repeated by Heliokles I (c.145 BC). The Indo-Greek king Heliokles II, who copied the coins of his namesake, introduced the type in India (c.100 BC), and the following decades saw the emergence of a number of variations, including some where Zeus is facing to the right side (his own), used by Heliokles II's successors and the Saka kings who replaced them.

There were, however, two basic designs for Zeus' posture; essentially the position of his legs and feet were mirrored in the second design. The mirrored posture was introduced by the celators of Heliokles I, and seemingly became the prototype for *all* later Indian types that I have looked at (see Table 1)[2]. The only exception is Demetrios III, whose type was, instead, modelled on the Zeus posture on Agathokles' silver. If this posture is really unique for these two kings, it indicates that Demetrios III may have ruled before Heliokles I, so that Demetrios' reverses were adapted from the only type that existed then. It would not be impossible for the old Agathokles posture to reappear on the other side of the Hindu Kush, even after being dormant for a long period, but the consistency among all other Indian rulers in prefering the mirrored posture would make Demetrios' reverses an anomaly, if he really belonged in the 1st century BC, and it definitely weakens the link between him and Heliokles II.

A mysterious coin explained

My JONS198 article also contained a reference to a hemidrachm found in India, issued by one Demetrios, but without royal title[3]. As Mark Passehl kindly pointed out, P.L. Gupta has already solved this mystery[4]. The type, with face of Heracles / crab, is typical of the island of Kos, and Demetrios would in that case be a magistrate. The coin probably arrived in India aboard an Alexandrinian ship, and has nothing to do with Demetrios I of Bactria.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank to L.M. Wilson for extensive help with research and illustrations.

Notes

[1] Kraay (1985), Bopearachchi (1998) and Senior (2006).

[2] I have studied Bopearachchi's catalogues (1991 & 1998) as well as Senior's ISCH IV (2006), and a number of stray coins. There are of course numerous variations, but the general right/left dichotomy stands for all the coins I have looked at.

[3] Handa (1996)

[4] Gupta (1999)

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Table 1. *Common standing Zeus postures of Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Saka kings, 2nd-1st centuries BC. Zeus usually has a staff in his left hand, except for some of Archebios' coins, where he holds the aegis.*

Posture 1. Right leg bent and showing through the fabric of mantle. Straight(er) **left leg. Right foot** pointing more or less forward. **Left foot** pointing outwards.		**Posture 2. Left leg** bent and showing through the fabric of mantle. Straight(er) **right leg. Left foot** pointing more or less forward. **Right foot** pointing outwards. Right hip often protruding.			
Facing forward		*Facing forward*			*Facing right*
Holding Hecate in right hand	Holding thunder-bolt (fulmen)	Holding fulmen	Holding Nike, with elephant	Holding fulmen high, right leg also bent	Holding fulmen or Nike, or making bene-diction Gesture
Agathokles	**Demetrios III**	**Heliokles I & II, Azes**	**Antial-kidas**	**Archebios**	**Peucolaos, Azes Maues**



Fig.1. Reverses of tetradrachms: upper left Agathokles, upper right Demetrios III (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum), lower left Heliokles I and lower right Azes. Other coins courtesy of CNG. Inc.

ĪSVARADEVA: A NEW WESTERN KSHATRAPA KING

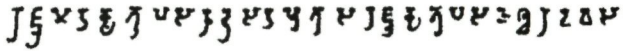
By Pankaj Tandon[1]

The purpose of this brief note is to report a coin of a previously unknown Western Kshatrapa king: Īsvaradeva, a son of Rudrasimha I. The coin is illustrated in Figure 1.



Fig. 1: Silver drachm of Īsvaradeva weight 2.08 gm, diameter 15-16 mm

The date behind the king's head is (Saka era) 13x. Unfortunately, the units digit of the date (if there is one) is mainly off the flan. The little bit of a possible units digit that is visible curves to the right, a characteristic unknown for any units digit among the Brahmi numerals, leading me to suspect that the date may well be 130. Although the tops of some of the letters on the legend, including notably the father's name, are off the flan, it is possible to reconstruct the legend, starting at 6 o'clock, as:



Rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasihaputrasa Rajno kshatrapasa Īsvaradevasa.

Figure 2 shows the reconstructed legend as it would have appeared on the coin. The only other candidate for the father's name, given that the bottoms of the letters *rudra* are clearly visible, would have been Rudrasena. However, as we see on Figure 2, there is a curved line at 1 o'clock of the figure that is compatible only with the letter *ha* and not with *na*. Thus the name on the coin must have been Rudrasiha (Rudrasimha).



Fig.2: Reconstructed legend

The individual who first showed me the coin suggested that it was a coin of the Abhira king, Īsvaradeva, who is mentioned by Jha and Rajgor in their study of Western Kshatrapa coinage[2]. An inscription of this king, dated S. 254, is known. If the date on my coin were read as 23x, it might be compatible with the Abhira ruler's reign, and this was the date read by my source. There is a slight die imperfection at the spot where a horizontal line on the 100's numeral would render it to read 200, however, a close examination of the coin reveals that there is no actual line there, only the die flaw, so that the 100's digit indeed reads 100. To

further consolidate this reading, I argue that the style of the coin is too early for a date in the 230's; indeed, even 130 is rather late on account of one feature of the coin, as I will show.

The key aspects of the style are the king's portrait and the reverse devices. Just a simple visual inspection would convince one that the style of the portrait resembles more the style of the coins of Rudrasena I, minted with dates in the 130's, rather than coins of Rudrasimha II, who was minting in the 230's. Figure 3 is a coin of Rudrasena I, dated S. 132 and Figure 4 is an issue of Rudrasimha II, dated S. 230. Even more convincing than the portraits are the reverse devices. The letter forms on the Rudrasimha II coin legend are totally different from the letter forms on the other two coins, the river below the *chaitya* has acquired a slight bowl-like shape and the crescent moons are more stylised. The crescent that should be on top of the *chaitya* has in fact migrated away. So overall the style of the Īsvaradeva coin is much closer to the Rudrasena I coin, thereby strongly supporting the date of S. 13x.

Indeed, there is one aspect of the style of the Īsvaradeva coin that points to an even earlier date. The hills of the *chaitya* are rounded and have small pellets within them, a feature that was common on the coins of Rudradāman and the *Dāmajādasri* legend coins of Dāmazāda[3], but was last seen on the early coins of Rudrasimha I. It disappeared on the later coins of that ruler and is never seen on the coins of Rudrasena I. Its revival here on the coin of Īsvaradeva is somewhat puzzling and points to a connection between this issue and the early issues of his father, Rudrasimha I.[4] Perhaps this will ultimately serve as a clue to the historical events that surrounded the issuance of the Īsvaradeva coinage.



Fig.3: Silver drachm of Rudrasena I, dated S. 132



Fig.4: Silver drachm of Rudrasimha II, dated S. 230

The history of the Western Kshatrapas around the time of this coin is still not fully understood and it would have been nice if this coin had helped resolve some of the unsettled issues. Unfortunately it does not; rather, it raises new questions of its own. The most vexing question still unanswered relates to the so-called "demotion" of Rudrasimha I. This king issued undated coins naming himself kshatrapa and then dated coins naming himself as mahakshatrapa. The mahakshatrapa coins carry dates for all years from S. 100 to S. 119. In addition, there are coins that name Rudrasimha as kshatrapa again carrying the dates S. 110, 111 and 112! We therefore have the conundrum of a ruler simultaneously claiming the title of mahakshatrapa and also a reduced title of kshatrapa.

I have discussed this problem in detail in a recent paper[5] and have shown that the coins showing Rudrasimha's "demotion" all carry a different legend than the ones naming him as mahakshatrapa during the same years, and have proposed a hypothesis that the coins were issued at different mints. This would explain the conundrum by saying that Rudrasimha retained his full authority in part of his kingdom, but had a reduced status in another part. Further, there exists a unique coin of Rudrasena I,[6] naming him as mahakshatrapa, dated 112, and having the same legend features as the dated Rudrasimha kshatrapa coins, indicating it was struck at the same mint. Thus it might appear that it was Rudrasena who took the title of mahakshatrapa during the period and in the place of Rudrasimha's "demotion." Why or how he did so (or even whether he did so) is still uncertain.

The Īsvaradeva coin, dated S. 13x, comes too late to shed any light on this question. Indeed, the period S. 121-144 seemed relatively unproblematic in Western Kshatrapa history. Rudrasena I seemingly had a rather peaceful reign, with only a brief period of possible unrest in S. 124, when Satyadāman issued a brief coinage. As he names himself only as kshatrapa on his coinage, Satyadāman does not automatically appear as a rebel. He could well have been operating under the suzerainty of Rudrasena I. But perhaps the Īsvaradeva coin suggests that Satyadāman's "reign" was not as benign as might have appeared. Since both Satyadāman and Īsvaradeva appear to have had very short reigns, as evidenced by the facts that their coinage is very rare and each king has coins of only one known date, perhaps they were both rebels who were quickly subdued by Rudrasena I.

Thus the Īsvaradeva coin presented here, while attesting to a previously unknown Western Kshatrapa ruler, creates additional uncertainty regarding the political history of that dynasty and the reign of Rudrasena I in particular. The basic outline of events can perhaps be best presented in the form of a short chronology:

S. 100-119	Reign of Rudrasimha I s/o Rudradāman
S. 119-121	Reign of Jīvadāman s/o Dāmazāda, Rudrasimha's (older) brother
S. 121-144	Reign of Rudrasena I s/o Rudrasimha I
S. 124	"Rebellion?" of Satyadāman s/o Dāmazāda and brother of Jīvadāman
S. 13x (130?)	"Rebellion?" of Īsvaradeva s/o Rudrasimha I and brother of Rudrasena
S. 144	Reign of Prithvisena s/o Rudrasena I
S. 144-158	Reign of Dāmasena s/o Rudrasimha I and brother of Rudrasena

Dāmasena's reign was also punctuated by probably at least two rebellions, those of Samghadāman and Dāmajādasrī II.

Western Kshatrapa political history therefore seems to involve considerable jockeying for power among family members, and the Īsvaradeva coin presented here adds to the list of possible rebellions against the main central power.

Notes

[1] I wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare for many useful discussions on Western Kshatrapa coinage.

[2] Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor: *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1992, p. 16.

[3] I have argued in a recent paper that the kings commonly known as Dāmajadasri I and Dāmaghsada II were in reality one and the same person, whose name was Dāmazāda. See Pankaj Tandon: "The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazāda," *Numismatic Chronicle* 169, 2009.

[4] I should point out that the obverse portrait has a feature that would rule out a dating much earlier than S. 130. The lips are shown as two dots, something not seen until the later coins of Rudrasena I, whose early coins always show the lips as lines rather than dots.

[5] Pankaj Tandon: "A Simple Two-Mint model for Western Kshatrapa coinage," unpublished manuscript, September 2009.

[6] See R. C. Senior: *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* (3 volumes), London and Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group, 2001, type 339.60AD.

ΛPOOAϹΠO (*LRUVĀSPA*) AE COIN OF KANISHKA THE GREAT: GENUINE OR (ANCIENT) FORGERY?

By Hans Loeschner

Though the Kushan coins were studied and characterized intensively by Robert Göbl[1, 2] some so far unknown coin types are still emerging.[3, 4, 5, 6, 7]. A further, to the author's knowledge, unique coin is shown below. The AE coin has a size of 18/22 mm a weight of 6.7g, and a die axis of 12h. On the obverse, the fully bearded Kushan emperor is shown offering at an altar. The attribution to Kanishka the Great is clear from the inscription ÞAONANOÞAO KA-NIÞKH KOÞANO (with Þ for "Sh"). On the reverse the god *Lruvāspa* is standing in front of a horse which is walking to right. The god turns his upper body to his left holding a wreath in his right hand. In the upper left field is the *tamgha* of Kanishka the Great. At right there is the inscription ΛPOOAϹΠO (obvious when looking at the coin under oblique view).



ΛPOOAϹΠO, to be identified with the Middle Persian name *Lruvāspa / Lohrāsp* and is the male form ("guarding the horse") of the Avestan goddess *Drvāspā* (or *Druuāspā*, lit., with solid horses").[8,9] The attribution to ΛPOOAϹΠO is also obvious by comparing the reverse of this AE coin to that of published gold coins (Göbl 1984, plate 7, No. 57).

Kanishka the Great started a new era whose Year 1 date has been discussed since the late 19th century. J.F. Fleet[10] erroneously put forward 58/57 BC which was corrected to AD 78 in the early 20th century. Recent studies put forward AD 78[11], AD 127[12,6], AD 131[13] and AD 227/232[14,1,2,15]. The present common view is that the Kanishka era started AD 127[16] which was proposed by Harry Falk[12], but recent comparative studies have concluded it is not yet time to discard AD 78 for Year 1 of the Kanishka era, as it might turn out to be the correct date.[17,18,19]

Discussion

Robert Bracey doubts this novel coin type to be genuine, putting forward the following arguments:

- The legend is in full (like the gold coins), not the abbreviated ÞAO KANHÞKI.
- The legend starts at 7 o'clock (like the gold), not at 1 o'clock.
- The kings sword is depicted projecting away from his body (like the gold), but this feature is absent from the copper.
- It is also too light to be a didrachm and too heavy for a drachm.

The author obtained this coin from a well respected coin dealer and the price of the coin was very low. Taking up the point that there is little profit in it for the forger, Robert Bracey accepts that it might be an ancient forgery rather than a modern one, though evidence for this is lacking. The author argues that this coin might have been shaped by a die cutter who obtained an order to shape gold as well as AE coins on the (rare) occasion of a festivity for this god *Lruvaspa*. This might explain the scarcity of these probably commemorative gold and AE issues. The same may apply to the so far unique "unbearded" Kanishka AE coin.[4] The publication of this coin type so far was not followed by the offering of such coins on the open market. Thus, again in this case there is very low probability of a recent forgery. Bob Senior is convinced that the "unbearded" Kanishka coin is genuine which he also thinks is the case for the *Lruvaspa* AE coin: "The coin is obviously ancient and at worst might have been a contemporary forgery imitating a gold coin or the product of a small local mint taking the gold coin as its model. If it was intended as a forgery they would have made it perfectly round and thick like the gold coin and gold plated it – it obviously therefore wasn't intended to deceive."

In contrast, Michael Alram, whom the author asked for a further opinion on the *Lruvaspa* AE coin, shares the view of Robert Bracey.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Robert Bracey for his most valuable comments and suggestions as well as Bob Senior and Michael Alram for having a look on this topic.

Notes

1) Robert Göbl, "*Münzprägung des Kušān-reiches*" (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1984)
2) Robert Göbl, "*Donum Burns, die Kušān-münzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie*" (Fassbaender, Vienna, 1993)
3) Bob Senior, "A Few More Rare Indian Ancient Coins", ONS Newsletters 179, pp. 24-26, coin No. 94 on p. 25 (2004)
4) Hans Loeschner, "*A novel Kushan coin type of Kanishka the Great*", JONS 193, pp. 12-13 (2007)
5) M. Nasim Khan, "Coins from Kashmir Smast – New Numismatic Evidence", p. 54, No. 45 and 45a (Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, 2008)
6) Joe Cribb, "*Die Chronologie Gandharas anhand der Münzen*", pp. 64-69 and "Münzen mit diversen Kushana-Gottheiten", pp. 145-153 in "Gandhara – das Buddhistische Erbe Pakistans" (Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 2009)
7) O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, "*Śiva cursing Apasmārapuruša on a Huvishka coin*", JONS 200, pp. 35-36 (2009)
8) J. Harmatta, with contributions of B.N. Puri, L. Lelekov, S. Humayan and D.C. Sircar, "*Religions in the Kushan Empire*", pp. 313 329 in "History and Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. II, editor: János Harmatta, co-editors: B.N. Puri and G.F. Etemadi (Unesco Publishing, Paris, 1994), p. 324: "*Lroaspo was an ancient pre-Zoroastrian god ensuring the health of the horses of the Iranian equestrian nomadic tribes and his name was preserved in the form of the hydronym Dyrapses, reflecting the Alanian outcome "Druvāspa" of Old Iranian "Druvāspa". Lruvāspa occurring on the Kushan coins may represent the Bactrian development of Druvāspa. Obviously, the Bactrians, who had excellent cavalry and a famous race of horses, worshipped "Druvāspa – Lruvāspa" since their immigrations to Bactria.*
9) Jean Kellens, "*DRVĀSPĀ*", Encyclopaedia Iranica, published on website: www.iranica.com
10) J.F. Fleet, "*The Date of Kanishka*", JRAS 1913, pp. 913-920 and 965-1011, JRAS 1914, pp. 987-992 (Journal of the Asiatic Society, London, 1913/4)
11) Robert C. Senior, "*Indo-Sythian Coins and History*", Volumes I – III / 2001 and Volume IV / 2006 (Classical Numismatic Group, London, 2001 and 2006)
12) Harry Falk, "*The yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣânas*", pp. 121-136 in Silk Road Art and Archaeology Vol. 7, (Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, 2001)
13) Joe Cribb, "*Constructing Kushan Chronology – Reassessing Numismatic Evidence*", XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow, Aug 31st - Sept 4th, 2009
14) Robert Göbl, "*Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*" (Otto Harassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1967)
15) Nikolaus Schindel, "*Ardashir II Kushanshah and Huviska the Kushan: Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Kushan King, Kanishka I*", JONS 198, pp. 12-14 (2009)
16) Robert Bracey, "*Review 2007: Publications on India, Central Asia, Pakistan and the Kushans*"; published on the website: www.kushan.org
17) Hans Loeschner, "*A new Oesho/Shiva image of Sasanian 'Peroz' taking power in the northern part of the Kushan empire*", JONS 192, pp. 22-24 (2007)
18) Hans Loeschner, "*Notes on the Yuezhi – Kushan Relationship and Kushan Chronology*", website of the Oriental Numismatic Society (April 15, 2008): www.onsnumis.org
19) Hans Loeschner, "*The Glory of Kanishka the Great in context with the Historical Buddha and Kushana Chronology*", t.b.p. (Aryan Books Intl., New Delhi) in "*Proceedings of the Intl. Seminar on Kushana Glory & Its Contemporary Challenges*", editor Professor Vidula Jayaswal (Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi)

A HOARD OF UNPUBLISHED SILVER COINS FROM THE BALUCHISTAN/SIND BORDER, CA.LATE 7TH-EARLY 8TH CENTURY AD

By Alexander Fishman

I recently encountered a large group of silver coins, reportedly found on the Baluchistan/Sindh border in Pakistan. These coins have been known in the West since the middle of the twentieth century, but it seems that they have not yet been properly published or studied.

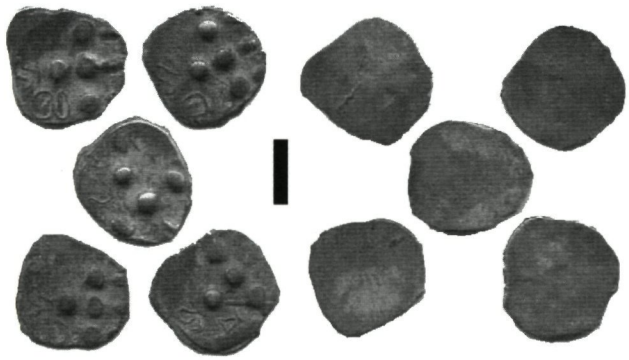


Fig. 1: Examples of uncleaned coins of the "4-dots" type, exhibiting lead-like patina

These coins are unpublished, and do not seem to appear in the standard catalogues or publications. They are uniface, with four prominent large dots, two or three Brahmi letters and other devices on the obverse and a blank reverse, sometimes showing slight incuse impressions of the four dots due to die-clashing.

The examples that sometimes appear on auction websites or other public sales are usually vaguely labelled as having Pakistani provenance, with very little additional information provided.

Finding related issues might give a hint as to the origin of these coins. The coins lack any normal Hunnic elements and do not feature Arabic inscriptions, suggesting that they are neither Hunnic nor Islamic in origin. Stylistically, the coins are certainly related to very late pre-Islamic coins from Multan (Figure 2), which date to the late 7th century AD or very early 8th century AD and which were in turn derived from the altar-type drachms of the Gupta King, Skandagupta, and perhaps various local issues.



Fig. 2: AR14 of the last Hindu rulers of Multan (late 7th-early 8th century AD)

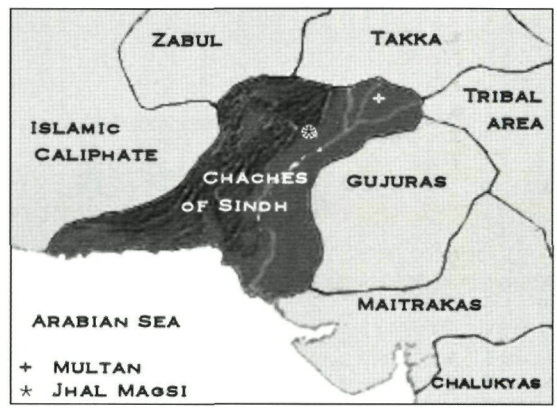
These Multan coins carry a mysterious Brahmi inscription *Sri/Pa-Ra/Ku-Ta* and cannot be attributed to any known ruler. However, the reverse design, which exhibits a fire altar represented as three prominent large dots topped by a wide and somewhat stylised Brahmi akṣára *Sri*, was clearly an inspiration for the design (Fig. 3, p.14, below) on the coins discussed in this article. The large central dot design remained mostly unchanged and the akṣára *Sri* was modified into a series of vertical lines. The base of the fire altar disappeared altogether and the old Brahmi inscription was replaced with a new one.

These coins are common and are found in a wide area in Pakistan and North-Western India. The exact find spots of these coins are not easy to determine. I could find no published archaeological or numismatic records of their find spots, so my knowledge of the provenance of these coins comes from my conversation with Pakistani and Indian dealers and numismatists and is based on largely anecdotal evidence. The coins are reportedly found in single numbers as far south as Malwa and Rajasthan in India, though the most common area where these coins are found is the northern border of Sindh with the Baluchistan provinces of Pakistan (Maps 1-2).

Map 1: Modern location of Sindh, Multan and Jhal Magsi



Map 2: Approximate ancient map of the region, ca.700 AD



In the 7th century this area covering Pakistan and the entire Western and Northern India was in the crossroads between various powers and was a complicated patchwork of vassal and independent states ruled by various Hunnic tribes, Gurjuras, Pratiharas and native Hindus. The Sindh/Baluchistan border area was at that time part of a powerful Hindu Kingdom of the Rai dynasty, who were probably of Gurjura origin, which controlled the Sindh and Multan region (ca. AD 478 to 632), and later by the Chach dynasty (ca. AD 632-712). Sindh was bordered in the north by the Hindus of Zabul and in the west by the former provinces of the Persian Empire, which had been conquered by the Arabs in AD 642-644 to form part of the expanding Islamic Caliphate.

The coins discussed in this article cannot currently be attributed to an exact town or kingdom, though this may change if more hoards of these coins are discovered and properly documented. However it is possible that the coins were issued by a short-lived buffer kingdom located around Gandawah in Jhal Magsi district of Pakistan.

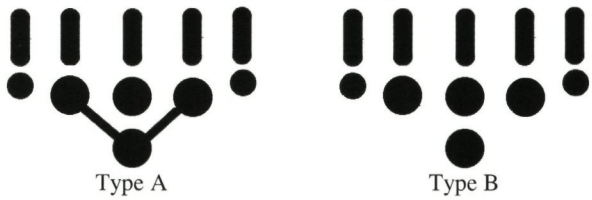
The district is named after the town of Jhal, seat of the Magsi tribe. The district is divided into two regions: Gandawah and Jhal Magsi. Gandawah is a historical and ancient town in Baluchistan. Its oldest name was Kandabil, which was renamed to "Gangāba" during Arab rule. It is possible that the coins discussed in this article were issued in this area shortly before or after the Islamic conquest of the area in AD 712. The circumstances under which the coins were minted – perhaps a Hindu Kingdom in the area was established as a sort of a buffer state to protect Multan from the Arabs, or an ephemeral Hindu kingdom appeared in the area after the fall of Sindh and Multan. Further studies of the history and numismatics of the area might provide more answers.

These coins are often believed to be made of lead, possibly because the original patina on many of the coins is brown-grey (fig. 1, above), much like the patina found on lead objects. However, the patina can be easily removed revealing the silver. X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) analysis has shown that the silver content of the coins is about 85%, with the main contaminant being copper at 13% and with trace amounts of gold, lead and arsenic.

Interestingly, the manufacturing method employed in the productions of these coins is, according to my knowledge, unique within the area of oriental numismatics. I am not sure how these flans were prepared - perhaps they were cast, or perhaps the flans were struck with cast dies. One unusual physical feature remains consistent: the size of the obverse is always somewhat smaller than the reverse. The coins appear almost as though they have been fashioned from two thin halves, glued together. This unusual appearance has led some numismatists, notably Dr. S. Bhandare, to believe that these pieces are not coins at all, but some sort of artefacts fulfilling some other ritual function.

The obverse design is most puzzling – it is sometimes called a "stylized face" or a "stylized horse", but most often a "4-dots design" (as opposed to the somewhat similar "3-dot design" featured on pre-Islamic Multan coins and depicted in fig. 2, above). However, the four large dots that are clear on most coins do not constitute the entire obverse design – most of these coins are struck with oversized dies, and the entire design cannot be made out on a single specimen. Upon closer examination of multiple specimens, it is possible to reconstruct the entire design of the die. It is easy to see the full design is more complex than just four dots (fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Two types of the obverse design found on these coins



The four large dots are flanked with a pair of smaller dots (one on each side) and each of the five upper dots is topped with a rounded line or a bar.

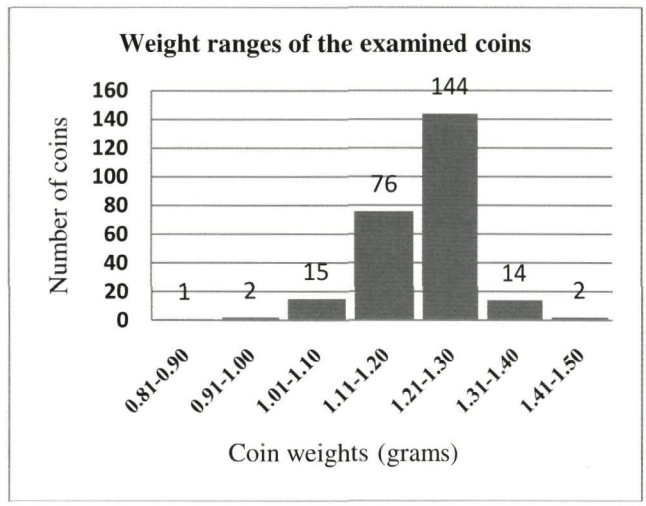
I have observed two major types – one (by far, the most common one) with two of the upper dots connected to the lower one with lines (fig. 3, type A), and the other with all the dots unconnected (fig. 3, type B). If this design was indeed inspired by the Multan coins as explained above, the original meaning of a Gupta- or Sasanian-style altar was completely lost and the design simply devolved into a series of dots and lines.

Although many of the coins exhibit signs of die-rusting, suggesting a lengthy period of use, they were all manufactured in the same manner, in a very similar style and apparently using the same manufacturing method. It, thus, seems likely that they were all produced within a relatively short period of time. All coins examined carried a legible Brahmi inscription placed below the dotted obverse design. The inscription should be read from left to right. In total, I identified ten different inscriptions, eight (or possibly nine) of them composed of two akṣára and a single type composed of three akṣára, and one possible type where the akṣára were either illegible or replaced with a pair of symbols. The inscriptions were neatly and carefully engraved – styles of at least two or three different engravers can be easily discerned. It seems certain that the Brahmi inscription was supposed to carry a meaning of some sort, but the meaning of the inscriptions might be permanently lost – the words are not complete and do not clearly signify anything. They might be initials of the ruler, but it seems unlikely that the coins were produced during a period long enough to cover ten different rulers. The inscriptions might be the initials of the moneyers or some sort of control marks, placed to keep track of different coin issues or workshops. Interestingly, eight of the types had *Ha* as the first akṣára so this letter probably carries some unknown significance.

The hoard itself was quite large, containing at least a few thousand coins (the exact count is unknown). The entire hoard was not available for examination, but a random sample of 254 coins was examined. Eleven varieties with a total of ten different inscriptions were identified. Not all types were present in equal numbers – some coins were much rarer than others, with a single type (9A) constituting about 65% of the hoard. The weight of the coins ranged from 0.85 to 1.45 grams, though the extremely light and extremely heavy examples were rare, and most of the coins weighed between 1.15 and 1.25 grams. The size was remarkably constant, averaging about 16 mm. The hoard composition is presented in figure 4.

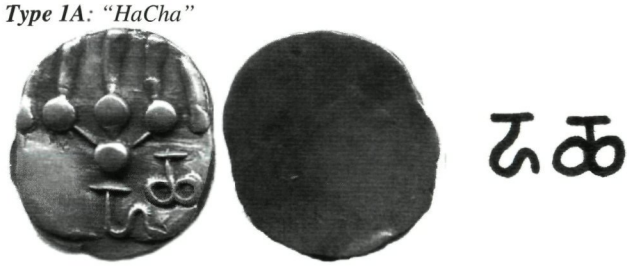
Figure 4: Hoard composition

Type #	Brahmi inscription	Ave. Weight (g)	Size range (mm)	Number of coins examined	% of total
1A	*HaCha*	1.25	14-19	11	4.3%
2A	*MaHaM*	1.17	15-17	13	5.1%
2B	*HaMaM*	1.14	15-17	4	1.6%
3A	*HaMaVa*	1.24	14-16	3	1.2%
4A	*HaVa*	1.23	15-17	14	5.5%
5A	*HaKa*	1.26	15-18	13	5.1%
6A	*HaṬha*	1.22	15-16	5	2.0%
7A	*HaŚi*	1.18	15-18	17	6.7%
8A	*HaPi*	1.24	15-17	9	3.5%
9A	*HaGu*	1.21	14-19	164	64.6%
10A	*Uncertain (symbols?)*	1.22	16	1	0.39%
			Total:	254	



All the different varieties of the examined coins are shown below:

***Type 1A**: "HaCha"*



The writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for 6th-7th century North-Eastern India, but the writing of *Cha* is somewhat unusual.

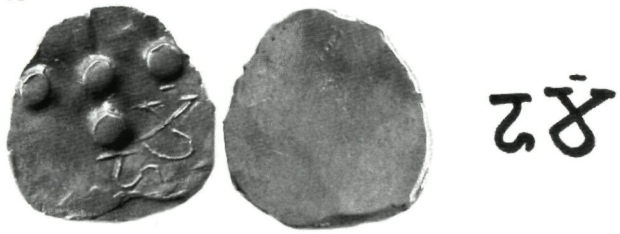
The expected form from the North-Western India/Sindh area in this time period would probably be  ,  , or  , though numerous various of this akṣára exist. The addition of the wide top bar is not common, but is consistent with the writing style of the die cutter, who put such a bar on akṣára on many of the types described here. Though uncommon, this particular spelling of *Cha* is known from Nasik in Western Maharashtra and Vadodara inscriptions in Gujarat.

***Type 2A**: "HaMaM"*

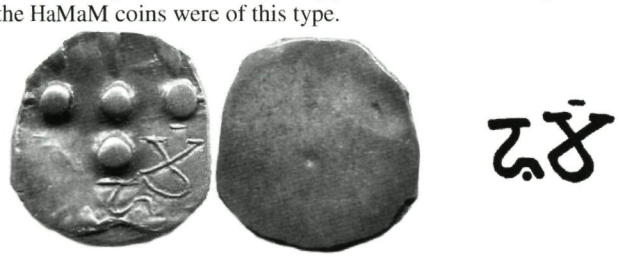


Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* appears as expected for the 7th century. The akṣára *Ma* is clear, though this akṣára can be spelled in numerous different ways (for example, the appearance of this *Ma* is quite different from its appearance on type 3A below). Above *Ma* there is an anusvara (terminal "m"). The anusvara usually takes the shape of a thick dot (sometimes slightly elongated) above and to the slightly to the right of the akṣára and this is the shape of *MaM* that would be expected: . However, it is noted that at Mathura it is common for the anusvara to become a short line above the character instead of a dot.[1] It seems that this spelling was used by the engraver of this type as well. In view of the apparent affection of the die cutter of these coins for horizontal bars, this is not unexpected.

***Type 2B:** "HaMaM"*



This type is identical to the previous type, except that the dotted pattern on obverse is of type B (with the lower dot not connected to the flanking large two dots above). This is the only type with this dot design, but it is surprisingly common – about a quarter of the HaMaM coins were of this type.



On some of these coins (and of type 2A) a feature that looks like an additional dot (?) below *Ha* can be discerned, but it is probably just an artefact of the minting process and is not a part of the inscription. I am indebted to Dr Harry Falk for his assistance with this reading.

***Type 3A:** "HaMaVa"*

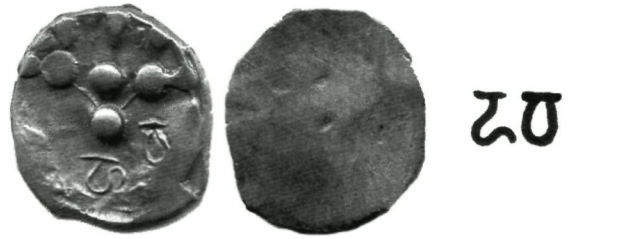


Coins of this type are the only coins showing three akṣára instead of two. The inscription begins in the left central field, and not in the lower field, like all other coins of this type.

Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 7th century. The akṣára *Ma* is clear, though this akṣára can be spelled in numerous different ways (for example, the appearance of this *Ma* is quite different from its appearance on type 2 above). The rounded form of *Ma*, such as on this coin, was less common than the "triangular" form , but it is still encountered on various inscriptions in Gujarat and Maharashtra. Again, the tendency of the die cutter to add bars to the top parts of the akṣára makes the reading somewhat confusing, but *Ma* is still the only possible reading in this case.

The last akṣára is certainly *Va*, though the spelling shown on this coin does look a bit like a *Cha*, *Ca* or *Dha*. Similar spellings of *Va* are found all over India of this time period and are common.

***Type 4A:** "HaVa"*



This type is identical to type 3A above, but with the middle akṣára omitted and the legend arranged the normal way, with the akṣára *Ha* being in the lower central field. On a single examined specimen, *Va* appears angular: . Both the angular and the rounded depictions are not uncommon and are encountered in contemporary inscriptions from all over India. Some coins of type 6A can sometimes be misread as this type.

***Type 5A:** "HaKa"*



Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 7th century. The akṣára *Ka* is clear and neatly engraved as well.

***Type 6A:** "Ha Ṭha"*



Only five of the examined coins were of this interesting type, where the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 6th-7th centuries but the second akṣára is puzzling. It could potentially be interpreted as an unusual rendering of *Cha* or possibly even *Va*, but the completely rounded form indicates that the akṣára was intended to be either *Tha* or *Ṭha*. The normal depiction of this akṣára is somewhat different - for *Tha* and for *Ṭha*. Addition of a vertical bar capped with a horizontal bar is unexpected, though it might be in line with the engraver's tendency to add the "horizontal bar" element to the akṣára. There is not enough information in the available specimens to state with complete certainty if a dot is present within the second akṣára. It seems that it is not present, in which case the reading of the inscription should be *HaṬha*. However, the distinction between the *Ṭha* on this type and *Va* on type 4A is often unclear, and a few coins can be read in either way.

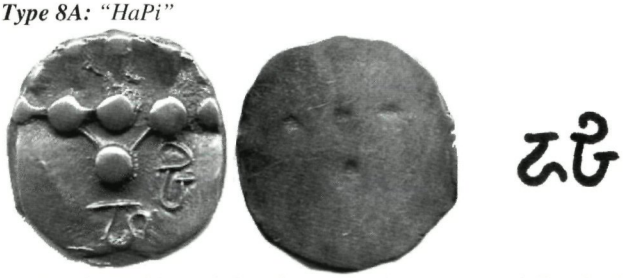
[1] Dani, A.H. *Indian Palaeography*, p.89, Munisharam Manoharlal (1986)

Type 7A: *"HaŚi"*



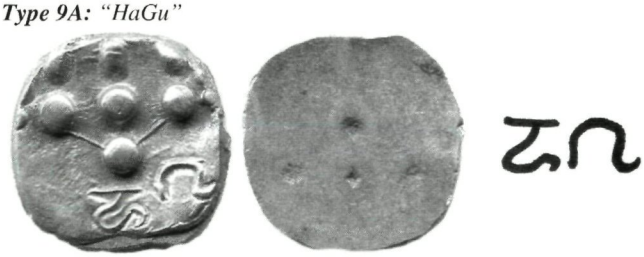
Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 7th century. The relatively uncommon akṣára *Śi* is very carefully engraved and is easily readable, though "*i*" is more elongated and curved than usual.

Type 8A: *"HaPi"*



Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 7th century. The relatively uncommon akṣára *Pi* is very carefully engraved and has the expected shape.

Type 9A: *"HaGu"*



This type is by far the most common – the bulk (about 65 per cent) of the examined coins in the hoard were of this type. Again, the writing of the akṣára *Ha* is as expected for the 7th century. The akṣára *Gu* is very carefully engraved and has the expected shape.

Type 10A: *Uncertain ("Ka", "VaKa" or "EKa"?)*



This type was represented by a single coin in the hoard and the reading on this coin is uncertain. Unlike on all other types examined, the first akṣára was not *Ha*. It was also not located in the lower central field, but in the left field.

The meaning of the first akṣára is not clear. Such an akṣára is not known – it may in fact be a depiction of a triskeles and not a part of the inscription at all. It is also possible that it is a modified akṣára *E* which appears as  or  , or *Va* which usually looks like a triangle, often slightly tilted to the left: or . Longer strokes while engraving the triangles could give the triskeles-like form seen on this coin.

The akṣára *Se* is sometimes given a shape that looks almost like a triskeles (though without the triangular center) -  . It is possible that this akṣára was intended but not successfully engraved.

The second akṣára probably represents *Ka*, though such angular form would be unusual (compare with type 5A, where *Ka* is carefully and correctly engraved).

I want to express my gratitude to R. Danziger for bringing these coins to my attention, W. Pieper, H. Falk and S. Bhandare for their generous and valuable assistance in preparation of this paper and S. Yazdanian for editing it.

THE UMAYYAD FULŪS MINTED IN THE NAME OF MARWAN B. MUḤAMMAD (THE DEAF) IN GEORGIA AND ELSEWHERE IN SOUTH CAUCASUS

By Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia

Our objective is to amend the attribution of the Kufic fals bearing the mint name Tiflis that we published recently[1], as well as to review the fulūs minted in the name of Marwan b. Muḥammad in Georgia and the South Caucasus region.

The following four coins bearing the name of Marwan b. Muḥammad constitute the material that this work is based on:

1. Tiflis Kufic fals published by the authors in 2007 (*Fig. 1*)[2];
2. Tiflis Kufic fals of the same type from the collection of the Research Center for Islamic Numismatics of the Tübingen University (*Fig. 2*)[3];
3. Kufic fals with no apparent mint place indicated but dated AH 125 (*Fig. 3*)[4];
4. Al-Bāb Kufic Fals dated AH 115 from a private collection in the Russian Federation (no image available)[5].



Coin 1: Æ, weight after mechanical cleaning: 1.48 g; diameter: 17-17.5 mm; die axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse:

The central legend in 2 lines in a circle:

لا اله

الا الله[6]

The marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بتفليس

Reverse:

The central legend in 3 lines in a circle:

محمد

رسول

الله

The marginal legend:

مما امر به الامر مرون بن محمد هذا الفلس

The words ضرب seem to be omitted.

The graphemes making the personal name as well as the patronymic of the emir on this coin are visible despite some degradation of the coin surface, but their unambiguous interpretation was not easy. When publishing the coin for the first time we refrained from reading the *ism* (the personal name), while seeing and reading the *nasab* (the patronymic) as *Aḥmad* (احمد)[7]; we erroneously conjectured that that could be some new, previously unknown emir ruling in Tiflis or, alternatively, in the whole region[8]. After publishing our initial short paper, Mr Vadim Kalinin kindly corrected our reading, suggesting that the *nasab*

was *Muḥammad* (محمد)[9], and, having re-examined that section of the coin, we agreed with him – the initial grapheme, though not clear, did read more like mīm (م) than 'alif (ا). As to the *ism*, Mr. V. Kalinin suggested it was *Marwan* (مروان)[10], the option which we had been considering, but had rejected due to the ambiguity/corrosion of the last but one grapheme and the fact that in our opinion the last grapheme looked more like lām (ل), rather than nūn (ن).

When working on the initial paper we were aware of another Tiflis fals published in S. Shamma's book on the Abbasid copper coinage. No image had been provided, but the coin had been described as *Umayyad*, in the name of the Caliph Marwan II b. Muḥammad[11]. The coin is preserved in the numismatic collection of the Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics of Tübingen University[12], but was inaccessible for study to us at that time. Since then we have obtained its image (though unfortunately not a very good one). This coin is as follows:



Coin 2: Æ, weight: 1.68 g; diameter: 18 mm; die axis: not available.

Obverse:

The central legend in 2 lines in a circle:

لا اله

الا الله

The marginal legend:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بتفليس

The obverse is quite similar to the obverse of Coin 1 and may even be a die match (having only the relatively low quality image of Coin 2 we cannot be sure).

Reverse:

The central legend in 3 lines enclosed by a circle:

محمد

رسول

الله

The marginal legend:

مما به الامر مرون بن ... هذا الفلس

The die seems to be different from the reverse die employed for striking Coin 1. The words ضرب seem to be omitted here as well.

The *ism* is clearer on this Tiflis coin, being *Marwan* (مروان)[13] undoubtedly, and the similarity of the design, legends and their distribution, the calligraphy, even the probable matching of the obverse dies, all indicate that these are two specimens of the same issue. Therefore, it seems that the issuer was *Marwan b. Muḥammad*.

It would be logical to presume that this Marwan b. Muḥammad was the Umayyad Caliph Marwan II to be, who ruled in the northern provinces of the caliphate before becoming Caliph. Marwan b. Muḥammad was sent to the South Caucasus in AH 114 (732/3), where he strengthened Arab sway over the territory, fought against the local political subjects, attacked Khazars crossing the Caucasus via the Darial and Derbend passes and even deported one of the Khazar tribes to eastern Georgia. According to Georgian sources, Marwan b. Muḥammad invaded western Georgia, seizing many fortresses before being defeated in Abkhazeti (Abkhazia), the remote north-western province of Georgia. For his ruthlessness and presumably ignorance of calls for quarter, Marwan b. Muḥammad even acquired the nickname *q'ru*, meaning *the Deaf* in Georgian[14]. By 744 (AH 126/7) he had become the Caliph (the last Umayyad caliph)[15].

The identity of Marwan b. Muḥammad acknowledged on the Tiflis fulūs with Marwan b. Muḥammad, the ruler of the northern provinces of the caliphate in AH 114-126/7, the Caliph-to-be (as suggested first by S. Shamma[16]) is supported by the existence of coins bearing both the name *Marwan b. Muḥammad*, as well as the date relevant to the time period when the Caliph-to-be ruled in the South Caucasus.

We managed to find one coin like this in the Zeno Oriental Coins Database[17]. The coin seemingly has no mint place indicated, but bears the date [AH] 125[18]. This coin is as follows:



Coin 3: Æ, weight: 2.2 g; diameter: 20 mm; die axis: not available.

Obverse:

The central legend in 3 lines in a circle:

لا اله ا

لا الله

وحده

The marginal legend:

بسم الله (/ ضرب؟) هذا الفلس (؟) سنة خمس و عشرين مائة

The major part of the marginal legend is effaced, except for the date which is virtually complete. Additionally, ذا seems to be legible, in our opinion constituting the fragment of هذا; and also an ا to the left from it; taking into account that ا and the limited extension of the illegible parts of the marginal legend to the right and to the left from هذا, we interpret the effaced fragment to the left from هذا as الفلس; as to the fragment to the right, we incline to consider it to be بسم الله and not ضرب.

Reverse:

The central legend in 3 lines in a square:

محمد

رسول[6]

الله

The marginal legend in 4 external segments, starting from the top of the left segment, anticlockwise:

مما امر / به الامر / مرون بن / محمد

The expressions like هذا الفلس or ضرب are omitted. The last grapheme of the emir's *ism* (ن) is quite elongated vertically, resembling a lām (ل) in this case as well.

It is quite noteworthy, that there apparently exists at least one more fals of Marwan b. Muḥammad bearing the date [AH] 115 and the mint name Al-Bāb; the *ism* and *nasab*, the date, and the mint place, all three point to the Caliph-to-be. The information was provided to us by Mr Kalinin. Although the image is not available for study, the testimony of this reputed researcher and expert on Kufic coinage makes the existence of such a coin virtually indisputable for us.

Theoretically one may still surmise that the Marwan b. Muḥammad acknowledged on the Tiflis fulūs was not the Caliph-to-be, but some other, yet unknown historical person[19], but this is

highly improbable in our opinion, and these coins should be considered as late Umayyad fulūs[20].

These Tiflis copper coins bear no date, but now, with the identity of the emir revealed with sufficient, as we think, credibility, we could more or less safely attribute them to the 12-13 year period of AH 114-126/7 (732/3-744). The other two fulus that bear his name and the title *Emir* are dated [AH] 115 and 125 (correspondingly 733/4 and 742/3). According to the data at our disposal it as though Marwan b. Muḥammad started issuing copper coinage in his name almost immediately after arriving in the region and continued doing so at least till the end of his stay there.

In conclusion, one may reiterate that, based on the analysed material, the monetary issues in Tiflis, the centre of the Arab dominions in Georgia, were not limited to silver (and probably gold too)[21], but included a copper coinage, namely the fulūs as well. The latter bore no date but were minted in the period AH 114-126/7 (732/3-744), in the time of Marwan b. Muḥammad, i.e. Murvan the Deaf, as he was referred to in Georgia, the Umayyad ruler of the northern provinces of the caliphate, who later became the Caliph. The fulūs bore his name (the *ism* and the *nasab*) as well. This sheds light on the political, administrative and economic status of Tiflis, and will serve for further research into the economic history of Georgia and the rest of the region.

In addition to their significance for the monetary history of the region, the four Umayyad fulūs described and presented above attest to the political situation in the South Caucasus in AH 114-126/7 (732/3-744), and to the monetary policy of the caliphate authorities. The appearance of the name of the new and vigorous provincial governor on the copper coins issued locally seems to be significant. These fulūs throw some more light on Marwan b. Muḥammad's activities in the South Caucasus.

References:

1. *Turkia 2007.*
2. It first appeared in summer of 2006 and was found in the Mtkvari (Kura) riverbed, in the territory of the Ortachala district of Tbilisi; the coin was preserved in a private collection in Georgia (*Ibid*).
3. Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik der Universität Tübingen, AM10B3 (*Shamma:233*; *personal communication from Dr Lutz Ilisch*); We would like to take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for his support of this research.
4. *Zeno: #51349, <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=51349>.* From a private collection in the Republic of Armenia?
5. *Personal communication from Mr Vadim Kalinin.*
6. The effaced fragments of the Arabic text reconstructed by us are indicated by underlining.
7. *Turkia 2007:6-7.* The drawing produced (*Ibid.:7, Fig. 2*) reflected our incorrect interpretation of the nasab.
8. *Ibid.:7.*
9. *Personal communication from Mr Vadim Kalinin.* We are very indebted to Mr Vadim Kalinin for generously sharing his expertise.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Shamma:233.*
12. Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik der Universität Tübingen, AM10B3 (*Shamma:233*).
13. The name *Marwan* on this coin was first read by S. Album, whereas L. Ilisch attributed it later as "Umayyad, Marwan ibn Muḥammad" (*Personal communication from Dr Lutz Ilisch*).
14. *Javakhishvili:78-80.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Shamma:233.*
17. *Zeno.* By July 25, 2009 the database contained the entries for 699 Umayyad and 241 Abbasid fulūs (*Ibid.*).
18. *Ibid.: #51349, <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=51349>.*
19. The central obverse legends on the Tiflis fulūs resemble those on the Barda`a AH 142 and 143 (759/60 and 760/1) fulūs (*Mushegyan:64, ##23-24, plate 6, ##59-60*), although the latter have different marginal legends. This typological similarity made us erroneously conjecture in our earlier work that the Tiflis fulūs of this type could had been minted in the 750s or 760s (*Turkia 2007:7*), i.e. in the post-Marwan b. Muḥammad period.
20. In our earlier work we were inclined to consider the copper coins of this type to constitute Abbasid fulūs, perhaps early ones (*Ibid.*).
21. We summarised recent scholarship on the Tiflis Umayyad and Abbasid issues in our earlier works (cf. *Turkia 2007:7; Turkia 2008:6, footnote12*).

THE FIRST KNOWN COIN OF MA'MŪN II B. MA'MŪN I, KHWĀRIZMSHĀH MA'MŪNID

by Vadim Kalinin (Moscow)

The history of Khwārizm in the 10th century and beginning of the 11th century AD is still very scantily known from coins. The same is true of the coinage of the Ma'mūnids of Gurganj, who ruled in Khwārizm from AH 385/ AD 995. Four sultans of this dynasty are known:[1]

1) Abū ʿAlī Ma'mūn I b. Muḥammad (AH 385–387/ AD 995–997),

2) Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ma'mūn I (AH 387–399/ AD 997–1009),

3) Abū'l-ʿAbbās Ma'mūn II b. Ma'mūn I (AH 399–407/ AD 1009–1017),

4) Abū'l-Ḥarith Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (AH 407–408/ AD 1017).

In the time of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī the whole of Khwārizm was conquered by Maḥmūd b. Sebuktegīn Ghaznavid. This understanding of the Ma'mūnids was altered recently by the publication of the coins of Maḥmūd's ḥājib, Altuntash.[2]

Among the Ma'mūnids only the coins of ʿAlī b. Mā'mūn were known. These coins, are known from the mints of Khwārizm, Kāth,[3] Jurjāniyya, Farāvah, Nisā[4] and Bukhārā.[5] Published below is a coin found amongst a group of Islamic coins, acquired in Turkmenistan at the end of the 1980s and kept in a private collection in Novgorod (Russia). The coin is made of billon, weight 7.1g, size 35×33 mm.

Obverse: inscription in the plain circle

?

لا اله الا الله

القادربالله ولى

عهده الغالب بالله

هو

Marginal legend of the obverse is partially visible:

...[ال]درهم فى مدينة خوارزم سنة خمس...

Reverse: inscription in the double plain circle:

[شاه]

محمد رسول الله

عين الدولة و زين

الملة ابوالعباس

خوارزم

Marginal legend of reverse is partially visible and is a fragment of sūrahs 48:29 and 9:33 of the Qur'ān:

...[بال]هدى ودين احق ليظهره على الدين...

The date on the coin is unclear – the hundreds are invisible, and only '*five*' can be read clearly, which dates the coin to AH [40]5. According to the inscription, the coin was struck in the reign of Ma'mūn II b. Ma'mūn I (AH 399–407) in Madīnat, Khwārizm, in AH 405. The *laqab* used on the coin – ʿAyn al-Dawla wa Zayn al-Milla (*eye of the state and beauty of the Muslim commune*) was received by Ma'mūn II from caliph al-Qādir[6].

The name of caliph al-Qādir on this coin is accompanied by the title-like expression ولى عهده الغالب بالله *"Heir of His throne, overcoming thanks to Allāh"* as on the contemporary coins of the Buwayhids, *cf.* coin of Abū'l-Fawāris Qiwām al-Dawla struck in Shīrāz in the near AH 404–408 years.[7]

The end of the reign of Abū'l-ᶜAbbās Ma'mūn II b. Ma'mūn I, the decline of the Mā'mūnids and the capture of Khwārizm by sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī are described in detail in the *Ta'rīkh-i Masᶜūd* (see part "Reminder about Khwārizm") of Abū'l-Faḍl Beyhagī.[8]



Notes

[1] Bosworth C. E., *The New Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh, 1996, p. 178.
[2] Kalinin V. A., Kleschinov V. A., "Monety khorezmshakha Altuntasha", *XII All-Russian Numismatic Conference, Moscow 19-24th of Arpil, 2004, Abstracts of Papers and Communications*, Moscow, 2004, pp. 67–68.
[3] Numismatic on-line database ZENO (http://zeno.ru), nos. 4808, 52027.
[4] Markov. A. K., "O klade kuficheskikh monet, naydennykh v sele Krescheny Baran, Spasskogo uezda Kazanskoy gubernii," *Tipografija Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk*, St.Petersburg, 1908, pp. 4–10.
[5] ZENO no. 64939.
[6] Abū'l-Faḍl Bayhagī. *Ta'rīkh-i Masᶜūd*, transl. by Arends A. K., Tashkent, 1969, pp. 809.
[7] Treadwell L., *Buyid coinage. A Die Corpus (322–445)*, Oxford, 2001, coins nos. Sh404–407b.
[8] Abū'l-Faḍl Bayhagī. *Ta'rīkh-i Masᶜūd*, ibid, pp. 808–836.

THE DIKHASHKHO HOARD OF GEORGIAN-HULAGID CHRISTIAN DIRHAMS: PRELIMINARY RESULTS

By Irakli Paghava, Roland Spanderashvili & Shalva Parkosadze

Objectives & Methods

Our goal is to analyse a hoard of Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams[1] excavated in the village of Dikhashkho, in the Imereti province of Georgia.

We attempted to analyse this hoard in relation to the economic, monetary, and political history of Georgia, South Caucasus, the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhan State in general. Within the framework of the set objectives we attributed the coins to rulers, identified types, read dates, and studied their weight standard and die axis; a die analysis was also undertaken and the historical background explored.

General hoard data

The only information on provenance is the finders' report, and could not be verified in any other way. However, there seems to be no reason to doubt the finders account.

The hoard was discovered in the village of Dikhashkho, in Vani district, in Imereti (a historical province in Western Georgia) (cf. *Map 1*), in the early 2000s. During agricultural work (tillage?) on one of the plots of the land next to the village (the precise location was not specified) the hand-held farm implement ran into the top of a *kvevri*, the traditional Georgian ceramic vessel for storing wine, which used to be stored in the ground. The finders started to dig it out, and discovered 6 more ceramic vessels of a smaller size (described as "pots") which had been buried around the *kvevri*. One of those 6 vessels contained several handfuls of silver coins of similar appearance, allegedly, more than one hundred.

The type of container is peculiar, but not unparalleled. For instance, a Georgian imitation of an asper of the Empire of Trebizond (13th-14th century) was discovered at Sairme (also in Imereti) in a similar *kvevri*[2]. The selection of such a container points in our opinion to the owner of the *kvevri* and most probably of the area proper as the person who possessed this money: one would not have concealed one's treasure in someone else's household vessel.



Map 1. Modern map of Georgia. Dikhashkho hoard find location.

Unfortunately, the finders dispersed the hoard, selling it piecemeal. The authors managed to get access to a private collection of Mongol coins[3] comprising a major part of the Dikhashkho hoard, namely, 51 coins. They were all so-called Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams minted in eastern Georgia (Tiflis mint)[4] in the name of several Ilkhans: Arghun (25 coins, 49.02% of the total number), Arghun and his heir Qazan (2, 3.92%), Gaykhatu (21, 41.18%) and Baydu (3, 5.88%). The detailed information on these 51 coins, including the dates, metrology etc. is presented in *Table 1*. The types are well known[5] and it seems un-necessary to repeat their detailed description.

The earliest coins from this hoard are Ar17 and Ar25 as far as we can judge by the remaining dates in the external segments. The date 5 is clearly visible on the former coin in the top segment, whereas what remains in the left segment of Ar25 may be either 1 or 5, but as Arghun ascended the throne in AH 683 and died in 690, the coin should bear 685 as well. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that some coins of Arghun, bore earlier dates on effaced or off-flan segments. The latest coins ought to be the 3 dirhams of Baydu (B1-3), who ascended the throne in AH 694 and ruled for several months; all the dirhams in his name bear the date AH 694[6]. Thus, the time span for the coins represented in the Dikhashkho hoard is AH 685-694 or AH 683-694 at the very outside. It is also quite remarkable that the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams of Abagha were not represented in the Dikhashkho hoard at all, despite being quite common. No Tiflis dirhams of Davit VIII dated AH 695 and 696[7] were represented in it either, and it indicates that the Dikhashkho hoard was probably buried in the late AH 690s, maybe in AH 694 or 695.

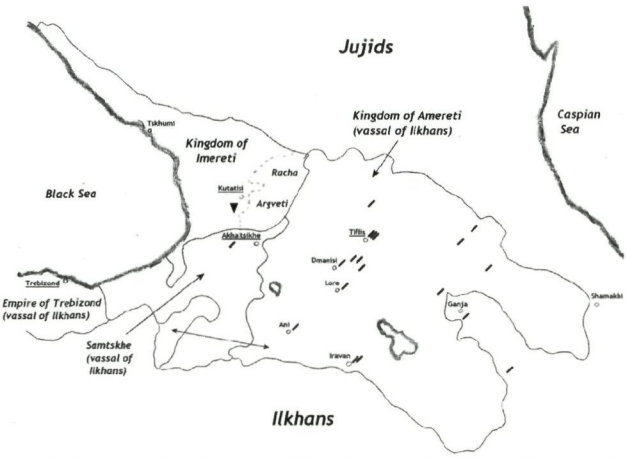
Historical background

We will review the contemporary political situation in the Georgian Kingdom (cf. *Map 2*) in order to put the Dikhashkho hoard in its proper historical context and extract the maximum possible information from it.

The first Mongol intrusion into the territory of the Georgian Kingdom dates back to 1220[8]. However, the conquest proper started later, in 1235-1236[9] and resulted in the more or less effective and prolonged subjugation of the Georgian state[10]. However, western Georgia as well as parts of the south-western Georgia escaped the Mongol yoke, and secured a more or less permanent independence under the leadership of King Davit VI Narin, son of Queen Rusudani, after his revolt in 1259[11].

On the other hand, this meant the effective partitioning of the state. Davit VI Narin ruled independently in western Georgia, i.e. in Imereti (literally, *the [place] beyond*, referring to the Likhi

gorge, dividing Georgia into two major parts) till 1293, whereas his cousin Davit VII Ulu ruled in Amereti, *[the place] on this side*[12], corresponding to eastern Georgia and parts of south-western Georgia, till his death in 1270, when he was succeeded by his son – Demetre II (1270-1289)[13]. Moreover, Sargis I, the representative of the noble family of Jaqeli, managed to place his lands (actually, the major part of south-western Georgia) under the direct authority of the Ilkhan in 1266, thus evading the suzerainty of the Georgian king[14]. Sargis I ruled till 1285, when he was succeeded by Beka I (1285-1306)[15].



Map 2. Map of the Georgian kingdoms and principalities in the last quarter of the 13th century. (Finds of Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams are indicated by the oblique slash signs. The Dikhashkho hoard find location is indicated by the inverted triangle.)

Since the Dikhashkho hoard was discovered in the territory of the Kingdom of Imereti, the political relationship between this entity and the Ilkhans acquires particular importance. The realm of Davit Narin managed to remain independent despite the direct invasion by the Mongol forces. Ilkhan attempts to utilise internal discord by supporting the anti-royalist policy of the *eristavi* (duke) of Racha failed[16]. Davit Narin, in his turn, maintained contact with the Mamluks, the arch-rivals of the Ilkhans[17]. Later on, Davit Narin and the Ilkhans managed to come to a remarkable compromise. When Demetre II was executed by the Ilkhans in 1289, the latter did not assent to allowing Demetre's son (the future king of Amereti, Davit VIII the Recalcitrant) to ascend the throne; instead, Davit Narin was offered and accepted the offer to send his son, Vakhtang, to reign in Amereti. After the death of Davit Narin, Vakthang would have succeeded him, uniting at least the Kingdoms of Amereti and Imereti. On the other hand, this trade-off naturally secured the loyalty and even perhaps the submission of the Kingdom of Imereti to the Ilkhans[18]. But Vakthang II ruled in the Kingdom of Amereti only for a relatively short time and died in 1292.

Davit VI Narin died in 1293, and was succeeded by his son, Konstantine I (1293-1327). However, Mikeli, another son of Davit, immediately usurped power in Argveti and Racha[19], the eastern provinces of his father's kingdom, neighbouring eastern Georgia with its centre, Tiflis, still under the Mongol yoke. Thus, the west-Georgian state became further divided and it was not reunited until the death of Konstantine in 1327, when Mikeli seized all the lands. Mikeli ruled the reunited Kingdom of Imereti for only a short time, 1327-1329. After his death, Giorgi V the Brilliant (another son of Demetre II) annexed his dominion, reducing Bagrat I, son of Mikeli, to the rank of a vassal prince[20].

The information on Mikeli's domination over Argveti and Racha derives from the Georgian chronicler, who did not specify the precise border between the possessions of the two brothers[21]. It seems to be significant that Dikhashkho was seemingly located in the borderland, and could have been disputed. As already suggested above, the hoard was buried in about 1295, i.e. in the early years of the confrontation between Konstantine and Mikeli, perhaps as a result of the unstable situation in the region.

Dikhashkho

This hoard was discovered in Dikhashkho or nearby, but the first mention of this village is only in the 18th c., according to the Georgian encyclopaedia entry. However, the source of this information is not provided[22], and we were not able to establish it. The presence of utility vessels with 13th c. coins in them at this location indicates the site was inhabited at the time. Dikhashkho probably dates back prior to the advent of the Mongols. This toponym contains the root word *dikha*, meaning *earth* in the Megrelian language[23], but the territory where the modern Dikhashkho is located is populated nowadays by the sub-group of the Georgian people speaking Georgian; and they seemingly populated this area mixing with and replacing the representatives of the sub-group of the Georgian people speaking Megrelian already in the 6th-8th c.[24] The survival of the Megrelian toponym may indicate that the habitation there existed at least from the 6th-7th c.. It has even been suggested that Dikhashkho with neighbouring Vani constituted the capital of the ancient Colchis[25].

Circulation area analysis

To our knowledge, so far, all the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams finds in South Caucasus[26] have been located in the territory subject to Ilkhan suzerainity (both within and outside the Georgian kingdoms) (cf. *Map 2*[27])[28]. As to the Kingdom of Amereti, independent from Mongols during the major part of its existence in the 13th c., the hostilities between the west-Georgian state and the Ilkhans dominating the principality of Samtkhse and the east-Georgian kingdom of Amereti probably hindered the trade between these lands and hence the penetration of the Tiflis (as well as the other Mongol) coins into western Georgia.

The Dikhashkho hoard is the first find of Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams in the Kingdom of Imereti (western Georgia). This broadens our outlook with regard to the circulation area of this group of Georgian-Mongol coins and possibly sheds some light on the economic/monetary life of the kingdom of Imereti. The reasons for their importation could be non-economic, particularly taking into account the narrow chronological span of the represented coins. This hoard points to some sort of connection (of an unclear nature) between the former dominion of Davit Narin (already effectively divided into two parts by his sons) and the southern or eastern neighbours – the principality of Samtskhe, or the kingdom of Amereti, or the Ilkhans in general. However, in our opinion, the selection of the container for the coins indicates a local peasant or at least a local resident as the person who buried this hoard. No valid conclusions could be drawn based on a single find, but we consider it to be quite probable for the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams (Tiflis Mongol silver coin in general?) to have played some part (though apparently a somewhat limited one) in the economic life of the Kingdom of Imereti.

Weight analysis

The Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams pertain to the *Early Ilkhan Period* of Great Mongol/Ilkhan coinage[29] or, in other terms, to the first, *local coinage period* of Ilkhan numismatic history[30]. That was the time when "individual mints or groups of nearby mints each maintained a distinctive coinage, principally in silver, occasionally adhering to local standards of weight & fineness"[31]. The dirham, the principal denomination in silver, was mostly issued to a standard of approximately 2.88 g before AH 678, and that of 2.52 g later (till the reform of Ghazan in AH 697)[32]. However, "several regions maintained local standards"[33]. It is not clear what the weight standard of the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams was. Pakhomov noted that the weight of the well-preserved specimens was in the range 2.20-2.50 g, the average being "2.30-2.85 g" (2.85 must be a typo, the 8 probably standing for 3)[34]. Jalaghania considered the weight of the coins in the name of different Ilkhans fluctuated: according to her calculations, the mean weight of the dirhams in the name of

Abagha was 2.17 g (calculated from 56 specimens), the mean weight of the dirhams in the name of Arghun was 2.30 g (94 specimens), and the mean weight of the dirhams in the name of Gaykhatu was 2.24 g (15 specimens), whereas the sole unholed specimen in the name of Baydu weighed 2.18 g[35]. The coins from the Dikhashkho hoard present different weights (see *Table 2*). Our data suggest that the weight standard did not change, the mean weight in the name of Arghun, Gaykhatu, and Baydu being 2.40, 2.40 and 2.42 g. and the maxima being 2.61, 2.51 and 2.45 g. In our opinion, at least the late post-Abagha and post-Ahmad Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams were possibly issued to the 2.52 g standard as well.

Die analysis

We carried out the die analysis of all the coins pertaining to this hoard[36]. The results are illustrated in the *Die linkage charts 1-4 (Table 3)*.

Out of the 25 available obverses in the name of Arghun (only), 20 (80%) had Arghun's name in a correct form, genitive – "Arghunu", while another 5 (20%) had it in the incorrect form – "Arghunun"[37]. The 20 obverses with "Arghunu" were minted with 16 different dies sometimes bearing one of the 3 varying symbols on top of the last letter of "Arghunu": a cross, a star, a drop. The 5 obverses with "Arghunun" were minted with 5 different dies with 1 coin having a star on top of the last letter of Arghunun – Ar19 (*Fig. 19*). In total, 21 different obverse dies were employed for minting the obverses of 25 coins.

The 25 reverses of the coins bearing the name of Arghun (only) on the obverse were minted with 23 different reverse dies. All 23 had the cross in the common position, i.e. in the bottom line. While classifying these 23 reverse dies we distinguished the following 4 symbols visible interchangeably to the left of the cross: a star and three different vignettes. Two coins bearing the names of Arghun and his heir, Ghazan, on the obverse were struck with 2 different obverse dies and 2 different reverse dies. A sprig symbol is present in the bottom line on one of the specimens.

The 21 coins bearing the name of Gaykhatu on the obverse were struck with 14 different obverse dies: the area on top of the last letter of the Ilkhan's name (*Arghunu*, on these coins of Gaykhatu) in Mongol sometimes has a symbol, viz. a star or 3 dots.

The reverses of 21 coins bearing the name of Gaykhatu on the obverse were struck with 20 different dies: 3 dies (15%) of which had the cross in the 2nd line and 18 (85%) had the cross in the bottom line. All 3 coins with the cross in the 2nd line were struck with 3 different reverse (as well as obverse) dies. The 18 coins of Gaykhatu with the cross in the bottom line were struck with 17 different reverse dies. The following symbols were visible interchangeably to the left of the cross when the cross was in the bottom line: a star (also present on many coins in the name of Arghun); 3 dots; a vignette. 3 coins in the name of Baydu were struck with 2 different obverse dies and 3 different reverse dies. In this sample, no die links connect the groups of dirhams with the obverses in the name of different Ilkhans.

The die analysis results (cf. *Table 3*) suggest that the coin sides which we consider to be the obverses because they bear the Ilkhan's name were spared more than the sides with the Christian prayer, as the former are not as numerous as the latter (cf. the *Obverse-reverse dies ratio column* of *Table 3*); it is considered that the anvil dies (considered to be the obverse dies from the technical point of view) suffered less from striking the blanks of metal compared to the hammer (upper) dies. Therefore, it appears likely, in the case of the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams, that the dies with the Ilkhan's name engraved were deliberately spared by using them as the anvil dies[38], perhaps because they were considered to be more significant. On the other hand, the production of the dies with the other side (with the Christian prayer and the date formula in the segments) was undoubtedly much more labour-intensive because of the need to engrave many more symbols than on the dies intended for the opposite side. Therefore, it would have been logical to expect *these* dies to be spared more.

Our sample (the Dikhashkho hoard) presents a greater number of different dies for the coins minted in the name of the late Ilkhans (Gaykhatu, Baydu), as opposed to Arghun's dirhams. The trend, however,is not as clear as in the previous case (cf. the *number of coins minted per obverse die & number of coins minted per reverse die columns* of *Table 3*). That may point to the reduction in the mint output per annum (fixed period of time) in the reign of Gaykhatu and Baydu (the difference in the total mint output would have been understandable – Gaykhatu ruled in AH 690-694, Baydu ruled for several months only in AH 694, whereas Arghun ruled in AH 683-690, for a longer period than his two successors taken together).

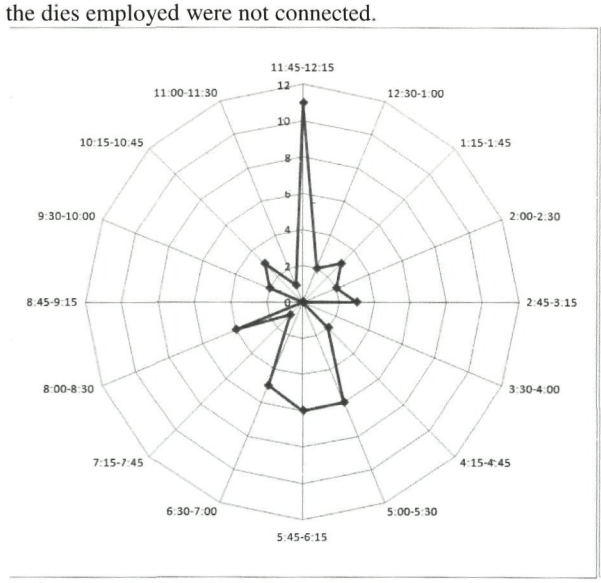
However, no statistical analysis was performed at this stage of our research and the reasoning in the previous two paragraphs is of a preliminary nature only. The trends certainly need to be verified and may be even disproved.

Die axis analysis

To our knowledge, mint procedure for the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams has not been analysed before. At this time, we decided to concentrate on information derived from the die axis. Making an assumption that the minting technique at Tiflis did not change in the AH 680s and 690s, we plotted the die axis indices of all 51 coins from the Dikhashkho hoard on the radar diagram (*Radar chart 1*). The radar chart shows sixteen possible die axis positions and the number of coins which exhibited that axis. 14 coins out of 51 (27.45%) have a die axis within the 11:00-1:00 range, with 11 having a a die axis within the 11:45-12:15 range (21.57% of the total), whereas 17 dirhams (33.33%) have a die axis within the 5:00-7:00 range, with only 6 (11.76% of the total) having a a die axis within the 5:45-6:15 range. Another 20 coins of this hoard (39.22%) have the die axis at the intermediate positions.

Two groups of coins in this sample were minted with the same pair of dies: Ar2,5-6 (*Figs. 2, 5-6*) and Gc1,6 (*Figs. 31, 36*). They had the following die axis indices: Ar2,5-6 - 12:15, 6:15, 5:30; Gc1,6 - 4:45, 1:30.

In our opinion, our data suggest that some effort was deliberately made to preserve the regular alignment of the dies (either 12 or 6 o'clock, with no preference for either one), but that the dies employed were not connected.



Radar chart 1. Die axis indices of the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams from the Dikhashkho hoard.

Conclusions

The Dikhashkho hoard, possibly containing around 100 coins, of which 51 Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams were available for the study, was probably buried in the second half of the 1290s in the territory of the kingdom of Imereti. It sheds some light on the economic history of this Georgian state in this epoch of Mongol dominance in Georgia and the rivalry between King Konstantine

and the usurper, Mikeli, in the west-Georgian kingdom. The discovery of these 13th c. coins in household vessels points to the medieval habitation of Dikhashkho. The hoard coins make us incline to the idea that at least the late post-Abagha and post-Ahmad Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams were issued to the 2.52 g standard. The die analysis performed by the authors suggests that a fuller die analysis of Georgian coins of the late 13th century would yield valuable results and that the study of the die axis is important in understanding the procedure of the contemporary Tiflis mint.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our gratitude to Mr S. Turkia for his habitual support of our numismatic research.

Notes

1 For the arguments on the term cf. *Paghava 2008:7-8, footnote 1.*

2 *Pakhomov 1949:#1174.*

3 We would like to express our gratitude to its owner.

4 *Pakhomov 1970:160-168; Lang 1955:44-49; Jalaghania 1958:53-65; Paghava 2008.*

5 For the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams of Arghun see *Pakhomov 1970:165-166; Lang 1955:46-48; Jalaghania 1958:60-61; Diler 2006:320, #Ar-223; Paghava 2008*; for Arghun & Qazan *Pakhomov 1970:166; Jalaghania 1958:60*; for Gaykhatu *Pakhomov 1970:166-167; Lang 1955:48-49; Jalaghania 1958:61; Diler 2006:333, #Gy-247*; for Baydu *Pakhomov 1970:167-168; Jalaghania 1958:62-63; Diler 2006:341, #Ba-254.*

6 I. Jalaghania mentions the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirham (in the name of Baydu?) dated 695, Dhu al-Qi'dah (*Jalaghania 1958:68*), but no source is indicated (cf. *Jalaghania 1958:102*).

7 *Pakhomov 1970:171-172; Jalaghania 1958:70-71; Diler 2006:353, #Ga-276.*

8 *Javakhishvili III:4.*

9 *Ibid.:17-23.*

10 *Ibid.:24, 43-46.*

11 *Ibid.:69, 87-95.*

12 These linguistic nuances show very well which part of the country was considered by the contemporaries to be the core area.

13 *Ibid.:74-75.*

14 *Ibid.:83-85.*

15 Meanwhile, Lazs, the Georgian people constituted a bulk of the population of the Empire of Trebizond. *Ibid.:140-147.*

16 *Ibid.:87-91; Sikharulidze 1967.*

17 *Amitai-Preis 2004:150.*

18 *Javakhishvili III:120-122.*

19 *Ibid.:124.*

20 *Ibid.:171.*

21 *Annalist-Kiknadze 1987:187-188.*

22 *Dikhashkho 1978.*

23 *Kakabadze 1959.* The ending of this toponym (*shkho*) may be of Megrelian origin as well (cf. *Ibid.*). Megrelian is a language of the Kartvelian (Georgian) group, spoken by the residents of the province of Megrelia in western Georgia. All the residents of Megrelia speak either Georgian (another language of the Kartvelian group, closely related to Megrelian, spoken in eastern and south-western Georgia, as well as in some areas of western Georgia) or are bilingual in Megrelian and Georgian, the latter having always been used in education, church, office work and literature as the sole written and official language.

24 *Javakhishvili II:88-89.*

25 *Kakabadze 1959.*

26 We are unaware of their finds in other areas, which are probable for the least, as one would think that these silver coins were used in the long-distance trade across the Mongol empire.

27 *Pakhomov 1926:##147-148; Pakhomov 1938:##445, 447, 450; Pakhomov 1940:##853-856; Pakhomov 1949:1151-1152, 1155, 1158; Jalaghania 1979:123-130.*

28 One should take into account that, during the 19th and the 20th centuries, the South Caucasus was divided between the Ottoman Empire (later the Republic of Turkey) and the Russian Empire (later the USSR). The hoard/coin find reporting system was, in our opinion, much more efficient in the latter; hence the possible bias with regard to the distribution of the finds of some particular types of coins.

29 *Album 2001:x.*

30 *Album 1998:103-104.*

31 *Ibid.:104.*

32 *Ibid.:104; Album 2001:x, footnote 19.*

33 *Album 1998:104.*

34 Precisely what Pakhomov meant expressing an average as a range is unclear. *Pakhomov 1970:168.*

35 *Jalaghania 1958:59-63, 102.*

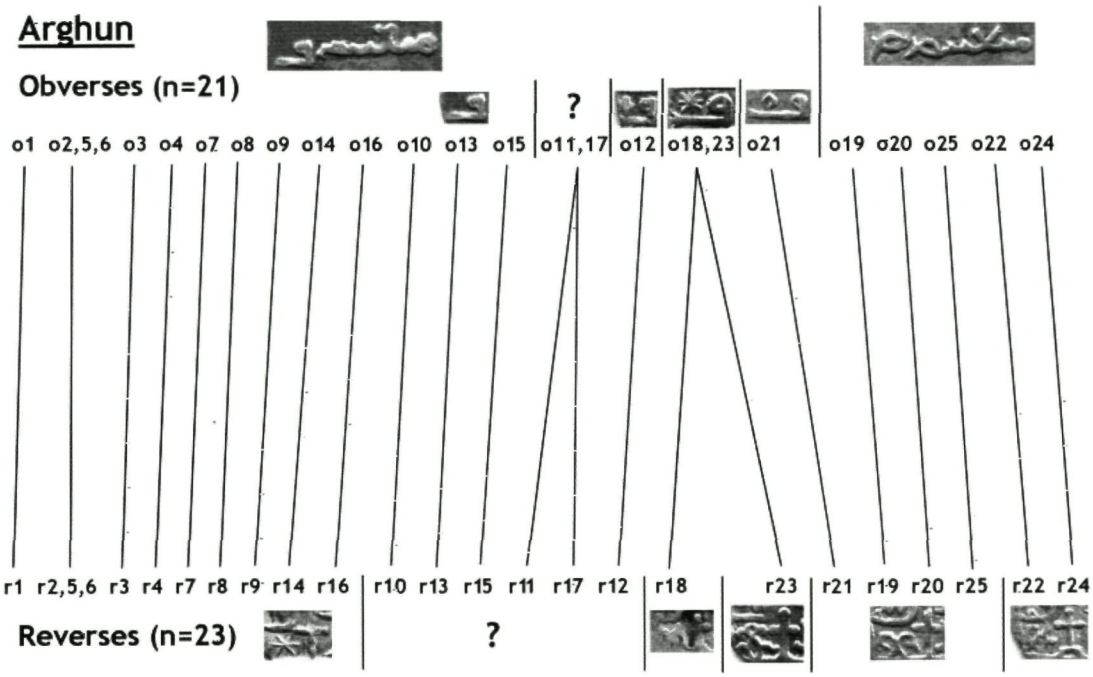
36 As far as we know, this is the first application of die analysis to the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams, at least using a decent sample.

37 *Lang 1955:47-48; Paghava 2008:13.*

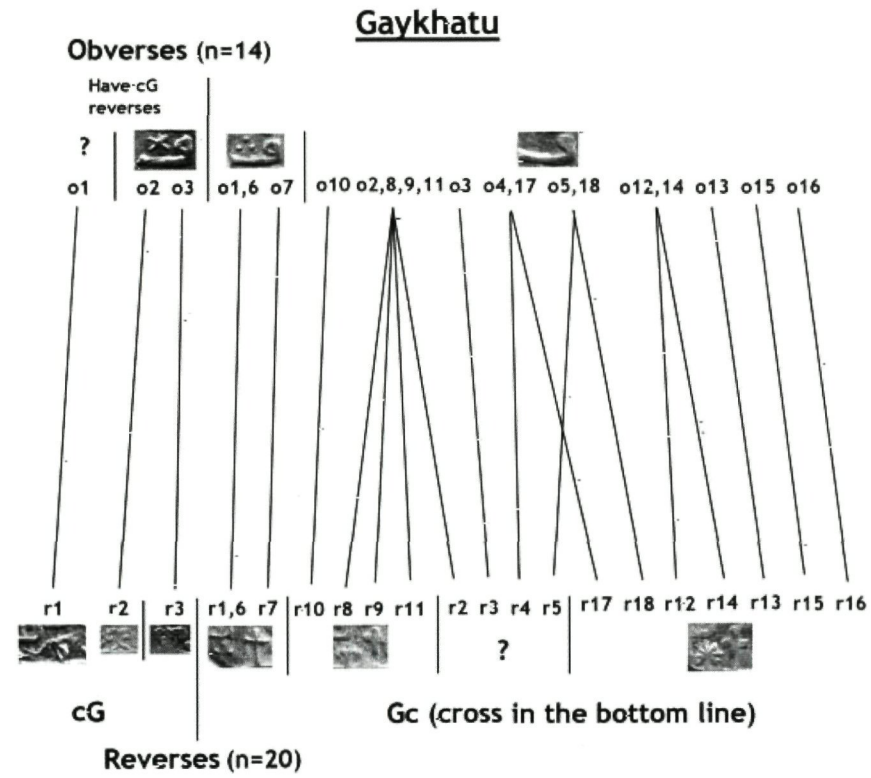
38 Unfortunately, to our knowledge no dies used for minting Georgian coins have survived.

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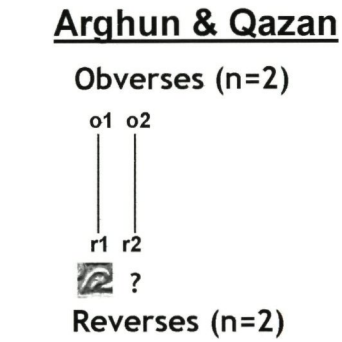
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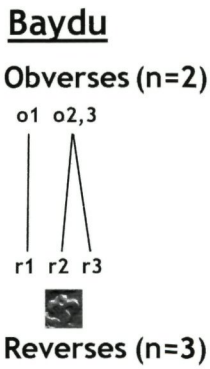
Die linkage chart 1. Die links between the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Arghun.



Die linkage chart 3. Die links between the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Gaykhatu.



Die linkage chart 2. Die links between the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Arghun and his heir, Ghazan (Qazan).



Die linkage chart 4. Die links between the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Baydu.

Table 1. The Dikhashkho hoard dirhams: Designations, metrology & dates

ID	#	Ilkhan	Wgt	Size	Die axis	Right segment	Bottom segment	Left segment	Top segment	Date (AH)	Comment
Ar1	1	Arghun	2.39	22.2	5:00	[600]	80?	8? *year*	effaced	[6]88?	
Ar2	2	Arghun	2.46	20.1-20.3	12:15	600?	off-flan, 90?	only *year*	Rabīʿ al-Akhir	690? Rabīʿ al-Akhir	Die match with Ar5,6, hence *690, Rabīʿ al-Akhir*
Ar3	3	Arghun	2.52	22.2-23	12:15	600	90?	only *year*	Safar?	690? Safar?	
Ar4	4	Arghun	2.40	20.2-20.3	12:15	[600]	90	2?	off-flan	692? Month?	Arghun died in 692
Ar5	5	Arghun	2.47	20.1-21.1	6:15	600	90	x	off-flan	69x, month?	Die match with Ar2,6, hence *690, Rabīʿ al-Akhir*
Ar6	6	Arghun	2.3	19.8-20.1	5:30	600	90	x	off-flan	69x, month?	Die match with Ar2,5, hence *690, Rabīʿ al-Akhir*
Ar7	7	Arghun	2.41	21.1-22.2	1:30	600	90	x	off-flan	69x, month?	
Ar8	8	Arghun	2.27	22.6-23.2	10:30	600	90?	only *year*	Rabīʿ al-Akhir?	690? Rabīʿ al-Akhir?	Incrustation?
Ar9	9	Arghun	2.35	20.6-21.2	11:30	[600]	[80]	8? *year*	Rabīʿ al-Akhir	688? Rabīʿ al-Akhir	
Ar10	10	Arghun	2.38	19.9-21.5	5:30	*year*?	Safar/7/9?	off-flan	off-flan	[6]xx, Safar?	
Ar11	11	Arghun	2.38	19.6-21.2	3:00	1?	off-flan	off-flan	off-flan	[6]xx, month?	
Ar12	12	Arghun	2.61	20.9-21.2	6:00	600?	effaced	x, *year*	off-flan	6xx, month?	
Ar13	13	Arghun	2.44	20.2-21.5	5:00	600?	off-flan	x	Rabīʿ al-Akhir	6xx, Rabīʿ al-Akhir	
Ar14	14	Arghun	2.23	20.8-21.7	3:15	600?	off-flan	x, off-flan	x	6xx, month?	
Ar15	15	Arghun	2.39	19.9-20.2	3:15	600	off-flan	x	x	6xx, month?	
Ar16	16	Arghun	2.42	21.2-22.5	2:00	x	*year?*	off-flan	x	6xx, month?	
Ar17	17	Arghun	2.28	20.2-21.1	12:15	effaced	off-flan	[80]	5, *year*	[68]5, month?	
Ar18	18	Arghun	2.45	20.6-21.6	8:30	x, month?	year?, x	600?, 80?	off-flan	68?x, month?	Centripetal text
Ar19	19	Arghun	2.51	19.9-21.2	12:30	[600]	80?	effaced	Jumādā al-Akhir	[6]8x? Jumādā al-Akhir	
Ar20	20	Arghun	2.32	20.3-20.9	8:30	[600]	80?	x	off-flan	[6]8x? Month?	
Ar21	21	Arghun	2.43	20.1-21	6:30	600	80?	8?	x, effaced	688? Month?	
Ar22	22	Arghun	2.5	20.2-21.3	6:30	600	x, effaced	x, effaced	Muharram, *year?*	6xx, Muharram	
Ar23	23	Arghun	2.4	19.9-21.2	9:30	x, effaced	x?	x, off-flan	off-flan	[6]xx, month?	
Ar24	24	Arghun	2.39	21-21.3	2:30	600	80	off-flan	x, off-flan	68x, month?	
Ar25	25	Arghun	2.27	19.5-20.3	4:45	600	off-flan	5/1?	Rabīʿ? al-Akhir?	6x5/1, Rabīʿ? al-Akhir?	Arghun ascended to the throne in 683
AQ1	26	Arghun & Qazan	2.42	18.1-19.5	12:00	off-flan	off-flan	off-flan	effaced	[6]xx, month?	
AQ2	27	Arghun & Qazan	2.46	18.7-20.7	7:00	[600]	off-flan	*year*	Rajab?	[6]xx, Rajab?	
cG1	28	Gaykhatu	2.4	19.3-20.3	10:15	off-flan	off-flan	x	x	[6]xx, month?	
cG2	29	Gaykhatu	2.38	19.3-20.9	12:15	600	90	*year?*	off-flan	690? Month?	
cG3	30	Gaykhatu	2.44	19.4-19.9	12:15	600	[90]	off-flan	off-flan	6[9]x, month?	
Gc1	31	Gaykhatu	2.37	19.3-20.6	4:45	Shawwal	[600]	off-flan, [90]	3?, *year*	[69]3? Shawwal	Die match with Gc6
Gc2	32	Gaykhatu	2.44	19.1-20.6	12:00	600?	off-flan	off-flan	effaced	[69]x, month?	
Gc3	33	Gaykhatu	2.2	19.7-20.3	6:15	x	effaced	off-flan	off-flan, effaced	[69]x, month?	
Gc4	34	Gaykhatu	2.44	19.1-19.7	1:00	600	off-flan	off-flan	*year?*	6[9]x, month?	
Gc5	35	Gaykhatu	2.45	20.1-20.6	11:45	1/2/4?, *year?*	off-flan	off-flan	effaced	[69]1/2/4? Month?	
Gc6	36	Gaykhatu	2.37	19.6-20.4	1:30	effaced	off-flan	off-flan	x, effaced	[69]x, month?	Die match with Gc1,

											hence *693?, Shawwal*
Gc7	37	Gaykhatu	2.48	19.4-20.2	8:00	effaced	x	x, off-flan	effaced	[69]x, month?	
Gc8	38	Gaykhatu	2.36	20.1-20.8	1:30	off-flan	off-flan	off-flan	Rabīʿ/Jumādā ? I/II?	[69]x, Rabīʿ/Jumādā? I/II?	Incrustation?
Gc9	39	Gaykhatu	2.37	21.5-21.8	6:15	[ó00]	[90]	4?	Dhu al-Qi'dah?	[69]4? Dhu al-Qi'dah?	
Gc10	40	Gaykhatu	2.51	19.3-20.8	10:15	x	x	off-flan	effaced	[69]x, month?	
Gc11	41	Gaykhatu	2.42	19.8-20.8	6:15	600	[90]	4	off-flan	6[9]4, month?	
Gc12	42	Gaykhatu	2.4	19.9-20.2	12:15	x, off-flan	600?	x	off-flan	[69]x, month?	
Gc13	43	Gaykhatu	2.45	19.3-20.2	7:45	x	2 (inwards)	x, off-flan	effaced	[69]2? Month?	Centripetal text?
Gc14	44	Gaykhatu	2.43	20.6-21	7:00	effaced	600?	off-flan	off-flan	6[9]x, month?	
Gc15	45	Gaykhatu	2.37	20.2-20.6	5:30	600?	90?	off-flan	off-flan, effaced	69x, month?	
Gc16	46	Gaykhatu	2.37	19.2-20.9	9:30	600?	effaced	off-flan	off-flan, effaced	6[9]x, month?	
Gc17	47	Gaykhatu	2.38	20.3-20.8	5:00	effaced	x	mostly off-flan	off-flan	[69]x, month?	
Gc18	48	Gaykhatu	2.45	19.8-20.3	6:30	off-flan	off-flan	effaced	*year?*	[69]x, month?	
B1	49	Baydu	2.45	19.6-21	6:00	600	90	[4?]	effaced	69[4], month?	
B2	50	Baydu	2.37	20.3-22.2	12:15	off-flan	off-flan	x	effaced	[69]x, month?	Double-struck obverse
B3	51	Baydu	2.45	19.9-20.6	8:15	600	[90]	[4?]	Shawwal	6[94]? Shawwal	



Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6



Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 9



Fig 10



Fig 11

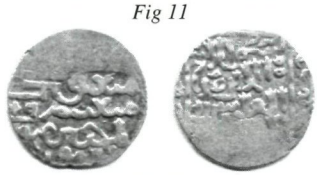


Fig 12



Fig 13



Fig 14



Fig 15



Fig 16



Fig 17



Fig 18



Fig 19



Fig 20



Fig 21



Fig. 22



Fig 23



Fig 24



Fig 25



Fig 26



Fig 27



Fig 28



Fig 29



Fig 30



Fig 31



Fig 32



Fig 33



Fig 34



Fig 35



Fig 36



Fig 37



Fig 38



Fig 39



Fig 40



Fig 41



Fig 42



Fig 43



Fig 44



Fig 45



Fig 46



Fig 47



Fig 48



Fig 49



Fig 50



Fig 51

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics Data for the Weight Indices of the Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams from the Dikhashkho Hoard

Statistical Parameter	**All dirhams**	**In the name of Arghun (including those in the name of Ghazan as well)**	**In the name of Gaykhatu (with the cross in both positions)**	**In the name of Baydu**
Mean	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.42
Median	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.45
Standard Deviation	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.05
Skewness	-0.36	0.04	-1.49	-1.73
Minimum	2.20	2.23	2.20	2.37
Maximum	2.61	2.61	2.51	2.45
Sample Size	51	27	21	3

Table 3. Die analysis summary for the Dikhashkho hoard.

Ilkhan	**n**	**do**	**dr**	**n/d_o**	**n/d_r**	**Obverse-reverse dies ratio**
Arghun	25	21	23	1.19	1.09	1:1.1
Arghun & Qazan	2	2	2	1	1	1:1
Gaykhatu	21	14	20	1.5	1.05	1:1.43
Baydu	3	2	3	1.5	1	1:1.5
Total	51	39	48	1.31	1.06	1:1.23

GEORGIAN-HULAGID CHRISTIAN DIRHEMS

by Michael Mitchiner

In 2008, Paghava, Gvindjilia and Kudin published an interesting paper in the Journal of the ONS on the early Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams. In their paper, the authors made a plea for the publication of additional specimens, with accompanying illustrations, in order to clarify the sequence of issues. The month and year of issue inscribed in the segments of the reverse margin are often poorly written and difficult to interpret. With this in mind, a further sixteen coins are catalogued below, together with a reference to another coin, which was not noticed in their paper.

The historical context for these interesting issues has been covered in the previous paper, so it is not repeated. They did not cite the readings of the main inscriptions, so Lang's (1955) readings are cited here.

One of the coin types published in this paper is new. This is the dirhem of Arghūn without his name in Persian. Earlier dirhems of this series bear an obverse design showing a five-line Mongol legend. This format is continued on the new type of Arghūn dirhem published here. Although this coin has a clearly written month of issue (Sha'abān), the year of issue is unfortunately effaced. The earliest dirhems in Arghun's name listed by Paghava et al. bear the year 683, with month missing. Subsequent issues were dated from Muḥarram 684 onwards. These coins (in default of any contrary comment) presumably bear the published obverse design used on Arghūn's other known coins. It is a four-line Mongol inscription, plus Arghūn's name written below in Persian. This is the type of the last four coins catalogued below.

With regard to the other coins catalogued, there are a few additions to the month-year combinations published by Paghava et al. The first three coins seem to emphasise the concept gleaned from the number of references cited by Paghava et al. that there was a major minting of posthumous Abāgā coins during Rabī' al-Akhir 681. Abāgā's lifetime coins in this series are dated 680 (nearly all) and 67x (one reference). He died in Dhu'l-Hijjah 680 (1 April 1282). There was an interregnum until Ahmad Tegudar (Takudar) was recognised on 26 Muḥarram 681 (6 May 1282). Throughout the remainder of 681 and also during 682, dirhems were issued posthumously in the name of Abāgā, and some later issues were also struck in Abāgā's name. The only reference to a coin of Aḥmad dated 681 is accompanied by a question mark. Although a clearer specimen is desirable, the reading [68]1 appears to be correct for the first of Aḥmad's coins catalogued here. The year [68]2 is clear on the other coin. Most of Aḥmad's known coins were issued during AH 683, with few confirmed for 682. The rationale underlying the posthumous Abāgā coinage (perhaps issued until the beginning of Arghūn's reign) has not been clarified. Concerning some of the months listed in this paper, the months Sha'abān and Ramaḍān are not listed in the table by Paghava et al. Most of the month-date readings cited below are reasonably clear, but a few are provisional and should be considered alongside the illustrations.

Abāgā. Cross symbol

Obverse: Five-line Mongol inscription

qaghanu (of the Khaqan) / nereber (in the name) / abagha-yin (by Abagha) / deletkeguluk / sen (struck)

Reverse: Christian inscription in Arabic

bism al-āb (In the name of the Father) / w'al-ibn wa rūh (and the Son and the Spirit) / al-quds alah (the Holiness God) / wa aḥad (and One) + Cross-symbol

There is a compressed word above the "*bism*" of the Christian legend, which Lang did not notice. It can be read "*sarmad*", meaning "Eternal". This prefix occurs on nearly all Christian dirhems, but on the last coin catalogued below (no. 16) it is replaced by three stars. The translation of the Christian legend can be amended to read: "For ever. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit; the Holy: God and One". This is a clear statement of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.



1 2

1. Rab' al-Akhir, year [68]1. *Silver, die axes 12, 22 mm, 2.27 g*
2. Rabi' al-Akhir, year 681. *Silver, die axes 6, 21 mm, 2.42 g*



3 4

3. Rabī' al-Akhir, year 6[8]1. *Silver, die axes 5, 21 mm, 2.43 g*
4. Jumāda al-Akhir, year [68]1. *Silver, die axes 1, 22 mm, 2.46 g*



5 6

5. Sha'abān [6]81. *Silver, die axes 7, 22 mm, 2.47 g*
6. (month lost), year 6[8]1. *Silver, die axes 6, 22 mm, 2.46 g*



7 8

7. Rabī‘ al-Akhir, year 6[8]2. *Silver, die axes 11, 21 mm, 2.31 g*
Note: A similar dirhem, at that time in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes, published by Mitchiner (1977, 2386) is dated: (month lost), year [6]82
8. Sha‘abān, year 6xx. *Silver, die axes 10, 22 mm, 2.32 g*



9

9. Ramaḍān, year 6xx. *Silver, die axes 5, 22 mm, 2.45 g*

Aḥmad Teguder. Star symbol
Obverse: Five-line Mongol inscription

qaghanu (of the Khaqan) / nereber (in the name) / amadun (by Ahmad) / deletkeguluk / sen (struck)

Reverse: Same Christian legend + Star symbol



10 11

10. (month lost), year [68]1. *Silver, die axes 7, 22 mm, 2.45 gm*
11. (month lost), year [68]2. *Silver, die axes 2, 22 mm, 2.42 gm*

Arghūn. Cross symbol. No Persian name
Obverse: Five-line Mongol inscription

Qaghanu (of the Khaqan) / nereber (in the name) / Arghunu (by Arghun) / deletkeguluk / sen (struck)

Reverse: Same Christian legend + Cross symbol



12

12. Sha‘abān, year 6xx. *Silver, die axes 12, 21 mm, 2.39 g*

Arghūn. Cross symbol. Normal type with Persian name
Obverse: Four-line Mongol inscription, plus fifth line in Persian
qaghanu (of the Khaqan) / nereber (in the name) / arghunu (by Arghun) / deletkegulk (struck) / Arghun
Reverse: Same Christian legend + Cross symbol
The Mongol legend sometimes reads Arghunun in place of Arghunu



13 14

13. Rabī‘ al-Akhir, year [68]5. *Silver, die axes 12, 21 mm, 2.53 g*
14. Jumāda al-Akhir, year [68]5. *Silver, die axes 6, 21 mm, 2.38 g*



15 16

15. Shawwāl, year [68]5. *Silver, die axes 5, 22 mm, 2.45 gm*
The top margin could, alternatively, be read: Sanat khams (year [68]5)
16. Dhu’l-Hijjah, year 6xx. *Silver, die axes 10, 22 mm, 2.41 gm*

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DINARS AND HISTORY OF BADR AL-DĪN LŪ'LŪ' OF MOSUL

By Yahya Jafar

This article attempts to illustrate some of the history of Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū'[1]*, and his son, Ismā'īl in Mosul, through the study of his dinars, during an interesting period of the Abbasid's fourth and last period. The dinars*[2]*s are presented with a prefix "Zg" to denote a Zengid dinar and "Lu" to denote a Luluid dinar, followed by "Mo" to denote Mosul, followed by its hijri date plus a suffix, if more than one coin is shown for a particular date.*

The coinage of Lū'lū' is diverse, consisting of gold dinars, an ample copper[3] coinage presumably of dirhem denomination and some scarce silver coinage. Generally, the attributions on the dinars provide the most significant political information as, unlike other denominations which are usually minted for local use, the dinars travel as payment of dues and in trade. Therefore, this article is limited to the dinars minted during the rule of the Lū'lū'ids in Mosul, that is Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū' and his son, Ismā'īl.

It is not clear when, where or at what age Nūr al-Dīn Arsalān Shāh I (AH 589-607) acquired Lū'lū', who was an Armenian slave; nevertheless, it appears that he quickly rose to the highest position of power in Mosul, when his master entrusted him, amongst other important administrative positions, with the command of the Zangid army. It further appears that Arsalān Shāh I was an ailing ruler, at least, towards the end of his rule and, presumably by then Lū'lū' exercised considerable power in Mosul.

Thus, he may have been instrumental in the decision of the Zengid king to nominate his young son, Mas'ūd, to succeed him, to be followed by his son Zengi. Hence, when Nur al-Din died, his young son, Masud, with the help of Lū'lū', smoothly, assumed power in Mosul and his brother, Zengī, was given the rule of the fortress of al-Aqr. Lū'lū' quickly obtained the Abbasid caliph, al-Nāṣir li dīn Allah's (AH 575-622) approval, giving Mas'ūd the title "al-Malik al-Qāhir", for the transition, and considering the new ruler's age, nominating Lū'lū' to be his administrator. This acknowledgment by the caliph allowed Lū'lū' to practically rule Mosul from then on. Although, officially, Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū's rule in Mosul began in 631, he was the effective ruler there from the death of his master, Nūr al-Dīn Arsalān Shāh I b. Mas'ūd b. Mawdūd b. Zangī in 607.

It appears that it was during the rule of Arsalān Shāh I that the Zengīds chose to nominate patrons on their dinars, starting with the Ayyubid king, al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb From then on, different patrons appeared on the coinage of Mosul, depending on the balance of power at the time as well as lapses when Lū'lū' felt strong enough to mint independent dinars without showing any patron.

With the dwindling power of the Seljuks of Iraq, various independent Atabeg principalities arose in the north of Iraq, notably those of Mosul and Irbil, which was then ruled by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kokburī b. 'Alī. Before his death, Arsalān Shāh I, in an effort to strengthen ties with Kokburī, arranged the marriages of two of the latter's daughters to his sons, Mas'ūd and Zengī. Kokburī, as the father in-law of the new ruler Mas'ūd, had designs for Mosul and tried to exert much influence there. As such, he was highly suspicious of Lū'lū''s schemes and ambitious behavior, becoming his most dangerous enemy. Moreover, the presence of the Ayyubids in Syria, the Rum Seljuks in the north and the Khwārizmshāhs in the east meant that Lū'lū' had to navigate carefully and wisely in order to safeguard Mosul and his interests.

Before his death in Rabī'II, 615, al-Malik al-Qāhir Mas'ūd nominated his son, Arsalān Shāh II, as his successor, instead of his brother, Zengī, a move, most probably, initiated by Lū'lū'. Thus, when Mas'ūd died, Lū'lū' quickly obtained caliphal approval and placed the young Arsalān Shāh on the throne of Mosul. Zengī and Kokburī, together began invading the territories of Mosul. However, Lū'lū' must have kept very good relationships with the Ayyubids and the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, both of whom reprimanded and threatened Kokburī to end such actions against Lū'lū' who, by now, had become the undisputed ruler of Mosul.

The young Arslan Shah did not last long - he died in 616 - and his three-year old brother, Maḥmūd, was declared sultan by Lū'lū' and placed on the Zengīd throne in Mosul. This, naturally, invited disapproval and threatening action by both the new Sultan's uncle, Zengī, who considered himself to be the rightful successor, as well as the Sultan's maternal grandfather, Kokburi who may have guessed Lū'lū''s ultimate aims to usurp power for himself. Again, the Ayyubid ruler supported Lū'lū' and thwarted any actions against him.

Surprisingly, Kokburī, when he visited the Abbasid caliph, al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh (623-640), in Baghdad in 628 bequeathed the principality of Irbil to the caliph after his death. In doing so, Kokburī may have either tried to encourage the caliph to annex Mosul as well, or ensured a caliphal presence in the vicinity of Mosul, to act as protector for his grandson and, perhaps, the continuation of the dynasty. Therefore, when Kokburī died in 630, the caliph, after minor resistance, took control of Irbil and annexed it to his realm.

It appears that the existence of Zengī and Kokburī were the major obstacle preventing Lū'lū' from deposing the young Zengīd king of Mosul and acquiring power for himself, for as soon as Kokburī and Zengī died in 630, the young Maḥmūd was put to death and Lū'lū' declared himself Sultan of Mosul in 631.

I will try to show that numismatic evidence suggests a transition of power to Lū'lū' may have not been smooth and that, initially, caliphal approval for his inauguration may have been difficult.

Nevertheless, the caliph al-Mustanṣir eventually approved the nomination of Lū'lū' as the Atabeg and Sultan of Mosul, probably, as a result of Lū'lū''s good relations with the Abbasid caliphs, and the intervention of the Ayyubids.

This article will examine the Zengīd dinars from 606, that being the effective date of Lū'lū''s control of Mosul, to the end of the Lū'lū'id dynasty in 660, and attempt to describe his various alliances during the different phases of this period through the attributions appearing on the dinars. Moreover, although it is possible that either Zengid or Lū'lū'id dinars from mints in other than Mosul between 606 and 660, could appear in the future, the author is unaware of any at present.

Nūr al-Dīn Arsalān Shāh I b. Mas'ūd b. Mawdūd b. Zengī (589-607)

The first dinar described is dated 606. Since Arsalān Shāh was reported to be very ill prior to his death in 607, it is reasonable to assume that Lū'lū' had assumed effective power by then and as such minted dinars in the name of his master, which this dinar affirms.

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[1] His full name has been given as "Al-Malik al-Raheem Abu'l Fadhl Badr al-Din Lulu b. Abd Allah al- Nawari, al-Rumi al-Atabiki". This suggests that his father's name was "Abd Allah", which may also refer to an arbitrary person as the name means "Servant of God" which is given to describe almost anyone and thus it may, probably, indicate that his father was unknown. Further, "al-Nawari" may relate to "Nawar' which means "Gypsies", that is, he is of gypsy origins. Likewise, "al-Rumi" indicates that he is from Rum and "al-Atabaki" indicates that he is, or belongs to, the "Atabegs".

[2] Before the occupation of Baghdad in 656h by the Mongols, all these dinars had an outer obverse margin citing the Quranic(IX,33) and an outer reverse margin citing the Quranic (XXX,4-5) after which date these were reversed; these then will not be stated in the description of the coins. Images are shown for the dinar numbers with an asterisk(*) all of which are in the writer's collection.

[3] These coinage of the Zengids and Luluids are aptly dealt with by Spengler and Sayles.

1*. Zg.Mo.606 – *Arsalān Shāh + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
25mm, 3.10g



العادل
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين
بن ايوب
الملك
ابو بكر
بن مودود
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
نور الدنيا والدين
اتابك ارسلانشاه
بن زنكي
بن مسعود

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ست وستمائة

The above dinar mentions the Ayyubid, al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb (592-615h) the ruler of Syria and Egypt as well as Arsalān Shāh's name and title together with the Abbasid caliph's name, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622h). As mentioned before, Arsalān Shāh died in Rajab 607h and was succeeded by his son Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd.

Al-Malik al-Qāhir Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd II b. Arsalān Shāh (607-615h).



2*. Zg.Mo.607 – *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
28mm, 6.20g

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
الناصر لدين الله
أمير المؤمنين
العادل
الملك
بن مسعود
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
عز الدنيا
والدين أتابك
مسعود
شاه بن
أرسلان بن

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة سبع وستمائة

It was customary to seek the caliph's approval whenever a new ruler was inaugurated and, thus, Lū'lū' obtained the caliph al-Nāṣir's approval for Mas'ūd's succession and, in view of Mas'ūd's youth and illness, Lū'lū' was nominated as his administrator. On the above dinar, additionally, the caliph's title "al-Imām" is shown which usually only occurred on the coinage of Madinat al-Salām.



3*. Zg.Mo.608 – *Mas'ūd + Abu Bakr (al-'Ādil) + al-Nāṣir*
27mm, 5.93g.

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين
الملك
ابو بكر
ارسلان شاه
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
عز الدنيا
والدين اتابك
بن مسعود
مسعود بن

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ثمان وستمائة

4. Zg.Mo.609 - *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
27.5mm, 5.88g Hennequin CCXLI. As dinar no. (2) except for the date.



5*. Zg.Mo.610 - *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
28mm, 6.86g. As no. (2) except for the date.



6*. Zg.Mo.611 – *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
27mm, 6.31g. As no. (2) except for the date.



7*. Zg.Mo.612 - *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
27mm, 7.04g. As no. (2) except for the date.



8*. Zg.Mo.613 – *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
28mm, 5.94g. As no. (2) except for the date.



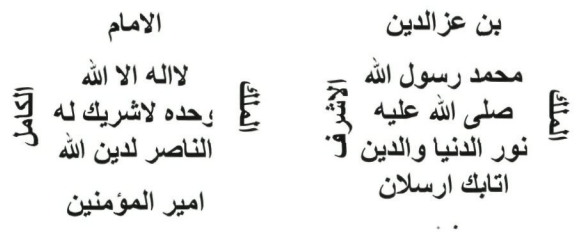
9*. Zg.Mo.614 – *Mas'ūd + al-'Ādil + al-Nāṣir*
28mm, 6.61g. Appears as no. (2) except for the date, with the name of Mas'ūd missing on the reverse.

The above show the variations of dinars which Mas'ūd minted. Despite the differing formats, they essentially carry the same information, This lasted until his death at the end of Rabī' Awwal 615h. The Caliph sent emissaries to Mosul offering condolences and confirming Mas'ūd's ten year old son Arsalān Shāh as his successor and maintaining Lū'lū' as his administrator.

Nūr al-Dīn Arsalān Shāh II b. Mas'ūd b. Arsalān Shāh I (615 – 616h)



10*. Zg.Mo.615 – *Arsalān Shāh II + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir*, 28mm, 7.12g



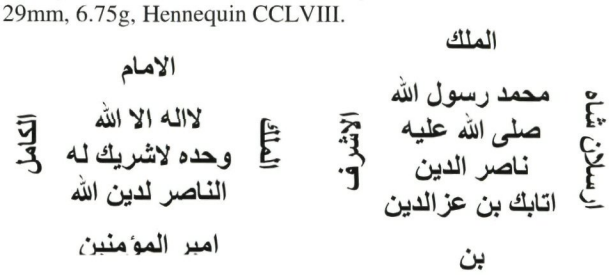
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة خمسة عشر وستمائة

Mas'ūd was succeeded by his sons, each of whom had been given areas to rule in his lifetime, e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammed in Egypt and al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, who ruled all areas of Jazirat Bani Omar and Miyafarqin. Therefore, Lū'lū' renewed his allegiances to these two kings, being the most powerful of the brothers. In fact, when Arsalān Shāh assumed power, his uncle Zengī objected and, with the help of Kukbari, occupied some citadels that belonged to Mosul. Lū'lū' resorted to al-Ashraf for help. Both Zangi and Kokburī were reprimanded and new terms of peace, witnessed by the caliph's emissaries, were dictated and Lū'lū' recovered what was taken from him,

After a short reign, the sickly Arsalān Shāh died in 616h and was succeeded by his three year old brother, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Again, Lū'lū' quickly obtained the caliph's approval for this succession as well as Lū'lū's role as administrator.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd II b. Arsalān Shāh I (616 – 631h)

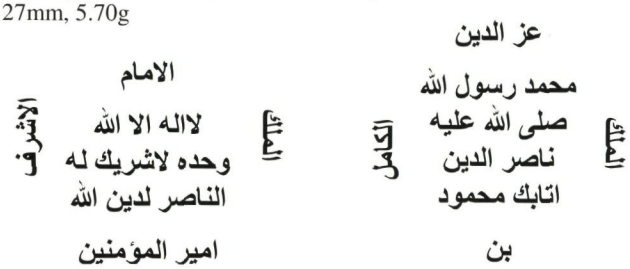
11. Zg.Mo.616 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir*
29mm, 6.75g, Hennequin CCLVIII.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ست عشرة وستمائة



12*. Zg.Mo.617 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir*
27mm, 5.70g

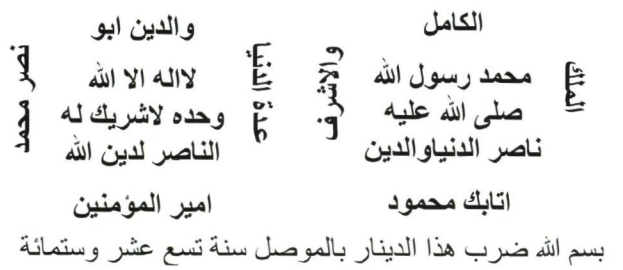


بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة سبعة عشر وستمائة

13. Zg.Mo.619A - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir*
27.5mm, 5.71g, Hennequin CCLIX. As no. (12) except for the date.



14*. Zg.Mo.619B - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kamil + al-Nāṣir + Abū Naṣr*, 29mm, 7.65g



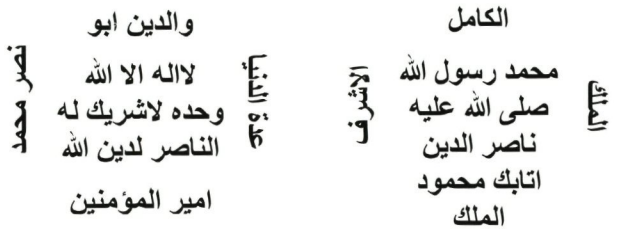
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة تسع عشر وستمائة



620h-A

15*. Zg.Mo.620A - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir + Abū Naṣr*, 28mm, 5.59g. As no. (14) except for the date.

16. Zg.Mo.620B – *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir + Abū Naṣr*. 29.5mm, 5.81g. Hennequin CCLXI.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة عشرين ووستمائة



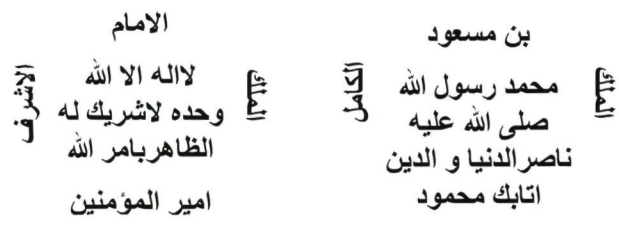
621h

17*. Zg.Mo.621 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Nāṣir + Abū Naṣr*, 27mm, 2.22g. As no. (14) except for the date.

The dinars of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd remained essentially the same as his predecessor in that it showed his alliances with the Ayyubid kings, al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil, together with the customary tribute to the Abbasid caliph, al-Nāṣir. However, from 619h, perhaps even a year earlier, the dinars additionally, and unusually, cited the name of the heir, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, who had been appointed in 585h and appeared on the Abbasid coinage of al-Nāṣir until 601h when his status was revoked. However, he was again re-instated as heir in 618h. It is reported that caliph al-Nāṣir, towards the end of his long reign, had become very ill and blind, in which case it is likely that the heir, Abū Naṣr, may have acted as the effective ruler and Lū'lū''s gesture of inscribing his name on the coinage of Mosul represented an early allegiance to him.

After forty-seven years, representing the longest reign of any Abbasid caliph, the caliph, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, died at the end of Ramaḍān 622h and was succeeded by his son, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, who became Caliph al-Ẓāhir bi Amr-Allāh (622-623h).

18. Zg.Mo.622 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Ẓāhir* 30mm, 4.87g, Kazan 1035.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة اثنتين وعشرين ووستمائة



623h-A

19*. Zg.Mo.623A - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Ẓāhir*. 28mm, 4.01g. As no.(18) except for the date.

There were essentially no changes in the format of the dinars of Mosul except substituting the name of the new caliph, al-Ẓāhir, for that of al-Nāṣir.

Al-Ẓāhir lasted only ten months as caliph and died in mid Rajab 623h, he was succeeded by his son, Abu-Ja'far, who became Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh.



623h-B

20*. Zg.Mo.623B - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*, 29mm, 4.20g.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ثلث وعشرين ووستمائة



624h

21*. Zg.Mo.624 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 27mm, 6.77g. As no.(20) except for the date.



626h-A

22*. Zg.Mo.626A - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*, 27.5mm, 10.35g.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ست وعشرين ووستمائة



626h-B

23*. Zg.Mo.626B - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*, 27mm, 6.92g. As no.(20) except for the date.



627h

24*. Zg.Mo.627 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 27.5mm, 4.56g. As no.(24) except for the date.



628h

25*. Zg.Mo.628 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 27mm, 6.10g. As no.(22) except for the date.



629h-A

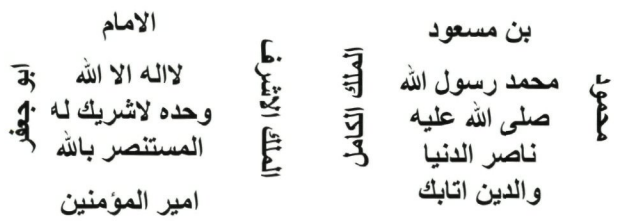
26*. Zg.Mo.629A - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*, 26.5mm, 6.67g. As no.(22) except for the date and "bin" is now before "Mas'ūd".



629h-B

27*. Zg.Mo.629B - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*, 28mm, 5.14g. As no.(20) except for the date.

28. Zg.Mo.629C - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir + Abū Ja'far*. 28mm, 6.02g, Hennequin CCLXVII.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة تسع عشرين وستمائة

Most unusually, the *kunya* of the caliph, al-Mustanṣir, which is Abū Ja'far, appears on the obverse of the above dinar, perhaps meant as extra flattery to the caliph as it was well known that Lū'lū', throughout his administration and rule, always tried to maintain excellent relations with the Abbasid caliphs. This appears to be a single year phenomenon.



630h

29*. Zg.Mo.630 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 24.5mm, 5.89g. As no.(26) except for the date.

As mentioned earlier, in an unprecedented move, Kokburī arrived in Baghdad in 630h and was granted audience with the caliph, who bestowed on him lavish titles and presents. Kokburī then bequeathed Irbil to the caliph after his death. In doing so, he perhaps sought the caliph's help to protect his grandchild, Maḥmūd, in Mosul, or even add Mosul to his territory, and thus deny Lū'lū' his ambitions. Kokburī died in Ramaḍān 630h and, after limited resistance, the Abbasid forces occupied and controlled Irbil.



631h

30*. Zg.Mo.631 - *Maḥmūd + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 28mm, 7.30g. As no.(26) except for the date.

When both Kokburī and Zangī died in 630, Lū'lū' saw the removal of both obstacles to replacing Maḥmūd, who simply vanished in 631, reputedly locked up in a room without food or water until his death. Maḥmūd's death marked the end of the Atabeg Zengid rule of Mosul.

Al-Malik al-Raḥīm Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū' (631 – 657h)

Although Lū'lū' declared himself the king of Mosul as soon as Maḥmūd disappeared, it is interesting to note that, while the copper coinage of Lū'lū' dated 631 is plentiful, dinars of 631 and 632 are virtually non-existent. Though copper coinage is considered a local issue not requiring caliphal approval for their production, gold dinars do. It is thus suggested that their abnormal absence may have been the result of caliphal disapproval of Lū'lū's acquisition of power by denying him, initially, the necessary approval to produce dinars. However, it is not until 633 that dinars of Lū'lū' appeared, signifying the reaching of an agreement with the caliph. After that, Lū'lū's dinars are readily available for most years until his death in 657. Moreover, it is noticeable that the early dinars are somewhat larger in diameter than earlier Zengīd issues in order to attract the attention of the populace to them and promote the new information that they announced.


633h

31*. Lu.Mo.633 - *Lū'lū' + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*
31.5mm, 8.33g.

الامام

لاالہ الا اللہ
وحدہ لاشریك لہ
المستنصر باللہ
امیر المؤمنین

الكامل

الملك

لولو

محمد رسول اللہ
صلی اللہ علیہ
بدر الدنیا
والدین اتابك

الاشرف

الملك

بسم اللہ ضرب ھذا الدینار بالموصل سنة ثلث و ثلثین ووستمائة


634h-A

32*. Lu.Mo.634A - *Lū'lū' + al-Ashraf + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*. 31mm, 4.84g. As no.(31) except for the date.

33. Lu.Mo.634B - *Lū'lū' + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*
28mm, 4.01g, Hennequin CCXCV, as no.(32) but without "al-Malik al-Ashraf.

34. Lu.Mo.635A - *Lū'lū' + al-Kāmil + al-Mustanṣir*
29.5mm, 4.37g, Hennequin CXCVI, similar to no.(33) except for the date.

Lū'lū' maintained his relationship with the Ayyubid kings. However, although the chronicles report the death of al-Malik al-Ashraf in Muḥarram 635, his name is omitted one year earlier, as on the dinar no.33. Either he actually died in 634 or he was weakened by illness, thus negating the need to include his name on the latter part of 634h, or the mint simply erroneously used the *obverse die of the previous year.*

In Rajab 635, al-Malik al-Kāmil also died and the loss of these two powerful Ayyubid kings at about the same time left a power vacuum, resulting in a struggle for supremacy in the Ayyubid house. Under these circumstances, Lū'lū' preferred to remain neutral without involving himself in the ensuing struggle between the various feuding Ayyubid princes and, hence, struck his subsequent dinars without any reference to an overlord, as can be seen on the following few issues.


635h-B

35*. Lu.Mo.635B - *Lū'lū' + al-Mustanṣir*, 32mm, 10.06g.

الامام

لاالہ الا اللہ
وحدہ لاشریك لہ
المستنصر باللہ
امیر المؤمنین

لو لو

محمد رسول اللہ
صلی اللہ علیہ
ركن الدنیا
والدین اتابك

بسم اللہ ضرب ھذا الدینار بالموصل سنة خمس وثلثین وستمائة

36*. Lu.Mo.636 - *Lū'lū' + al-Mustanṣir*
30mm, 8.06g, Hennequin CCXCVIIC, similar to no. (35) except for the date.


637h-A

37*. Lu.Mo.637A - *Lū'lū' + al-Mustanṣir*
30mm, 7.20g. As no. (35) except for the date.


637h-B

38*. Lu.Mo.637B - *Lū'lū' + Kaykhusrū + al-Mustanṣir*
28mm, 5.41g.

الامام

لاالہ الا اللہ
وحدہ لاشریك لہ
محمد رسول اللہ
المستنصر باللہ
امیر المؤمنین

ع

السلطان

الاعظم غیاث
الدنیا والد
ین كیخسرو
بدر الدنیا
والدین اتابك

بسم اللہ ضرب ھذا الدینار بالموصل سنة سبع وثلاثین وستمائة

The struggle for supremacy had necessarily weakened the Ayyubid house, perhaps even rendering them unsuitable for an alliance with Lū'lū', who needed a strong ally to thwart attempts of the Khwārizmshāhs to occupy Mosul. Thus, Lū'lū' formed a new alliance with the Rum Seljuk sultan, Kaykhusrī II (634-643h), and struck his dinars citing his name on the coinage, starting from 637. It is likely that the subsequent independent dinar (no. 40) of 638 is probably a mint error.


638h-A

39*. Lu.Mo.638A - *Lū'lū' + al-Mustanṣir*
29mm, 7.43g. As no.(35) except for the date.



40*. Lu.Mo.638B - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Mustanṣir*
27mm, 6.02g.

لو لو
السلطان غياث
الدنيا والد
ين كيخسرو
بدر الدنيا
والدين اتابك

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
محمد رسول الله
المستنصر بالله
امير المؤمنين

بسم الله ضر ب هذا الدينار بالمو صل سنة ثمان و ثلثين و ستمائة



41*. Lu.Mo.639 - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Mustanṣir*
31mm, 7.74g. As no.(40) except for the date, while the word "al-dīn" is engraved as a single word in the third line of the reverse.



42*. Lu.Mo.640 - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Musta'ṣim*
27mm, 7.23g.

لو لو
السلطان
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
بدر الدنيا
والدين اتابك

كيخسرو

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
المستعصم
بالله امير
المؤمنين

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة واربعين وستمائة



43*. Lu.Mo.641 - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Musta'ṣim*
28.5mm, 7.66g. As no.(42) except for the date.

لولو
السلطان
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
بدر الدنيا
والدين اتابك

كيخسرو

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
المستعصم بالله
امير المؤمنين

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة احدى واربعين وستمائة



44*. Lu.Mo.642A - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Musta'ṣim*
30mm, 6.97g. Same as no.(43) except for date and.... الدينار المبارك.....



45*. Lu.Mo.642B - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Musta'ṣim*
27mm, 6.84g.

لو لو
السلطان
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
ركن الدنيا
والدين اتابك

كيخسرو

الامام
لااله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
المستعصم بالله
امير المؤمنين

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة اثنتين واربعين وستمائة

It is reported that Lū'lū' adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Mongols, who started to appear on the scene around that time. He apparently established good relationships with them that included collecting dues on their behalf from the rulers of the minor principalities in the area; all this, presumably, in order to avoid their interference in Mosul. Perhaps this led him to describe some

of the dinars issued in 642 and 643 as "al-dīnār al-mubārak" – the blessed dinar!



643h-A

46*. Lu.Mo.643A - *Lū'lū'* + *Kaykhusrū* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 26mm, 5.29g. As no. (43) except for the date.

The Rum Seljuk armies were defeated by the Mongols in the battle of Kose Dag between Sivas and Erzinjan in 641 and the Rum sultan, Kaykhusrū, escaped and died a couple of years later. It is not clear why Lū'lū' continued to strike dinars in his name until 643.



643h-B

47*. Lu.Mo.643B - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 27.5mm, 5.67g. As no. (43) except for the date plus "al-dīnār al-mubārak" in the mint-date formula.



643h-C

48*. Lu.Mo.643C - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 27.5mm, 7.44g

الامام	لو لو
لااله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لاشريك له	صلى الله عليه
المستعصم بالله	ركن الدنيا
امير المؤمنين	والدين اتابك

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ثلث و اربعين وستمائة

With the Ayyubid house still feuding, the Rum Seljuks defeated by the Mongols and the Khwārizmshāhs also defeated by a combined regional army, Lū'lū' must have felt confident enough not to become anyone's subordinate and thus issued dinars without mentioning a protector.



644h

49*. Lu.Mo.644 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 28.5mm, 6.01g. As no. (48) except for the date.



645h

50*. Lu.Mo.645 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 28mm, 6.00g. As no. (48) except for the date.

51. Lu.Mo.646 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Malik al-Nāṣir* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 28.5mm, 5.43g, Hennequin CCCIV.

الامام	لو لو	
لااله الا الله	محمد رسول الله	الملك
وحده لاشريك له	صلى الله عليه	الناصر
المستعصم بالله	ركن الدنيا	
امير المؤمنين	والدين اتابك	

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ست و اربعين وستمائة

Meanwhile, the Ayyubid, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, the lord of Ḥalab, occupied Ḥims and posed a threat to Mosul. The above dinar cites al-Malik al-Nāṣir, suggesting that Lū'lū', in order to protect himself, had become his vassal. This corresponds with the chronicles, which indicate that Lū'lū' had the *khutba* in Mosul read in the name of the Ayyubid, al-Nāṣir.



647h

52*. Lu.Mo.647 – *Lū'lū'* + *al-Ṣaleh* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 27mm, 4.23g.

الامام	لو لو		
لااله الا الله	محمد رسول الله	نجم الدين ايوب	الملك الصالح
وحده لاشريك له	صلى الله عليه		
المستعصم بالله	ركن الدنيا		
امير المؤمنين	والدين اتابك		

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة سبع واربعين وستمائة

Al-Malik al-Ṣaleh, lord of Damascus and Egypt, was suspicious of al-Nāṣir's increasing powers and thus contacted Lū'lū' in order to help him raise a combined army against al-Nāṣir. The dinar above attests to this alliance as Lū'lū' appears to have dropped al-Nāṣir in favor of al-Ṣaleh. However, the campaign against al-Nāṣir failed. Moreover, it appears that the death of al-Ṣaleh in Sha'bān 647 and the subsequent take-over and control of Egypt by the Bahri Mamluks complicated matters for al-Nāṣir who, by now the lord of Damascus, was planning to raise an army in order to regain Egypt and thus he needed all the support he could muster. Therefore, it was probably not too difficult for Lū'lū' to reach an agreement by sending emissaries to al-Nāṣir, striking a deal and entering under his protection once again. Thus the following

dinars of Lū'lū' re-established the citing of al-Nāṣir on the coinage of Mosul and it remained so until the fall of Baghdad in 656.



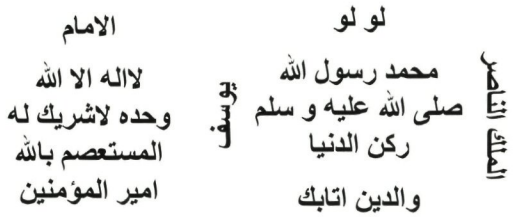
53*. Lu.Mo.648 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Musta'ṣim*, 26.5mm, 5.44g. As no. (48) except for the date.



54*. Lu.Mo.649 – *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 27.5mm, 4.72g. As no. (51) except for the date.

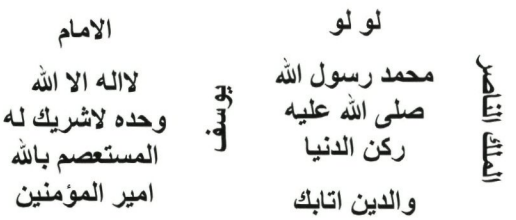


55*. Lu.Mo.650 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 27mm, 4.59g.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة خمسين وستمائة

56. Lu.Mo.651 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 26mm, 5.93g, Hennequin CCCVIIB.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة احد و خمسين وستمائة



57*. Lu.Mo.652 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf*+ *al-Musta'ṣim* 25.5mm, 5.04g. As no. (56) except for the date

Based on, what I think to be, a suspect reading by the late Dr al-Husaini of the date on a Lū'lū'id dinar in the Cairo Islamic Museum[4], probably mistaking a "six" for a "two", he concluded that Lū'lū' had struck dinars in the name of the Ilkhan, Minku, as early as 652h and omitting the name of the Abbasid caliph. This information had been accepted and referred to by several researchers, however, it is highly unlikely for the following reasons:-

1. It is unlikely that Lū'lū' would drop the name of the Abbasid caliph from whom he derived his legitimacy as a ruler, in favour of the Ilkhans at a time when they were still just raiding parties.
2. It is unlikely that Lū'lū' could have predicted that the Ilkhans[5] would, if they defeated the Abbasid armies, abolish the Abbasid dynasty as, at best, it would have been thought at the time that they would rule leaving religious matters to the caliph as earlier rulers such as the Buwayhids and the Seljuks had done.
3. It would have been very odd that Lū'lū' would produce such a dinar as a "one-off" when in the same year his dinars carried the names of the Abbasid caliph as well as that of the Ayyubid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, as he had done for every year from 649 to 656.



58*. Lu.Mo.653 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 27.5mm, 4.00g. As no. (55) except for the date



59*. Lu.Mo.654 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 29mm, 10.46g. As no. (56) except for the date



60*. Lu.Mo.655 - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 26mm, 3.19g. As no. (56) except for the date

61. Lu.Mo.656A - *Lū'lū'* + *al-Nāṣir Yūsuf* + *al-Musta'ṣim* 27mm, 5.31g, Hennequin CCCVIIIB. As no. (56) except for the date

When a Mongol attack on Baghdad became imminent, Lū'lū' preferred to remain neutral. However, Hūlāgū would not accept that and asked Lū'lū' to supply him with weapons. This probably gave Lū'lū' some access to Hūlāgū's camps, enabling him to pass

[4] The reference there is coin no. 7741/1. Perhaps a researcher could verify the reading there.

[5] It is reported that Hūlāgū's astrologers had warned him against fighting the Abbasid caliph.

some useful information and warnings to the Abbasids who, at the same time, asked Lū'lū' to send them some entertainers from Mosul.

As is known, the Abbasid caliph, contrary to good advice from his chief wazir, decided to adopt his military generals' views and challenge the Mongols on the battlefield. The Abbasid armies were defeated and Baghdad was besieged, ending disastrously for the Abbasids. When Baghdad fell to the Mongols in 14 Rajab 656, the caliph al-Musta'ṣim was murdered[6] and the Abbasid dynasty there was brought to an end.

During that battle, Lū'lū' dispatched a force from Mosul led by his son, Ismā'īl, who, it seems, marched rather slowly, reaching Baghdad after the fight was concluded. This led to Hūlāgū's accusation of Lū'lū' that he had deliberately ordered a slow march in order to join the winning side. Frightened, Lū'lū' hurriedly went to Hūlāgū in Hamadān at the end of Rajab 656h, carrying large amounts of valuable presents as well as his *kafan*[7] indicating that he was totally at Hūlāgū's mercy.



656h-B

62*. Lu.Mo.656B – *Lū'lū'* + *Minkū*, 27mm, 6.08g

لولو
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه واله
وسلم
بدر الدين
الملك الرحيم
منكـــو
قاان اعظم
خداوند عالم
بادشاه روي
زمين بند عظمته

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ست و خمسين وستمائة



657h-A

63*. Lu.Mo.657A♀ – *Lū'lū'* + *Minkū*, 23mm, 5.37g.

لولو
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه واله
ه سلم
بدر الدين
الملك الرحيم
منكـــو
قاان اعظم
خداوند عالم
بادشاه روي
زمين زيدت عظمته

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار المبارك بالموصل المحروسة سنة سبع و خمسين وستمائة

[6] The caliph as well as most of his family and high ranking officials were killed. Hūlāgū sent Lū'lū' the heads of a high ranking caliphal advisor, who was married to Lū'lū's daughter, and some of his friends to be hanged in Mosul. This terrified Lū'lū and he had no recourse but to oblige Hūlāgū.

[7] *Kafan* is the cloth or shroud that the dead body is wrapped with before burial.

Hūlāgū treated Lū'lū' well as an honoured guest, approving his sovereignty over Mosul and Lū'lū' returned home in Sha'bān 657. By this time, Lū'lū' was an old man in his mid-seventies and was alarmed and frightened at the size and strength of the Mongol armies. He died[8] shortly after and was succeeded in Mosul by his son, Ismā'īl .



(657h)-B

64*. Lu.Mo(657)B – *Lū'lū'* + *Minkū*, 23mm, 5.10g.

لولو
لا اله الا الله وحده
لا شريك له محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه واله و سلم
الملك الرحيم بدر الدين
الفضائل
سلطان
هو الله على كل شئ قدير
الاسلام ابو
منكـــو
قاان اعظم
خداوند عالم
بادشاه روي
زمين زيدت عظمته
الملك الرشيد...)؟

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار المبارك بالموصل المحروسة(سنة سبع و خمسين وستمائة)

Al-Malik al-Ṣaleh Ismā'īl b. Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū' (657 - 660h)



657h-C

65*. Lu.Mo.657C - *Ismā'īl* + *Minkū*, 25mm, 6.29g

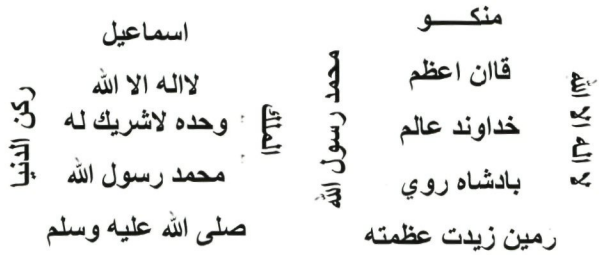
اسمعيل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وسلم
ركن الدين
الملك الصالح
منكـــو
قاان اعظم
خداوند عالم
بادشاه روي
زمين زيدت عظمته

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة سبع و خمسين وستمائة

It is to be noted that ,on Lū'lū''s dinars 62, 63 and 64, the words "و آله" appear on the obverse. This refers to the family or kinship of the Prophet Muḥammad and usually indicates that the dynasty, or the ruler at least, is of the Shiite Muslim sect. It had been reported that Lū'lū' was such, or at least had such inclinations, however, he had not publicised this during the Abbasid era out of respect to the Abbasid caliph, who was of the Sunni sect.

[8] The chronicles give differing dates for Lū'lū's death: it ranges from Sha'bān 656h, which is unlikely as dinars of Lū'lū' dated 657h exist, to Sha'bān 657h.

66. Lu.Mo.658A - *Ismā'īl + Minkū*, 27mm, 8.55g. Lane Poole Vol.IX no.595K.



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ثمان و خمسين وستمائة


658h-B

67*. Lu.Mo.658B - *Ismā'īl + Minkū*, 23mm, 3.84g.



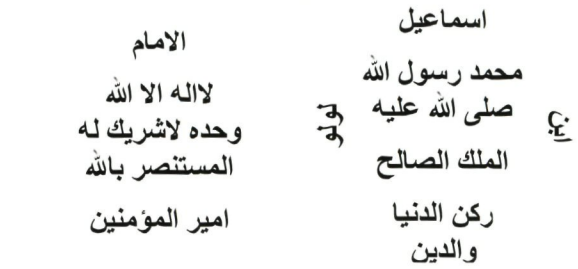
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ثمان و خمسين وستمائة

Initially, Ismā'īl continued to strike dinars similar in format to those struck in his father's time, paying allegiance to the Mongols. However, he was seeking opportunities to rid himself of their control. Ismā'īl went to Syria in Ṣafar 659 to visit his brother Isḥāq, who ruled Jejirat b. Omar then, presumably seeking alliances against the Monguls who had sustained losses in Syria. The following dinar no.68 must be the last that was struck by Ismā'īl , in which he pays allegiance to the Mongols.

68. Lu.Mo.659A – *Ismā'īl + Minkū*, 25mm, 6.14g
Seen by the author with a Middle Eastern dealer.
Same as no.(67) plus "وسلم" at the end of the 5th line.

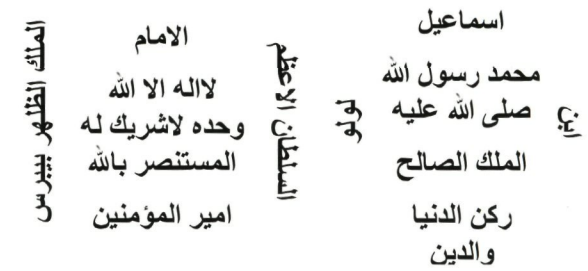
Ismā'īl and his brothers arrived in Cairo at around the same time as a descendant of the Abbasid caliphs, Aḥmed b. al-Ẓāhir, arrived in Egypt, which was then under Mamluk control. He was proclaimed caliph there in Rajab 659. By this time the power of the Mongols had dwindled as Hūlāgū reduced his forces in Syria and Iraq in anticipation of internal family feuding. This, together with Mamluk successes in driving the Mongols out of Syria, encouraged Ismā'īl to issue dinars citing the new Abbasid caliph who has become to be known as al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, an example of which is the dinar no.69.

69. Lu.Mo.659A – *Ismā'īl + al-Mustanṣir*
25mm,?g. Sotheby auction 28 April 82, Lot 130



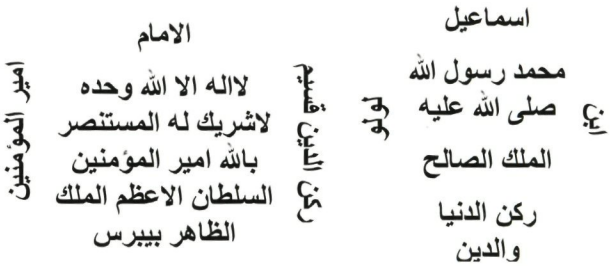
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة تسع وخمسين وستمائة

70. Lu.Mo.659B - *Ismā'īl + Baybars + al-Mustanṣir*
28mm, 5.48g, Sotheby auction 20 Oct 86, Lot 903



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة تسع وخمسين وستمائة

71. Lu.Mo.660 - *Ismā'īl + Baybars + al-Mustanṣir*
25mm, 3.73g, Sotheby auction 20 Oct 86, Lot 904



بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالموصل سنة ستين وستمائة

By now, Baybars had taken complete control of the Mamluks, forcing the new caliph to pronounce him Sultan, as well as a caliphal partner, in Ramaḍān 659. Baybars had, presumably, encouraged Ismā'īl to denounce his Mongol allegiances, promising him aid in liberating Mosul from the Mongols. Thus, the dinars nos.69, 70 and 71, issued in 659 and 660 were struck citing the Abbasid caliph in Egypt as well as al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Initially, Ismā'īl became part of a force that was formed to liberate Baghdad. This army had some successes against the Mongols in Syria, then Ismā'īl decided to go to Mosul and entered it in Dhu'l Hijja 659. Shortly thereafter, a significant Mongol force came to Mosul and laid siege in Muḥarram 660.

The anticipated help from the Mamluks never came and, after a seven months siege of the city and many negotiations, Ismā'īl surrendered in 15 Sha'bān 660, after promises of good treatment, however, he was captured and executed by Hūlāgū, thereby ending Lū'lū'id rule in Mosul.

In conclusion, the dinars of Lū'lū' suggest that he played a very significant and effective diplomatic game in order to maintain the security of Mosul, especially during his official rule of the city. His wise choice of differing alliances with the various powers at the time succeeded not only in thwarting the greed of his immediate neighbours but also increased the territory of Mosul. Moreover, he was a contemporary of four Abbasid caliphs, with all of whom he maintained a very good relationship. In his time, art and craftsmanship flourished in Mosul. He was described by contemporary historians as being a very wise and just ruler. His

son, Ismā'īl, was not as successful and he lost Mosul to the Mongols shortly after assuming power.

Acknowledgements
Thanks go to Zaid Mohammed Ali for working on and arranging the images in the acceptable format, to Robert Bracey for editing the article and as always to Stan Goron for making the final editing contributions

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A NEW MINT OF 'ALA AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KHWĀRIZMSHĀH

By A Grachev

Monetary circulation in central Asia before the Mongol invasion remains an understudied area. New evidence can significantly improve the picture of monetary circulation, the local economy, and improve the reconstruction of those years by historians.

In the present article the author describes several previously unpublished coins struck from the mints of Kāsān and Ma'din. The author reconstructs the historical events of the first half of the thirteenth century in Kāsān on the basis of this new numismatic data and hopes to initiate a discussion about the location of the Ma'aden mint.

Kāsān

In 2008-2009, the author was made aware of three coins of similar design originally described as Qarakhanid. Close study of the coins showed that the coins are silver-plated copper dirhams minted on behalf of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Tekesh, at the mint of Kāsān.

The first coin seen has the date AH 609. A search for similar coins in the literature brought no results, but on the internet portal www.zeno.ru a second coin, also described as a silver-plated copper dirham, was found, likewise minted in Kāsān, and with the date AH 615 (zeno # 45788). Some time later the author was shown a third coin in a private collection.

Description of the coins:

Kāsān, AH 609 (D =38, 36, 38mm; weight =7,9; 7,93; 7,95 gr.)

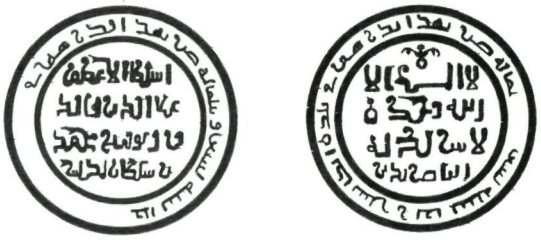


Fig 1. Drawing of the coin dated AH *609*

Obv.: In the field:

السطان الاعظم

علا الدنيا و الد

ين ابو الفتح محمد

ين لسطان تكش

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سكه بلده ابكاسان (?) سنه تسع وستمائه

Rev. In the field:

لا اله الا

الله و حده

لا شريك له

الناصرلدين

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم سكه بلده ابكاسان (?) سنه تسع وستمائه

Kāsān, AH 615 (D = 40mm, 39mm , weight =5,8gr., nd)

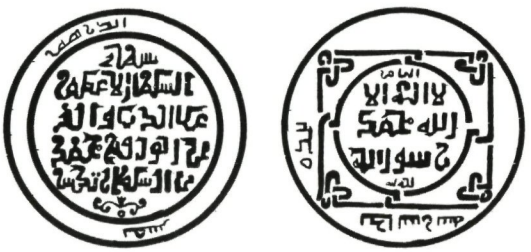


Fig 2. Drawing of the coin dated AH *615*

Obv. In the field:

لسطا نى

السطان الاعظم

علا الدنيا و الد

ين ابو الفتح محمد

ين لسطان تكش

Marginal legend:

...بهزا لدر ...حمسه ...

Rev. A circle encompassed by a square with ornate corners:

الناصر

الا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

لدين الله

Beneath the square:

...ضرب بهزا لدرهم سكه بلده ابكاسانسنه حم ...

The city of Kāsān in the Farghāna Valley is known from pre-Mongol times. Modern scholarship locates ancient settlement in the Namangan region in Uzbekistan, on the Kāsānsay river. Medieval chronicles from the 7th century indicate it was the headquarters of the Tuskish Khaqan. After the Arab conquest Kāsān gradually lost its pre-eminent position and its status as capital was eventually transferred to Akhsīkat.



Fig 3. Map of Kāsān and Akhsīkat

Once the Qarakhanids assumed power, Kāsān was again at the centre of political events. This led to an economic revival in the city, and, as a consequence, in AH 421 it began to issue coinage. In the second half of the twelfth century Kāsān became the capital of a small territory ruled by the khans of the Farghāna branch of the Qarakhanid dynasty. The coinage of this period is abundant, as indicated by hoards and single finds. As written information on events in Kāsān on the eve of the Mongol invasion is scarce, so coins have become the principle source for the chronology of local rulers.

At present for the early 13th century in Kāsān a coin of Ulugh Ṭughril Khān (whose coins have the *laqab* - "Muiz al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn") is known with the date AH 605, and his predecessor, Muḥammmad b. Naṣr, is known to have issued coins up to the year AH 598 [Kochnev 1997, p. 271]

In the period of the late Qarakhanids Kāsān was under the sway of the Qarakhitays (following the battle of Qatawan in AD 1141), and the governor of Kāsān paid a tribute to the Gurkhan as overlord [M. Biran 2005, p. 105]. It is known from YuanShi that the Qarakhitay *baskak* of Kāsān was a certain Ismā'il. When the Mongols invaded Turkestan, Ismā'il surrendered to them and later became a famous commander in the army of Genghis Khan [YuanShi, p. 222].

The coins presented above, minted on behalf of the Khwārizmshāh in AH 609 and AH 615 are very important for the chronology of events . After the defeat of the Qarakhitay by the Khwārizmshāh in AH 606 [Ibn Asir, p. 333-335] (Z. Bunyatov dates this event differently, to Rabi' I AH 607 [Bunijatov 1986, p. 75]), both a governor and *shihna* were appointed in all cities, up to Uzgend. This event is reflected in the minting of coins with two names from Uzgend in AH 607 [Davidovich, 1994, str.177-195]. Therefore, Kāsān was under the administration of Khwarizm from AH 607, and in all probability the Kāsān ruler was at this time a vassal of Khwarizm (as well as Qādir Khān in Uzgend). In AH 609, repressive measures were applied by the Khwārizmshāh and coins in Uzgend and Kāsān were issued only on behalf of Muḥammad b. Tekesh [Davidovich, 1994, str.190].

Returning to *baskak* Ismā'il, we can propose several versions of his reign in Kāsān. According to one version of events, Ismā'īl was in Kāsān until the conquest by the Khwarizmshāh and left with his troops in the service of the Mongols, no later than AH 607.

An alternative scenario assumes that Ismā'īl could have been *baskak* in Kāsān from 610 to 614. Quchlug conquered Uzgend and Kāsān in AH 610. The capture of these cities has been assumed from the minting of anonymous silver-plated dirhams in Uzgend with the title "Hanan-han", which V.N. Nastich identifies with the coinage of the Gurkhan under the control of Quchlug [Nastich 1998, p. 59-60]. Additionally, Ibn Asir's annals records the evacuation of people from the cities of Farghāna (including Kāsān) because of the conflict between the Khwārizmshāh and Quchlug Khān [Ibn Asir, p. 337]). In AH 614 the armies of Genghis Khan defeated Quchlug and, early the following year, Quchlug was killed in Badakhshān having fled from the Mongols [Rashid ad-Din, p. 183] (in the annals of an-Nasavi, Genghis Khan's victory over Quchlug is given an earlier date of AH 612). It seems likely that Kāsān was returned to the control of the Khwārizmshāh while Ismā'īl and his horsemen went to the Mongols. The return of Kāsān to the Khwārezmshāh's control is confirmed by the silver-plated dirham minted in Kāsān in AH 615 on behalf of 'Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh.

Ma'din

The coin was first published on Zeno.ru (# 69022) and later studied more closely by the present author.



Fig 4. Ma'aden, AH 611

The coin description:
Ma'din, AH 611 (D = 37 mm, weight =2.83 g)

Obv.: In the field:

السلطان

الا عظم

علا الد

Marginal legend:

ابمعدن سنه احدى عشر...

Rev. In the field:

نيا و الد ين

محمد بن السلطا

ن تكش

Marginal legend:

ابمعدن سنه احدى ع ...

Ma'din (also transcribed as: Ma'adan, Ma'den) is a new mint in Khwārizmshāh numismatics and there are some difficulties in relating this mint to any geographical location (city, region). One possible translation from Arabic for the word Ma'din is 'mine' and most likely this is a case of the coin being minted directly at the mine. Similar cases of coin production at the mines are known from the time of the Abbasids. Known abbasids dirhams include those minted in Ma'din Bajunays, Ma'din al-Shāsh mint and Samanid multidirhams minted at Ma'din.

The dirhams minted in the time of the Abbasids and Samanids were silver, which means the Ma'din mint(s) in question must have been located amongst silver mines. The dirham described in this article is copper, with traces of silver; therefore the location must be a copper mine. According to Ivanov's work on the history of mining in Central Asia [Ivanov 1932, p. 24], the copper mines in the Middle Ages were located in Ferghana (Kara-mazar mines located in the north of Khujand and mines in the valley of the Koh river), and in Shash (Koh-i-Manṣūr mines). In addition to copper, the Kara-mazar and Koh-i-Manṣūr mines actively extracted other metals, including silver, and could, therefore, have supplied material for the minting of these coins, including the process of silver-plating.

Since both these mines were located in the territory of the Khwārizmshāh they are both candidates for the Ma'din mint. A precise solution will only be possible after sufficient accumulation

of statistics on the finds of coins (including hoards) struck from this Ma'din mint.

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THE OTTOMAN SILVER COINS OF THE ṬARĀBLUS GHARB MINT IN THE NAME OF SULAYMĀN II

By Giorgi Janjgava and Irakli Paghava

The objective of this short paper is to publish a silver coin bearing the mint name Ṭarāblus Gharb (طرابلس غرب)[1] and dated AH 1099. This is the accession year for Sulaymān II, the Ottoman sultan (AH 1099-1102 AD 1687-1691) and the coin bears his name as well. To the best of our knowledge, no silver coinage of Ṭarāblus Gharb of this year has been published hitherto[2].

The coin is as follows:

AR (Billon?[3]), weight 1.36 g, size 18.6-19 mm, die axis 8:15. *Fig. 1.*

Obverse:

سلطان
سلمان خان
ابراهيم
بن خان
(سلطان سلمان خان بن ابراهيم خان)

Reverse:

ب
ضر ابلس
طر
ب
غر
في
١٠٩٩
(ضرب طرابلس غرب في ١٠٩٩)



Fig. 1 Ottoman Empire, Sulaymān II, AR (Bi), beşlik?, AH 1099. Weight 1.36 g, size 18.6-19 mm, die axis 8:15.

Based on the weight, the denomination is perhaps a *beşlik*, the piece of five, the standard one for the Ṭarāblus Gharb mint[4]. The accession date is engraved on the coin, so it could have been struck somewhat later on too, up to AH 1002, the last year of Sulaymān II's reign.

Taking into account the relative rarity of the Ṭarāblus Gharb coinage, it would not be inappropriate to publish two more specimens from this mint, of dates already known, that are also at our disposal (*Figs. 2-3*, metrology provided in the captions).



Fig. 2. Ottoman Empire, Mehmed IV, AR (Bi?), beşlik?, AH 1059. Weight 1.34 g, size 19.0-19.9 mm, die axis 11:30.



Fig. 3. Ottoman Empire, Mehmed IV, AR (Bi?), beşlik?, AH 1083. Weight 1.40 g, size 20.5-21.6 mm, die axis 10:30.

All three coins were purchased at the Libyan-Egyptian border and are now preserved in a private collection.

It is to be hoped that the publication of a previously unknown silver coin of Sulaymān II from the Ṭarāblus Gharb mint with the accession date will facilitate research on the monetary policy of the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Sulaymān II, as well as of the economical and political history of Libya.

Notes

1 Now Tripoli, the capital of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

2 Cf. *Srećković 2002:208-210; Schaendlinger 1973:114; Osmanliparalari 2009; Zeno 2009.* See also the note on the other coin of the "Tarābulus" (Gharb?) mint and bearing the name of Sulayman II and dated 1102 AH (*Schaendlinger 1973:114, 67-68*). Moreover, a picture of a very similar but yet another silver (billon?) piece in the name of Sulayman was presented at one of the online numismatic forums; unfortunately, the date on that coin seems to be effaced completely (*Coincommunity 2008: libya3.jpg & libya4.jpg files*).

3 No composition analysis could be performed.

4 *Srećković 2002:208-210.*

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A RUPEE OF ALLAHABAD STRUCK IN THE NAME OF AKBAR 'ADIL SHAH, A NEW MUGHAL EMPEROR FOR NUMISMATICS

By Jan Lingen & Paul Stevens

Introduction

An earlier paper[1] examined the operation of the mint at Allahabad following the ceding of the territory to the British by the Nawab Vizier of Awadh in 1801. Since that time another rupee of the Allahabad mint has come to our attention, and this coin appeared to contradict the information from the records of the EIC that had been used in the above-cited paper. Further investigation, reported in this paper, revealed that this coin was almost certainly not struck by the British at Allahabad, and other options for the authority responsible for issuing the coin were investigated. Having eliminated all the possibilities, one of us (Lingen) came up with the idea that this coin may have been issued in the name of a little known Mughal emperor to whom no coins have previously been attributed.

This paper is the story of the investigation that led to this exciting conclusion.

The coin



The coin was first mentioned by Dr Shailendra Bhandare from an example that he had acquired for the Ashmolean collection, and subsequently two examples were examined in private collections. These latter two coins (shown above), at least, appear to be from the same dies. The coin is also listed as KM 764 in the Krause catalogue. This may be from the Ashmolean coin.

The obverse legend reads:

sikka zad dar jahān ba fazl-i-alāh shāh 'ālam panāh akbar shāh

(Struck coin in the world by the grace of the almighty, the King and Refuge of the World, Akbar Shah)[4];

The reverse bears the standard legend with the mintname Allahabad and the regnal year *Ahd* (RY 1).

At first, the obverse legend was taken to be a reference to Muhammad Akbar II and the investigation focused on the possibilities of when, and by whom, a rupee could have been issued in the name of this Emperor.

The British and Allahabad

When the British acquired Allahabad in 1801 the mint does not appear to have been open, because it was re-opened, by the British, in 1802. Two types of rupee were issued, the Lucknow rupee and the Shumshari rupee, but in 1804 it was discovered that the coins had been debased and that the Collector, Richard Ahmuty, knew about this. He was dismissed from his post and the mint was closed in 1804 with the dies being sent to Calcutta.
Incidentally, we notice that the Krause catalogue assigns all Allahabad rupees with the regnal year 26, to the British. This is incorrect. Only coins showing AH dates of 1216 and later would fall under the authority of the EIC.

Muhammad Akbar II came to the throne in November 1806, following the death of his father, Shah 'Alam II. It seems extremely unlikely that the British would have authorised the striking of a new coin at their Allahabad mint, following the disastrous experience that they had had only two years before.

Furthermore, in April 1805, the Governor General had decided that a new rupee should be issued for the newly acquired territories and that this should be produced at Farrukhabad. The records state that the Governor General:

> *has determined on the immediate introduction of a new silver and copper currency, of an uniform weight and standard, into the provinces ceded by the Nawaub Vizier to the English East India Company, and into the conquered provinces in the Doab and on the right bank of the river Jumna, including the zillah of Bundlecund, to be denominated the Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun, struck at Farrukhabad, corresponding in weight and standard with the rupee at present struck at Lucknow, in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, and to select the town of Farrukhabad to be the place at which a mint shall be established for striking the new silver and copper coin to be established in the said provinces.*
>
> *I am further directed to acquaint you that His Excellency in Council has been pleased to appoint the Judge and Magistrate of zillah Farrukhabad for the time being, and the Agent or Acting Agent to the Governor General at Farrukhabad for the time being, to be a committee for the superintendence of the business of the mint at that station, and to appoint Mr Robert Blake to the joint offices of Mint and Assay master for the immediate conduct of the business of the mint at Farrukhabad, subject to the authority of the Mint Committee, above mentioned.*

So the idea of re-opening the Allahabad mint in 1806/07 seems even less likely. An official British issue from the Allahabad mint can therefore almost certainly be ruled out.

A Second Possibility

When the mint closed, the local workmen would have been dismissed but most of them would probably have remained in the area. They would have had all the skills necessary to produce a rupee in the name of the new emperor and perhaps they hoped to demonstrate their ability in the hope that the mint might be re-opened. They might have produced a few coins for this purpose but would have found their desires frustrated because of the plan to introduce the Farrukhabad rupee.

Against this argument is the fact that all the earlier rupees of Allahabad have a fish on the reverse and some have a sword on the obverse, whilst the Muhammad Akbar coin has neither of these. If the coin was produced by the old workers of the mint, one might expect elements of the old design to be present. Furthermore, the legend on the obverse of the coin differs from the standard legend of Muhammad Akbar II, and one might expect that the standard legend would have been copied. This possibility, therefore, also seems unlikely.

Muhammad Akbar's First Reign

In 2003, Shailendra Bhandare wrote a fascinating paper on the first reign of Muhammad Akbar II[2]. To briefly recap the background history: in 1788, the Rohilla chieftain, Ghulam Qadir, seized Dehli, deposed and blinded the Emperor, Shah 'Alam II, and raised Bidar Bakht to the throne. Subsequently, Ghulam Qadir replaced Bidar Bakht with Muhammad Akbar II, as his puppet

emperor, and rupees, *inter alia*, were struck in the name of this emperor at Shahjahanabad and Saharanpur. These coins show the regnal year *Ahd* and the hijri year 1202 or 1203.

The question then arises, could the rupee of Allahabad have been struck at this time?

Unfortunately the hijri date is not visible on the obverse of the known specimens, so we have to think about the political affiliations of the ruler of Allahabad, with Ghulam Qadir. In 1788, Allahabad was part of the territories of the Nawab Vizier of Awadh, and he had no love for Ghulam Qadir, so it seems unlikely that he would have authorised the issue of a coin in the name of this puppet emperor. Furthermore, why would he issue such a coin from only one of his mints?

A second observation that must weigh against this coin being issued during the first reign of Muhammad Akbar, is the different obverse legend. The known coins of this first reign have the legend:

sikka zad dar jahān ba fazl-i-alāh ḥāmī dīn muḥammad akbar shāh

(Struck coin the world by the grace of the Almighty, Defender of the Faith, Muhammad Akbar Shah);
or alternatively: *ḥāmī-i-dīn-muḥammad akbar shāh*
(Defender of the faith of Muhammad, Akbar Shah), different from the legend on the coin reported here.

So this third possibility also seems very unlikely.

Akbar 'Adil Shah

Having eliminated all the apparent possibilities for Muhammad Akbar II, the idea emerged that perhaps the Akbar Shah inscribed on the coins was not Muhammad Akbar II, and that perhaps another Akbar Shah, in whose name the coins had been struck, had existed. The search for this 'new' Akbar Shah revealed the following information:

Safdar Jang was the wazir (first minister) of the Moghul Emperor Ahmed Shah Bahadur[3]. In 1752 and early 1753 Safdar Jang, through a series of intrigues, succeeded in isolating the emperor so that only he and his supporters could gain access to the imperial presence. He then proceeded to abrogate to himself all the power and money to which he could gain access, at the same time ignoring all the needs of the empire. This obviously turned many of the nobles of the imperial court against him and on 26 March 1753 these nobles succeeded in removing Safdar Jang from Dehli. After some negotiation, Safdar Jang decided to re-establish his position by force and, on 9 May 1753, his troops plundered old Dehli. This was the start of a civil war that lasted until November.

Following the start of this war, on 13 May 1753, Ahmad Shah Bahadur dismissed Safdar Jang from his position as wazir and replaced him with another noble. Safdar Jang's removal from this important position, meant that he lost much of his power of patronage and he retaliated by raising a boy to the throne, claiming that this boy was the son of Kam Bakhsh, who was, in turn, son of the Emperor Aurangzeb. This puppet emperor was given the title Akbar 'Adil Shah (Akbar Shah the Just). Safdar Jang was then able to declare himself wazir once more, although this time as wazir to his own puppet emperor.

The war that followed was poorly executed on both sides. At first, Safdar Jang seemed to be in the ascendant, but after the arrival of the Rohillas, under Najib Khan, the imperial side gained the advantage. However, the emperor (Ahmad Shah) refused to take the necessary steps for the final defeat of Safdar Jang and the war rather faded out. This feud between Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang appears finally to have been resolved after the intervention of the Kachhawa ruler of Jaipur, Madho Singh, and the Jat, Suraj Mal. Agreement seems to have been reached by early November because, on 7 November 1753, Safdar Jang is reported to have begun to move away from Dehli and towards Awadh, of which he was the Nawab, initially with the puppet emperor in his entourage. At some point, he sent Akbar 'Adil Shah towards Agra in the charge of Amar Singh, one of his trusted retainers. What happened to the puppet emperor after this is not clear, but he disappears from the known records.

Safdar Jang died on 5 October 1754 at a place named Paparghat on the river Gomti, leaving his son, Shuja'-ud-Daula, as Nawab of Awadh.

This brief background history gives us a potential candidate for the 'Akbar Shah' found on the coins under discussion, namely the puppet emperor raised to the throne by Safdar Jang, and nominally ruling from 13 May to 5 November 1753 (AH 1166).

As has been mentioned, Safdar Jang was, *inter alia*, the Nawab of Awadh, and the subah of Allahabad had been added to his territory in 1748. At that time, Raja Nawal Rai was appointed deputy governor of Awadh and Allahabad but, after his death in 1751, two separate Naibs were appointed: Muhammad Quli Khan for Awadh and Ali Quli Khan for Allahabad.

Two mints were reasonably active within Safdar Jang's territory at the time of the civil war: Allahabad and Benares, with Benares under the control of Raja Balwant Singh. Having appointed a new emperor, it seems extremely likely that Safdar Jang would have wanted the mints under his control to issue coins in the name of this emperor, not in the name of Ahmad Shah, because the minting of coins was an important symbol of kingship.

The current coin under discussion would fit neatly into this picture, but there are one or two outstanding issues with this proposal that require further discussion.

Firstly, the name on the coin is inscribed as 'Akbar Shah' not 'Akbar 'Adil Shah' as he is named by the historians of the events of the time. However, it is not unusual for the name of the Emperor to appear on coins in a shortened form, so this does not pose a serious challenge to the attribution. Furthermore it is likely that the word *'adil* was removed because it would have been incompatible with the meter of the rhyming couplet. The couplet on Akbar Shah's coins is in the same meter as that of Ahmad Shah Bahadur[4]. Ahmad Shah's couplet runs:

sikka zad bar zar ba-fazl alāh
shāh-i-'ālam panāh aḥmad shāh

whilst that on Akbar Shah's coin goes:

sikka zad dar jahān ba-fazl alāh
shāh-i-'ālam panāh akbar shāh

The second outstanding issue concerns the mint of Benares. If this mint was under Safdar Jang's control, and was operational (which it was), surely this mint would have issued coins in the name of the new emperor? Further study of this point revealed that at this time the Raja of Benares, Raja Balwant Singh, was in fact in rebellion against his overlord, Safdar Jang, and it was not until after the civil war that Shuja'-ud-Daula regained control of this town[5]. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that coins were not issued from Benares in the name of the puppet emperor. This means that the only operational mint fully under the control of Safdar Jang was Allahabad, the mint name on the coins under discussion.

The third and final outstanding point is to address the question of whether or not coins exist in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur with the mintname Allahabad, issued during this period of civil war. If such coins were to exist, then our whole proposition would break down, because Safdar Jang would certainly not issue coins in the name of both Emperors.

Coins of Allahabad are known for 1166/6 (KM 446.4), but we need to determine how the regnal and hijri dates fit with the period under consideration.

AD Date		AH Date	Regnal Year
Mar-53		1166	6
Apr-53		1166	6
May-53	Civil War	1166	6
Jun-53	Civil War	1166	6
Jul-53	Civil War	1166	6
Aug-53	Civil War	1166	6
Sep-53	Civil War	1166	6
Oct-53	Civil War	1166	6

Nov-53	Civil War	1167	6
Dec-53		1167	6
Jan-54		1167	6
Feb-54		1167	6

The above table shows that coins could have been issued with the date 1166/6, in the name of Ahmad Shah, before the civil war started. Also coins dated 1167/6 (if they exist), could have been issued after the civil war. Altogether then, the dates do not really provide very much useful evidence one way or the other.

Conclusion

This rupee of Allahabad issued in the first year of an emperor named Akbar Shah is unlikely to be an official issue of Muhammad Akbar II, either from his first brief reign, or from the British after they acquired the mint. Nor is it likely to be an unofficial issue made by moneyers in Allahabad after the enthronement of Muhammad Akbar II in 1806/7.

This coin was issued, almost certainly, in the name of a puppet emperor, whom we have called Akbar 'Adil Shah, under the control of Safdar Jang, Nawab of Awadh, after the latter fell out with the emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur, in 1753.

Thus we believe that we have identified a coin issued in the name of a Mughal emperor, albeit an ephemeral puppet, not previously known to have issued coins.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Shailendra Bhandare for his enormous help in posing challenging ideas and making many helpful suggestions. Also Barry Tabor for reviewing various parts of the script and making many useful suggestions.

References

[1] Stevens PJE, (2006), *JONS* 188

[2] Bhandare S (2003), "Muhammad Akbar: A pawn in politics: the first reign", *ONS* 175, pp18-30

[3] The history recounted herein is taken largely from: Sarkar J (1964, 3rd edition) *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol 1 (1739-1754), chapter XI
See also: *The First Two Kings of Oudh*, by A.L. Srivatava, Lucknow 1933.

[4] Thanks to S. Bhandare for this.

[5] Qeyamuddin Ahmad, (1961), "An Historical Account of the Banaras Mint in the later Mughal Period, 1732-1776". *JNSI* Vol XXIII, pp198-215

COINS OF ĀQ QUSH, ATĀBEK OF BORŪJERD

A. Akopyan (Moscow), F. Mosanef (Tehran)

The coinage of the Irāqi Seljūq governors is an area of Islamic numismatics that is yet to be fully investigated. This article concerns the previously unknown coins of Āq Qush,[1] atābek of Borūjerd, issued in the middle of the sixth century AH, and continues our work on the numismatics of the governors of the ᶜIrāqi Seljūqs.[2]

Both coins are made of pale gold with inscriptions in the relatively crude Kufic style, typical for the late Seljūq period.



Coin no. 1



Coin no. 2

The legends on the coins read as follows:

Coin no. 1 (dīnār, pale gold, weight 1.50 *g*)[3]:
Obverse –

لا اله الا الله
المقتفي لأمر الله
السلطان الاعظم
سنجر

margin of the obverce –

... مدينة بروجرد سنة ...

Reverse –

اقش
محمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
محمد بن محمود

Coin no. 2 (dīnār, pale gold, weight 1.40 *g*, diameter 20 *mm*)[4]:
Obverse –

الله
لا الـــــه الا
المستنجد بالله
امير المؤمنين

Reverse –

اقش
محمد رسول الله
السلطان الاعظم
سليمان بن محمد

As was common on the coinage of the ᶜIrāqi Seljūq governors, on these coins we see a full hierarchy of rulers: the ᶜAbbāsid caliph, the Great Seljūq sulṭān (till AH 552), the Seljūq sulṭān of ᶜIrāq and the Atābek himself. All are mentioned on coin no. 1 with the name of Āq Qush. Caliph al-Muqtafī ruled AH 530–555, while the last Great Seljūq sulṭān, Sanjar, ruled as an independent sulṭān and chief of the Seljūqs AH 511–552. The Seljūq sulṭān of ᶜIrāq, Muḥammad II, ruled AH 548–555. The citing of all these figures narrows the period of striking of this dīnār to AH 548–552. Coin no. 2 bears the names of caliph al-Mustanjid (AH 555–566) and the Seljūq sulṭān of ᶜIrāq, Sulaymān Shāh (AH 555–556), restricting striking of this dīnār to AH 555–556.

The manner of writing Āq Qush on the coins as اقش (*i.e.* اقـُش) is the same as known from the narrative sources, the *Rahat us-Sudur*,[5] *Zubdāt al-tavārīkh*,[6] and *Tārīkh-e Gozide*.[7] A non-Arabic name, it can also be written اقوش.[8]

Nāṣr al-Dīn Āq Qush (Ḥamdāllah Mostowfī refers to him as Āq Qush-e Qāymāz, اقش قايماز, *i.e.* son of Qāymāz)[9] was one of the most powerful atābeks of sulṭān Muḥammad II.

In AH 555, after the death of Muḥammad II, the most important atābeks, including Inānj, Muvaffaq Gurdbāz, Nāṣr al-Dīn Āq Qush, ᶜIzz al-Dīn Satmaz, and Ayāz, after consultation with other amīrs, invited sulṭān Sulaymān from Mawṣil. After

Sulaymān was crowned, he chose Arslān Shāh as crown prince at the behest of Eldigüz, his most powerful atābek.[10]

Sultān Sulaymān was known for his predilection for drinking, and his most intimate friends were his drinking companions, Satmaz and Āq Qush. After a short time, these two atābeks came into conflict with Gurdbāz over order in the sultān's court.[11]

His inability in affairs of state led to the arrest of sulṭān Sulaymān and the crowning of Arslān Shāh in Dhu al-Qiᶜdah of AH 556.[12] Atābek Āq Qush with other powerful atābeks (Inānj, Ibn al-Bāzdār, Āq Qush, Satmaz, and others) stood in opposition to Eldigüz.[13] They invited malik Muḥammad b. Ṭughril II Saljūq, who was in Fārs under the protection of atābek Sunqur Salghurid, and intended to enthrone him. But in a battle on the 9th of Shaᶜabān AH 556 they were defeated by the forces of Arslān Shāh.[14] This battle split the rebels. One part, under Inanj, fled. The other part, including Āq Qush, wrote a letter to Eldigüz and Arslān Shāh requesting forgiveness.[15]

Amīr Nāṣr al-Dīn Āq Qush passed away on the 21st of Dhu al-Qiᶜdah, AH 560 (30.IX.1165) in Hamadān.[16] After the death of Āq Qush, his son, Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, continued to rule in Borūjerd, and also ruled in Hamadān, which was given to him by Eldigüz in return for Ardabīl.[17] It is to be noted that Muḥammad b. Āq Qush was also known as Qarā Qush[18], which was possibly his clan name.[19]

Notes

[1] This name means 'white bird' in Turkic.

[2] Akopyan A., Mosanef F. *The Dīnārs of Amīrān, Atābek of Khūzestān* // Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society, 199 (2009), pp. 5–7; Akopyan A., Mosanef F. *The Dīnār of Hīsām al-Dīn Aydoghdī, Atābek of Khūzestān* // Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society, 201 (2009); Akopyan A., Mosanef F. *Billon Coinage of Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz (AH 531-571) and His Circle* // in the print.

[3] Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction No. 14, lot 411. Listed as "*Seljuq of Western Iran, Muhammad II (548-555h), Dinar, Madinat Burujird, date off flan*".

[4] In the private collection.

[5] Ar-Rawandi, *The Rahat us-Sudur wa Ayat-us-Surur*, Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal, Leyden–London, 1921, pp. 275, 277, 286, 291.

[6] Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Nāsr b. ᶜAlī Ḥusaynī, *Zubdāt al-tavārīkh,* Tehrān, SH 1380, p. 172; Ṣadr al-Dīn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawlat al-seljūqīyya*, translated by Z. Buniyatov, Moscow, 1980, Arabic text of manuscript on p. ١٨٤.

[7] Hamdāllah Mostowfī, *Tārīkh-e Gozide*, Tehrān, SH 1381, p. 172.

[8] *Akhbār al-dawlat al-seljūqīyya*, p. ١٩٨.

[9] *Tārīkh-e Gozide*, p. 459.

[10] *The Rahat us-Sudur wa Ayat-us-Surur*, p. 275, *Zubdāt al-tavārīkh*, pp. 169–170.

[11] *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq par Al-Boundari d'après Imad ad-Din al-Katib al-Isfahani*, texte arabe publie M. Houtsma, Leiden, 1889, pp. 289, 296.

[12] Ibn al-Āthīr, *Al-kāmal fī al-tārīkh,* al-Qāhira, AH 1348, vol. IX, p. 74

[13] *Zubdāt al-tavārīkh*, pp. 171–172.

[14] *Al-kāmal fī al-tārīkh*, vol. IX, p. 74.

[15] *The Rahat us-Sudur wa Ayat-us-Surur,* pp. 286–287; *Zubdāt al-tavārīkh*, p. 174.

[16] *The Rahat us-Sudur wa Ayat-us-Surur,* p. 278.

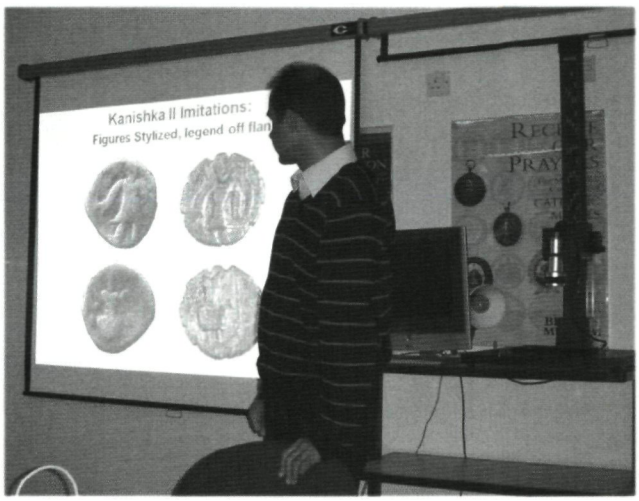
[17] *Akhbār al-dawlat al-seljūqīyya*, p. 137.

[18] This name means 'black bird' in Turkic

[19] Muḥammad Ibrahīm Khabisī, *Seljūqiyān va Ghūz dār Kirmān*, Tehrān, SH 1386, p. 432.

London Meeting 14 November 2009

A meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society was held in the study room of the British Museum's Coins & Medals department on Saturday 14 November. The meeting began with tea and biscuits before Nicholas Rhodes introduced the first speaker, Shailendra Bhandare, who gave a talk entitled "Heads under 'Hollow Crowns'". Shailendra spoke about the difficulties in historizing the Princely States and then went on to discuss the use of portraiture on coins and on medals. Princely States issued many medals and coins which featured portraits for a variety of functions, to commemorate events, jubilees, and inaugurations, but also to assert their identities and independence.



Gul Rahim Khan expounds on Kushan Copper Coins

Following the discussion, Gul Rahim Khan of Peshawar University gave a talk on "The Classification of the Copper Coins of Vasudeva and his Successors". The copper coinage of Vasudeva and the seven Kushan emperors who succeed him has proven difficult for previous scholars. This is because the coins often lack legends, are accompanied by a long series of imitations, and employ the same designs. The audience were given a detailed account showing how characteristics of dress, and occasional control marks could be used to attribute the coins to particular reigns. Gul Rahim even showed that some groups of copper coins could be attributed to the final two Kushan rulers, Shaka and Kipunadha, which had previously not been possible.

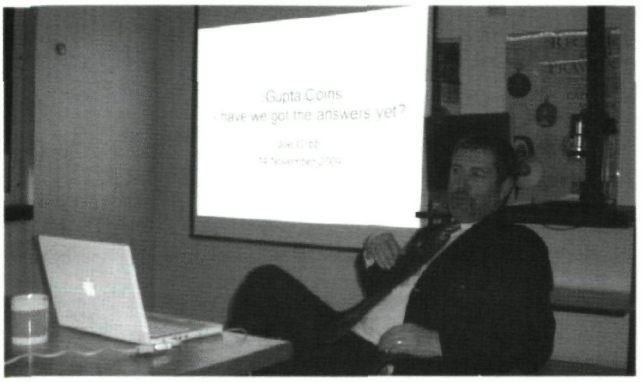
After the second talk Barbara Mears presented a gold coin which might be a pagoda of Travancore. There was a lively discussion on the difficulty of attributing some of these coins, and of interpreting sources such as Prinsep.



Members enraptured during the talks

The members then had lunch before returning to hear two more talks, the first by Danish Moin of the Nasik Institute on "Medieval Indian Coins and Khalifah of Islam". Muslim dynasties ruling in India were remote from the centre of the Islamic world and the current caliph. Some dynasts such as Iltutmish employed the name of the current caliph on their coins but in other cases the name of the caliph would become frozen, remaining on the coins long after the caliph's death. Some rulers replaced the current caliph entirely with the names of the four Great Caliphs.

The final talk of the day, "Gupta coins – have we got the answers yet?" by Joe Cribb looked at various problems in Gupta numismatics. As an example he looked at the question of coins attributed to Chandragupta I. Coins of Samudragupta have reverses copied from Kushan coins, including a control mark. Coins which feature his father copy from Samudragupta's coins, so in fact must have been commemorative in nature. However, this still leaves some coins which could be Chandragupta II or



Joe Cribb examining the problems of Gupta Numismatics

commemorative issues of Chandragupta I.

From the Editor

I am very grateful to Robert Bracey, the Assistant Editor, who put together this issue of the Journal so competently. This allowed me to have a rest from editorial duties apart from doing the final editing. I will be back in the editorial chair for the following issue while Robert will continue to assist, particularly with any articles on ancient series.

On behalf of all the ONS officers, I would like to wish you a very happy 2010 when it comes.

CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 201

ONS News – Report of Utrecht meeting, future ONS meetings and events	1
New members and revised addresses	4
New and recent publications	5
From Demetrios I to Demetrios III, the 'King of the Indians' by L M Wilson	6
Some additions to 'Indo-Greek Chronology' by Jens Jakobsen	9
Isvaradeva: a new Western Kshatrapa king by Pankaj Tandon	10
Λροοαcπο (*Lruvāspa*) Ae coin of Kanishka The Great: genuine or (ancient) forgery? by Hans Loeschner	12
A hoard of unpublished silver coins from the Baluchistan/Sind border, ca. late 7th – early 8th century AD by Alexander Fishman	13
The Umayyad fulus minted in the name of Marwen b. Muḥammad (the Deaf) in Georgia and elsewhere in South Caucasus by Irakli Paghava & Severian Tukia	19
The Dikhashkho Hoard of Georgian-Hulagid Christian dirhams: the preliminary results by Irakli Paghava, Roland Spanderashvili & Shalva Parkosadze	20
Georgian-Hulagid Christain dirhems by Michael Mitchiner	28
Dinars and history of Badr al-Dīn Lū'lū' of Mosul by Yahya Jafar	30
A new mint of 'Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh by A Grachev	41
The Ottoman silver coins of the Ṭarāblus Gharb mint in the name of Sulaymān II by Giorgi Janjgava & Irakli Paghava	43
A rupee of Allahabad struck in the name of Akbar 'Adil Shah, a new Mughal emperor for numismatics by Jan Lingen & Paul Stevens	43
Coins of Āq Qush, Atābek of Borūjerd by A. Akopyan and F. Mosanef	46
London ONS meeting 14 November 2009	47

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