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From the Editor

We cover a wide range of oriental numismatics in this issue, ranging from Indo-Greek bronzes and two new Hun kings, to a discovery in Akbar's copper coinage and several articles on British Indian coins. I thank members for their contributions and look forward to more submissions from members interested in presenting new areas of numismatic research.

Karan Singh

SECOND SPECIMEN OF A NEW COIN TYPE OF AMYNTAS, AND THE LEGENDS ON RECTANGULAR INDO-GREEK COINS

Heinz Gawlik and Aslam Zahid

A new type of bronze coin issued in the name of Indo-Greek king Amyntas (c. 95-90 BCE Boppearachchi, c. 80-65 BCE Senior) was published by Pankaj Tandon in *JONS* 231 in 2018. The design of this new type, depicting a female deity on obverse and a bull on reverse, is already known because it follows the design of a common bronze quadruple unit issued by Philoxenos. A second coin of the new type was offered in the Peshawar market in February 2019. The find spot was not revealed by the dealer. This

coin (Fig. 1) is not only the second specimen recorded of the new Amyntas type, but it also supports some of Tandon's conclusions.



Fig. 1. Amyntas *Æ* quadruple unit
8.51 g, 21.6 x 21.9 mm, 12h

Obverse: Female deity (city goddess) standing three-quarters left, holding cornucopia in left arm and a device like a crown in right hand; Greek legend on three sides: *BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ* (King Amyntas the Conqueror)
Reverse: Humped bull standing right with monogram below; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa jayadharasa Amitasa*



Fig. 40. Apollodotos I \AE quadruple unit, Bop Série 6, unlisted with single monogram

The square bronze coin of type Bob Série 6 issued by Apollodotos I is selected on purpose, because we have checked over 100 coins with the result that this type does not show any variation in the arrangement of legends. But as usual there is an exception: a single coin was found with a deviation (Fig. 41). The Greek legend of this coin differs because two letters are added. It is assumed that the engraver started to cut ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ first and continued ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ or ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ from the lower side of the die. Realising later that there would be a gap at the top, he closed it by adding a letter on each side.



Fig. 41. Apollodotos I \AE quadruple unit, Bop Série 6, unlisted variety ③

If this single coin with a deviation is left out of consideration than there is another type without variation in the legend arrangement. It is the common type of Eukratides I (Bop Série 19), a specimen of which was discussed already (Fig. 29).

Both Eukratides I and Apollodotos I extended and/ or consolidated their realm and issued a large number of coins, yet their mint masters were able to implement and maintain a steady quality in the production of some coin types.

Conclusion

The discovery of a second specimen of the newly-discovered type of Amyntas is significant, because it provides additional information as well as clarification of certain assumptions. On the other hand, some of the questions raised by Tandon remain unanswered. The new find confirms the unusual arrangement of the king's name, but it does not confirm the two anomalies – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΩΤΕ and low weight – observed on the first coin. The present specimen has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ engraved correctly and the weight of 8.51 g is very much in the range of 8.50 g for a quadruple unit. There is reason to believe that the coin is an official issue, rather than an unofficial issue as suggested by Jens Jakobssons (mentioned by Tandon).

The new bronze type of Amyntas with an unusual feature in the Greek legend remains special, but a closer look at the rectangular bronze coinage of Indo-Greek kings shows that such a variation in the arrangement of the legend is not unique. The two examples of Amyntas' type Bop Série 15 var. confirms that the special arrangement of the king's name is found on another type too. The four coins of the two types bear a comparable monogram, which means they have probably been minted in the same place.

The selection of different rectangular coins listed in this paper show several varieties with respect to the Greek and Kharoshthi legends. The variation in the arrangement of legends on coins of the same type might be a reflection of the freedom in craftsmanship and/ or responsibility granted to a mint master/ supervisor or even to an engraver. On the other hand, it might be just a lack of supervision and quality assurance.

A reasonable answer is still missing to the question: why do two common series of a type issued by the same king and marked by JONS Vol. 237, Autumn 2019

monograms of the same location differ significantly in the number of variations? A further examination is required once sufficient material is available to shed more light on this matter.

Abbreviations

BM id	British Museum identification number
Bop	Bopearachchi 1991
JONS	Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society
MIG	Mitchiner 1975
Obv.	Obverse
Rev.	Reverse
var.	variety

Sources of images

- ① Pankaj Tandon
- ② Marcos Xagoraris
- ③ CoinIndia.com
- ④ arscoinwien
- ⑤ Sphinx
- ⑥ NumisCorner
- ⑦ British Museum
- ⑧ Classical Numismatic Group, LLC (www.cngcoins.com)
- ⑨ romae-aternae
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- ⑫ Stephen Album Rare Coins
- ⑬ irantik.com
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TWO NEWLY-IDENTIFIED HUN KINGS AND A HOARD FROM PUSHKALAVATI

Pankaj Tandon

New Hun types and kings seem to keep turning up as more coins are discovered. In this brief paper, I present coins of two new kings identified from their copper coins. I also report on a hoard of Hun coins apparently found in Pushkalavati, the source of the coins of one of the newly-identified kings.

New king 1: Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha

Fig. 1 shows the first two known examples of a coin type of a new king whose name can be read on the coins as Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha. These coins were reportedly found in a place called Kabirwala some 45 km northeast of the city of Multan in south-central Punjab.



(a) #696.40: 2.41 g, 18-19 mm, 12h



(b) #696.41: 2.06 g, 16-17 mm, 12h

Fig. 1. Copper coins of Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha

Obverse: Bust of king right, apparently clean-shaven, wearing crenelated crown, drop pearl ear-ring and pearl necklace; Brahmi legend at right: *bagīcca* or *bagīkhkha*

Reverse: Lion couchant right, with prominent diadem end attached to necklace; dotted border around

The first two letters in the name are quite clear on both coins and can be read as *bagī*. This element of the name – *Baga* (god) – is well attested on many names and on coin legends. The third letter, a compound one, is less obvious. It seems to consist of two letters which repeat one another. I had read *cca*, yielding the name *bagīcca*, which can be compared to the name BAFIZO on an unpublished silver cup reported by Sims-Williams.¹ Sims-Williams suggested, in a private email, that the suffix could be seen as a diminutive modification of the first element. Harry Falk, in a private email, suggested *khca* for the third letter, although he acknowledged that it seemed quite unpronounceable. He compared it to the letters seen on a baked clay sealing in the collection of Aman ur Rahman (Fig. 2), which he had read as *khkhakhkhivah*.



Fig. 2. Baked clay sealing²

While the letter forms are slightly different, to me the *khkha* reading of the compound letter is attractive, which would yield the name *bagīkhkhkha*, although I am unsure what this might mean. I entertained the thought that perhaps there was a fourth letter, possibly *ra*, which might yield a somewhat more intelligible name such as *bagakhvara*,³ but the diacritic for the long *i* is very clear and *bagīkhvara* would not be so intelligible. In any case, there doesn't seem to be room for a fourth letter as that space is occupied by the king's (proper) left shoulder. Hopefully an example with a clearer legend will show up, although the problem may lie in the unfamiliar and unique letter forms.

Shailen Bhandare, with whom I exchanged a few emails about this coin, preferred to read the name as *Baśiṣṭha* or *Baśiccha*, both perhaps being versions of the well-known name *Vaśiṣṭha*. While this is tempting, I believe the second letter is indeed a *ga* and the diacritic on it is clearly a long *i*.

The lion on the reverse seems to have a diadem around its neck, as suggested by the prominent diadem end seen in the first coin. At JONS Vol. 237, Autumn 2019

first, I thought that element was a wing. However, winged lions had not been featured on any coins from this area in several centuries. A close examination revealed the “wing” to be composed of a highly geometric design, consistent with a diadem end rather than a wing.

In terms of who this king might be, the coins seem to be related to the Hunnic coins from Sind. The crown, in particular, seems to resemble the crown on the coins of Rānāditya Satya, an example of which is illustrated in Fig. 3.



Fig. 3. Gold coin of Rānāditya Satya⁴
6.86 g, 18 mm, 12h

The find spot of Kabirwala, near Multan, is close to the areas in which the Rānāditya Satya coins are found. However, the coins of the latter king have a round ornament above the crown, which the new coins appear to lack, although it is possible such an ornament maybe off their flans. The treatment of the shoulders and chest is also distinctly different, with the shoulders each being represented by roughly circular blobs and the chest consisting of two more blobs (representing perhaps the pectoral muscles). This treatment was used on coins of the Sasanian king Shapur III which were imitated by the Alchon Huns when they first arrived in Bactria in the mid-4th century CE. Fig. 4 illustrates such a coin. The jewellery on this coin also resembles that on our new coins.



Fig. 4. Silver drachm of the early Alchon Huns,
imitating coin of Shapur III⁵

The new coins do not carry any of the marks of the coins of the Alchon Huns, such as the lunar *tamgha* or the crescent crown ornament. It must therefore appear that the king did not belong to that tribe. His coins appear to fill a gap between the later Hun kings in Sind and the early Alchon; his date would therefore be somewhere during the middle of the 5th century.

New king 2: Khunva

Two copper coins from a hoard discovered in Pushkalavati (on which I report in detail in the next section) proved to be examples of a previously unknown type, illustrated in Fig. 5.

These two coins identify a king whose name I am reading as Khunva (or possibly Khuncha). Shailen Bhandare, in a private email, suggested Khundha and further speculated that, rather than being a name, this might refer to a place or something like a tax for which the money was used. In the context of the hoard, however, it is more likely to be a name.



Fig. 5. Copper coins of Khunva

The coins are not in good enough condition for a detailed description to be possible; in particular, we are unable to see the crown that the king is wearing. What we do see on the obverse is the bust of the king left, surrounded by a circular border of large beads, and a reverse consisting only of the Brāhmī legend *khunva*, surrounded again by a circular border of large beads. The visible beads make it quite clear that there are no additional letters in the name that are missing from the coins.

The circular borders of pellets on both sides, especially visible on the second, less attractive, coin in Fig. 5, connect the type closely with the copper coins of Toramāṇa, such as Göbl 120,⁶ and coins of Śruta and Vaysira, whose coins were also present in the hoard. Further, the hoard consists mostly of coins of Khīṅgila, further fixing its date to late in the 5th century. Thus Khunva is likely to have been a king in eastern Gandhara in the 5th century.

Although the similarity is remote, the name Khuncha calls to mind the Kidarite king Kunchas (properly, Kunkhas) mentioned by Priscus.⁷ Considering the late 5th century date for deposition of the hoard (to be argued below), the timing would indeed be right for this identification. The coins are very worn, so they had obviously circulated for some time before being deposited, and Kunkhas can be dated to c. 465 CE. The identification, however, seems highly unlikely albeit not impossible.

The Pushkalavati Hoard

As mentioned earlier, the Khunva coins were part of a hoard reported to have been found in the area of Pushkalavati. The hoard was found in a lidded bronze container hidden within a brick column. Fig. 6 shows a photo of the container as it was discovered, along with photos of the container itself as found and after cleaning.



(a) Container within brick column



(b) Container upon removal



(c) Container after cleaning



(d) Container and lid

Fig. 6. Lidded container in which the hoard was found

The container weighs a total of 316 g, with the bowl weighing 200 g and the lid 116 g. The dimensions of the bowl are as follows:

Bowl: 86 mm diameter, 43 mm height

Lid: 91 mm diameter, 25 mm height.

The metal is approximately 1 mm thick.

The hoard contained 145 copper coins. Including the two coins of Khunva, the group included the following:

- 115 coins of Khīṅgila (Göbl 54)
- 1 coin of “Tora” (Vondrovec GC-A 23)⁸
- 1 coin of Śruta (Vondrovec 125A)
- 2 coins of Vaysāra (Göbl 132)
- 2 coins of Khunva (unpublished)
- 12 coins with “ja” (Vondrovec GC-A 14)
- 12 coins unidentified

The following figures show examples of the Kñingila and “ja” coins, along with the other identifiable coins. Where warranted, I discuss the coins briefly.



Fig. 7a. Kñingila coin (Göbl 54)
(0.91 g, 11-12 mm, 2h)



Fig. 7b. Kñingila coin (Göbl 54)
(0.67 g, 12-14 mm, 6h)

Fig. 7 shows two examples of the Kñingila coins, which are all of the same type. The coin in Fig. 7b appears to be overstruck on the same type, probably a correction of an earlier weak strike. As there is a large number of coins of this type in the hoard, it is possible to do a metrological analysis, which I will discuss below.



Fig. 8. Toramana (0.81 g, 11-12 mm)
(Vondrovec GC-A 23, p. 374)

Vondrovec was the first to publish a coin similar to that in Fig. 8, although he was able to see only the letter *to* in the left field. This example clearly shows the letter *ra* in the right field, confirming that the coin is an issue of Toramana, as suspected by Vondrovec. This coin seems to have a much smaller head than the coins published by Vondrovec.



Fig. 9. Śruta (1.57 g, 15 mm)
(Vondrovec 125A, p. 380)

Although coins of Śruta were known to Göbl (his types 124 and 125), the type illustrated in Fig. 9 was first published by Vondrovec. The Göbl types featured a full-length figure on the obverse and a rosette above the name on the reverse. The rosette, of course, connects closely to the copper types of Toramana; the presence of coins 8 and 9 in the same hoard again point to a link between the two kings. Unfortunately, it appears that the obverse of the coin has been tooled, thereby compromising the integrity of the portrait.



Fig. 10a. Vaysāra (0.68 g, 11 mm) (Göbl 132)



Fig. 10b. Vaysāra (0.41 g, 9 x 9 mm) (Göbl 132)

The two coins in Fig. 10 appear to be examples of Göbl 132, on which Göbl had read the name Vaysāra. The name of this king is a matter of much confusion, as the initial letter is sometimes *va* and sometimes *ba*, and the diacritic on the compound letter *ya* (denoting the sound *za*) is sometimes absent and, when present, has variously been read as a long *i* or a long *a*. Whatever his name, I have argued previously that his coins belong in what I call the Toramana series,⁹ and the presence of his coins in this hoard in conjunction with coins of Toramana and Śruta further strengthens this point.

Finally, Fig. 11 displays the best example of Vondrovec’s GC-A 14, of which there were twelve coins in the hoard. Vondrovec reads the letter *ja* at left and identifies the object at right to be a fly-whisk. Here, it looks more like the letter *ra* with a modifying diacritic, perhaps rendering *rī* and creating a legend *jarī*. Admittedly, none of the coins is in good enough condition to make a definitive reading possible.



Fig. 11. Coin with “ja” (0.67 g, 10 x 10 mm)
(Vondrovec GC-A 14, p. 281)

Metrology of the Kñingila coins

The large number of Kñingila coins in the hoard (115) makes it possible to consider the metrological properties of the coins. In particular, we could ask if the coins can suggest to us a possible weight standard to which they were minted. It turns out that there does not appear to be a weight standard at all. Figure 12 displays a histogram of the weights of the Kñingila coins.

Distribution of Weights

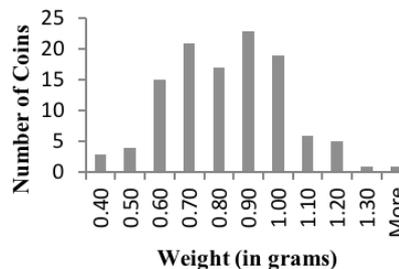


Fig. 12. Histogram of Kñingila coin weights in the hoard

The range of weights is 0.38 g to 1.38 g, and the average weight is 0.78 g. But the most interesting aspect of the weights is that the

distribution is almost uniform between the weights of 0.50 g and 1.00 g. Such a wide range is not consistent with a fixed weight standard.

There could be three likely explanations for this distribution:

1. The coins had no denominational value but were simply weighed during trade.
2. The coins were minted to a weight standard which changed over time.
3. The coins were a fiat currency with a nominal value well in excess of the bullion value.

I had assumed that the first explanation was the most likely one, despite the obvious inconvenience this would be for trade. However, on further consideration, it seems that the third is the most likely explanation. The second explanation is unlikely to be true, because, if the coins exchanged on par with one another, we would expect the heavier ones to be withdrawn from circulation in order to be melted down. With the third explanation, we would expect the heavier coins to be clipped in order to extract “extraneous” metal for sale, since a smaller, clipped version of the coin would still have the same value in the marketplace. Indeed we do see this in the coins. While coin 7b displays an expected circular shape (especially considering the design with its circular borders on both sides), coin 7a shows clear signs of clipping, both from its square shape and from the clear clipped edges. Figure 13 shows a representative sample of the coins and we see that almost all of them feature a square shape, suggesting that many have indeed been clipped.



Fig. 13. Representative sample of Khingila coins, showing their mostly square shape and clear signs of clipping

It might be argued that this is consistent also with the second explanation, that the weight standard changed over time. But, if that were the case, we would expect the coins to not only be clipped but for the heavier coins to be withdrawn. The fact that they were not suggests that the trade value of the coins was in excess of their metal value. The combination of a wide range of weights and the clipped edges is most consistent with the notion that the coins constituted a fiat currency. Considering that the Alchon may have been familiar with the Chinese practice, this theory does not seem too far-fetched.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Nicholas Sims-Williams, Harry Falk and Shailen Bhandare for their advice and suggestions on the legend readings.

References

1. Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2010, p. 39.
2. Aman ur Rahman and Harry Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhara*, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2011, number 16.01.09 (p. 169); photo courtesy Harry Falk.
3. Among the Pāratarājas, we have names such as *Bagamira* and *Mirahvara*, so *Bagakhvara* (an alternative spelling of *Bagahvara*) would be consistent. It would mean “the glory of god.”
4. CNG 100, Lot 198.

5. Tandon collection #375.1.

6. All references to Göbl are to Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1967.

7. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, Francis Cairns, Liverpool, 1983, p. 349.

8. All references to Vondrovec are to Klaus Vondrovec, *Catalogue of the Iranian Huns and their Successors from Bactria to Gandhara (4th to 8th century CE)*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2014.

9. Pankaj Tandon, ‘Notes on the Evolution of Alchon Coins’, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 216, Summer 2013, pp. 24-34.

A KUFIC GRAFFITO CITING AL-HAJJAJ?

Nikolaus Schindel

Graffiti are a recurrent phenomenon on coins throughout the ages. They are moderately common on late Sasanian silver coins, and have been already commented upon,¹ even if we still lack a comprehensive treatment. In my experience (having worked on quite a few Sasanian coins), in many cases it is difficult even to distinguish intentional graffiti from mere scratches. Only in rare cases is it possible to identify letters, or even words, with a sufficient degree of probability. Even finding out in which language a graffiti was written can be quite demanding a task.

As regards the present coin (Fig. 1), this last question at least can be answered with certainty: the graffiti is written in Kufic Arabic.



Fig. 1. Khusro I silver drachm AY (Eran-khwarrah-Shapur in Khuzistan). Regnal year 45. 3.87 g. 33 mm. 4 h. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett, Prokesch-Osten

Let us start, however, with the host coin. It is a silver drachm of the Sasanian king Khusro I (531-578 CE), struck in regnal year 45 (575/6 CE) at the mint of AY (Eran-khwarrah-Shapur in Khuzistan). Unsurprisingly, it bears the canonical type combination II/2 according to Göbl.² The drachm is not clipped; the broken part at 3 h easily explains the deviation from the ideal weight of ca. 4.15 g.³ The continued circulation of a coin more than a century after its production is not completely unusual, as is attested by coin hoards from the late Sasanian and early Islamic period.⁴

Now to the graffiti. It is placed on the obverse, roughly between 11 h and 10 h.

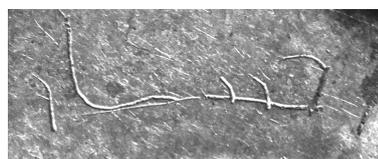


Fig. 2. Close-up of graffiti from Fig. 1