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archaeological, historical and numismatic contexts. The publication includes also several hoards and 'mini' hoards, a full catalogue in Latin and Arabic, plates and extensive bibliography. For more details please contact: Robert Kool, Curator Coin Department, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA)

To order a copy of the Journal please write to Harriet Menachem, Secretary, Israel Antiquities Authority, POB 586, Jerusalem, Israel.

- Beginning with its September 1999 issue, *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* (a scholarly journal focusing on the archaeology and art of Turkey and the Middle East) will include a numismatics section, including rare or interesting coin specimens from local and international collections (both private and public), fresh discoveries in the field, and notice of current publications.

Articles can focus on any period or area of Anatolian or Middle Eastern numismatics. They will be published in English and Turkish, and should be submitted on computer disk in Microsoft Word format with an accompanying hardcopy and black/white or color photographs or negatives.

The editors reserve the right to rework the content of any submission to ensure that it is editorially sound and conforms to the adopted style of the journal. Final copy, however, will only be printed with the approval of the author.

Inquiries and submissions should be directed to Brian Johnson and Oğuz Tekin at the following address:

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- *Akçes (Part 1) Orhan Gazi - Murad II, AD 699-848*, by Slobodan Srećković, 192 pages, plus 345 coins photos on 18 plates, and 1200 line drawings of 540 akçes in the text; 23 tables. 7 x 9½ inches, stiff paper cover. Limited edition, published by the author, Belgrade, 1999. \$65 (around £40).  
E-mail: srećkob@eunet.yu

More than a dozen years of intense research have gone into preparing this major work which will be in four volumes. The author has examined thousands of these intriguing Ottoman silver coins, in private and public collections and in his own remarkable collection. His meticulous drawings show every design and variety of the series. The coinage of each Ottoman sultan is explained according to historical evidence, with types of obverses and reverses and lists of recorded akçes in addition to rare ones, with photos.

The author has established a uniform system for cataloguing both published coins and those likely to be discovered in the future, a system which proved excellent in his first work about Ottoman coins minted in the territory of Yugoslavia (1987). The text is in English with the transcriptions of the coin legends in Turkish from the Arabic script. The various ways in which the mint-names are written on the coins of Mehmed Celebi and Murad II is a noteworthy portion of the text. Two maps are included plus lists of the numismatic and historical literature consulted. For the first time, in one book, all necessary information about akçe coinage up to AH 848 can be found, and early in the next year, part 2 will cover the period up to AH 918

Ken MacKenzie

- Bulletin 35-36 (1999) of the Turkish Numismatic Society has been published (ISSN 1302 - 3004). It contains the following articles:

*Karamanoğulları'nın Memluk sultanı Nasir Nasreddin Muhammed adına darpettikleri paralar (Karamanid coins struck in the name of the Mamluk sultan Nasir Nasreddin Muhammad)* by Yılmaz İzmirliler

*Aydinoğulları beyliği'nin kuruluş yıllarına ait gümüş sikkeler (Silver coins relating to the founding years of the Aydın state)* by Ali Sakar

*İlk defa bulunan bir darp yeri "Manavgat" (The mint-name "Manavgat" discovered for the first time)* by M. İskender Targaç

*Musa Çelebi'nin yayınlanmamış yeni tip bir akçesi (A new type of akçe of Musa Çelebi)* by Fikri Akdoğanlar

*Akches forged in 1565 at the Belgrade mint* by Slobodan Srećković

*Silber-prägungen sulaimani von Misr* by Ertekin Yenisey and Rolf Ehlert

*An İftihar medal of Mahmud II* by Kenneth M. MacKenzie

*Osmanlı arşivlerinde bulunan nişan imalât ve muhasebesine ait bir defter (An account-book found in the Ottoman archives concerning the accounts and production of military badges(?)* by Celil Ender

*"Suphi Paşa fabrikası" markaları (Tokens from the Suphi Paşa Factory)* by Tevfik Seno Arda

*Türk müzeciliğinin 150 yılında Ahmed Fethi Paşa ve bastırılan 150 yıl hatıra madalyonları (Medals struck to commemorate 150 years of Turkish museology and Ahmed Fethi Paşa)* by Doğu Mermerci

- Kerim Türkmen: *Eretna Beyliği sikkeleri (Coins of the Eretnids)*, Kayseri, 1995. 34 pages, 15 plates
- Edhem Eldem: *Osmanlı Bankası banknotları (Banknotes of the Ottoman Bank)*, Istanbul, 1998; 168 pages.
- Kenneth MacKenzie: *A bronze Roman coin overstruck at an Ottoman mint*, published in Dinar no. 12, July 1999 Belgrade. This deals with a coin of Constantine I overstruck at the Ottoman mint of Tire with ornamental designs on both sides.
- Wayne G. Sayles: *Ancient Coin Collecting, vol. VI*. This, the final volume of the series, introduces the coinage of such non-classical cultures as the Celts, Scythians, Huns, Kushans, Guptas, Persians, Parthians, Sasanians, Elymians, Sabaeans, Himyarites, Nabataeans, Armenians, Jews, Islamic Caliphates, Turkomans, Mongols and others. It is hard-bound, 208 pages, profusely illustrated and indexed. It includes glossaries, maps, tables and extensive bibliographies. It can also be signed by the author upon request. Price: \$24.95
- Elisabeth Puin: *Beobachtungen an den Silbermünzen des Mamlukensultans Aynāl (857/1453 - 865/1461), mit Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Balog*, in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 47, 1997, pp. 117-166.
- François Thierry: *Monnaies chinoises, I - L'antiquité préimpériale*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris 1997, 308 pp., 74 pl. ISBN 2-7177-1987-3.  
This is the first volume in the catalogue of Chinese coins and goes from the origins (cowries, spade money and knife money) until the unification in 221 BC. It catalogues 538 different coins. The second volume has now been written, comprising the coinage of the period 221 BC to 975 AD and should be published at the end of next year.
- Michael Mitchiner: *The land of water. Coinage and history of Bangladesh and later Arakan, circa 300 BC to the present day*. Hawkins Publications; distributed Spink and Son, London 2000, pp. 160, with over 350 coins catalogued and illustrated: valuations. Case bound.

Several major rivers draining from the Himalayas pass across

Bangladesh on their way to the Bay of Bengal. Prominent among these rivers are the Ganges, the Tista and the Brahmaputra. Much of this flat land is flooded by the annual monsoons and when the floodwaters recede, some of the drainage channels adopt new courses. Even the major rivers have changed their courses during the historical period and these changes have influenced the history of the region. The book is introduced by a discussion of the historical geography and some of the features observed by the author.

The main body of the book is divided into fourteen parts that cover the numismatic history of the region from the Mauryan period down to modern times. The pre-Islamic period, the period of the Bengal Sultanate and the post-Sultanate period (including Arakan) each receive about the same amount of coverage. Many of the pre-Islamic coins were observed in Bangladesh and an understanding of their provenances has led to a necessary revision in the classification of the several early coin series. The sections on the Bengal Sultanate present a survey of the series, with comments on the frequency with which the coins of individual sultans were observed. The relationships between Arakan and the Sultanate are discussed. Chittagong, whose importance as a port had been growing for some time, was the major commercial focus in the east following the fall of the Sultanate in the 16th century. The "Chittagong trade coinage" based on Bengali norms was minted in this semi-autonomous district during the period when Bengal, Tripura and Arakan each strove for possession. Arakan proved victorious and soon adopted distinctive local coinage. Most Arakanese coinage initially bore Persian inscriptions, was later trilingual, and latterly bore only Arakanese inscriptions after the Mughals had taken possession of Chittagong in the 17th century. Mughal coins, themselves, are rarely found in Bangladesh. Many Mughal coins were minted there, especially at Dhaka (Jahangirnagar), but the amount of tribute paid in silver by Bengal was so great that locally minted Mughal coins are more commonly found in the Delhi region. The important role of Bangladesh as an intermediary in the silver trade is a theme that permeates all periods of local history.

(From the author)

- *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Eds. Michael Alram and Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Vienna 1999, 498 pp. 35 plates, 8 maps; 29.7 x 21 cm; hardbound. ISBN 3-7001-2842-8. Price: 1498 Austrian Schilling; DM 205; SFr 182; available from Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, PO Box 471, Postgasse 7, A-1011 Vienna; tel ++43 1 51581/DW 401; fax ++43 1 515 81400; e-mail [verlag@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:verlag@oeaw.ac.at)

"This publication includes 24 articles by internationally acknowledged specialists in the fields of history, archaeology, art history, numismatics and philology. The articles are organised chronologically and methodologically, beginning with the Hellenistic period in Bactria and ending with the pre-Islamic and early Islamic cultures of Central Asia. The greatest number of articles deal with the Kushan and post-Kushan periods and problems of chronology from a variety of methodological perspectives. This volume represents a valuable scientific contribution to the cultural history of pre-Islamic Inner Asia and Northwest India and presents in every instance the most recent research in the various disciplines covered."

- **ABIA INDEX.** The ABIA project is an international network which compiles a bibliographic database, which will in future be accessible on-line, on publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology.

Extracts from the database are published in an annotated *ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index* annually. The International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden and Amsterdam, in collaboration with the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology (PGIAR) in Colombo, the SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA) in Bangkok, representatives in India and Indonesia and an ever-growing network of scholars from Bangladesh, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Russia and Singapore processes over

2,500 titles annually. Entries cover scholarly monographs, articles in monographs and periodicals, reviews and PhD dissertations that were published from 1996 onwards. Records are arranged geographically and according to subject interests that include pre- and protohistory, historical archaeology, ancient and modern art history, material culture, epigraphy, palaeography, numismatics and sigillography. Entries include key words and informative annotations. The printed bibliography also features review articles on recent contributions covering various themes in South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. Indexes on authors, geographical areas and subject interests facilitate searches in the printed bibliography. *ABIA Index* succeeds the renowned *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which dates back to the 1920s. The general editor is Prof. Karel R van Kooij (e-mail: [krvankooij@rullet.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:krvankooij@rullet.leidenuniv.nl)); the co-ordinating editor for South Asia is Dr Ellen M Raven (e-mail: [abiaraven@rullet.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:abiaraven@rullet.leidenuniv.nl)) and for Southeast Asia, Dr Cynthia Chou (e-mail: [abiachou@rullet.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:abiachou@rullet.leidenuniv.nl)). The Correspondence address is ABIA Index, c/o IAS, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands. Tel ++31 71 5272958; fax ++31 71 5274162; <http://ias.leidenuniv.nl/ias/research/abia/abia>

The ABIA Index Vol. 1 (ISBN 0-7103-0625) may be ordered from John Willey and Sons, Oldlands Way, Bognor Regis, West Sussex, PO22 9SA, UK; tel ++44 1243 779777; fax ++44 1243 820250; <http://demon.co.uk/keganpaul> The price (subject to change) is US\$ 161.50 for the USA and Canada, and £95 elsewhere.

- The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK are planning the publication of a *Sylloge of Islamic Coins* in the Ashmolean. Volumes envisaged at this stage are as follows:  
 Volume 1 - *The pre-reform coinage of the early Islamic period* - Arab-Sasanian, Arab-Hephthalite and Arab-Byzantine  
 Volume 2 - *Early post-reform coinage* - Umayyad precious metal and copper coinage, together with early 'Abbāsīd copper coinage.  
 Volume 3 - *Early 'Abbāsīd precious metal coinage (to 218 AH)*.  
 Volume 4 - *Later 'Abbāsīd precious metal coinage (from 219 AH)*.  
 Volume 5 - *The Islamic West to 1069 AH* - the coinage of al-Andalus and the Maghrib, excluding the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd issues.  
 Volume 6 - *The Egyptian dynasties* - The Ṭulūnids, Ikshīdids, Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks  
 Volume 7 - *The Nearer East to 656 AH* - Šaffārids, Ziyārīds, Buwayhīds (Buyīds), Ḥamdānīds, Kākwayhīds, 'Uqaylīds, Marwānīds, Great Seljuqs, Seljuqs of Rūm and the minor dynasties of the Caspian region and Armenia.  
 Volume 8 - *The Further East to 656 AH and later Central Asia* - Sāmānīds, Qarakhānīds, Ghaznavīds,  
 Khwārizmshāhs, Ghūrīds and related minor dynasties, Golden Horde, Girāy Khāns, Shaybānīds and Manghītts.  
 Volume 9 - *Later Iran: conage after the Mongol conquest* - Mongols, Ilkhāns, Tīmūrids, Šaffāvids, Qājārs, Durrānīs, Bārakzāys and related minor dynasties.  
 Volume 10 - *Arabia and East Africa*

The first volume of the *Sylloge* series (Volume Ten: *Arabia and East Africa*) has been written by Steve Album and is due to appear early next year. It comprises coins from the Heberden and Shamma collections. The more than 550 coins of Arabia include many important pieces, most of which are previously unpublished. The East African collection, though numbering just 180 coins, is nonetheless the most comprehensive collection ever assembled in one place. In keeping with the *sylloge* tradition, each coin is illustrated and fully described.

The cost of the volume is £35 plus postage: it is available

from the Publications Department, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford OX1 2PH, UK; phone: +44 (0)1865-278010; fax: +44 (0)1865-278018; e-mail: [dec.mccarthy@ashmus.ox.c.uk](mailto:dec.mccarthy@ashmus.ox.c.uk)

#### Lists Received

1. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA; tel ++1 310 326 8866; fax ++1 310 326 5618; e-mail [persic@msn.com](mailto:persic@msn.com)) list 48 (September 1999) of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.
2. Scott Semans (PO Box 22849, Seattle, WA 98122, USA; tel ++1 206 322 4180; fax ++1 206 322 9126; e-mail [SSemans@aol.com](mailto:SSemans@aol.com)) list 61 of coins of the world.
3. Randy Weir Numismatics Ltd. (PO Box 64577, Unionville, Ontario, Canada L3R 0M9; tel ++1 905 830 1588; fax ++1 905 830 1129) October 1999 price list of coins of the world, including oriental.
4. Monica Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; e-mail [robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk](mailto:robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk); <http://www.ewc.ndirect.co.uk/list.html>) list 14 of oriental coins.

#### Reviews

**The Coinage and History of Southern India, two volumes: Part One Karnataka - Andhra, Part Two Tamilnadu - Kerala**, by Michael Mitchiner, London (Hawkins Publications), 1998

282 + 280 pages, more than 1200 coins illustrated in text in each volume, Casebound, 304 x 215mm

£60 per volume (plus p & p)

South India is about as far off the beaten track as one can get in numismatics. The 19<sup>th</sup> century drive to publish the universal public collections in the West ran out of steam with the Satavahanas at best, and in India the catalogues of a few major dynasties, such as the Cholas and Vijayanagar, stand like islands in a sea of uncertainty. Nayaka coinage and much else besides lies in disarray in public and private trays. For more than a century the amateur collector has hobbled along, relying upon increasingly faded reprints of Elliot's 1886 *Coins of Southern India*.

Thus it is impossible to overestimate the importance of these Mitchiner volumes to South Indian numismatics. Literally hundreds of coins are given names and brought into order under one roof for the first time. 22 maps placed at the front of each book make navigation possible where many readers would find an alien political and geographical landscape. The books publish 2,400+ coins, with commentaries. All are presented in the standard, and excellent, photo-in-text Mitchiner format. Summaries of the histories of coin-issuing and non-coin-issuing dynasties are given, important primary sources are reproduced and discussed, different scripts are clearly tabulated, and a substantial bibliography is appended and referenced.

Those who have taken a previous interest in these series will take delight in finding so many puzzling pieces at last illustrated and named. Striking gems of information brought together include a convincing demonstration of the derivation of the *Viraraya* type, (originally a naturalistic lion/boar issue); also an explanation of the curious reverse of the ancient Malayaman coppers, (they are a map of the chief city, Tirucoilur, on the river Ponnaiyar, with the hills behind). More than a dozen major types of the Vijayanagar silver 'tara' coinage, virtually unknown 10 years back, are catalogued and discussed, along with hundreds of Nayaka pieces.

Previous authors have paid quite a lot of attention to the Roman silver and gold coins that turn up in South India. Separate importation of later Roman copper has been acknowledged, though less discussed. Dr Mitchiner however draws our attention to further imports, of what seems likely to be significant numbers of small ancient Greek coppers that once circulating in South India. These include not only Eastern Seleucid issues, but also such items as a tiny 11mm copper from Cos (MS2 #265). One possible explanation, offered in the text, is that they are small change lost from the purses of foreign traders, carried to India at the time of Western circulation. This is perhaps not the most plausible explanation however. Elsewhere Mitchiner notes the lack of copper mines in South India, making

copper an obvious item for foreign merchants to bring in trade. He also draws attention to the apparent use of unmarked small copper globules as a species of ancient 'bullion' currency in South India (MS2 13+). Is it not likely therefore that bulk heterogeneous lots of obsolete ancient coin were shipped to South India from the West? One may speculate that merchants may well have been able to gather up obsolete small coppers from Mediterranean scrap metal dealers, maybe at 5% or 10% below ingot price. In India, metal prefabricated into the kind of one gram lumps that passed as currency locally may well have fetched a premium, perhaps also 5% or 10%. Seeking out the extra 10% or 20% profit is exactly what makes the wheels of commerce turn. Thus attention might usefully be focused, not on losses of contemporary coins from purses, but on the importation of sacks of mixed obsolete small coppers, each a now lost paradise to the modern numismatist, shipped as scrap across the Indian Ocean, decades or even centuries after they had circulated in the West.

Regarding the Chola silver issues inscribed *Uttama Cholah*, (MS2 323+), Mitchiner follows Chattopadhyaya in attributing them to Uttama Chola, 973-85 AD, using epigraphic evidence. Elsewhere, Biddulph has suggested an alternative later attribution to Rajendra Chola, 1012-44 AD, as Mitchiner notes (MS2 p. 141). Numismatic evidence seems to support the alternative, Biddulph, attribution. The *Gangai Konda Cholah* issue (MS2 332+) attributed to Raja Raja, 985-1014 is surely always found in a rather pleasant silver alloy, on broad 20mm flans. Perhaps 20% of the *Uttama Cholah* issue were struck in the same superior fabric, but the residue was struck in less satisfactory alloy, on dumpier, 18mm flans. The overwhelming tendency is that coinage deteriorates with time, an observation which supports Biddulph's attribution of the *Uttama Cholah* issue to Rajendra Chola.

However it seems to me that these two points are small pebbles to bring to the mountain of erudition in the volumes under review. It also seems to me that Dr Mitchiner has received more than his fair share of unfair adverse comment during his already enormously productive numismatic career. Such criticism is often levelled by professional numismatists whose productivity comes nowhere near that of Mitchiner, and whose works are often difficult to use. By contrast, Mitchiner's catalogues are wonderfully serviceable, putting all the information together where the reader can get at it. Inevitably, given the pioneering ventures he undertakes, some of Mitchiner's interpretations stand the test and others fail. With such a lucid presentation, the reader gets ready access to both. All numismatic authors would be well advised to study how he sets out his material and aim to achieve the same clarity of style and presentation.

Hiding in these volumes is another tale, an adventure story. In 1993, 95 & 97, Mitchiner travelled thousands of miles through South India, visiting not just museums and institutes, but also collectors, scrap merchants, even the camps of destitute squatters digging in the river beds. Hundreds of fragments of information were saved from oblivion by these efforts. Nobody seems to have told him that such things are only done in old books, by remote Victorian heroes. I found reviewing these volumes a humbling experience.

Robert Tye

#### Mas'ūd al-Khwārezmī

In Newsletter 160 we published an article by Alexander Akin on the dating of the coins of this ruler. At the time of printing, no illustration was available. One has now been provided and the obverse is shown here, upside down, to make reading of the date in the margin easier.



### An Ayyūbid-Style Dirham of al-Ashraf Khalīl

By Warren C. Schultz, Department of History, DePaul University, Chicago

The usual dates for the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria that one encounters in the scholarship are 648-922/1250-1517, but most Mamlukists would agree that the real establisher of the Mamluk regime was the sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277). In terms of numismatic developments, this is certainly the case. Prior to his reign, Mamluk coins do not differ in appearance or style from those coins minted by their predecessors, the various Ayyūbid kings and princes. The coins of Baybars, however, are recognisably different. This is especially true of his silver dirhams. These coins lack the "square in a circle" or "six-pointed star in a circle" or "interlocking stars" formats so commonly seen on Ayyūbid dirhams. Instead they feature only several lines of legend (in *naskhi*). The basic appearance of silver coins minted in his reign were imitated by succeeding Mamluk sultans down to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. (The coins of Baybars and his sons, of course, also contain the possibly heraldic image of a feline. After their reigns, however, this feline image disappears from Mamluk dirhams.) Border designs, usually only a circular or multi-lobed line, sometimes of dots, are not a dominant aspect of these coins' appearance. They are often not seen on individual coins at all, as Mamluk dies were consistently larger than the flans they struck.

Thus the following coin appears as an oddity. Its legends clearly identify it as a dirham of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwun (689-693/1290-1293), yet its design—a square in a circle—resembles the Ayyūbid dirhams of thirty years and more before his reign. There is nothing on the coin to explain its retrograde appearance, nor has my perusal of the Mamluk chronicles as yet yielded any clues. No subsequent sultans repeated this design, at least according to the current numismatic record. We are thus left wondering why such a coin was struck. It is tempting to link this coin issue with the elimination of the last Crusader strongholds in 1291, but at this point, such a linkage is purely speculative.



The coin measures 20 x 23 mm, and weighs 2.98 g. The central coin legends are quite legible. Minus the decorative additions, they are reproduced here.

Obverse central legend: لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
ارسله بالهدى

*lā ilāh illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh, arsalahu bi-al-hudā*

Obverse marginal legend, starting with the top segment and moving counterclockwise:

..... | (بدمشق) | ..... | و تسعين | .....

*bi-dimashq..... wa tisa 'in*

Reverse Central Legend: السلطان الملك  
الاشرف صلاح الدنيا  
و الدين خليل ابن

*al-sultān al-malik, al-ashraf ṣalāh al-dunyā wa 'l dīn khalīl ibn*

Reverse marginal legend, starting with the top segment and moving counterclockwise:

المنصور | مولانا | ..... | الملك

*al-manṣūr mawlāna..... al-malik*

Following the numbering system found in Balog's *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1964), the type number of this coin should fall after 152. Unfortunately, both 152A (a silver coin of Hamah) and 152B (a mint-less copper coin) were utilised by Balog in his "Additions and Corrections" to his corpus (*Museum Notes* 16 [1970]: 131-171). To avoid inserting a silver type after a copper, which would violate the format of Balog's typology, I suggest a number of 151A. Such designation difficulties are unfortunately all too common in Mamluk numismatics, and highlight the need for a revised system capable of assimilating the discovery of new types.

I identified this coin while studying a hoard of Mamluk dirhams made available to me by Mr. Stephen Alburn of Santa Rosa, California, whose assistance and erudition are gratefully acknowledged. The coin is now preserved in the Forschungstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen, Germany (accession number 96-6-44). Other specimens of this type are known to exist. One came up for sale on a list of Galerie Anitiker Kunst (Simonian) in Hamburg in the late 1980s, and there are as many as two in private collections in Germany. (I am indebted to Lutz Ilich for this information.)

### A New Dirhem Type of Sultān Ismā'īl from Ṭrāblus By Fawzan Barrage



لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
ارسله بالهدى  
و دين الحق

*lā ilāh illā 'llāh  
muḥammad rasūl allāh  
arsalahu bi 'l hudā  
wa dīn al-ḥaqq*

ضرب بطرابلس  
السلطان الملك  
الصالح عماد الدنيا  
و الدين اسماعيل

*ḍuriba bi-ṭrāblus  
al-sultān al-malik  
al-ṣalīḥ 'imād al-dunyā  
wa 'l dīn ismā 'īl*

Among the coins found in the Mediterranean hoard<sup>1</sup> are two examples of a very distinct and as yet unpublished dirham type of al-Ṣalīḥ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl, minted in Ṭrāblus (Tripoli).

Balog in his work in 1964 (MSES)<sup>ii</sup> did not mention any coins of al-Ṣalīḥ from Ṭrāblus. In his additions and corrections 1970 MN # 16<sup>iii</sup>, Balog added a single dirham of al-Ṣalīḥ from Ṭrāblus (282B) and Mitchell<sup>iv</sup> in the same issue published a similar one (282C).

Several elements distinguish the coin at hand (henceforth 282D) from 282B and 282C, which are essentially identical.

282D has the mint name on the obverse whereas the other two show the mint name on the reverse. Furthermore, 282D shows an interesting symbol over the *sin* of *sulṭān* along with a 'sukun' visible over the *šād* of *šaliḥ* and a squiggle over the *ain* of 'imād. The trace of an annulet is also visible to the right of *ḍuriba* and it is assumed that a symmetrical annulet is to the left of *ṭrablus*, although it is off the flan.

Two different spellings of *Ismā'īl* are known on Mamluk coins. The first joins the *mīm* with the 'ain leaving a short 'a' to be assumed from the grammatical punctuation (also not showing), the other has a long 'a' sound and is spelled with an *alif* between the *mīm* and the 'ain. The 'ain in also calligraphically placed over the *mīm* and its tail intersects the *alif* before joining the *lām*. It is this later spelling that is used on both 282B and 282D. Mitchell assumes the earlier spelling on 282C, but since *Ismā'īl* is off the flan on 282C, and in the light of two dissimilar examples showing identical spellings from *Ṭrablus*, Mitchell's assumption should be revisited.

The reverse on each of the three dirhams is different. 282C is simple in its calligraphy. 282B has the added vertical 'fatha' over the *hā* of *ilāh* while the *rā* in *rasūl* is rotated to a near horizontal level. Both 282C and 282B have the mint name on the first line of the reverse.

The present dirham, 282D has the mint name on the obverse as we mentioned earlier. It is missing the vertical 'fatha' over the *hā*, and the *rā* in *rasūl* is more acutely angled. There is also a bird-like symbol over the *sin* of *arsalahu*, but this later element cannot be properly compared to the earlier two coins since the line is off the flan in both 282C and 282B.

Dirham 282D has no date showing. It measures 19 mm and weighs 2.23 gms.

<sup>i</sup> Fawzan Barrage and Warren Shultz, "A Hoard of Mamluk Dirhams from a Shipwreck, ca. 1347", Article forthcoming.

<sup>ii</sup> Paul Balog "The Coinage of The Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria" Numismatic Studies No. 12, The American Numismatic Society, New York 1964.

<sup>iii</sup> Paul Balog "The Coinage The Mamluk Sultans: Additions and Corrections, Museum Notes No. 16, The American Numismatic Society, New York 1970

<sup>iv</sup> Helen W. Mitchell, "Notes on Some Mamluk Dirhams", Museum Notes No. 16, The American Numismatic Society, New York 1970

#### A Hoard of Counterfeit Qarakhanid Dirhams from Tashkent By Michael Fedorov

In November 1998 Prof. Thomas S. Noonan asked my colleague Dr. Stefan Heidemann whether I would agree to look through the Central Asian section of a Catalogue of Muslim (AD 700-1100) dirham hoards deposited in Western Eurasia and whether I had information available about various unpublished dirham hoards from Central Asia. I was happy to assist.

Looking through my Bishkek archive, I came across information about a counterfeit qarakhanid dirham hoard from Tashkent. It was found on 15 August 1964 on the lands of the Insitute of Communications Service Engineers, not far from the Pobeda Park of Culture and Rest, at a depth of 1.5m while a trench was being dug. The hoards had been deposited in a glazed earthenware ewer. It was passed that same day to the Tashkent police headquarters and several days later a dozen coins and fragments were brought to the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Archaeology, where I was asked to identify them. I was also provided with data about the metal content of the coins. They contained 85% copper, 7% silver, some lead and other trace metals. Thus they were silver-washed copper, counterfeit dirhams. Real dirhams fo that time were subaerati (silver-plated) and contained about 50-60% silver. The counterfeits had been struck according to some genuine Qarakhanid prototypes.

When, eventually, I had the opportunity to study the whole hoard, I found that there were five types of coin in the hoard.

1. Mintname and date effaced. Diameter 23 mm. 1 coin

Obverse - in the field:

لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / جغرا [تكنين]

The mint-date formula forms a square on the sides of the Kalima:

بسم الله [ضر] / [بهذا الدرهم] / ...../.....

Reverse - within a circle: / [محمد رس]ول الله /

القادر بالله خان / [م]لك المشرق / عضد الدولة

Circular legend: .....ليظهره.....(Qur'an IX, 33)

2. Mintname and part of the date effaced. 4xx AH. Diameter 22-22.5 mm. 3 coins

Obverse - in the field:

لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / [جغرا ت]كنين

Mint-date as square:

بسم الله ضر / [بهذا الدرهم] / ...../.....[اربعمائة]

Reverse - within a circle: / محمد رسول الله /

القادر بالله خان / ملك المشرق / عضد الدولة

Circular legend (Qur'an IX, 33?): This type differs from type 1 in that the letter ن in the word خان Is transferred from the second to the third line.

3. (Tū)nkēt. (41)8/1027-1028. Diameter 23 mm. 1 coin.

Obverse - within double circle:

[جغرا] / لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له تين

Circular legend: ... هذا الدرهم [بتو]نكت سنة ثمان ...

Reverse - within a circle: / [محمد رسول الله] /

القادر بالله خان / ملك المشرق / عضد الدولة

Circular legend: (Qur'an IX, 33?)

4. Tūnkēt. Date has not survived. Fragment of a dirham.

Obverse - within double circle:

[جغرا] / لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / [تكنين]؟

Circular legend: ... م بتونكت ...

Reverse - within circle: / [الله؟ عضد الدولة]؟ /

[محمد] رسول الله / [القادر بالله خان] / [ن] ملك المشرق

Under the last line there is an arabesque.

Circular legend: ... و ذين الحق ... (Qur'an IX, 33)

The reverse of type 4 differs from the reverse of type 3 in that the letter ن in the word خان is transferred from the second to the third line and the *laqab* عضد الدولة is absent, or perhaps above the first line. Under the last line there is also an arabesque.

5. Mintname and date have not survived. Fragment of a dirham.

Obverse - Within a double circle, fragments of the Kalima written in three lines. Under the Kalima: [الدولة] which means that above the Kalima should be the word عضد. The circular legend has fragments of the mint/date formula.

Reverse - within a circle: / [محمد رسول

الله] / [القادر بالله] [خا] / [ن] ملك المشرق / جغرا [ا] تكنين

Central legend: (Qur'an IX, 33?)

The rest of the fragments are in a very poor state of preservation so that it is impossible to allocate them to any definite type. Although these dirhams are counterfeit, they bear interesting

information as they were based on authentic Qarakhānid prototypes.

The Khān Malik al-Mashriq mentioned on the coins of the hoard is Qādir Khān Yūsuf b. Bughra Khān Hārūn, the head of the Eastern Qarakhānids. On the coins minted in his capital Kāshghar his titles are: *naṣir al-daula qādir khān bin bughra khān khān malik al-mashriq yusuf*, the last word being written not in Arab but in Uighur script<sup>1</sup>. 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrā-teġin mentioned on the coins of the hoard was the Western Qarakhānid appanage ruler of Tūnket in Ilāq province (the valley of the Angren river in modern Tashkent oblast'). On the dirham of Tūnket struck in AH 405 he is called '*aḍud al-daula al-ḥusain jaghrā-teġin*. He appeared on the coins of Tūnket for the first time in 404-405/1013-15 as a vassal of the then head of the Western Qarakhānids, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, ie Aḥmad bin 'Alī. In 407-415/1016-25 he minted coins in Tūnket as vassal of the then head of the Western Qarakhānids Ārslān Khān Manṣūr bin 'Alī. After the death of Ārslān Khān in 415/1024-25, Jaghrā-teġin minted coins in Tūnket in 415-416/1024-26 as a vassal of the then head of the western Qarakhānids Tongha (Toghan) Khān Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup>.

In 416/1025-26, a war broke out between the Eastern and Western Qarakhānids. Qādir Khān Yūsuf had conquered from the Western Qarakhānids Balāsaghūn, Ṭarāz, Isbjāb, Farghāna, Khojand, Ilāq and Shāsh. Thus the coins from the Tashkent hoard show that in 418/1027-28, Jaghrā-teġin had changed his political orientation and become a vassal of Qādir Khān. It did not help him much as in 421/1030-31 it was the son and vassal of Qādir Khān Muḥammad bin Yūsuf who minted coins in Tūnket<sup>3</sup>.

Hoard of counterfeit dirhams are not unusual for 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century Central Asia. For instance, a small hoard (or part of it) consisting of 7 counterfeit Sāmānid dirhams of soft, greyish alloy, struck after dirhams of Manṣūr I bin Nūḥ (961-976) was kept in the Ashkabad History Museum of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences. A hoard of counterfeit, lead Sāmānid dirhams, based on dirhams of Nūḥ II bin Manṣūr (976-997), was found in 1940 at Afrasiab (the site of pre-Mongol Samarqand). A small hoard of counterfeit Sāmānid dirhams in a greyish alloy and based on coins of Manṣūr I bin Nūḥ and Nūḥ II bin Manṣūr, was found in 1961 in the suburbs of mediaeval Merv. In 1964, in Tashkent, a hoard of counterfeit silver-washed copper dirhams was found. These coins were based on the dirhams struck in Tūnket in AH 418 (the present hoard). In 1980, at the excavation of Ishkurgān (in the Parkent district of Tashkent oblast') a hoard of 16 counterfeit, silver-washed copper dirhams was found. These were based on dirhams struck in AH 400 at Shāsh and in AH 400 and 402 in Isbjāb<sup>4</sup>. It is interesting to note that the counterfeit dirhams of the Sāmānid period were made of soft, greyish, silver-like alloy, while, under the Qarakhānids, in the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, counterfeit dirhams were made of silver-washed copper. So a change in technique had taken place.

#### Notes

1. Kochnev, BD. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast'1), *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, 1995, p.225, Nr. 311; p.238, Nr. 482
2. Op.cit. p.231, Nr 394; p.229, Nr 368; p.236, Nr 458-462; p.240, Nr 509-513; p.242, Nr 536-537; p.243, Nr 559; p. 244, Nr 577-579; p.245, Nr 594; p. 247, Nr. 628-629; p.259, Nr 680
3. Fedorov, MN. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X - nachala XIII v. po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kirgizia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze, 1983, pp. 110-113
4. Kochnev, BD. "Zametki po srenevekovoii numizmatike Srednei Azii, Chast' 5 (Samanidy, Karakhanidy, Timuriydy)", *Istoriia Material'noi Kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 18, 1963, pp.215-223.

## Rare Qarakhānid Coins from the Collections of Bishkek

By Michael Fedorov

While acquainting myself with the collections of Bishkek antique dealers, I came across several rare and interesting Qarakhānid coins which were either previously unknown or mentioned in publications without full details.

1. Akhsīkat. 404/1013-14. Copper fals. Diameter 26 mm. Collection of V. Mardash.

Obverse - in the field: خاقان. Above and under it, arabesques resembling the bow of nomads.

Inner circular legend: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد الخ (Qur'an XXX, 3-4)

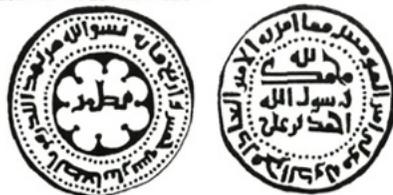
Outer circular legend: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس باخسيكت سنة اربع و اربع

Reverse - within a border of two solid circles with a beaded one inbetween: ابا داود. Above it, a crescent with its back pointing downwards. Within the crescent: لله.

Circular legend: مما امر به الامير السيد احمد بن علي...

Dirhams of Akhsīket<sup>1</sup> of AH 404 are well known (and several types at that). The coin published here is the first known fals of Akhsīket minted in that year. On this fals *khāqān aḥmad bin 'alī* (the overlord) is mentioned twice (obverse fields and reverse circular legend). *abā dā'ud* (the vassal) is mentioned in the reverse field. On the coins of this mint struck between AH 399-410 this *kunya* is met with only once. It certainly was not one of Aḥmad bin 'Alī as, according to numerous other coins, his *kunya* was *abū naṣr*.

2. Ṣaghāniyān. 405/1014-15. Copper fals. Diameter 27 mm. Collection of V. Koshevarov.



Obverse - octofoil with the word مظفر in the centre. Around the octofoil is a beaded circle.

Circular legend: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بالصغانيان سنة خمس و اربعمئة

Reverse - within beaded circle:

لله / محمد / رسول الله / احمد بن علي

Circular legend:

مما امر به الامير العادل فخر الدولة مولى امير المؤمنين

The first AH 405 Ṣaghāniyān fals was published by E.V. Rtveladze<sup>2</sup> in 1988. The fals published here is of a different type and the difference is a substantial one. On this coin three persons are mentioned: the overlord - Qarakhānid Aḥmad bin 'Alī (reverse field); vassal - Fakhr al-Daula (reverse circular legend after the formula *مما امر به*, which shows that Fakhr al-Daula was the immediate ruler of Ṣaghāniyān and coins there were minted by his authority); subvassal - Muzaffār (obverse field). On the coin published by Rtveladze, Aḥmad bin 'Alī was not mentioned and Fakhr al-Daula minted the coin as an independent ruler. In the reverse circular legend his full name was mentioned: Fakhr al-Daula Aḥmad bin Muḥammad. As for Muzaffār, he was quoted on that coin (obverse field) as vassal and not subvassal.

In 405/ 1014-15, the head of the Western Qarakhanids, Aḥmad bin 'Alī was waging (and losing) a war against his

brother Ārslān Khān Maṣṣūr. Judging by the coins minted at that time, he lost to Ārslān Khān Akhsīket and some other towns. Moreover, Aḥmad bin 'Alī was not the immediate neighbour of Ṣaghāniyān. So the ruler of Ṣaghāniyān took the opportunity to throw off allegiance to Aḥmad bin 'Alī and started to mint coins as an independent ruler. In the following year AH 406, however, he had to acknowledge Shams al-Daula Khān (i.e. the victorious Ārslān Khān Maṣṣūr bin 'Alī) as his overlord on the falūs minted in that same town.

E. V. Rtvcladze noted that the name and *laqab* of the ruler of Ṣaghāniyān (as well as his father's name) on the falūs of AH 405-406 (Fakhr al-Daula Aḥmad bin Muḥammad), coincided with those of Fakhr al-Daula abū'l Muzaḥfar Aḥmad bin Muḥammad, ruler of Ṣaghāniyān and patron of the famous Persian poet, Farrukhī<sup>3</sup>. Since the *kunya* of this ruler was *abū'l muzaḥfar* (Father of Muzaḥfar), the vassal Muzaḥfar mentioned on his coins must have been his son. This Muzaḥfar, sometimes with the Persian surname *kiyā* (hero, champion, lord etc), appeared for the first time on the coins of Ṣaghāniyān in 395/1004-05 as vassal of the Qarakhānids and disappeared from the coins after 406/1015-16. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad appeared on the coins of Ṣaghāniyān<sup>4</sup> as vassal of the Qarakhānids and as overlord of Muzaḥfar in 398/1007-08 and also disappeared after AH 406. For all that period, excluding only a part of AH 405, they were vassals of the three Qarakhānid brothers Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Aḥmad bin 'Alī, al-Mu'ayyad al-'Ādil İlek Naṣr bin 'Alī, and Shams al-Daula Ārslān Khān Maṣṣūr bin 'Alī. It is strange, though, that Muzaḥfar appeared on coins of Ṣaghāniyān as a vassal of the Qarakhānids in AH395-398, i.e. before Aḥmad bin Muḥammad, but, when Aḥmad appeared in AH 398 on coins of Ṣaghāniyān, Muzaḥfar was relegated to subvassal.

The hierarchy was as follows: the Qarakhānid supreme ruler was Khāqān Aḥmad bin 'Alī, the Qarakhānid immediate overlord was İlek bin 'Alī (the same person who conquered Bukhārā in 389/999, thus putting an end to the Sāmānid state and created in Mawarannahr a new Qarakhānid dominion); the ruler of Ṣaghāniyān was Aḥmad bin Muḥammad - he was vassal of the Qarakhānids and the immediate overlord of (his son?) Muzaḥfar. After İlek Khān died in AH 403, the rulers of Ṣaghāniyān were, up to AH 405, vassals of Khāqān Aḥmad bin 'Alī (the head of the Western Karakhānids), and, when Aḥmad bin 'Alī lost the war, they became vassals of the victorious Ārslān Khān Maṣṣūr bin 'Alī.

3. İlaq. 409/1018-19. Copper fals. Diameter 27 mm. Collection of V. Koshevarov.

Obverse - an equilateral triangle with three arabesques outside, each one crowning the triangle's vertex, and with three crescents outside, each one with its back adjacent to the centre of one of the triangle's sides. Inside each crescent there are three dots placed as a triangle. Within the triangle, in the middle of the field: **تکین / بو / ری** (also arranged in a triangular form). The circular legend is divided by the arabesques into three parts as follows:

بسم الله ضر / بهذا الفلوس / بإيلاق سنة تسع (sic!)

Reverse - within a border of solid (inner) and beaded circles:

ابو المظفر / ارسلان خان

Circular legend:

مما امر به الامير الخليل الملك العادل بوري تكين  
مولى امير المومنين

In the mint/date formula there is only the number **تسع** because there was no place for the rest of the date. But since Ārslān Khān Maṣṣūr bin 'Alī died in AH 415, the coin could

have been struck only in AH 409. According to his coins<sup>5</sup>, Būrī-tegīn, i.e. İbrāhīm son of İlek Naṣr bin 'Alī, was an appanage ruler of İlaq and vassal of his uncle, Ārslān Khān in AH 408-415. After the death of Ārslān Khān, Būrī-tegīn was captured and kept as a hostage. He managed to escape from the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand in 429/1037-38 and made his way to the Kumiji nomads whom he persuaded to help him. Having raised an army of 3000 horsemen, he eventually managed to capture the Ṣaghāniyān principality in AH 430 (as it happened, the ruler of Ṣaghāniyān had died leaving no heir to the throne). In AH 431, Būrī-tegīn İbrāhīm, with the help of Turkmen, attacked the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand and conquered from him Kesh and Samarqand. In AH 433, İbrāhīm conquered Bukhārā, accepted the lofty title of Tafghach Khān and became head of the Western Qarakhānids. He reigned until 460/1068<sup>6</sup>. The AH 409 fals of İlaq was mentioned by B.D. Kochnev but without a full description of the coin<sup>7</sup>. He also misread the reverse circular legend as:

الخليل الملك المنصور... مما امر به الامير

instead of:

مما امر به الامير الخليل الملك العادل بوري تكين مولى امير  
المومنين

4. Akhsīket. 43(4)/1042-43. Billon (silver-plated) dirham. Diameter 26.5 mm. Collection of S. Khranov.

Obverse - in the field: **عدل / لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له**  
Mint/date formula forms a square around the sides of the Kalima:

بسم الله ضر / بهذا الدرهم / باخسيكت سنة... ثلثين و اربع مائة

Reverse - within a double circle:

لله / محمد رسول الله / القائم بامر الله معز / الدولة ابو الفضل  
عباس / محمد

Circular legend: **محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ** (Qur'an LX,33)

Although the first digit of the date has not survived, the date ought to be 434. Mu'izz al-Daula minted coins in Akhsīket as an independent ruler in AH 430-433<sup>8</sup>. But those coins were of another type. The latest coin of Mu'izz al-Daula was minted in AH 434 in Kāsān<sup>9</sup>. After AH 434 he disappeared from the coins. In AH 435, according to Ibn al-Athir, the ruler of "all Farghāna" was Tongha Khān III, the brother of Qādir Khān<sup>10</sup>. The Varukh gorge inscription in Farghāna<sup>11</sup> mentions Mu'izz al-Daula as:

التكين الاجل السيد العالم العدل معز الدولة ارسلان تكين  
ابو الفضل العباس بن مؤيد العدل ايلك ابن الامير نصر بن علي

The inscription is dated Jumadā I AH 434 (December 1041). Mu'izz al-Daula was the grandson of İlek Naṣr bin 'Alī and the son of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad bin Naṣr<sup>12</sup>. He first appeared on the coins of Akhsīket in 417/1026-27, as a vassal of Tongha Khān and thereafter as an appanage ruler of either Akhsīket or Kāsān (sometimes both at the same time). He minted coins there either as a vassal or as an independent ruler. During that time his overlords were: the head of the Western Qarakhānids, Tongha Khān II (Akhsīket AH 417-418); the head of the Eastern Qarakhānids, Qādir Khān I Yūsuf bin Hārūn (Akhsīket AH 420, Kāsān 421-423); Qādir Khān II Sulaimān bin Hārūn (Akhsīket AH 426-428, Kāsān 427-429). In AH 430-434 he struck coins in Akhsīket and Kāsān as an independent ruler.

5. Barskhān. (44)1/1049-50. Copper-lead alloy dirham. Diameter 23-25 mm. Collection of A.M.Kamyshov.

Obverse - within a circle:

عماد / عدل / لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / الدولة

To the left and right of the Kalima there is a partly effaced vertical line.

Circular legend:

... بوسخا سنة / احدي ...

Reverse - within a circle:

له / محمد رسول الله / القائم بامر الله / الملك ارسلان / قرا خاقان

Circular legend: ... الهدى و دين الحق ليظهره ...

(*Qur'an LX,33*)

This coin was thus minted by the head of the Eastern Qarakhānids, Ārslān Khān Sulaimān, son of Qādir Khān I Yūsuf. Although only the **احدى** of the date has survived, the date can quite certainly be reconstructed as 441. Ārslān Khān came to power in AH 424; in 431 billon (silver-plated) dirhams were minted; in 451, Ārslān Khān had already been dead for two years<sup>13</sup>. Copper-lead alloy dirhams were minted in the Farghāna valley in AH 442-449 and in the Chū valley in 442-450. I know of billon (silver-plated) dirhams minted in Ūzkand in 442 and copper-lead alloy dirhams minted in Ūzkand, Marghīnān and Quz Ordū, which means that, in the Farghāna and Chū valleys, monetary reform took place in 442/1050-51. The dirham minted in Barskhān (on the shore of Issyk-Kul lake in modern Kirghizstan) in 441/1049-50 shows that monetary reform in the eastern part of Ārslān Khān's dominions took place somewhat earlier than in the western part.

6. Samarqand or Bukhārā. (48)9/1095-96. Billon (silver-plated) dirham. Diameter 25-27 mm. Collection of the author.

Obverse - in the field:

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / المستظهر بالله

Above the Kalima is a small ringlet. The mint/date formula forms a square around the sides of the Kalima:

بسم الله... / ... سنة تسع... / ... / اربع مئة

Reverse - within a double circle:

محمد رسول الله / المؤيد العدل / ارسلان خاقان / مسعود

On both sides of the legend in the field is an asterisk.

Circular legend: ... ليظهره على... (*Qur'an LX,33*)

On 18 Jumadā II 488 (26 June 1095) conspirators had killed the head of the Western Qarakhānid Khāqānate, Aḥmad bin Khiḍr Khān and put on the throne his first cousin Mas'ūd bin Muḥammad. Mas'ūd's reign was not long, however, as he died soon after, no later than 490/1096-97. According to mediaeval written sources, in AH 490, the Seljuq sultan, Barkiaruq, put a new Qarakhānid ruler on the Western Qarakhānid throne. So, despite the fact that only the "9" of the date has survived, the date can be reconstructed as 489. This coin is also significant because it provides us with the *laqab* (المؤيد العدل - *al-mu'ayyad al-'adl*) and the title (ارسلان خاقان - *ārslān khān*) of Mas'ūd bin Muḥammad, which were not previously known.

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## The Countermarks of Klapados, Lesbos

By H. Wilski



Fig. 1. This drawing is not taken from my book<sup>1</sup>, but is based on photos of the coins in Athens<sup>2</sup> with the countermarks in much better condition (enlarged x 1.5).



Fig. 2. The Greek countermark ΚΛΑΠΑ, Klapados, found on the obverse of 40 para coins (enlarged x 1.5).

پادا باو  
قلا ق

Fig. 3. The solution of the Klapada enigma (enlarged x 1.5)



Fig. 4. Photo of a 40 para coin 1255-19 AH with both countermarks from Klapados (actual size)

Ottoman copper coins of the 19th century are relatively often found countermarked. For most of these countermarks Greek letters were used. Some of them show symbols (stars, crosses etc.) only. Others show Arabic letters. The quality of style differs: sometimes the good style of calligraphy allows easy reading, in other cases the sequence of letters allows no easy deciphering. This is the case with the countermark shown in fig. 1. Until now just one specimen of this coin had been published<sup>1</sup>. The countermark is recorded as A 1-02 ("A" stands for "Arabic" and "I" stands for "illegible"). The countermark was discovered on the obverse of a 40 para coin of Sultan Abdülmeccid 1255-18 AH. The same coin bore the countermark G 18-13 "X/ΑΓ/(18)81 as well. All attempts to read the Ottoman countermark were fruitless so far. But now good luck has helped to clarify the situation.

In the National Historical Museum in Athens, Greece the collection of countermarked coins and paper money ("bilietā") of Hadziotis was shown in June 1996. This exhibition had been arranged by the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece and the Hellenic Numismatic Society<sup>2</sup>. Amongst the many countermarked coins shown, there were two 40 para copper coins from 1255-19 AH and 1277-4 AH resp., both countermarked on the obverse with A 1-02 and a second one, written with Greek capital letters and thus easily legible: ΚΛΑΠΑ, round in a circle, fig. 2. ΚΛΑΠΑ is certainly an abbreviation of ΚΛΑΠΑΔΟΣ, Klapados, the name of a small village on Lesbos, half way between Kalloni and Petra. Now it became obvious that the Ottoman countermark in Arabic script had the same meaning. It could be deciphered in the way as explained in fig. 3. The "Arabic" countermark reads "Klapada", the Ottoman-Turkish form of Klapados. The fact that the countermark A 1-02 is from Klapados supports the correct reading of the mark G 18-13 "X/ΑΓ/(18)81 Skalohori as well. At this point I would like to

bring to the attention of the reader that both countermarks discussed are found on the first coin mentioned in this paper. The village of Skalohori is situated just 12 km west of Klapados. As a well known rule different countermarks on the same coin often originate from neighbouring villages<sup>1</sup>.

Klapados was a small and very poor village of no importance. Axiotis<sup>3</sup> tells us that the inhabitants were Turks in the 19th century. These "Turks" were Greek by origin, but had adopted Islam, hoping that this move would change their fate and save them from a life of extreme poverty<sup>5</sup>. During the "time of countermarking" about 66 families lived in Klapados. In 1909 only 60 families were left. At the same time there was a mosque and a school in the village. Since Greek speaking Moslems lived in Klapados it is reasonable that countermarks were executed in both Greek and Arabic letters. The small number of inhabitants explains today's rarity of coins with these countermarks. And indeed the present author knows only one more coin with both countermarks from Klapados. It is again a 40 para coin 1277-4 AH with both marks on the obverse, which is in the collection of K. M. MacKenzie.

In spite of its economic insignificance Klapados became famous, the reason of which is: at the beginning of November 1912 the Greek flagship "Averoff" arrived in the waters of Lesbos. When the Greek troops started their invasion operation, the Turkish army retreated into the inner parts of the island. At the beginning of December 1912 the Turks were defeated in the battle of Klapados. With that, the Turkish rule over the island came to an end.

The existence of a Greek countermark of Klapados is already known for a long time. In the exhibition catalogue of the Benaki Museum from 1983<sup>4</sup> we find, under the title "Countermarked copper coins", a line "No. 306. Lesbos. Village of Klapados. 40 para." Since there was no illustration in the booklet and no further information available, this countermark could not be included in the countermark book of the present author<sup>1</sup>.

#### Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to the president of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, Mr. A. Tzamalīs for providing me with photos of the countermarked coins shown in the exhibition in Athens 1996. Without these photos it would have been impossible to decode the marks and to make correct drawings of both the Klapados countermarks. And again I have to thank Dr. G.-R. Poin, Universität des Saarlandes, for his kind help in the deciphering of the Turkish countermark. Finally I have to thank Mr. K.M. MacKenzie, Tenafly, N.J., for allowing me to study his countermarked coin.

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### Expanding the Diversity of Kosala/Kashi punch-marked coins

By Shinji Hirano

Punch-marked coinage is the first Indian coinage which provides an insight into the ancient world. The dating of these coins is controversial as the conventional view held by scholars is that early punch-marked coins were first introduced under the rule of local Janapadas (states) around 600 BC<sup>1,2</sup>, whereas an alternative view on the chronology was proposed by Cribb, who dated them as late as 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>3</sup>. As the controversy on this subject is beyond the scope of this report, I will not deal with it in detail. Here, I want to report on the diversity of Kosala/Kashi coins within the framework of conventional views.

Kosala and Kashi coins represent an early phase of punch-marked silver coinage of India before the era of the Mauryan Empire. They usually bear four punches whereas the Imperial Maghada coin have five. Kashi coins have two pairs of geometric marks or one pair plus two odd marks<sup>2</sup>. There are at least two classes of Kashi coins differentiated by weight and fabric: the earlier class consists of heavy half-satamana of about 5.8 g with thick flans ("Bhabua type"), while the later consisted of light

half-satamana of about 4.8 g with thin flans ("scyphate type")<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand, Kosala typically bear four marks including the well-known "Kosala mark" . Hardaker<sup>5</sup> established a classification system for Kosala coins in the early 90s (I refer to his his classification system in this report as H1, H2, etc.). He revealed that there are at least three series of Kosala coins. Series I contained three coin types with two pairs of geometric marks, though two of them lacked the typical "Kosala" mark. He concluded that they belong to the Kosala series as they have the "early geometric mark"  that appears along with "Kosala" marks in series II coins. Their weight is about 4.55 g. Series II coins have a pair of marks and two different marks with a weight of about 4.18 g. Some coins also lack "Kosala" marks. Series III coins have four different marks and a lighter weight. Since these three series have sequential connections based on the combination of marks, the classification has been widely accepted.

Kosala series I and II, however, seem to be similar and related to scyphate-type Kashi coins, which raises some questions about the attribution of these coins. Recently, Rajgor has referred to a third group of coins ("Vimshatika coins") which he suggests was the coinage in Kashi after its conquest by Kosala in 525 BC<sup>6</sup>. There is a big difference in chronological implications between Hardaker's and Rajgor's opinions: Hardaker concluded that series I is an early phase of Kosala coinage (i.e. before the invasion of Kashi by Kosala) whereas Rajgor claimed that the "Vimshatika coins" are Kashi coinage after the invasion by Kosala.

Recently, I came across some rare varieties of Kosala/Kashi punch-marked coinage. Among these, some coins are said to be a part of the Ghazipur Hoard (could be Saidpur, nos. 1-12). Ghazipur is located in the Ghazipur district and is in the territory of Kashi rather than that of Kosala.

The present collection of coins from the Ghazipur Hoard seems to represent Hardaker's series I and II or Rajgor's Vimshatika coins, but it also contains a small number of Hardaker's series III coins. Here I want to summarise the present collection of coins from the Ghazipur Hoard (new type 7:1, new type 1:6, New type 1 vari.:1, H1:1, H1 var.:1, H2:1, H3:2, new type 2:3, new type 3:1, H5 vari.:1, H4:1, H5 vari.:1, H7:1, H10:1, new type 5:3, H27:1, new type 6:1, not clear: 4). Many of the Ghazipur coins are worn-out and heavily counterstruck with small bankers' marks suggesting that they were in circulation for a rather long period. In addition, I also present similar "Vimshatika coins" from the market (Nos 13-16). Some of them bear Kosala marks as a countermark (Nos 13 and 14)<sup>10</sup>. I noticed three coins with Kosala countermarks out of a group of five coins (the frequency of mark seems to be high in this hoard), taken together, these coins reveal that there is more diversity in these Kosala/Kashi coins than previously reported.

Right now, it seems to be difficult to draw conclusions about the attribution and chronology of the Ghazipur coins. One possibility is that Kashi may have issued its own coins independently from Kosala even after the conquest and this hoard could have been buried after Kosala's invasion (after 525 BC, based on Rajgor's opinion). The second possibility is that Kosala coins could have circulated into the Kashi territory and that this hoard was buried before the invasion (before 525 BC, based on Hardaker's opinion). Four points may support the first possibility:

- 1) the present Ghazipur Hoard contains Kashi-like coins (such as new type 5),
- 2) the hoard is said to have been found in Kashi territory,
- 3) historically, Kosala created a vice-roy over Kashi after the invasion,
- 4) the countermark of Kosala on coins in another hoard may suggest these coins are Kashi coins which have been circulated in Kosala territory.

On the other hand, three points may support the second possibility:

- 1) "Vimshatika coins" are very different from the series III Kosala coins, which seems to be contemporary if Rajgor's opinion is right,
- 2) there was a parallel evolution of the early punch-marked coins in Kosala and Magadha<sup>5</sup>

3) there is a sequential connection for marks between series I to III<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Cribb argued that these coins were introduced at a much later period (after 350 BC)<sup>3,4</sup> He claimed that the continuity of these coins suggests that they were minted under one powerful authority (i.e. Magadha/Mauryan empire - [personal communication]). Taking the diversity of local punch-marked coins into consideration, however, some autonomy must have been needed to issue local coinage under the rule of the Magadha/Mauryan empire. If that is the case, the question remains as to how long and to what extent independence was maintained in local areas under the Magadha empire. More comprehensive study on hoard evidence will allow us to determine with greater certainty the attribution and chronology of this Kosala/Kashi coinage. Whatever the attribution, "Kosala/Kashi" coins show more complex diversity than previously thought.

#### Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Mr Terry Hardaker, Dr Dilip Rajgor, Mr Paul Murphy, and Mr Joe Cribb for their valuable comments and suggestions. Many new types of coins in the present report were also recognised by them. In the near future, a comprehensive analysis will appear in both text (D. Rajgor<sup>8</sup>) and a CD-ROM project (P. Murphy<sup>11</sup>), which may provide answers to the questions presented in this report.

#### Catalogue

Note 1: since the drawings of the punches were reproduced from the coins presented here, they do not represent complete forms of the original marks.

Note 2: the coin types marked by an asterisk were already recognised by the CD-ROM project.

Coin 1            New type 1\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
Marks 1 and 2 of H1 have a pentagon core with 5 arms. In contrast, the core of this coin has a hexagon with 6 arms. In addition, semicircles are seen between each arm. 4.67 g

Coin 2            New type 1 variation\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
This is a variation of coin 1. The marks 1 and 2 do not have a centre circle (see arrow). 4.72 g

Coin 3            New type 2\*  
This type does not have the "early" Kosala geometric mark. Marks 3 and 4 are, however, reminiscent of it. This type also appeared in a catalogue of Robert Tye as unpublished<sup>7</sup>. He described this as a Kosala/Kashi transitional issue. 4.58 g

Coin 4            New type 3\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
Marks 1 and 2 are new symbols, like flowers. 4.60 g

Coin 5            New type 4\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
Marks 1 and 2 are new symbols. Marks 1 and 2 of this coin are similar to those of H4. The symbol, however, consisted of six oval circles instead of four. 4.68 g

Coin 6            New type 4 variation            Ghazipur Hoard  
The marks are quite similar to coin 7, but the centre circle of marks 1 and 2 have a dot (see arrow) 4.70 g

Coin 7            H1 variation            Ghazipur Hoard  
Marks 1 and 2 of H1 do not have a dot between each arm. This coin does (see arrow) 4.65 g

Coin 8            H5 variation\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
The centre circle of mark 3 does not have a dot, whereas H5 does (see arrow) 4.66 g

Coin 9            New type 5\*            Ghazipur Hoard  
A similar type of coins was reported as Kashi by P.L. Gupta<sup>9</sup>, but

the number of radiating arms in marks 1 and 2 is different. It consists of 12 radiating arms whereas Gupta's coin has 6-7. Mitchener also reported a similar coin as Kashi (ref. 1, No. 3822) but the small circles at the end of the arms were solid and not open. In addition, the fourth mark of this coin may be different from Mitchener's coins (see arrow). This coin is unusual in that one mark is mislocated. This must be the result of an error. 4.67 g

Coin 10            H10 variation            Ghazipur Hoard  
This coin is similar to H10 but the centre circle of mark 4 is solid. 4.30 g

Coin 11            New type 6            Ghazipur Hoard  
The combination of symbols was previously unknown. This coin belongs to Hardaker's third series group A. It is related to H24-28 of that series. 4.18 g

Coin 12            New type 7            Ghazipur Hoard?  
The unique characteristic of this coin is that it appears to have four identical marks (Mark 1 and 2 may not have a centre circle but rather a cruciform. The arrow, however, indicates the part of a possible centre circle, suggesting that the four marks are identical. The superimposition of two different marks seems to be closely matched). Usually, Kosala and Kashi coins have four punches but they have 2 pairs of punches or 1 pair of punches plus 2 different punches. Coin no. 4 in Mitchener's book also has 4 identical symbols<sup>12</sup>. The present coin seems to be different from Mitchener's no. 4 type because the geometric design is slightly different from this coin. In the early phase of punch-marked coins, single punch-marked coins are distributed in the northern part of India like Kosala, Magadha, Malla etc. then, single punch-marked coins are thought to have been replaced by the 4 punch-marked coins. Thus, this coin may represent the transition type of 4 punch-marked coins from the single punch-marked coins. Provenance of this coin may be the Ghazipur Hoard, but it is not certain. 4.74 g

Coin 13            New type 8            Provenance unknown<sup>10</sup>  
Marks 1 and 2 are new designs. The reverse has a small Kosala-like mark (see arrow) 3.81 g

Coin 14            New type 9\*            Provenance unknown<sup>10</sup>  
This coin is similar to H4, Marks 1 and 2, however, seem to be hexagonal rather than square. The small Kosala mark is added to the obverse (see arrow) 4.18 g

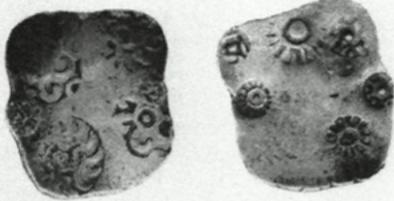
Coin 15            New type 10            Provenance unknown  
This coin is similar to H17 but the fourth symbol is different. It is said to have come from the Shehadpur Hoard. 3.87 g

Coin 16            New type 11            Provenance unknown  
This coin is similar to the series II coins but the combination of these marks seems to represent a new type. 3.94 g

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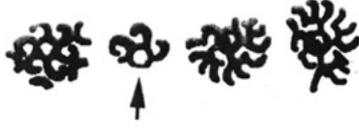
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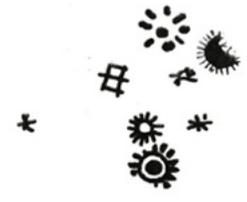
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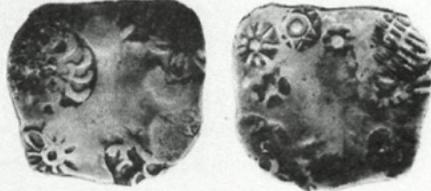
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6



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8



9



10



11



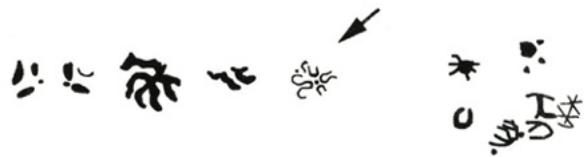
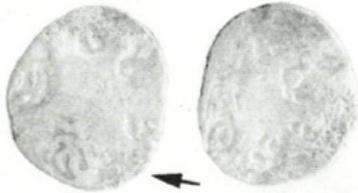
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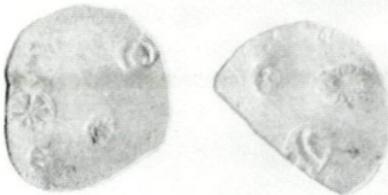
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14



15



16



**Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic Ramblings and Novelties**  
By Bob Senior

Over the years I have used this Newsletter to bring new varieties of coins to members' attention and to try out a few ideas that might otherwise remain unaided. These notes are a continuation of that process and may prove of interest to collectors of these particular fields.

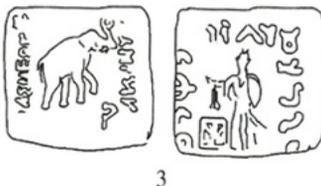
**Eukratides** (c. 170 - 145 BC) issued some of the commonest Bactrian tetradrachms known today but his smaller silver denominations are much scarcer and his bilingual 'Indian' weight drachms are extremely rare. The latter (see *Bopearachchi Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue* series 17) were issued somewhat later than the drachms of Antimachos Nikephoros and Apollodotos I and show a diademed portrait on the obverse with the standing Dioskouroi on the reverse. Now a few bilingual hemidrachms have surfaced, from the Mir Zakah II hoard, that show the king helmeted on the obverse but with the same reverse as the drachms. What is remarkable is that the coins are square, like the Apollodotos coins. Two type varieties are known, a) with the obverse legend being at the bottom, left and top (as on the illustrated coin which weighs 1.00 gm) or, b) with the legend on the left, top and right. These types bear different monograms. Illustrated x 1.5. The reverse legend is Kharosthi: *Rajasa Mahatakasa Evukratidasa* as on the drachms



A scarce type of bronze issued by **Lysias** (c. 130-125 BC) of 'Heracles bust with club' obverse and Elephant reverse is issued on a round flan with circular legends. They are rare compared with his usual square coins (see BN series 9). Now, a new variety has been identified which has *straight* legends on three sides - it is believed to be the only one known. The coin, in VF+ condition, weighs 5.8 gm.



The next bronze is rather worn but sufficiently readable to identify it as a new type of **Amyntas** (c. 75- 65 BC). The obverse has an elephant with upraised trunk, holding a wreath (?). The legend is on three sides. In the lower right field seems to be the Kharosthi letter *Sa*. On the reverse is Athena left as on the other known coins of Amyntas and the legend appears to read Kh. *Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amitasa*. In the lower left field is a square monogram with what seems to be a form of the known 'Union Jack' types. The coin weighs 6.62 gm.



One is always on the search for coins of known kings that bear unlisted or new monograms. These enable one to fill the gaps in monogram sequences and help certify the correct ruler order. A new monogram may indicate a king's expansion into territory not previously occupied by him. The following drachm of **Apollodotos II** (c. 65-55 BC) has an unusual style and a monogram that is unique to the Indo-Greek series. It is in Ef

condition and weighs 2.36 gm. The crude lettering, particularly the form of the letter *Tra* suggest that it is from a more eastern mint, such as BN series 2d-f.

The monogram appears in the right field of the reverse.



Another new monogram for Apollodotos was published in "The Decline of the Indo-Greeks" Monograph 2 of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, plate II, 14. This coin by contrast is in fine style, from a western mint, and related to the posthumous-Hermeios coinage.

A unique monogram appearing on a **Zoilos II** (c. 50-40 BC) drachm shows a Greek 'A' with barred top as is commonly found in the western mint of Pushkalavati (though with a hook to the right side) of Hippostratos, whereas here it is associated with the 'Jammu' monogram. Either the engraver from Pushkalavati had fled to 'Jammu' or the 'A' has some other significance. A similar 'A' without the bar but a small 'c' on top appears on some eastern issues of Apollodotos II. The coin weighs 1.54 gm (ex-Mir Zakah).



6. **Artemidoros** son of Maues. I am belatedly trying to record all the varieties of Artemidoros' coinage which I failed to do earlier when the Haripur (Serai Saleh) hoard coins first started to appear. From being an extremely rare king with less than ten specimens of his coinage known we now have something approaching 70/80 specimens but covering a very wide range of types, many of which are both new and unique. The following table records all the specimens that I have managed to see or record recently though I feel that a few others, mostly drachm denominations, escaped my notice early on. If anyone has any specimens that they can add to this table I should be grateful to receive the information and if possible a photograph. Here I illustrate a few coins that have not been illustrated or recorded elsewhere.

The novelties, so far unpublished, in this series are:

7) Tetradrachm A/3 with monogram 7. So far only a drachm was recorded. 9.39 gm. *This coin is overstruck on a Hermeios with Calliope tetradrachm.* I have a coin of type A/3, monogram 9 which is similarly overstruck on a Hermeios and Calliope tetradrachm. There may be chronological implications to be deduced from this.

8) Tetradrachm A/4 with monogram 6. Two specimens recorded so far but this one is the only one so far known with monogram in the right field. 9.64 gm.

9) Tetradrachm B/4 with monogram 4. Until now my tetradrachm of this type with monogram 1 was the only known tetradrachm of this type. 9.62 gm.

10) Tetradrachm C/4 with monogram 1. All combinations of obverse were known with Artemis reverses but this obverse was not known for the Nike series. This unique coin fills that gap. 8.95 gm. (some reverse surface loss).

Table of Artemidoros monograms and types

|         | 1 | 2  | 3  | 4   | 5  | 6    | 7   | 8    | 9   | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---------|---|----|----|-----|----|------|-----|------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Obv/Rev | ☒ | ☒  | ☒Σ | Σ   | Σ  | ☒    | Δ   | ☒    | ☒   | ☒  | ☒  | ☒  | ☒  | ☒  |
| C/1     |   |    |    |     |    |      |     |      |     |    |    | Δ  |    |    |
| A/2     |   |    |    |     | O* |      |     |      |     | O  | O* |    |    |    |
| D/3     |   |    |    |     |    |      |     |      |     |    |    | O  | O  |    |
| C/3     |   |    |    | O   |    |      |     |      |     |    |    | Δ  |    |    |
| B/3     |   |    |    |     |    |      |     | O Δ  |     |    |    |    |    | O  |
| A/3     |   |    |    | Δ   | Δ  | Δ*   | O Δ | O Δ! | O Δ |    |    | O  | Δ  |    |
| A/4     | Δ | Δ# |    | O Δ |    | O Δ# |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| B/4     | O |    |    | O   |    | O Δ  |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| C/4     | O |    |    |     |    |      |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| D/4     |   |    |    | O   |    |      |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| A/5     |   |    |    |     |    | Δ    |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| Æ a     | X |    |    | X   |    |      |     | X    | X   | X  |    |    |    |    |
| Æ b     |   |    | X  |     |    |      |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| Æ c     |   | X  |    |     |    |      |     |      |     |    |    |    |    |    |
| Æ d     |   |    |    |     |    |      |     |      | X   |    |    |    |    |    |

The obverses are: A = Diademed bust right, B = Helmeted bust right, C = Diademed spearthruster left, D = Helmeted spearthruster left. *Variations exist with straight or flowing diadem ties.*

The reverses are: 1 = Horseman right, 2 = Artemis right, 3 = Artemis left, 4 = Nike right, 5 = Nike left. \* = may be Kharosthi letters in field, # = may have a Greek B (sometimes retrograde) in field, underlined = monogram may be in right or left field, ! = 'A' sometimes in the Δ of the monogram. O = Tetradrachm, Δ = Drachm.

Æ a = Artemis/Bull unit, b = with 'son of Maues' legend, c = Artemis/ Bull ¼ unit and d = Artemis /Lion ¼ unit. *My thanks to Frank Kovacs for notice of two coins he has sold which were absent from my records.*



7



8



9



10

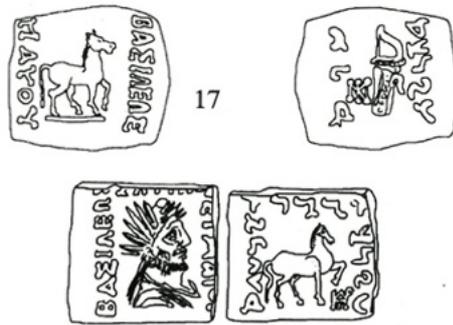
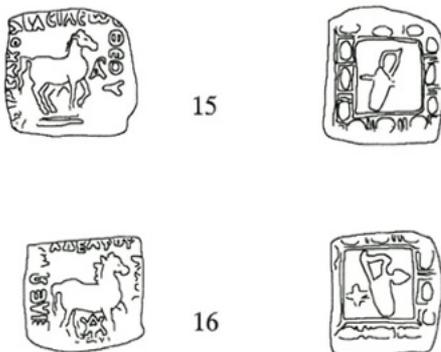
**Hermaios a Graeco-Scythian?**

In "The Decline of the Indo-Greeks" I suggested that Hermaios, as successor to Philoxenos in the western territories, may have come to prominence by marrying the latter's daughter. This would explain Calliope's bust on the joint coins (11 below) with Philoxenos' 'type' of 'King on Prancing Horse' reverse. The reverse type for Hermaios is 'Zeus enthroned' (12) but there are the rare portraitless coins (13) which show both 'types'. The Philoxenos/Calliope type has the dominant obverse position indicating perhaps that she was the more important member of the union. What I wish to suggest here is that Hermaios may have been wholly or part Scythian.



My reasons for thinking this are as follows:

1) On all preceding and succeeding coins with the 'King on prancing Horse' type, of Antimachos II, Nicias, Philoxenos, Menander II, Artemidoros and Hippostratos, the cavalier is shown without the bow in bowcase which is so prominent on these Hermaios coins. This bow in bowcase is exactly as found on the contemporary bronzes of the Scythian rulers Arsakes Theos (15), 'King's brother' (16) and Maues (17). On the obverse of those coins the type is 'Horse right', exactly the reverse type as found on the coins of Hermaios (18).



2) We know from the coins of Artemidoros that a 'Scythian' (son of Maues) can bear a Greek name and issue Greek style coinage.  
 3) The Scythians who subsequently issued the posthumous-Hermaios coinage chose deliberately to copy the coinage of Hermaios, who otherwise was not a long-reigning king nor one who issued a prolific coinage. This may be because they saw themselves as his legitimate heirs in that area.  
 4) Portraitless coins were the normal issue for Scythian kings whereas the Indo-Greeks only issued them in silver in the much earlier time of Antimachos Nikephoros and Apollodotos I. On one sole variety of Hermaios's issue of this type (14) the rider is seen to be a woman and the bowcase absent - this might possibly be because this figure was intended for Calliope (as opposed to Hermaios on the other coins?) who was Greek and not Scythian? On the reverse of those coins, Zeus is depicted differently than on all the other Hermaios coins too. This may be due to the idiosyncrasy of an individual engraver at a particular mint but may also be because the other forms of Zeus depict him holding a Scythian symbol.  
 5) Until the time of Hermaios, Greek deities are shown in various forms, often with an arm outstretched in an attitude of benediction. Zeus is shown thus or holding a figure such as Athena or Hecate, or sometimes a palm branch. On Scythian coins, Zeus is *always* shown holding either Nike or an object resembling the letter 'C', probably a torque. This latter type is the case with the coins, both lifetime and posthumous, of Hermaios but *not* the case for *any* earlier Indo-Greek coins. We thus have several pointers to Hermaios' origin. His lower status in regard to his Greek wife, the appearance of the Scythian bow, horse and torque on his coins, and the fact that the Scythians chose to imitate *his* coins after his demise.

**A New Drachm of Abdagases**

Silver drachms of Abdagases from the Seistan mint are very rare. They closely resemble Parthian coins but are distinctive for their portraits with bunched hair and Pahlevi inscriptions behind the head. The portraits vary in style and quality of execution but are obviously meant to represent the same bearded person wearing triple diadem and double-strand necklace. The first issue (1) has the king's name 'wd (for 'wdgys?) on the obverse but the reverse legend is a corrupt version of the legend found on the coins of Gondophares I, his uncle.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΥΝΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΖΩΜΕ ΝΟΛΛΑΗ

This translates as "The King of Kings, the Great Gondophares, surnamed Sae". On Abdagases coins it is variously divided and misspelled such as:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΥΝΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΖΩΜΕ ΝΟΛΛΑΗ

It seems to me that these early coins were issued while Gondophares was alive and Abdagases was the heir apparent. It is interesting that on *none* of his subsequent coins does Abdagases aspire to the title of 'Gondophares' whereas Gondophares-Sases, his successor, takes it as do Gondophares-Sarpedanes and Gondophares-Gadana (Orthagnes).



Until now, the only other issues known are those bearing the legend "the King of Kings, the Great Abdagases"

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΝΗΜΕΓΑΛ--ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣ--ΥΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΙΟΥΤΙ

illustrious (Epiphanes), the Just (Dikaiou)' (2) and ones with a longer version adding 'Victorious (Nikiou)' (3). On issue 1 there is no sign of a seat below the archer and both legs are visible. This compares with the Parthian drachms of Phraates IV (c. 38-2 BC). Issues 2 and 3 have a cross below the archer and show only one leg. On Parthian coins this occurs first on the coins of Phraataces (c. 2 BC- AD 4) and then on all subsequent drachms. The innovation of including a Pahlavi legend pre-dates the introduction of such on Parthian coins by some 50/60 years. The Indo-Parthians being much less Hellenized than their Parthian cousins probably accounts for this. Strangely, the legends are arranged around the coins on issue 1 as on the earliest issues of Gondophares whereas the coins bearing the name Abdagases follow the pattern on the 'Surnamed Sae' issue.



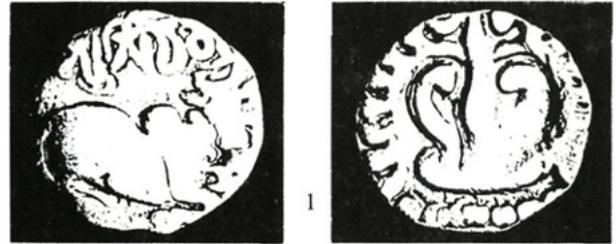
A new coin (4) has now surfaced which bears a new legend, differently arranged. It too bears the cross below the archer on the reverse but has some of the letter forms of the first issue (Upsilon in place of cursive Omega in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). The obverse is the same as 1 but rather too poor to illustrate. The top line is uncertain and there is probably a second line left of the archer. What can be seen is:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΒΔΑΓ ΜΟΥΝΗΣ ΑΒΟΥΛ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

This is a little unusual because one would expect ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ before the King's name if he was going to call himself 'King of Kings' and the placing of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ after his name is quite irregular. There seems to be no sign of Epiphanes, though as suggested, there may be more legend not visible on this specimen. So far the coin is the only one known of its type and I would place it before issues 2 and 3 but after issue 1.

### Some Candra coins of Arakan By Vasant Chowdhury

In the history of South-East Asia, the coinage system of the Candra dynasty of Arakan deserves special mention. The Candra rulers of Vesali (circa 370-600 AD) introduced a fairly large number of well-struck seated bull type silver coins of different denominations which have surfaced from time to time. The theoretical weight of the full unit of Candra coins might have been 8 g. Interestingly, it looks as if the fractional issues of the full unit were 3/8 and 6/8 denominations. These lower denomination coins are extremely rare. Two such coins are illustrated here:



Silver, round, 2.7 g, 18 mm  
Obverse: seated bull facing right and legend *Bhumi Candra* in Brahmi at the top  
Reverse: Tripartite design and dots



Silver, round, 2.5 g, 16 mm  
Obverse: seated bull facing right and the suggested reading of the legend is *Niticandra* in Brahmi at the top.  
Reverse: tripartite design and dots.

The issuer of the first coin is Bhumcandra, whose wife was Kitomdevi and he ruled for seven years from AD489. His 3/8 denomination coin recorded so far has the bull facing left. So this one, with the bull facing right is a new variety. As far as the second coin is concerned, "Niticandra", whose wife was Savitumeundrasriya, ruled for 55 years during the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. A couple of 3/8 denomination coins are known where in both cases the bull is facing left. so here again the right facing bull provides a new type. "Niticandra", during the early years of this reign struck such coins, but subsequently must have reformed the coinage so that quarter units were struck instead. And these were continued by successive rulers.

References  
San Tha Aung: *Arakanese coins*  
Michael Mitchener: *Early South-East Asia and its coinage*

### The Sultāns of Kashmīr -Some New Discoveries

by Nicholas G. Rhodes

Since my article in *Numismatic Digest* vol.17 (1993)<sup>1</sup>, a few important new coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr have been discovered, and I have pleasure in publishing four new discoveries in this article. I will use the numbering convention used in my original article.

**Muhammad Shāh** (c1484-87, 1499-1505, 1514-15, 1517-28 & 1530-37)

30a mohur  
obverse  
reverse  
Date AH 876 (sic.) in digits.  
Die duplicate of No.24, the mohur of Ḥasan Shāh.  
Uncertain couplet, divided by the usual knot, including the words

*sikkah muhr Muḥammad dawlat  
sulṭān... kashmīr.*

J. P. Goenka Collection 23 mm 11.3 g

30b mohur  
obverse  
reverse  
No date visible, possibly AH 934 in  
digits.  
Same die as Nos.50 & 54.  
Possibly the same couplet as last,  
but legend arranged differently, and  
also differently from No.30.

J. P. Goenka Collection 18 mm 11.2 g



The above mohurs in the name of Muḥammad Shāh are important, in sharing obverse dies with mohurs of other rulers. No.30a shares an obverse die with the mohur of his father, Ḥasan Shāh, and therefore is likely to have been struck early in his 1st reign (1484-87). The AH date of the reign was c888-892 AH, so the clear date on the die shows that the die was certainly intended for coins of Ḥasan Shāh, who ascended the throne in 876 AH. No.30b, on the other hand shares an obverse die with both Ibrāhīm Shāh (1528/9) and Nāzuk Shāh (1529/30), showing that this mohur must have been struck either in Muḥammad Shāh's 4th reign (1517-28), or in his 5th reign (1530-37). The reduction in diameter between the beginning and end of the reign is consistent with other surviving mohurs of this period.

#### Mubārak Shāh (1579-80)

105a sasnu  
obverse  
reverse  
Date AH 987 in digits and in Persian.  
Same die as Nos.98, 100, 102 & 106,  
dated 987 in digits and in Persian.  
*علا الدين محمد مبارك شاه حسيني*  
'ala' al-dīn muḥammad mubārak shāh  
husainī

N. G. Rhodes Collection 17 mm 6.21 g



The discovery of a sasnu of this ruler, previously only known from the mohur in the British Museum, now means that silver coins are known for every single sultan, from Zain al-'Abidīn dated 842AH, to Ya'qūb Shāh dated 994 AH. It also provides further evidence to show that the statement in the

*Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that Mubārak "refrained from striking coins and reading the *khutba* in his name" is wrong. The continued use of the same obverse die during four reigns is interesting, and confirms that the production of coins must have been very limited at this period.

The epithet *husainī* is interesting, and was noted by Whitehead in his publication of the BM specimen—but without any explanation. Mubārak was the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqi, and grandson of Sayyid Muḥammad Baihaqi, a powerful noble who had been Prime Minister during Muḥammad Shāh's second reign (1499-1505). He was killed in a battle with his great rivals, the Chaks, in 1505, and from then on his family had fallen on relatively hard times. The meaning of the epithet is uncertain, and it certainly cannot refer to any relationship with Ḥusain Shāh Chak (1562-70).

Apart from these two new pieces, it is worth noting one error that has come to my attention. No.81 is dated AH 969 in digits at the top right of the obverse field. Although the specimen in the British Museum, which was the only example known to me at the time of writing the original article, several specimens have turned up since then<sup>3</sup>, struck from the same pair of dies, but clearly showing the date. The appearance of this date clearly confirms my theory that (Ghāzī Chak only struck coins in his own name towards the end of his reign.

It is a pleasure to find that new discoveries are still being made in this series, and I hope that other students will not be shy to publish their discoveries. In particular, the couplets on the gold mohurs should be legible, and I have illustrated them with enlarged photographs, in the hope that someone more expert than I, can succeed in reading them. Finally, I should like to thank Mr J.P.Goenka for giving me permission to publish the two fine gold mohurs from his collection.

1. *The Coinage of the Sultans of Kashmir*, pp.55-147.

2. "Gold Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir", *Num. Chron.* 1933, p.266

3. N.G.Rhodes, J.P.Goenka and Al-Sayyed collections.

#### Some Notes on Indian Coins

By Ken Wiggins

#### *East India Company, Bengal Presidency. Two Unusual Coins.*

Ar rupee. Weight: 11.66 grams. Diameter: 26 mm.



The obverse contains the usual name and titles of Shāh 'Ālam II in the form adopted by the East India Company in 1761 with the addition of a crescent mark. This mark was added to the obverse in 1771. The reverse bears the mint name Murshīdābād and the usual *jalūs* formula with the addition of a small crescent mark at the top left.

This coin may, at first glance, be taken as an unofficial copy of an East India Company Murshīdābād rupee (see Pridmore pp 273—275) but there are a few indications that it is possibly a pattern or trial piece for a mohur, struck in silver. The points noted are:

- The coin appears to be of good silver.
- The weight of exactly 180 grains is the equivalent of one tola.

• The edge is grained *left*. The small crescent on the reverse.  
According to Pridmore (p.236), in 1825 the standard 1793 mohur was reissued. Two varieties are illustrated both of which have edges grained to the *left*. The first variety (Pr.83) has the normal dot privy mark .. of the Calcutta mint. This was the issue of 1825.

In 1829 a new mint with improved machinery was established in Calcutta. A feature of the coins, both gold and silver, issued from the new mint in 1830 was the adoption of a crescent mark on the reverse, at the end of the word *mānūs* (Pr.84 and 177). This was the first occasion on which the crescent mark was inserted in this position. It therefore made the dot privy mark superfluous and it was transformed into a three dot decoration. The mohur of 1829 that was put into circulation had the Hegira date 1202 at the bottom of the obverse. The coin shown above has only the figures 122, most probably an error on the part of the die cutter.

Ar quarter rupee. Weight: 2.78 grams. Diameter: 18.2 mm



The obverse has the normal inscription for the type — *sikka shāh 'ālam bād shāh* but the date at the top is inscribed 1402 instead of 1204. The reverse is normal — *darb murshīdābād sanah 19*

This unusual coin is probably a forgery of an 1819 quarter rupee with the mint name of Murshīdābād but struck at Calcutta (Pr.175). It has a straight grained edge but no privy dot marks. The obvious pointers to this piece being a forgery are the low weight of 2.78 grams and the incorrect date of 1402. Apart from these two aspects, the engraving of the coin is of a high order but when compared with a genuine quarter rupee of proper weight it is noticeable that the diacritical points are square instead of being diamond-shaped and the other ornamental dots are larger. As far as can be ascertained the piece is of good silver and appears to have been in circulation.

Ref: Pridmore F.: *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations Part 4, India. Volume 1, East India Company Presidency Series, c.1642—1835.*

**Indian Native States. A Few Unusual Coins Of Kutch & Baroda.**

Kutch Copper 1½ dokda 9.97 g 24 mm



|         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| Obverse | وکتوریا<br>ملکہ معظمہ<br>کوین<br>۱۸۸۰<br>سنہ | victoria<br>malikah mu'azzamah<br>kwīn<br>1880<br>sanah |
| Reverse | महाराज श्री<br>प्रगमलजी<br>१९२६              | maharau śrī<br>pragmaljī<br>1926                        |

This machine struck coin bears on one side the name and titles of Queen Victoria and the date 1880. The other side has the name of Pragmalji, who ruled Kutch from 1860 to 1875, and the Samvat date 1926 = AD 1869. The obverse is, apart from the date, the same as the 1½ dokda of Kutch (Y.11) which are dated from 1869/ S.1925 to 1872/ S.1928.

There are two possible explanations for this piece.

- (a) It is a normal 1½ dokda of Pragmalji (Y.11) on which the date has been incorrectly engraved.
- (b) It is a mule of Y.11 and a similar coin of Khengarji III with an unrecorded date.

The first is the most likely for, according to the list of dates given in the Krause Mishler catalogue, there are a number of errors in the AD dates, probably caused by the die engravers confusing the Arabic 7 and 8.

Kutch 1½ dokda 10.3 g 24 mm.



|         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| Obverse | وکتوریا<br>قیصر ہند<br>ضرب بہوج<br>سنہ<br>۱۸۸۴ | victoria<br>qaišar-i-hind<br>darb bhūj<br>sanah<br>1884 |
| Reverse | महाराज श्री<br>खेंगारजी<br>कछ<br>१९४१          | maharau śrī<br>khangārjī<br>kachh<br>1941               |

This coin is a proof-like specimen or possibly a pattern of a 1½ dokda of Khengarji III (1875-1942). The date of 1884 / S.1941 is one year earlier than that recorded in the Krause Mishler catalogue under the heading "finer style" The inscriptions on the above coin, particularly those of the obverse, differ somewhat from that on the coins struck for circulation from 1885 to 1894 and is probably a model for that series.

**Baroda**



Both these coins have the same obverse with a Nagari *sā gā* (the initials of Sayaji Gaekwar) above a ball and a sword. Coin (a) has the following on the reverse

|                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| संवत<br>१९४८<br>एक पैसा | samvat<br>1948<br>ek paisā |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|

This is the fairly common paisa of Baroda (Y 24) issued between 1880 and 1891

Coin (b) is a similar piece of the same size and weight but the reverse reads:

संवत्  
१९४८  
दोन पैसे

*samvat*  
1948  
*don paise*

The reverse inscription on this latter coin indicates that it is a two paise piece, which it obviously is not. The two paise pieces of this type (Y 24a and 25a) are larger coins usually struck on machine-punched flans. The form **दोन** (*don*) is or was used in Baroda instead of the more common **दो** (*do*); both mean two. The word **पैसे** is the plural of paise.

How is it that these two coins of the same size have different values? It would appear that the die used to strike the two paise coin was used on a flan designed for the one paise. It would be interesting to know if the coin was offered as the denomination that it appeared to be or rejected as such and accepted as a one paise piece.

### The Sikh Mint 'Akalpur': A Myth By Shailendra Bhandare

While describing the Sikh issues of Kashmir in his seminal work *The Coins of the Sikhs* (Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, 1993), Hans Herrli identified certain silver and copper coins as bearing the mintname 'Akalpur'. The silver coins were struck during the governorship of Colonel Mihān Singh Kumedan, a general of the Sikh emperor Ranjit Singh. Subsequently the same series was continued under the governorship of Shaikh Ghulam Muḥyī al-Dīn and his son Shaikh Imām al-Dīn, the last governor of Kashmir under the Sikhs. The copper coins are also issues of these governors. In Herrli's descriptive section, he has identified the silver coins with type numbers 06.45.04 to 06.51.04 (pp. 135-138), while the copper coins have been given the numbers 06.114.11 and 06.116.11 (pp. 151-152). It is said in a footnote on page 120, that Herrli published the 'correct reading of the mintname' in 1980 and 'up to now it has been observed only on coins'. However, the footnote as well as the bibliography appended at the end of the treatise fails to mention the publication details of this important historical deduction.

Herrli proceeds to comment that "Mihān Singh and his successors put Śrī Akālpūr, the Sikh name of Srinagar, on their rupees, but that it never became popular with the Muslims and Hindus constituting the majority of the population of Kashmir and therefore disappeared with the end of the oppressive Sikh rule". At the outset it needs to be commented that the communal implications in this argument are rather undesirable, "oppressive" the Sikh rule may well have been. That the so-called 'Sikh' mintname was continued on the coins of Muslim successors of Mihān Singh is sufficient to show that there were hardly any religious undertones involved. Moreover the reading of the mintname raises doubts, especially when there are no other references to it apart from the coins, as admitted by Herrli himself. It is unlikely that a seemingly important decision like changing the name of the capital of a constituent province of the empire should go unnoticed in the annals of Sikh History. Such instances in late mediaeval and early modern numismatics are always supported by corroborative facts reported in other sources of historical information, such as archives. It is in the light of this doubt that the entire issue needs to be discussed afresh, and that is what this paper attempts to do.

The methodology adopted by Herrli in his treatise as far as reading and reconstructing the coin legends is concerned, was to study the various specimens representing the coin-type, noting the inscriptional details and presenting them as they occur on

the coins in what may be described as a 'full die representation' of the legends. The Sikh issues of Kashmir initially bear the mintname *Khiṭṭa Kashmir* or *Shrī Kashmir* with legends with distinct Sikh affinity such as *Akal Sahay* and *Takht Akal Bakht*. As far as these legends are concerned, the Sikh issues derive directly from their Durrānī predecessors the system of not mentioning the name of the city of Srinagar on the coins, but indicate the mintname by the name of the province, i.e. Kashmir. The mintname is therefore never expressed, on all silver coins and many types of copper coins, as Srinagar. When the Kashmir issues under Mihān Singh are compared it becomes apparent that the date occurs at two different positions on the reverse. Usually it is located split in sets of two digits on both sides of the differentiating symbol, the leaf. However, one specimen noticed by Herrli has it above the top of the two horizontal strokes located above the leaf. These horizontal strokes represent certain elongated Persian characters, the reading of which is crucial to reconstruct the reverse legend of the Sikh rupees of Kashmir. It appears that the placement of the date above one of them led Herrli to conclude that the top stroke stands for *sanah*, the Persian word indicative of a chronological detail. The second horizontal stroke is read by Herrli to stand for 'Mihān' the name of the governor. Once these are read as they have been, the rest of the legend reads as *Shrī Akālpūr Kashmir*. The entire legend according to Herrli is therefore *sanah* (followed by date) *Mihān Shrī Akālpūr Kashmir*. Hence Herrli's conclusion that the city of Srinagar was renamed 'Akalpur' by the Sikhs under Mihān Singh. So much for Herrli's type 06.45.04. The type represented by 06.46.04 presents a fresh conundrum. Here three strokes replace the two on the top on reverse, and Herrli proposes to read the top stroke as the Persian letter 'K' in its detached form. He proceeds to comment "I prefer to interpret it as the initial letter for Kumedan".

These readings raise several questions. First of all, Herrli's readings completely exclude the mint indicative *Zarb*, which is rather unusual for any coin of the type under discussion. In total, Herrli illustrates 14 coins (as line drawings) to support his readings - one for type 06.45.04, six for type 06.46.04, three for type 06.50.04 and four for type 06.51.04. Out of these, at least two drawings in type 06.51.04 (dated VS 1900 and VS 1902, respectively) clearly bear vestiges of *Zarb*, which Herrli has failed to notice. Further, Herrli's contention that the second horizontal stroke stands for 'Mihān' is inexplicable in the case of coins of types 06.50.04 and 06.51.04, both of which were issued in the reigns of successive governors, namely Shaikh Muḥyī al-Dīn and Shaikh Imām al-Dīn. Why would the succeeding governors retain the name of their predecessor on the reverse, especially when a system to indicate their authority by a special mark on the obverse was already being practiced? In the case of Mihān Singh himself, the same argument can be applied - why would he choose to put his name, in an incomplete form without the usual honorific 'Singh', on the reverse of the coin, when his authority was already indicated by a 'shield-and-sword' mark on the obverse? Thirdly, why the surname of Mihān Singh (Kumedan), which itself is an indigenous rendering of his early military designation 'Commandant', be represented on the coins in a shortened form? Lastly, the name of this Sikh governor is pronounced 'Mihān Singh', with an elongated 'a', and as such should have been spelt with an *alif* attached to the *he* following *mīm*. No coin illustrated by Herrli shows this *alif* and none show even the terminal *nān*.

It is therefore to be concluded that Herrli's reading of the reverse legend of the Sikh issues of Kashmir, along with his interpretation of the two or three horizontal strokes is far from being satisfactory. For a fresh reappraisal we need to examine these coins more closely. I am indebted to Mr. R. T. Somaiya of Mumbai, who has an excellent collection of Kashmir coins, for providing me with specimens of the Sikh issues of Kashmir for a detailed study. The reverses of some of his coins are illustrated hereunder.



Coin 1



Coin 2

Here it is clearly seen that the second horizontal stroke above the leaf is read as 'jī' - the loop of *jīm* and the dot under it are clearly visible. The vowel *yā* has been added to *jīm* to make it 'jī' in the *majhūl* (elongated) manner. Herrli's contention that the stroke stands for *sanah* is therefore to be rejected. In fact, two of Herrli's own illustrations (type 06.46.04, dated VS 1898 and type 06.51.04, dated VS 1900) clearly show the loop of *jīm* as seen on Mr. Somaiya's coins illustrated above.

What Herrli reads as 'the detached form of letter K' constitutes the top one of the three horizontal strokes seen above the leaf, associated with a small s-shaped curve often used to denote the letters *kāf* and *gāf* in a simplified manner. However, the s-shape is usually placed inside the stroke in such cases and seldom outside. To justify Herrli's rendering, one has to place it outside the stroke. From the point of view of calligraphy this is not very accurate. As such, the top stroke can not stand for *kāf* or the detached form of the letter 'K'. I will come to the reading of this stroke further on in the paper. Here we must first ascertain with which character the s-shaped curve is to be associated. For that I illustrate some more coins from Mr. Somaiya's cabinet.



3



4



5

These coins demonstrate clearly that the beginning of the first stroke above the leaf is not the initial form of *mīm*, as advocated by Herrli to read what the stroke stands for - the name of the governor 'Mihān'. In fact none of the coins examined by me show the *mīm* in all its clarity. Only one of the 14 coins illustrated by Herrli (type 06.51.04, date VS 1902) shows a beginning that only tentatively can be read as *mīm*. But this is an issue of one of the shaikhs, the successors of Mihān Singh and, as such, his name becomes inappropriate on their coins. All other coins, including those illustrated by Herrli, show the beginning of the first stroke above the leaf as a vertical line with a thickened end. When the s-shape, which is seen immediately behind this line, is taken to be in association with the line, it becomes convenient to identify the character as the initial form of the letter *kāf*, standing for 'K'. What follows is clearly the medial form of the letter *he*, so the first syllable in

the word represented by the stroke immediately above the leaf is identified with certainty to be 'Kh'.

Herrli identifies the ending of this word as an end-form of the letter *nūn*, to conclude that the word stands for 'Mihān'. But as said earlier, on none of the coins examined by me is a *nūn* clearly visible. The same is true for all the 14 coins illustrated by Herrli. A second look at coin 1 illustrated above will help to make it clear that the *nūn* is nonexistent. The coin clearly shows the dotted border that usually represents the margins in which the inscription is fitted, and there is evidently no sign of the *nūn*. Instead, the word is seen to end in a small downward stroke, which stands to indicate that the *hā* added to the *kāf* to create the syllable 'Kh' ends there as a completed consonant. The stroke immediately above the leaf therefore indicates the word 'Kha', and not 'Mihān' as claimed by Herrli.

It is therefore evident that what Herrli has read as 'sanah' and 'Mihān' are in fact 'jī' and 'kha', respectively. Taken together with the portions below the strokes it reads *Zarb Kashmir Shri Akālpurakhajī*. This is what the legend represents. Herrli's reading of the mint-name and his contention that the Sikhs changed the name of Srinagar to Akālpūr therefore has to be rejected. The legend and its arrangement may be represented as below:

زرب کشمیر سری اکال پوراکھ جے

زرب کشمیر سری اکال پوراکھ جے

The word 'Akālpurakh' or 'Akālpurukh' are Punjabi equivalents of the Sanskrit *Akālpurusha*, which means "The Immortal Being" in its literal sense, but obviously stands for God. In the Sikh doctrine, God is seen as Eternal and Unique, devoid of any Form. The word 'Akālpurakh' succinctly summarises this concept. The supportive evidence for this reading comes from another coin. This is a rare type of rupee struck by Mihān Singh Kumedan. It is listed by Herrli as type 06.60.04, and bears Gurmukhi legend instead of Persian. Here the legend on obverse reads as the Gobindshahi couplet - *Deg Teg Fateh Naşrat Bidarang Jāfat* (sic) *Az Nānak Gūrū Gobind Singh*. The reverse has the legend *Jarab Kashmir Sri Akālpurukhji*. The rupee is faithful to other important aspects of the Sikh issues of Kashmir, such as the nature of the differentiating symbols (both the mint indicator and the authority indicator) and their placement. Therefore, it can be safely surmised that in essence the legends are Gurmukhi transliterations of the Persian legends seen otherwise on these coins. As such the word 'Akālpurakh' should have its rightful placement in the Persian legends, as has been demonstrated above.

The reading of the legend is consistent with other observations about the Kashmir issues as well. As a divine invocation, 'Akālpurukhji' falls in line with legends with similar sentiments such as 'Akāl Sahay' and 'Takht Akāl Bakht' seen on other Kashmir issues. The fact that the 'Sikh name for Srinagar' is indeed a misreading absolves the issues of Mihān Singh from the incongruity of bearing a different mint-name than all other Kashmir issues. Moreover, the issues of his successors are spared from the inexplicable phenomenon of bearing their predecessor's name.

The only fact that remains to be explained now is: what

does the third stroke above the leaf, thought to have been a detached form of the letter *kāf* by Herrli, represent? It must be admitted that it occurs only on the issues of Mihān Singh. Logically it should represent a syllable after the word 'Akālpurakhajī'. This word ends in the honorific 'Jī' that has been spelled on many other Sikh issues as 'Jīw'. The case under discussion may be best illustrated by the mintname 'Sīr Ambratsarjīw' seen on the Sikh issues of Amritsar mint. In all Indian languages, the consonants 'W' and 'B' are freely interchangeable. This is what precisely seems to have happened in case of the Kashmir issues. The word on the reverse of Mihān Singh's issues is therefore to be read as 'Shrī Akālpurakhjīb', the stroke above 'Jī' representing the letter *bā* in its detached form. The execution of *bā* in its detached form is grammatically correct, as the preceding syllable 'Jī' has the vowel added to it in the *majhāl* form. On subsequent issues this cumbersome rendering of the word seems to have been discontinued as seen from the illustrations here. These illustrations are of the reverse of the issues of Shaikh Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn. It is clear from coin 6 that there is no letter *nūn* at the end of the first stroke above the leaf.



**A Prison Token**  
By Jan Lingen



Obv.: Zindan / 1318; Rev.: Shahrbanī tibiyat  
Metal: lead, diameter: 24 mm., weight: 5.52 g.

This token, with a reasonably clear legend, has been puzzling me for quite some time, and to some extent still is. The obverse reads clearly Zindān = prison. The date, no doubt in the Hegira era, is 1318 which corresponds to AD 1900-01.

The reverse reads on the top *shahrbanī*, which can be translated as Police<sup>1</sup>. On a recent visit to Pakistan this translation was locally confirmed. Sanjay Garg once wrote to me that he could not remember the word "Shahrbanī" ever being used in the administrative terminology on the Indian subcontinent, but that it seemed to be used more in the area of Iran / Afghanistan. The style of writing, however, points to a locality more to the east of these countries. The provenance confirms this as the token was obtained in Dehli.

The second line may be read as *taybat* (city founder / builder / architect / composer), but this translation does not make much sense. Another suggestion was made by a friend of mine in Pakistan who read it as *tibiyat* which can be translated as medicine / hospital / medical department. With this translation, the inscription becomes more sensible and may be read as "Hospital warden" or "Hospital police". The token was probably used as an entrance- or gate-pass allowing prisoners to visit the hospital within the prison compound.

The token is no doubt for use within the prison compound, but in which prison? Which country and which city? The calligraphy of the inscription points more to the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, which is also confirmed by its provenance (Delhi). The use of the word *Shahrbanī*, however, seems to indicate a more western locality (Iran-Afghanistan).

Any additional information which readers may be able to provide about this curious token will be most welcome.

Note  
1. Boyle, John Andrew: *A Practical dictionary of the Persian Language*, p. 98, London 1949

**Restaurant or Alms Tokens**

By Jan Lingen

A few neatly cast copper tokens, which I obtained some years ago in Jaipur (India), have been puzzling me ever since. Despite their finding their way to Jaipur, they must originally have come from Delhi.

The legends on the pieces are:

1)



Sham'a Restaurant  
25

DUKAN  
9

9 Meena Bazaar Delhi - Manzur

Translation:

Candlelight Restaurant

9 Fancy Bazaar Delhi - Licensed

weight: 7.79 g.

diameter: 26.5 mm.

SHOP 9

2)



Sham'a Restaurant  
50

DUKAN  
9

9 Meena Bazaar Delhi - Manzur

Translation: as no 1.

weight: 9.91 g.

diameter: 26.5 mm.

3)



Shaukat Restaurant  
Meena Bazaar  
50

TOKAN over the same, vertical  
2

Translation:

Grand (or Magnificent) Restaurant Fancy Bazaar.

Weight: 9.91 g.

diameter: 26,5 g.

All three tokens are in the name of a restaurant located in the Meena Bazaar. Two tokens mention Delhi and the third token must, on account of its fabric, also have come from there. Meena Bazaar is situated opposite the main gate of Jama Masjid in old Delhi. Its antiquity can be traced back to the foundation of Shahjahanabad in AD 1648. Such markets were a common feature of the Mughal city-plans, where fancy items were sold. There still exists another Meena Bazaar opposite the Taj Mahal in Agra. The Meena Bazaar at Delhi has since been renovated and rebuilt. All sorts of things are sold here: from electric goods, watches and books, to clothes, cosmetics and curio items. There are also a number of eateries and hotels.

A personal visit by Sanjay Garg, to whom I owe most of the information in this note, to the Meena Bazaar revealed that neither of the two restaurants - Sham'a and Shaukat exist today. Sham'a (feminine) and Shaukat (masculine) are common names amongst the Indian Muslims.

Both these restaurants have been closed for some decades

now. A casual inquiry of the present occupant of the Shop No. 9 – an electrical goods shop, revealed that similar tokens made of plastic were used during a shortage of coins in India in the 1970s. Since the tokens are of copper, however, their use as substitute for small coins does not seem probable. Their production cost plus the cost of the metal would have been more than what they were supposed to represent.

But what do they represent? The name of the restaurant and location are not a problem. The reverse DUKAN means a shop, thus in the case of token 1 & 2 Shop No.9. The third token has clearly TOKAN / 2 inscribed. As this number is part of the casting-mould, no higher or lower numbers are expected. So why give this token a number 2?

The token as shown to what 25 and 50 represent is even more puzzling. If this represents 25 and 50 paise, they must refer to the decimal currency, which was introduced in India in 1957. Material, weight, fabric and calligraphy, however, suggest to me an earlier date, probably pre-World War II. In that case hardly any explanation can be given for the 25 and 50 on the obverse of these tokens. A value representing 25 and 50 rupees would be too high and amounts of 25 or 50 annas (1/16 rupee) were not in vogue.

As the numerals, as shown above, can hardly represent a value, they may represent numbers.

It is suggested that these pieces may be Khairati or alms tokens. According to Sanjay Garg this may be substantiated from the fact that there is a custom amongst the Muslims where they seek the divine favours (mannat) at the mosques and the tombs of saints (dargahs) and promise to provide a feast for a number of beggars and destitute people (faqirs) at that place if their wish is fulfilled. The number of faqirs used to vary according to one's capacity. However it was not always possible for the spenders to gather the required number of faqirs, and, while the number of faqirs available at a mosque or a dargah was more or less constant, the number of people promising to provide feasts tended to increase. Thus, there arose a need to evolve a system to overcome this problem. The hotel owners came up with the idea where a person could purchase these tokens from them and hand them over to a head-faqir (such groups still exists). It was then up to that head-faqir to collect the required number of faqirs at one time or split the number and availability of the tokens over more than one occasion. Technically these tokens were exchangeable only for meals but, sometimes, the head-faqir clandestinely connived with the hotel owners to obtain partial encashment. Such practices are, according to Sanjay Garg, still in vogue in places like the tombs of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi and of Kwaja Muinuddin Chisti in Ajmer.

Despite the fact that we know the places for which they were issued, many questions still remain, such as the exact purpose, value or number, and date when they were in use. No such tokens seem to have been published so far, not even in Michael Mitchiner's recently published *Indian tokens: Popular, Religious & Secular Art from the ancient period to the present day* (London 1998). Therefore any information, which may shed some more light on these curious restaurant or alms tokens, would be most appreciated.

### Catalogue Of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks And Tokens By Bob Puddester

This section of the catalogue consists of government issues and is divided as follows:

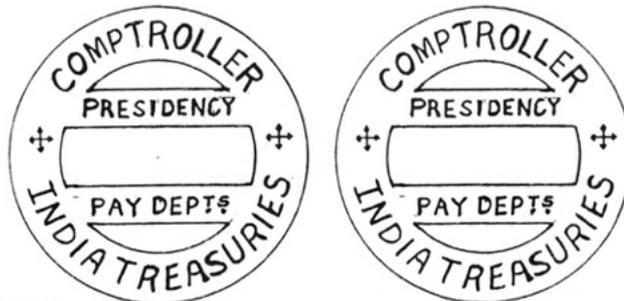
- 993 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
- 993.1 TREASURY AND RELATED TOKENS
- 993.2 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL TOKENS
- 993.3 FINANCE, CONTROL & COLLECTION TOKENS
- 993.4 PORT, DOCK, CUSTOMS & HARBOUR TICKETS, PASSES & TOKENS
- 993.5 MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT PASSES, TICKETS, CHECKS & TOKENS

### Part VII - TREASURY TOKENS

The illustrative drawings in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta and Bombay Mints during research visits in the 1980's. The diameter is correct, unless otherwise noted, but other details are not to scale and are approximate. These drawings emphasize those points necessary to ensure recognition but, are not so complete as to depict every detail. If edge type is known it will be noted. The numbering system follows the book, *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*; these checks, passes, tickets and tokens will eventually be incorporated in a new edition

#### 993.1 Treasury Tokens & Related Issues

##### 993.1.1 COMPTROLLER - INDIA TREASURIES



Obverse:

Around border: COMPTROLLER + INDIA TREASURIES +  
Across upper centre section: PRESIDENCY, across lower centre section: PAY DEPT.

Reverse: Same as obverse

Diameter (D) 39 mm; Metal (M) Brass; Edge (E) Grained Round. No hole. Striking date not known but dies defaced 3 January 1939. Calcutta Mint.

##### 993.1.2 CALCUTTA COLLECTORATE - TREASURY DEPARTMENT



Obverse: Around border: + CALCUTTA COLLECTORATE + TREASURY DEPT.

Reverse: Blank. D: 32 mm M: Brass Round. No hole. Calcutta Mint.

##### 993.1.3 BANKURA TREASURY



Obverse: Around border: + BANKURA TREASURY +

Reverse: Blank D: 42 mm M: Brass Round. Centre hole of 15 mm. First issue November 1921. Sent to Treasury Officer in Bankura on 26 January 1922. Calcutta Mint.

993.1.4 CHITTAGONG TREASURY



Obverse: Around border: ✚ CHITTAGONG TREASURY ✚  
 Reverse: Blank D: 38 mm M: Brass  
 Round. Centre hole. First issue 1919. Defaced 13 April 1938.  
 Calcutta Mint.

993.1.5 DELHI TREASURY



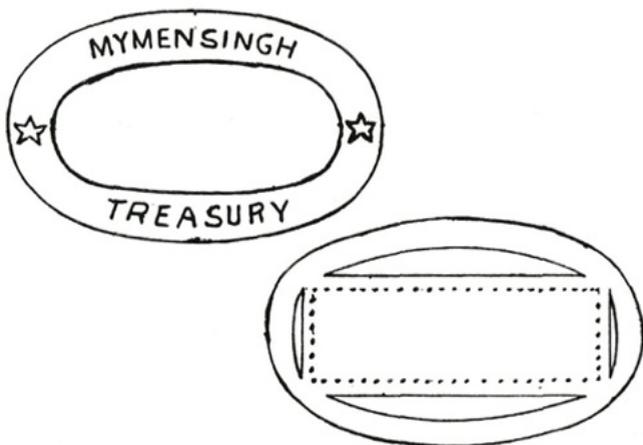
Obverse: Around top border: DELHI TREASURY At bottom:  
 ✚  
 Reverse: Blank (stamped: 5155)  
 D: 30 mm M: Brass E: P W: 9.96 g  
 Round. Central hole. Mint unknown.

993.1.6 TREASURY OFFICE - KHULNA



Obverse: Around top border: TREASURY OFFICE At bottom:  
 • KHULNA •  
 Reverse: Blank D: 38 mm M: Brass  
 Round. Hole near top. First issued 13 November 1914. Defaced  
 28 July 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.1.7 MYMENSINGH TREASURY



Obverse: on top order: MYMENSINGH on bottom border:  
 TREASURY At left and right extremes of border: a star  
 Reverse: No text. Half-moon patterns at top, bottom and each  
 side. A rectangle formed from dots in centre.  
 D: 30 x 30 M: Brass  
 Oval. No hole. First issue 4 September 1920. Defaced 35 July  
 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.1.8 TREASURY OFFICE - POONA

Obverse: Same as 993.1.11 except no crest in centre and  
 AHMEDABAD replaced by POONA. Around top border:  
 TREASURY OFFICE At bottom: ✚ POONA ✚  
 Reverse: Same as 993.1.11. Wreath, usually with number  
 stamped within.  
 D: 35 mm M: Brass Octagonal. No hole. Bombay Mint.

993.1.9 RAJSHAHI TREASURY



Obverse: At centre of top order a royal crown. To left of crown  
 along border: RAJSHAHI To right of crown along border:  
 TREASURY  
 Reverse: Blank D: 47 mm M: Brass  
 Round. Centre hole. First issue 1920. Dies returned 28 April  
 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.1.10 SIMLA TREASURY



Obverse: Around border: SIMLA TREASURY At bottom: +  
 Reverse: Blank D: 30 mm M: Brass  
 Round. No centre hole. First issue 21 August 1922. Defaced 23  
 November 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.1.11 TREASURY OFFICER - AHMEDABAD



Obverse: In centre, royal arms of Great Britain. Around top  
 border: TREASURY OFFICER  
 At bottom: ✚ AHMEDABAD ✚  
 Reverse: Stamped within wreath: 79  
 D: 35 mm M: Brass E: P W: 15.61 g  
 Octagonal. No hole. Mint unknown but likely to be Bombay.



Obverse: Around top half of border: TREASURY OFFICER

At bottom: ❖ MANBHUM ❖

Reverse: Blank D: 30 mm M: Brass

Round. No hole. Struck prior to November 1915. Defaced 20 August 1938. Calcutta Mint.

This token was supplied to Treasury Officers in the following places in November: 1915 with MANBHUM replaced by the appropriate treasury locations:

|          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| 993.1.13 | SINGBHUM    |
| 993.1.14 | PURI        |
| 993.1.15 | SHAHABAD    |
| 993.1.16 | BALASORE    |
| 993.1.17 | CUTTACK     |
| 993.1.18 | PALAMOW     |
| 993.1.19 | SARON       |
| 993.1.20 | CHOMPARAN   |
| 993.1.21 | GAYA        |
| 993.1.22 | BHAGALPUR   |
| 993.1.23 | RANCHI      |
| 993.1.24 | DURBHANGA   |
| 993.1.25 | PATNA       |
| 993.1.26 | HAZARIBAGH  |
| 993.1.27 | MONGHYR     |
| 993.1.28 | DUMKA       |
| 993.1.29 | SAMBALPUR   |
| 993.1.30 | PURNEAH     |
| 993.1.31 | MUZAFFERPUR |
| 993.1.32 | MIDNAPORE   |
| 993.1.33 | DARJEELING  |

Supplied to Treasury Officer in 1918

993.1.34 ANGUL

Supplied to Treasury Officer on 24 March 1926

993.1.35 BAKERGANJ

A reasonable assumption would be that the Bombay Mint made tokens for the numerous treasuries in the Bombay Presidency but I have been able to find only a Poona Treasury Office token (993.1.8) in the Bombay Mint records and the Ahmedabad piece (993.1.11) tentatively attributed to the Bombay Mint.

993.1.36 GUJARAT STATE TREASURY - SURAT



Obverse:

Around top border: ❖ GUJARAT STATE TREASURY ❖

Reverse: At bottom: SURAT Above centre hole stamped: 19

D: 30 mm M: Brass E: Grained W: 11.20 g

Round. Centre hole. Mint unknown, likely Bombay.

In almost every case one would expect to find a number stamped on these tokens. While the mintage is not known, it must have been fairly small as these treasury tokens do not turn up in any great number. In numerous years of collecting, including three years in India, I managed to accumulate the grand total of three.

Information from members with knowledge of their use or tokens not in this trial listing would be very welcome.

*References*

Calcutta and Bombay Mint records  
Personal collection.

**An Ingenious Fake  
By David Oxford**

A Chinese coin, which I purchased in 1993, was said by a number of leading authorities to be genuine, but has recently been proved a fake. Originally identified as a 3-cash coin of Tāmur, grandson and successor to Kublai Khan, it would, as a genuine piece, be a rarity. Tāmur's reign (1295 AD to 1307 AD) was divided into two reign-periods. This coin was attributed to the first period, Yüan Ch'ên (1295 AD to 1297 AD) — FD 1713.

The fake was spotted by Gilbert Tan, an ONS member in Singapore. His suspicions were aroused when he saw a rubbing of it. On examining the coin itself, he declared it to be a Southern Sung coin with the original Chinese characters removed and replaced by Mongol characters modelled in some kind of plastic material.

At the British Museum, Joe Cribb placed the coin under high magnification and then, with encouragement from me, investigated the upper horizontal stroke of the left-hand character, using a needle. Persistent scratching produced an undermining, and a slight leverage applied to the needle then caused a fragment of the character to separate from the coin, leaving a small rectangular "trench" in the surface.

The accompanying photographs (one showing the whole coin at a linear magnification of about x2, and the other a greatly enlarged detail) both illustrate the rectangular hole at the top of the left-hand character where a piece of the plasticised enhancement was dislodged.



## The Value Ten Coins of Guangxu By David Hartill

Guangxu was the penultimate Emperor of the Qing Dynasty of China, who was on the throne between 1875 and 1908, although he can hardly have been said to have ruled, as, for most of the time, he was subject to the iron will of the Dowager Empress Cixi. The standard reference works tell us little about the Value Ten coins issued during his reign, except that the character for 'ten' on the reverse is written in two different ways. Further investigation presents a more interesting picture.

The historical records give us the following data:

1867: In the previous reign of Tongzhi, the weight of a Value Ten coin was set at 3 *qian* 2 *fen* (11.9 grams). The alloy was set at 60% copper, 36.75% zinc, and 3.25% lead.

1875: In the first year of Guangxu, the mints of the Board of Revenue and the Board of Works were ordered to cast Value Ten coins with the Guangxu reign title.

1876: It was ruled that there was no need to add "giving colour" scrap or furnace scrap to the 60% copper and 40% zinc and lead alloy. This appears to be in order to reduce costs.

1880: The weight of a Value Ten coin was reduced to 2 *qian* 6 *fen* (9.7 grams).

1883: The alloy was changed to 55% copper, 40% zinc, and 5% lead.

1884: It was decided that there was too much lead in the coins which made their colour murky; so the alloy was changed again to 55% copper, 41.5% zinc, and 3.5% lead.

1886: The casting of Value Ten coins by the Boards ceased, to be replaced by regulation Value One coins.

The records also tell us that the circulation of the Value Ten was confined to the Peking area, and that they were counted as being worth only two ordinary cash.

The obverse inscription is 光緒重寶

*Guangxu zhongbao* (The Heavy Coinage of Guangxu). On the reverse, above and below the hole, are the characters 當十

*Dang shi* (Value Ten). On the left is the Manchu word *boo*. On the right the Board of Revenue coins have, in Manchu, *chiowan*, and the Board of Works coins have *yuan*. The Manchu is a transliteration of the Chinese names for the mints.

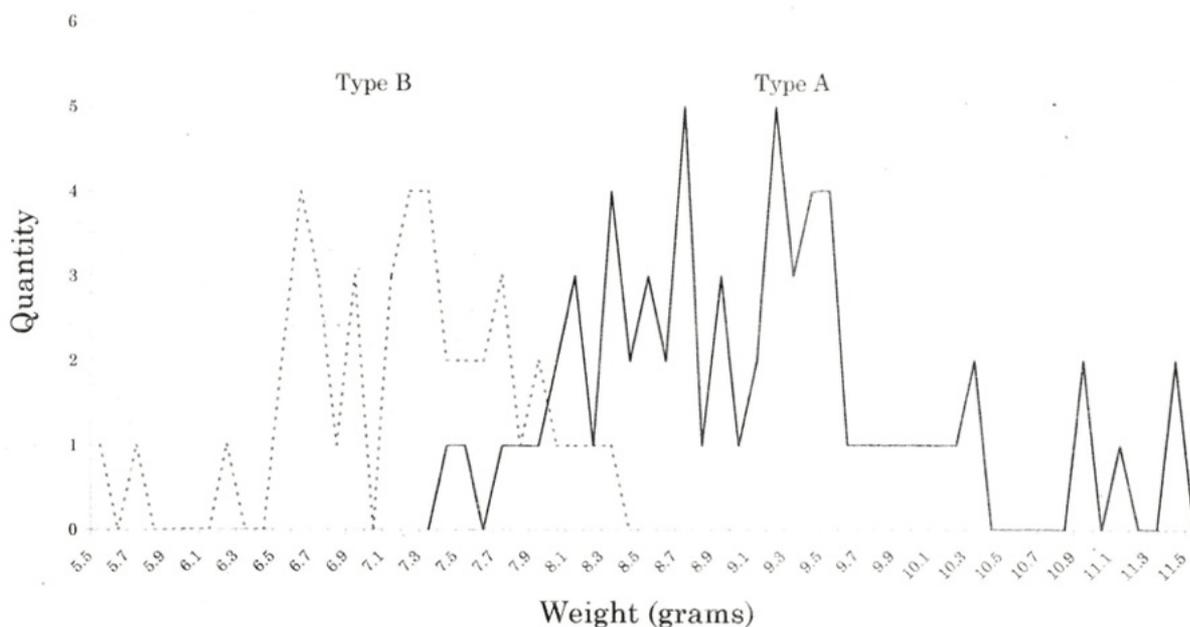
A quick inspection shows that there are two main types of coin. One (Type A) has the *shi* character for ten

on the reverse written in the ordinary way as 十

and the other (Type B) has the character 拾

for ten written in the official style as 拾. The Type B coins are generally smaller than the Type A coins, leading to the hypothesis that the Type Bs were the coins issued at the reduced weight from 1880. However, the actual weights of a sample of 100 Board of Revenue coins give this graph:

Guangxu - Board of Revenue Value Ten Weights



Board of Works coins show a similar weight distribution. Neither type of coin conforms to anything like the official weights, and the range of weights is far greater than the  $\pm 10\%$  we normally see for cast cash coins. It is not surprising that they did not pass at their nominal value. However, the ratio of the average actual weights of the two types is in line with the ratio of the official weights.

| Type  | Nominal ( <i>qian</i> ) | Average (grams) |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| A     | 3.2                     | 8.8             |
| B     | 2.6                     | 7.1             |
| Ratio | 1.2                     | 1.2             |

Thus we can attribute the Type A coins to the first weight standard (1875-80), and Type B to the second weight (1880-86).

Within Type A, two varieties of Board of Revenue coins can be distinguished. Type A1 has the top three strokes of the *guang* character written like 光 in the normal way. Type A2 has the strokes written like 𠄎, the characters are generally smaller,

and the rims broader. The Board of Works only produced Type A1 coins. Although Type A2 looks like a reformed type, the average weight of Type A2 coins is 8.8 grams (30 specimens), as opposed to 9.3 grams (34 specimens) for Type A1. My conclusion is that the mints of both Boards started by issuing Type A1 coins. After about three years the Board of Revenue made a conscious effort to improve the appearance of its coins (if not the weight), and changed to the Type A2 pattern.

Within Type B, both Boards issued coins without a dot on the reverse (Type B1). The Board of Revenue also issued coins with a dot on the reverse by the top right corner of the hole, and the Board of Works with a dot by the top left corner of the hole (Type B2). The historical records never mention the reason for such privy marks, but, as far as one can tell from the appearance of the coins without metallurgical analyses, it is possible that the dot marks the change in alloy in 1883. (The sample contained 26 Board of Revenue Type B1s, and 15 Type B2s which, given the sample size, is not incompatible with a 50/50 split for 1880-83 and 1883-86.)

The coins of both Boards have privy marks indicating which of

their mint branches<sup>1</sup> made the coins. The privy marks for the Board of Revenue are:

| Privy mark | Feet of <i>bao</i> | Middle right of <i>bao</i> | Head of <i>bao</i> |
|------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1          | Six stroke         | <i>fou</i> 缶               | Round              |
| 2          | Seven stroke       | <i>er</i> 尔                | Round              |
| 3          | Seven stroke       | <i>fou</i> 缶               | Round              |
| 4          | Seven stroke       | <i>fou</i> 缶               | Protruding         |

This series of privy marks was introduced in 1854 with the second wave of large coins of Xianfeng. Privy mark 1 can be attributed to the East branch, and privy mark 4 can be attributed to the North branch, as these privy marks are the same as were previously used on the small cash. However, there is no evidence to enable us to determine whether privy mark 2 or 3 was the South or the West branch. I shall take privy mark 2 to be the South branch, and privy mark 3 to be the West branch, as I feel that this is in line with the way the privy marks varied in other systems, but the other attribution (privy mark 2 = West) is not ruled out.

The Board of Works mint coins show the following privy marks:

| Privy mark | Feet of <i>bao</i> | Middle right of <i>bao</i> | Head of <i>bao</i> |
|------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1          | Six stroke         | <i>er</i> 尔                | Round              |
| 2          | Seven stroke       | <i>er</i> 尔                | Round              |
| 3          | Seven stroke       | <i>er</i> 尔                | Protruding         |

Privy marks 1 and 2 were introduced from 1853 (sometimes in conjunction with 缶 *fou* in *bao*).

There is no direct evidence from the Xianfeng period which allows an attribution of these marks to the New or Old branch, and there is no third mark for the Auxiliary furnaces. Privy mark 3 first appears on the Type B coins of Guangxu. This must have been a re-introduction of a separate mark for the Auxiliary furnaces; this is conformed by the comparative rarity of coins of this type, for there were only 6 Auxiliary furnaces but 13 and 12 for the New and Old branches respectively. The Old branch and the Auxiliary furnaces were on the same premises, so if we assume that the two seven stroke *bao* coins can be grouped together (on the one cash coins the Old branch and Auxiliary furnaces both had a square head *tong* as part of their privy marks), privy mark 2 can be attributed to the Old branch, and hence privy mark 1 to the New branch. We can note that the East branch of the Board of Revenue mint and the New branch of the Board of Works mint both had the status of the principal mint, and both have the six stroke *bao* mark. This attribution can be carried back to the Xianfeng and Tongzhi reigns, although it

seems that the Auxiliary furnaces used the Old branch privy marks, or were not in use during that period.

Also found are Type A1 Value Ten coins with the mint names of various provinces on the reverse, which various authorities include with the respective province. These are not provincial issues, for the issue of Value Tens was confined to Peking, and their style shows no trace of provincial workmanship. The Register of Large Cash says that such coins were issued by the Board of Revenue, cast in the Five Metals (gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron) to make elegant gifts for the New Year celebrations; thus they should be included under Presentation Coins. Mint names found are Aksu (in Turki and Manchu), Fu(jian), Guang(dong), Gui(lin), Qian for Guizhou, (Hu)nan, I(li), (Nan)chang, Jin for Shanxi, Shaan(xi), Su(zhou), Wu(chang), Yun(nan), Zhe(jiang), and Zhi(li).

A full catalogue of the circulating coins can now be compiled.

\* denotes that the coin is illustrated.

#### Board of Revenue

**Type A1.** Normal *guang*, 十 ten. 1875-c. 1878.

- \*1. East branch.
- \*2. South branch.
- 3. West branch.
- \*4. North branch.

**Type A2.** ㄨ *guang*, 十 ten. c.1878-80.

- 5. East branch.
- 6. South branch.
- \*7. West branch.
- 8. North branch.

**Type B1.** 拾 ten, no dot on reverse. 1880-?1883.

- \*9. East branch.
- 10. South branch.
- 11. West branch.
- 12. North branch.

**Type B2.** 拾 ten, dot on reverse. ?1883-1886.

- 13. East branch.
- 14. South branch.
- 15. West branch.
- \*16. North branch.

#### Board of Works.

**Type A1.** Normal *guang*, 十 ten. 1875-1880.

- \*17. New branch.
- \*18. Old branch.

**Type B1.** 拾 ten, no dot on reverse. 1880-?1883.

- 19. New branch.
- 20. Old branch.
- \*21. Auxiliary furnaces.

**Type B2.** 拾 ten, dot on reverse. ?1883-1886.

- 22. New branch.
- 23. Old branch.
- \*24. Auxiliary furnaces.

1. In 1726 it was decided to demolish the furnaces of the old Board of Revenue mint, and replace them with four separate branches named after the points of the compass, and in 1728, the Board of Works mint was divided into a New and an Old branch, with 6 Auxiliary furnaces attached to the Old branch. Separate privy marks for these branches were introduced during the Qianlong period (1736-95).

## GUANGXU VALUE TENS

### Board of Revenue



1



2



3



4



Presentation piece "Zhili Province".



7

9

16

Board of Works



17

18

21

24

Heian tsuho, not *Bình An thông bảo*, on *Ping An tongbao* coins again.

by Francois Thierry

The *Ping An tongbao* copper cash coin<sup>1</sup> (Japanese *Heian tsuho*, Vietnamese *Bình An thông bảo*) presented by Dr. T. D. Yih in *Newsletter 160* has been discussed for a long time in Far-Eastern numismatic works in both China and Japan. This coin had been classified as *wukao qian*, "coin without data" or *bu zhidao niandai pin*, "undated item" by many scholars of the 18th, 19th and beginning of the 20th century<sup>2</sup>. The first attempt to attribute this coin to a definite country seems to appear in Kariya Kaneyuki's book: "*Ping An tongbao*, it is said that [this coin] has been cast in the Pyong-An Province in Korea"<sup>3</sup>. Pyong-An province is the north-western province of Korea, where Pyong-yang and An-Ju are situated. The second attempt was advanced in 1882 by Narushima Ryuhoku who classified *Ping An* coins in the Annam section: "Probably cast by Trịnh Tông, *Bình An vương*. In the 20th year of Wan Li of the Ming dynasty, Lê Thế Tông gave Tông the title of *Bình An vương*"<sup>4</sup>. Generally Chinese and Japanese scholars have not agreed with this attribution but on the other hand it has been very popular among

Western numismatists<sup>5</sup>. Ding Fubao adopted Narushima Ryuhoku's point of view only during the year 1937, but in 1938 he classified *Ping An* coins in *wukao qian*<sup>6</sup>.

Dr. Yih lets it be understood that these coins "are reported to have been issued around 1592" in the Annamese sources, but that is not right, first because, at this date, Trịnh Tông is not yet King *Bình An*, and secondly because no Vietnamese source mentions this coin. It is very difficult to accept Narushima Ryuhoku's attribution in the cultural context of the ancient Far East. In 1570, after having overthrown the rightful heir of the late *Thái Sư* Trịnh Kiểm, Trịnh Tông became *Thái Sư* of Emperor Thế Tông of the Lê Dynasty and later that of Kinh Tông. In 1599, for months before his death, Thế Tông gave Tông the title of King *Bình An*, *Bình An vương*<sup>7</sup>. From 1570 to 1623, Trịnh Tông was *Thái Sư*. The Vietnamese political system of *Thái Sư* should be considered *grosso modo* like the Shogun system in Japan; all the power was in the hands of the *Thái Sư*, but the Emperor remained the only holder of the Heavenly Mandate, and the protection of the Emperor as Intercessor between Heaven and Earth, as Father and Mother of the Empire, as centre of the State religion, was the basis of the

moral recognition of the rule of the *Thái Sư*. The Emperor's reign year title (*nianhao*) was the basis of the national calendar. The first act of a rebel was to institute a new *nianhao*, i.e. to reject the imperial calendar. For this reason, it is absolutely impossible to believe that Trịnh Tông used for the coin's inscription his title of King Bình An, instead of the Emperor's *nianhao*. No Japanese Shogun ever used his title on coins; similarly no Prince of the Southern Kingdom of Nguyễn ever used his title on coins either. I would add that the comparison with the *Gia Thái thông bảo* coins issued from 1572 to 1577, i.e. when Trịnh Tông was already *Thái Sư*, is very enlightening about the difference of style and typology between the two coins<sup>8</sup>. It seems to me very difficult to believe that these two coins have the same origin. On the other hand, it is clear that the prototype (mother-cash) of the *Ping An tongbao* coin had been made with a *kaiyuan tongbao*, a *Zhou yuan tongbao*, a *Song yuan tongbao* or a *Taiping tongbao* coin, because the *tong* and *bao* characters are in *lishubafen* script, but the two characters *ping* and *an* are inscribed in a different calligraphic style. Such a method was not used in 16th and 17th century Vietnam.

In the thirties some Japanese numismatists, such as Hirao Shusen, rejected Narushima Ryuhoku's hypothesis and identified the *Ping An* copper coins as a local currency of Kyushu, the southernmost Island of the Japanese archipelago; present Japanese and Chinese numismatists consider this coin as *Heian tsuho*, a trade money from Kyushu, cast during the Edo period between the Tensho (1573-1591) and Genroku (1688-1703) eras<sup>9</sup>.

1. I do not know from where Munro found the so-called *Ping An* silver coin of his plate 19 (Munro Neil Gordon, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama 1904, p. 246), but that coin is not recorded in Japanese numismatic literature; I think it is a fantasy. Contrary to what Dr Yih says, Chinese and Japanese literature tell only about *Ping An* copper cash.
2. Chen Laixiao, *Lidai Zhongguan tujing (1750)*, reprint Shanghai 1993, p. 880 (*Ping An yuanbao*); Zhang Chongyi, *Qianzhi xinbian*, n. 1. 1831, vol. XX p. 4a; Ni Mo and Yu Cun, *Gujin qianlue (1822)*, reprint Yangzhou 1989, vol. XVIII p. 7b; Jin Xichang, *Qingyun guan shoucang guqian shuji (1827)*, reprint Shanghai 1993, vol. VII p. 10b; Wang Xiqi, *Quanhua huikao (1863)*, fac simile Tongxian 1988, vol. XI p. 29b; Li Zuoxian, *Guqian hui (1864)*, reprint Yangzhou 1988, vol. zhen I p. 13b; Ding Fubao, *Guqian da cidian*, Shanghai 1938, p. 225b; Ding Fubao, *Lidai guqian tushuo*, Shanghai 1940, p. 235a; Ozawa Tatsumoto, *Kaisei koho zukan*, Osaka 1784, p. 10a; Kuchiki Ryukyo, *Wakan kokon senkakan*, Osaka-Tokyo 1798, vol. VI p. 17a; Schroeder Albert, *Annam, Etudes numismatiques*, Paris 1905, n°578.
3. Kariya Kaneyuki, *Shinkosei koho zukan*, Osaka-Tokyo 1815, p. 12a.
4. Narushima Ryuhoku, *Meiji shinsen senpu*, vol. I, Tokyo 1881, p. 17b. The date of 20th year of Wan Li (= 1592) is wrong, Trịnh Tông received the title of Bình An vương in the fourth month of the 22th year of Quang Hưng period, i.e. Wan Li 27th, i.e. 1599 (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, ed. Toyo bunka kenkyujo, 3 vol., Tokyo 1984-1986, XVII p. 918).

5. Lockhart J. Stewart, *The currency of the Farther East*, Hong-kong 1895, vol. I n°1377; Coole A. Braddan, *Coins in China's History*, Denver 1965, p. 23; Novak John, *A working aid for collectors of Annamese coins*, Longview 1967, n°71.
6. Ding Fubao, "Qingyun guan shoucang guqian shuji ba", *Guquanxue* V 1937, 13-14, p. 14; Jin Weicheng, "Guquan xiao cidian zhaiyao", *Guquanxue* IV 1937, 21-44, p. 29.
7. *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, op. cit., XVI pp.862-869, XVII pp. 873-920.
8. See Okudaira Masahiro, *Toha Senshi*, 18 vol., Tokyo 1938, XVI 3b; Miura Giosen, *Annan senpu*, 3 vol., Tokyo 1965-1971, I p. 49; Tang Guoyan and alii, *Yuenan lishi huobi*, Peking 1993, P. 148 n°151-152.
9. Hirao Shusen, *Showa senpu (1931-1940)*, reprint Tokyo 1974, vol. I, *Kyushu chihosen senpu*, p. 57; Ogawa Hiroshi, *Nippon no kosen*, Tokyo 1966, p. 42; Kuagahara Tamotau, *Kaiteipan Toyo kosen kakafu zufu*, Tokyo 1970, n°97-98 p. 15; He Lin, *Qianbixue cihui jianshi*, Peking 1999, p. 90. In the new edition of Ding Fubao's *Lidai guqian tushuo*, with Ma Dingxiang's comments (Shanghai 1992), about *Ping An tongbao*, Mr. Ma added "this is a Japanese coin".

#### Dr Yih has provided the following comments

From the reactions I obtained thus far it is apparently a scarce piece that was and apparently still is a coin for much debating. Please let it be clear that I did not try to solve the question of the origin of the piece. I only mentioned the documentation that I have on this piece.

I did not say that according to Annamese sources the piece had been issued around 1592, but referred to western authors like Lockhart and Novak. The latter in turn might have obtained this from Schroeder (no. 578). To me it is not clear whether these authors have ever seen the piece itself and only copied from drawings in other literature sources.

According to information I received from Mr. Boling (ONS261) the piece should also be considered as a Japanese piece. He referred to the current Japanese Numismatic Dealers Assoc (JNDA) catalogue, where it has been placed under the kajiki-sen and bita-sen, locally produced and circulated coins of the late 16th century. Most interesting was the information I received from Dr. Op den Velde who showed me an illustration of an actual piece from a paper by Dr. M. Mitchiner, attributing it to Annam.

It would be important to be sure whether only one piece is involved or whether possibly other variants exist. In this respect, most intriguing was the reference to Chen Laixiao who mentions a *Ping An yuanbao* piece.

#### Correction

In A. S. DeShazo's article in Newsletter 160, entitled "New" and "Good" in *Tabaristan*, we regrettably printed two editor's instructions instead of two pehlevi words. The words in question are:

𐭀𐭃𐭅 = *nwk* ' or nōg = new or recent

𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭅 = *nywk* ' or nēg = good

Moreover in footnote 1, the name should have read al-Hajjāj. Our apologies to the author.

*We wish all our readers a happy and prosperous New Year*

**Papers given at the Indian Coinage Study Days held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK  
on 13 June 1998 and 12 June 1999**

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**PSEUDO-MUGHAL COINAGE - SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS**

By Shailendra Bhandare

**Prologue:**

The term 'pseudo-Mughal' has been used here for the first time. It did make a brief appearance in ONS newsletter 106 (1987), in a note by Michael Legg, although in a totally different context - for describing the token issues in the name of Mughal emperors. Here, its scope broadly includes all coins that were struck in the name of the Mughals, but were not essentially Mughal issues. Chronologically, most of them may be attributed to the post-Aurangzeb epoch, and include the issues of the indigenous ruling entities, the Mughal potentates and the early coinages of certain European colonial powers.

**A brief historical overview**

It is a matter of common historical knowledge that after the reign of Aurangzeb, the edifice of the Mughal Empire began to crumble, and the succeeding years saw the political assertion of several regional interests. Some of them, like the Marathas under Shivaji had been hostile to the Mughals even during the reign of Aurangzeb. Others, like the Rajputs, the Jats and the Bundelas exercised increasing political independence even though nominally accepting Mughal suzerainty. The attitude of the Marathas towards the Mughals became more patronising than vindictive, and they emerged as the protectors of the Emperor in the latter half of 18th century. Added to these entities were the factions of the Mughal court itself, which under Akbar had created elaborate administrative machinery that was closely linked with feudal titles and rights. The holders of these rights controlled far reaches of the Empire and with the decline of a strongly centralised authority exerted considerable independence in the management of their affairs. Most of these were termed as the 'Nawabs' and the chief amongst them was the Nizam, claiming the overlordship of provinces across Deccan in the south. Other Nawabates like that of Bengal and Awadh were also politically vibrant and played a leading role in shaping the fortunes of India in succeeding years. The other influential group that can be included in the Mughal potentates is that of the Afghans. Many arrived in India essentially as freebooters in the early decades of the 18th century, and soon some of them rose to high feudal rank in the Mughal court. The Rohillas established themselves in the region of Katchar in the Doab and remained a powerful force to be reckoned with until

the Marathas under Mahadji Sindhia vanquished the last influential Nawab, Ghulam Qadir, in 1788. Other Afghans settled with territories in central India and Gujarat and went on to establish several princely states like Bhopal, Junagarh and Tonk in those regions.

The third important element in this political 'mixed bag' was the early European colonisers, who began their activities in the Indian subcontinent, initially by trade, in the early 16th century. By the 18th century, the English and French were sufficiently entrenched in India to reflect the political developments in their respective motherlands. The English held considerable sway in the affairs of Bengal and North India, while the French were politically active in the South, meddling in and making most of the succession wars in the court of the Nizam. The English emerged as a transprovincial political force to be reckoned with when they defeated the French at the battle of Wandiwash and virtually wiped out the French influence in India. The Revolution and resultant political chaos in France helped the English to firmly secure the formerly French territories. Gradually, through conquests and political doctrines like the 'Subsidiary Alliance', the English outwitted most of the indigenous political entities and by the mid-19th century added India as 'the brightest jewel' to the Imperial Crown. The Maratha confederacy was effectively dissolved and its components were reduced to a 'princely' nature, so were most of the other feudal lords of the erstwhile Mughal court. The relations between the British and these princes remained somewhat ill-defined in the 1820-1840s, and most of their territorial holdings were reduced under one pretext or the other by the British. The most infamous among these, and one of the precursors to the Revolt in 1857, was the 'Doctrine of Lapse' executed vigorously under Lord Dalhousie as the Governor-General. Despots ruling recklessly, but still revered by the common populace through their claim of a divine right to kingship, fell to the British and lost their states to the Crown. The most glaring example of this and the last straw on the camel's back, as it were, was Awadh, which lapsed to the Crown in 1856.

The hostilities in 1857 forced the British Government to reconsider their relations with these princelings. Most of them remained faithful to the British and helped to confine the nature

of the revolt to a 'sepoj mutiny'. They had to be rewarded for this allegiance. The feudal titleholders of the now defunct Mughal Court emerged as the new 'Highnesses' of the British Empire. Most received British orders, decorations and special titles as the British Crown replaced the Mughal Supremacy. A major event defining the nature of British Sovereignty in India was the adoption of the title 'Empress of India' by the British Queen. This effectively replaced the Mughal Emperor with the British Monarch as the supreme sovereign for the Indian Princelings. They, however, enjoyed much less political freedom under their new overlords. Nevertheless, their civil and judicial powers were clearly defined and in most cases were of a sweeping nature. Title deeds were verified, and confirmed or dissolved and new agreements and *sunnaads* were issued from time to time defining the relations between the prince, his sovereign and his subjects. In cases of mismanagement of affairs of the state by the prince, the alternative of British intervention was always kept open. But the most tempting outcome for the princes was that they were allowed to retain a sizeable part of their net revenue. This gave a steady income for most of the ruling families. Many 'royal' vestiges like maintaining an army and enjoying certain traditional prerogatives were retained under the new order. The post-1857 years thus saw emergence of a 'Princely India'.

#### Socio-economic conditions

The aim here is not to present a detailed sketch of the Indian socio-economic conditions in the 18th and 19th centuries. Since the remainder of the paper will concentrate on coinage, it will suffice to elucidate the socio-economic parameters pertaining to money, its influx and circulation.

The political decentralisation that occurred in the years after the death of Aurangzeb resulted in a sea-change as far as the mintage of coins was concerned. The Mughals had evolved an effective and centrally controlled mint system. As a result much of the circulating coinage was of a high and uniform metallic standard. But the political volatility caused the system to fail and rapidly degenerate. As the currency demands could not be fulfilled by the state, it resorted to private coining by issuing licences to individuals to strike coins. The state thereby absolved itself of the responsibility to supply currency, its role now remained a more supervisory one. It kept an eye on the coins struck and circulated by the private individuals in the name of the state. This seems to have happened even during the reign of Aurangzeb. It is exemplified by coins of a busy mint like Surat where it could be imagined that the currency demands were high and the supply was always under stress. A system of appointing *daroghas* or 'overseers' was employed at Surat. It is not certain whether these *daroghas* were 'mint-farmers' in the strict sense, but most of them added minute marks to the coins - a feature that is characteristic to coins of a 'farmed' mint. This further developed into a minting system whereby the *darogha* appointed by the state was replaced by a private licensee. The state earned revenue out of licensing fees and later the licenses were even auctioned and pre-sold to the highest bidder. As the stakes of investment in such a precious business were always high, the licensees remained confined to the moneyed class. The emerging political entities in the post-Aurangzeb era not only

allowed this system to develop, but encouraged it, as it brought them revenue which was otherwise highly elusive due to political instability. However, it was not always possible to maintain a strict vigil on the activities of the mint-farmers. A very significant outcome of this system was that it created several varieties of a single coin that purported to be issued in the name of a single authority. Most of the coinage that resulted out of this practice was essentially in the name of the Mughal Emperor.

The issue and circulation of coinage that was not effectively backed and controlled by the state led to the obvious establishment of a new social class - that comprising the professionals which dealt in money. They were the shroffs, who dealt primarily in financial business such as lending, mortgaging, banking and transfer of funds through agencies and, most importantly, the minting of coins. Many of these were goldsmiths or jewellers and learnt assaying of metals as part of their routine business. As a result, they also undertook the responsibility of testing the coins in circulation. The evolution of this class and the role it played in economic activities is an area of great research interest. The class as such was certainly not new to Indian society. A 12th century manuscript named *Dravyapariksha* refers to many varieties of the 'Gadhiya' coins. In such an instance, where there exist varieties of an outwardly uniform coinage, it can be safely assumed that professionals knowing the difference amongst them (and making the most of it!) definitely existed. Their activities seem to have somewhat reduced in the succeeding centuries, mainly due to the establishment of Islamic states in India, and the theistic concept of coinage in Islam. They become active again in the mid-17th century, when silver from the New World was brought to India in the years of heightened mercantile fervour on the part of the Europeans. In the 18th century, the emergence of mint farming not only proved beneficial to the overall prosperity and power of this class, it caused it to become a very important player in the entire range of trade and commerce-related activities. With the 18th century terminating, we find that the activities of this class had virtually caused two parallel value systems to operate - one that existed in the coinage and attested by the issuer's name and the other which was ascribed to it by the shroffs.

#### Pseudo-Mughal coinage: outlining the characteristics

An interesting picture of the circulation of coins emerges out of mint farming and the activities of the shroffs. The components of this picture essentially contribute to the characteristics which the pseudo-Mughal coins bear. These characteristics are the differentiating marks, the calligraphic variations, the varying metallic contents and local standards, the nomenclature, the mint names and the shroff marks.

**The differentiating marks:** The most significant effect of the practice of mint farming was a rapid increase in the number of functioning mints. It is very possible that this can be illustrated graphically, although no such attempt has been carried out here. The Mughal designs had become the norm of the day and any coin different in appearance, especially for high value transactions, would become instantly unacceptable and not favoured by the populace in general. The fact is best illustrated with the failure that early English coinage of Bombay

met with in the last quarter of the 17th century, entirely because of its arcane English nature. This meant that all the coinage had to bear the name of the reigning Mughal Emperor. This created the need to differentiate the issues - it was possible that with private minting every coin differed in its metallic contents. This gave rise to the most obvious feature of pseudo-Mughal coins - the differentiating symbols. Some of them are presented here. It is interesting to trace the origins of these marks. Some of them date as early as the reign of Akbar (the long stalked bud on the Mahmudis of Mulher, which continue as a mark on most of later coins of that mint). The evolution of the marks on specific series depends chiefly upon three factors -

1. The currency requirements of a particular area, i.e. in many cases the origins or the revival of the series itself
2. The socio-political leanings of the issuing authority and
3. The geopolitical location of the mint issuing a particular series

These factors are collectively responsible for appearance of a mintmark, and often it is not possible to attribute the *raison d'être* for any specific mark to any one of these. Another observation about the symbols is that they are placed only in specific position on the flan of a coin. The most frequent placement to be met with is in the loops of the letter 'sin' on the reverse. This is interesting because it confirms that the name of the issuing authority (the reigning Mughal emperor) on the obverse was indeed considered secondary and the coin was identified more on the basis of the mark than the purported issuer. Although the origins of the marks date much earlier, they acquired a distinct socio-political character in the years after the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

This socio-political nature of the marks is an area of considerable research interest. It presents an interesting picture about how a tiny mark occupying a relatively minuscule portion of a coin conveyed a precise social or political meaning. The earliest of such marks make their appearance on the coins of the Marathas, on the pseudo-Mughal issues in the name of 'Ālamgīr II, of the mints located far apart, such as Nasik, Ahmedabad and Lahore. Symbols with distinct Maratha affinity such the elephant-goad (*Ankush*) and the pennant (*Jaripataka*) appear on these coins. Both these symbols are excellent examples of those conveying a socio-political meaning. Politically the pennant represented Maratha authority, and it had been associated with it ever since Shivaji chose the saffron pennant as his flag. On social grounds the occurrence of the elephant goad is understood when we juxtapose it with the fact that the Peshwas were ardent worshippers of Ganesha, and the goad is one of his chief attributes. The political meaning that these symbols conveyed can be illustrated by the instance of Ahmedabad rupees in the name of 'Ālamgīr II. In his 4th regnal year, the city of Ahmedabad was briefly wrested from the Marathas by Momin Khan, the Mughal governor of Gujarat and the forerunner of the House of Khambhat. Accordingly, the *ankush* mark on the coins of Ahmedabad is conspicuously replaced with that of a flower. This indicates the political connotation most of these marks had

achieved.

As regards the factor about geopolitical location of the mint, it is interesting to observe that certain geographic peculiarities have influenced the choice of the symbols. For example, all the mints situated on the banks of the Ganges or Yamuna chose the 'fish' as the mintmarks. This choice is seen to be irrespective of the issuing authority - coins issued by the Marathas (mints like Agra, Brindaban, Mathura, etc.), Awadh (Banaras, Itawa, Ilahabad, etc.) and the British (Banaras and Ilahabad) all have the 'fish' mark.

Although it is not essentially a pseudo-Mughal feature it would be appropriate to comment on a significant developmental aspect regarding the occurrence of symbols. As the system of marking coins evolved, in certain areas they conveyed the sovereignty of the true issuer. In this case, the symbol became associated with the state. This is interesting because, as explained earlier, the origins of the symbols lay in mint farming, a system that effectively absolved the state from issuing coins. Identity of a mark with the state can thus be seen as the course of events completing a full circle. This fact is greatly accentuated when we see that modern (20<sup>th</sup> century) machine-struck coins of a state like Jaipur had its characteristic 'jhar' symbol incorporated into their designs even though the coins clearly stated the name of the issuing state and its ruler. Often a particular symbol would be associated with a ruler and conveyed his identity. The ruler saw it as an indication of the royal prerogative of issuing coins. This is best exemplified by the coins of Bikaner which over 200 years had evolved the system of identifying each ruler with a characteristic symbol. Ganga Singh, the penultimate ruler of Bikaner (1887-1942) was identified by a *morchel* (a sort of flywhisk). He became a party to the convention forwarded by the British Government and agreed to have the coins of his state struck to the standards of the British Indian currency system. But even though his name appeared on the rupees, he chose to incorporate his symbol, indicating his right in this charmingly pictorial manner.

**Calligraphic Variations:** This is a characteristic of pseudo-Mughal coins that remains to be properly elucidated. The main reason for such a treatment to an otherwise significant characteristic is that it is chiefly qualitative and revolves on identifying patterns that requires a considerable degree of aesthetic understanding of the inscriptions on the coins.

Although the style of calligraphy on Mughal coins is *Nastaliq*, certain distinct regional variations can be apparent. For example, the calligraphy of Aurangzeb's rupees from Lakhnau mint can be significantly different in execution from that seen on the Nusratabad mint. The decorative patterns such as additions of dots in the field also vary considerably and in most cases go hand in hand with the calligraphic variations. All these factors contribute to give the coins a distinct, regional 'flavour'. One can apply the same tenets to the pseudo-Mughal coins where such 'flavour' is more pronounced. Identification of such regional peculiarities in execution of the legends often helps in the attribution of a coin in the pseudo-Mughal series. Anyone who is familiar with the general truncation of the mint name that is met with on these coins will agree that such an exercise proves immensely valuable for identifying a particular coin, often with considerable accuracy.

The easiest way to illustrate this point is to pick up a syllable on the coin and see how its execution varies from mint to mint and region to region. The syllable that can best illustrate these changes is the 'julū' of the word 'julūs' on the reverse.

Extending this argument, it is possible to generalise about the design of pseudo-Mughal coins on a broader regional basis. Certain areas evolved coins with typical designs and it is helpful to note these as an indispensable tool to identify the locations of some homonymous mints. A good example would be a unique (so far!) rupee of a mint named 'Murtazabad' that appeared in List 90 of Steve Album, and was subsequently noted in ONS newsletter 134. There was a 'Murtazabad' in Maharashtra (the town of Miraj), but the 'flavour' of this coin rightly prompted the Newsletter Editor to remark 'presumably a Rohilla mint'. Although its location is not certain, the lead provided by the distinct design and calligraphic style is important and will surely help in identifying it in future with some certainty.

The repetitive copying of coin legends to maintain a particular calligraphic style caused the legends to get more and

more stylised even though retaining the 'flavour'. This leads to

a distinct progressive degradation in the style of execution. Examples of this phenomenon are the two

only labelled as 'the 'Azamnagar type'. The first originates from Rupees in

and the second comprises the corruption

pepee in the name of Aurangzeb minted at

ever currency of the South-Central

of Kolhapur, Belgaum, Dharwad and

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an aggregate, does not extend beyond a range of 20%. In other words most of the local standards of purity can be grouped in a range of about 75 to 95 % of precious metal contents.

A small change in metallic content among coins of the same type was often denoted by the addition of an insignificant mark such as a dot added at a particular place. Examples of this practice are the issues of the mint of Vaphgaon mint under the Marathas, where there exist two varieties of the 'Waubgaom' rupee - the 'ekboondki' with one dot below 'julūs' and the 'do-boondki' with two dots below 'julūs'. The metallic contents of these two varieties differed and so did their exchange rates. A similar instance is seen in the 'Ankushi' rupees from mints situated all over Deccan, where a system of dots placed around the word 'julūs' is seen to be employed to help professionals ascertain their metallic content.

**The Nomenclature:** Coins that possessed an overall similar look as far as the purported issuing authority and denomination are concerned needed to be differentiated for practical reasons.

One most interesting way this was done was by giving them particular names. It is certain that the practice of naming coins for reference is of ancient origin. But never before in India had

the nomenclature of coins played as vital a role in their exchange and general circulation as in the case with the pseudo-Mughal coins. The

source of information regarding the nomenclature is chiefly literary. The contemporary social, economic and political documents are replete with coin names. Often it is not possible to correctly identify the coins that are referred in the literature with actual specimens. Such an exercise is crucial to have a thorough understanding of the

currency system of the 18th and 19th centuries

The names of coins can be broadly differentiated into the following categories

1. Those originating from the issuing authority, e.g. Muhammadshahi, Alamgiri, Shivarai, Akheshahi

2. Those based on the mint where the coin was produced, e.g. Rahimatpuri, Surti, Delhi-sikka, Farrukhabadi, Chandori

3. Those named after the mint where the coin was produced, e.g. Rahimatpuri, Surti, Delhi-sikka, Farrukhabadi, Chandori

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'Azamnagar Gokak a that the design of a r Dicholi is seen to ha constituted the chie Deccan region (distri Sawantwadi). Many

of the chief st and a distribu and many such and they often and an excellent and in Jan 1

and its imitations' ( Bombay)

**Evolution of lo content** The metallic dictated centrally wa The silver and gold p The earliest instance dictated central and silver and

around personages of lesser importance than the Emperor can be seen as a manifestation of the assertion of regional authority that these new aspirants to political freedom indulged in. It began with the favourites of Aurangzeb's court like Zulfikar Khan

known solely through coins: e.g. Ravishnagar Sagar and Ganeshpur Chinchwad.

**The Shroff Marks:** Although one of the chief known solely through coins. Ganeshpur Chinchwad.

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**The Shroff Marks:** Although one of the chief characteristics of pseudo-Mughal coins and confirming the attestation

of papers are available characteristics of pseudo-Mughal coins, the system of attesting coins and confirming the attestation with a small countermark reached its apogee in the Deccan. Scores of papers are available to indicate how the system operated, but unfortunately no comprehensive study has been undertaken. These marks range

calling their regional seats of authority after themselves. Further Nusratjang naming newly conquered forts such as Gingee after himself. Gradually the practice hastened, with more persons calling their regional seats of authority after themselves. Further examples include those of Murshid Quli Khan, who named a town 'Murshidabad' after himself, and the first Nizam, who

Murshid Quli Khan, who named a himself, and the first Nizam, who ing towns in his area of influence as 'rh'. As most of these places were te the name changes. Their official

reached its apogee in the Deccan. Scores of papers are available to indicate how the system operated, but unfortunately no comprehensive study has been undertaken. These marks range from simple holes to diminutive initials and complex socio-religious designs. It is evident that attesting coins formed one of the chief components of a shroff's business and he would levy a

examples include those o town 'Murshidabad' after held the title Firozjang nam 'Firoznagar' and 'Firozga mints, coins neatly illustr

G o l f

V a n



V a n



B e n g a l e n

Due to other attempts to transliterate the place name phonetically, it is also found written as:  
 Jaggernaykpalem      Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum part V, 1726-1752<sup>3</sup>.  
 Jaggernaykpoeram ibid.



It must have been to such a type of contemporary Arcot-rupee that the Dutch referred in 1758 when they had put some rupees into circulation which were accepted better than those of Arcot. The coins of Jaggernaikpuram alias Jagannathpūr must have been of

All the above coins were struck in the name of 'Ālamgīr II who ruled only for 6 years and died on 29 November 1759.

The practice of continuing to strike coins in the name of the emperor till long after his death is not had put some rupees into circulation which were accepted better than those of Arcot. The coins of Jaggernaikpuram alias Jagannathpūr must have been of Mughal type as the Parwana stipulated that the coins should be struck with the Emperor's name, to grace his name and make him illustrious. In 1758 when the first

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uncommon in Indian numismatics. In this case the name of 'Ālamgīr II was continued, a fact which may have been inspired by the Arcot coins of the British East India Company on which the name of 'Ālamgīr II was also continued. Unlike the Arcot-rupees of the B.E.I.C., the regnal-year on the Jagannathpūr rupees did not become fixed, but does show some irregularities for which no

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eager enough to come to Jagannathpur as the mint had virtually come to a stand-still and, the following year, Masulipatnam was taken from the French by the English General Pigot.

The close resemblance applies also to the copper coins struck at Jaggeraikpuram as Dalrymple (quoted by Pridmore p.48) mentions "the Dutch minted dubs at

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#### The British occupation of Jagannathpur

General Pigot

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the coins are of indigenous fabric, belong to the series of Dutch colonial coinage.

• AH1185/Ry.17 (1771)

**Catalogue of rupees of Jagannathpūr mint.**

Note: For the table of the Hegira-dates and the respective regnal years see the appendix, according to the series of Dutch colonial coinage.



**Catalogue of rupees of Jagannathpūr mint.**

Note: For the table of the Hegira-dates and the respective regnal years see the appendix.



- Reconstruction of the complete die



Catalogue Central Museum Nagpur, no.1305

Weight: 11,15 g.

- Reconstruction of the complete die



Catalogue Central Museum Nagpur, no.1305

Weight: 11,15 g.

coll. Musée Monnaies et Médailles, Monnaie de Paris.

Weight: 11.25 g;

Boden Museum, Berlin

coll. Musée Monnaies et Médailles, Monnaie de Paris

Weight: 11.25 g;

Boden Museum, Berlin

• AH1186/Ry.18 (1772/73)

Obv.: 'ālamgīr (AH date)  
bād shāh ghāzī  
sikka mubāarak

Rev.: jalūs



• AH1186/Ry.18

Obv.: 'ālamgīr (AH date)  
bād shāh ghāzī  
sikka mubāarak

Rev.: jalūs  
māimanat  
mānūs sana (Year) jagamath  
ḍarb  
-pūr

Rupees



(1772/73)



1870  
1871  
1872  
1873

1874  
1875  
1876  
1877

\*coll. Lingen, ex Brand coll. Sotheby sale  
d.d. 14-06-'85, lot 121 (part)  
Weight: 11,15 g

- AH1193/Ry.23 (1779)



Weight: 11,25 g.

\*coll. Lingen, ex Stephen Album list 107,lot 118  
Weight: 11,20 g.

**Half rupee**

- AH1204/Ry.28 (1789/'90)

Coll Pronk, Naarden (NL), ex Stephen  
Album, list 120, lot 125.

- AH1206/Ry.29 (1791/'92)

Coll Pronk, Naarden (NL), ex Stephen  
Album, list 120, lot 125.

- AH1206/Ry.29 (1791/'92)

\*Royal Mint collection, London  
Weight: 5,592 g.



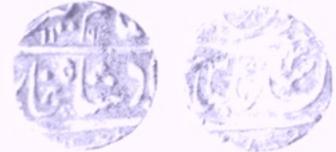
ex coll. S.L. Goron, London  
Weight: 11,25 g.  
\*coll. Lingen, ex Stephen Album list 107,lot 118  
Weight: 11,20 g.

**Half rupee**

- AH1204/Ry.28 (1789/'90)

d.d. 14-06-'85, lot 121 (part)  
Weight: 11,15 g

- AH1193/Ry.23 (1779)



\*B.M., ex Bank of England collection  
Weight: 11,20 g.



\*B.M., ex Bank of England collection  
Weight: 11,28 g.

- AH1195/Ry.25 (1781)

The dubs struck by the Dutch in their mint at Jaggernaikpuram in all probability were of the same type as those of Masulipatam, which is also affirmed by Dalrymple's quotation. According to Pridmore<sup>24</sup>, the Dutch established a mint at Bimlapatam (also known as Bimilipatam or Bimlipatam) under authority of a grant

dub, of which only one example has been published, is dated AH 1218 (1803/04). The last known date of a Masulipatnam dub is AH 1222 (AD 1807/08), which is of the same year that the mint at Masulipatnam was closed.

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If all these issues of the different mints were of the same stamp as Dalrymple says, it will be very difficult if not impossible to differentiate between the issues of the different mints.

With the return of the Dutch factories in India in accordance with the London Treaty of 1814, the right to strike gold, silver and copper at Bimlipatam was the privileges claimed by the Dutch Commissioner Van Braam<sup>25</sup>. According to the report of Van Braam's counterpart on the British side, Commissioner Hodgson, he agreed with it as he

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<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*, Oxford 1908, vol. X, p. 338-339; *Madras District Gazetteers*, Madras 1907; Godavari vol. I, p. 29.

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<sup>2</sup> Gole, Susan; *Early printed maps of India in facsimile*, Delhi 1980.  
<sup>3</sup> Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, vol. V (1726-1752), *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's-Gravenhage 1938.

mentions in the margin of his report<sup>26</sup>.

(a) It appears that the Dutch coined copper at Bimlipatam up to AD 1794. The cowles of the Raja of Vizianagram, copies of which have been received from the Collector of Vizagapatnam, since the report was prepared, mentioned the mint as one of

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<sup>4</sup> Kemp, P.H. van der, *De Nederlandsche Factorijen in Voor-Indië in den aanvang der 19<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage 1901.

<sup>5</sup> *Madras District Gazetteers*, Madras 1907; Godavari vol. I, p. 29.

Not much attention has been paid regarding the copper dubs and the only extensive article about this subject was published in the J.N.S.I., vol. XXX.<sup>27</sup> Except for a few coins, which differ slightly in design, all coins have as their mint-name: Machhlipatan.

the Madras Government;

coin of 63 stiver value, weight of 32.779 g. struck in the Dutch Republic from 1659. It was an important Dutch East India Company during the 18th century when struck with the monogram of the VOC. the Madras Government; *Dutch Records no. 15*,

subject was published in the J.N.S.I., vol. XXX.<sup>27</sup> Except for a few coins, which differ slightly in design, all coins have as their mint-name: Machhlipatan.

Reconstruction of the full die



<sup>26</sup> Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; *Dutch Records*, no. 15, *Accompaniments to letters from Negapatnam*, Madras 1911.

<sup>27</sup> Weight used in large trading transactions; it varied much in different localities. In this case the weight of the bahar comes to 480 x 0.4940942 = 237 kg.

<sup>28</sup> Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; *Dutch Records no. 15*, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup> Ducaton or silver rider was a coin of 63 stiver value, weight of 32.779 g. and fineness of 0.941.

<sup>30</sup> Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; *Dutch Records no. 15*, p. 167.

<sup>31</sup> Ducaton or silver rider was a coin of 63 stiver value, weight of 32.779 g. and fineness of 0.941. It was an important trade-coin used by the Dutch in the 17th and 18th century, some of which were even struck in the Dutch Republic from 1659.

<sup>32</sup> Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; *Dutch Records no. 15*, p. 190-191.

Appendix 1

Table of Hegira-dates with the respective regnal-years of the later Mughal Emperors with the corresponding AD-dates.

All dates are according to the Gregorian Calendar, the English adopted the new calendar in 1752, when 3 September 1752 became 14 September 1752.

Table of Hegira-dates with the respective regnal-years of the later Mughal Emperors with the corresponding AD-dates.

All dates are according to the Gregorian Calendar, the English adopted the new calendar in 1752, when 3 September 1752 became 14 September 1752.

**Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur**

|                |              |                   |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Accession date | 01 Jumādā I, | 1161 = 28-04-1748 |
| Deposition     | 10 Sha‘bān   | 1167 = 02-06-1754 |
| Died           | 02 Sha‘bān   | 1188 = 08-10-1774 |

Dates observed  
on copper dubs of  
Machhilīpatan

AH-date commenced AD Ry. Date Ry. commenced

1161 02-01-1748

**Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur**

|                |              |                   |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Accession date | 01 Jumādā I, | 1161 = 28-04-1748 |
| Deposition     | 10 Sha‘bān   | 1167 = 02-06-1754 |
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Dates observed  
on copper dubs of

AH-date commenced AD Ry. Date Ry. commenced

Machhilīpatan

|      |            |   |            |                |
|------|------------|---|------------|----------------|
| 1161 | 02-01-1748 | 1 | 29-04-1748 | 1161/1 (½ dub) |
| 1162 | 22-12-1748 | 2 | 19-04-1749 |                |
| 1163 | 11-12-1749 | 3 | 08-04-1750 |                |
| 1164 | 30-11-1750 | 4 | 28-03-1751 |                |
| 1165 | 20-11-1751 | 5 | 18-03-1752 | 1166/5         |
| 1166 | 08-11-1752 | 6 | 07-03-1753 | xx66/6         |
| 1167 | 29-10-1753 | 7 | 02-03-1754 |                |

Deposed 02-06-1754

29-04-1748  
19-04-1749  
08-04-1750  
28-03-1751  
18-03-1752  
07-03-1753  
02-03-1754

1161/1 (½ dub)

1161 02-01-1748  
1162 22-12-1748  
1163 11-12-1749  
1164 30-11-1750  
1165 20-11-1751  
1166 08-11-1752  
1167 29-10-1753

Deposed 02

**‘Ālamgīr II**

|                |             |                   |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Accession date | 11 Sha‘bān  | 1167 = 03-06-1754 |
| Died           | 08 Rabī‘ II | 1173 = 29-11-1759 |

AH-date commenced AD Ry. Date Ry. commenced

1167 29-10-1753 1

**‘Ālamgīr II**

|                |             |                   |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Accession date | 11 Sha‘bān  | 1167 = 03-06-1754 |
| Died           | 08 Rabī‘ II | 1173 = 29-11-1759 |

AH-date commenced AD Ry. Date Ry. commenced

|      |            |   |  |
|------|------------|---|--|
| 1167 | 29-10-1753 | 1 |  |
| 1168 | 18-10-1754 | 2 |  |
| 1169 | 07-10-1755 | 3 |  |
| 1170 | 26-09-1756 | 4 |  |
| 1171 | 15-09-1757 | 5 |  |
| 1172 | 04-09-1758 | 6 |  |

On 14 May 1759 Masulipatnam passed

|      |            |   |                 |
|------|------------|---|-----------------|
| 1173 | 25-08-1759 |   | Died 29-11-1759 |
| 1168 | 18-10-1754 | 2 |                 |
| 1169 | 07-10-1755 | 3 |                 |
| 1170 | 26-09-1756 | 4 |                 |
| 1171 | 15-09-1757 | 5 |                 |
| 1172 | 04-09-1758 | 6 |                 |

On 14 May 1759 Masulipatnam passed

06-1754  
1-1759

Dates observed  
on copper dubs of  
Machhilīpatan

date Ry. commenced  
03-06-1754 1167/2

754  
759

Dates observed  
on copper dubs of  
Machhilīpatan

Ry. commenced

|            |        |
|------------|--------|
| 03-06-1754 | 1167/2 |
| 23-05-1755 | 1168/1 |
| 11-05-1756 |        |
| 01-05-1757 | 1170/2 |
| 20-04-1758 |        |
| 09-04-1759 |        |

passed to the British

1759  
23-05-1755

1173/2  
1168/1  
1170/2

11-05-1756  
01-05-1757

20-04-1758  
09-04-1759

passed to the British

|      |            |    |    |                 |         |
|------|------------|----|----|-----------------|---------|
| 1196 | 17-12-1781 | 30 | 24 | period of       | 1196/x  |
| 1197 | 07-12-1782 | 31 | 25 | British         | 1197/23 |
| 1198 | 26-11-1783 | 32 | 26 | occupation of   | 1198/24 |
| 1199 | 14-11-1784 | 33 | 27 | Jaggernaikpuram |         |

|      |            |    |    |                 |                |
|------|------------|----|----|-----------------|----------------|
| 1196 | 17-12-1781 | 30 | 24 | period of       | 1196/x         |
| 1197 | 07-12-1782 | 31 | 25 | British         | 1197/23        |
| 1198 | 26-11-1783 | 32 | 26 | occupation of   | 1198/24        |
| 1199 | 14-11-1784 | 33 | 27 | Jaggernaikpuram |                |
| 1200 | 04-11-1785 | 34 | 28 |                 | <u>1200/2x</u> |
| 1201 | 24-10-1786 | 35 | 29 |                 |                |
| 1202 | 13-10-1787 | 36 | 30 |                 |                |
| 1203 | 02-10-1788 | 37 | 31 |                 | 1203/28        |
| 1204 | 21-09-1789 | 38 | 32 | 1204/28         |                |
| 1205 | 10-09-1790 | 39 | 33 |                 |                |
| 1206 | 31-09-1791 | 40 | 34 | 1206/29         |                |

# The Dating of the Reign of Muḥammad Shāh and Nādir Shāh's invasion of India

by Jan Lingen

For historical research one often has to convert the Hegira date to an AD date or the other way around. When doing this, one is often

## The Dating of the Reign of Muḥammad Shāh and Nādir Shāh's invasion of India

## The Dating

by Jan Lingen

one often has to convert the Hegira date to an AD date or the other way around. When doing this, one is often confronted with differences. When the difference in date appears to be approximately 11 days, it is clear that this is due to mixing up the Julian calendar. In the same article, dates can be found either according to the Julian calendar or the Gregorian calendar. When other people refer to these articles, the same mistake is usually copied. It is very important when using original sources (which is always preferred) to realise which era the AD date should be converted to.

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### Introduction of the Gregorian calendar

In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII introduced a new calendar to replace the Julian calendar in which

the year was slightly longer. Most Roman-Catholic countries in Europe then adopted the new calendar, but the Protestant as well as the Greek-Orthodox countries changed to it much later<sup>1</sup>. England adopted the new calendar in 1752. In that year, the old Julian calendar changed to the new Gregorian calendar, when 3 September 1752 became 14 September 1752. This corresponds to the Hegira month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, AH 1165. This was a 30-day

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### Christian Calendar

AD 1752

31st August to 2nd September

Old Style

corresponds to the Hegira month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, AH 1165. This was a 30-day

### Hegira calendar

AH 1165. Dhu'l-Qa'da

1st to 3rd

when 3 September 1752 became 14 September 1752. This corresponds to the Hegira month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, AH 1165. This was a 30-day

### Hegira calendar

AH 1165. Dhu'l-Qa'da

1st to 3rd

4th to 30th

### Christian Calendar

AD 1752

= 31st August to 2nd September

= 14th September to 1st October

of the British East India Company, before the 3rd September 1752 should be calculated according to the Julian calendar. All dates mentioned thereafter correspond to the Julian calendar.

Therefore, dates in original British documents, like those mentioned in the original sources, should be calculated according to the Julian calendar. All dates mentioned thereafter correspond to the Julian calendar.

|      |            |    |            |
|------|------------|----|------------|
| 1137 | 09-09-1724 | 7  | 15-12-1724 |
| 1138 | 28-08-1725 | 8  | 04-12-1725 |
| 1139 | 18-08-1726 | 9  | 23-11-1726 |
| 1140 | 08-08-1727 | 10 | 13-11-1727 |
| 1141 | 27-07-1728 | 11 | 01-11-1728 |
| 1142 | 16-07-1729 | 12 | 21-10-1729 |
| 1143 | 06-07-1730 | 13 | 11-10-1730 |
| 1144 | 25-06-1731 | 14 | 30-09-1731 |
| 1145 | 13-06-1732 | 15 | 18-09-1732 |
| 1146 | 03-06-1733 | 16 | 08-09-1733 |
| 1147 | 23-05-1734 | 17 | 28-08-1734 |
| 1148 | 13-05-1735 | 18 | 18-08-1735 |
| 1149 | 01-05-1736 | 19 | 06-08-1736 |
| 1150 | 20-04-1737 | 20 | 26-07-1737 |

|         |    |            |                           |
|---------|----|------------|---------------------------|
| 07-1730 | 13 | 11-10-1730 |                           |
| 06-1731 | 14 | 30-09-1731 |                           |
| 06-1732 | 15 | 18-09-1732 |                           |
| 06-1733 | 16 | 08-09-1733 |                           |
| 05-1734 | 17 | 28-08-1734 |                           |
| 05-1735 | 18 | 18-08-1735 |                           |
| 05-1736 | 19 | 06-08-1736 |                           |
| 04-1737 | 20 | 26-07-1737 |                           |
| 04-1738 | 21 | 16-07-1738 | Nādir Shāh in Delhi       |
| 03-1739 | 22 | 05-07-1739 | 9-XII-1151AH = 09-03-1739 |
| 03-1740 | 23 | 23-06-1740 | 7-II- 1152AH = 05-05-1739 |
| 03-1741 | 24 | 13-06-1741 |                           |
| 02-1742 | 25 | 02-06-1742 |                           |
| 02-1743 | 26 | 22-05-1743 |                           |
| 02-1744 | 27 | 11-05-1744 |                           |

|      |            |    |            |
|------|------------|----|------------|
| 1151 | 10-04-1738 | 21 | 16-07-1738 |
| 1152 | 30-03-1739 | 22 | 05-07-1739 |
| 1153 | 18-03-1740 | 23 | 23-06-1740 |
| 1154 | 08-03-1741 | 24 | 13-06-1741 |
| 1155 | 25-02-1742 | 25 | 02-06-1742 |
| 1156 | 14-02-1743 | 26 | 22-05-1743 |
| 1157 | 04-02-1744 | 27 | 11-05-1744 |
| 1158 | 23-01-1745 | 28 | 29-04-1745 |
| 1159 | 13-01-1746 | 29 | 20-04-1746 |
| 1160 | 02-01-1747 | 30 | 09-04-1747 |
| 1161 | 22-12-1747 | 31 | 29-03-1748 |

Died 26 Rab'ī II 1161AH = 15-04-1748  
Length of reign 30 lunar years + 18 days.

|      |            |
|------|------------|
| 1143 | 06-08-1735 |
| 1144 | 25-07-1734 |
| 1145 | 13-07-1733 |
| 1146 | 03-07-1732 |
| 1147 | 23-06-1731 |
| 1148 | 13-06-1730 |
| 1149 | 01-06-1729 |
| 1150 | 20-05-1728 |
| 1151 | 10-05-1727 |
| 1152 | 30-04-1726 |
| 1153 | 18-04-1725 |
| 1154 | 08-04-1724 |
| 1155 | 28-03-1723 |
| 1156 | 18-03-1722 |
| 1157 | 06-03-1721 |

Nādir Shāh in Delhi  
9-XII-1151AH = 09-03-1739  
7-II- 1152AH = 05-05-1739

Nādir Shāh's invasion

Nizām remained aloof the Mughals

believed and spread like wildfire and subsequently the Persians in the streets of Delhi were attacked by the local people. The riots went on all-night and about 3000 Persians were killed. Next morning, 11 March, Nādir Shāh rode out to the middle of Chandi Chowk, opposite the police station (kotwal) and close to the Sarafa Bazar. After,

March, Nādir Shāh rode out to the middle of opposite the police station (kotwal) and close to the Sarafa Bazar. After ascertaining himself from which

s of men the crimes of the night before had sheathed his sword as a signal for the general

of the night before had a signal for the general in the morning to 2 p.m.

by Nadir's secretary at 9 o'clock in the morning to 2 p.m. were slain. The sum estimated by Nadir's secretary at 150,000,000 equal to approx. 113,000 kg in gold), besides a large amount of furniture and other things. The

directed the Kasimbazar Council "to take up what they might want elsewhere" to carry on their business until they could supply them with proper specie from Calcutta. The merchants not to have experienced much difficulty, since the British had then accepted Madras rupees. By the end of May

through considerable uncertainty. Bal Mukhtaram Atmaram, a prominent banker, on whom two bills for Rs 50,000 siccas were drawn in favour of the English, was unable to honour them. The council at Kasimbazar therefore wanted a supply of money from Calcutta, "Fatehchand having refused to lend any more

The council at Kasimbazar therefore wanted a supply of money from Calcutta, "Fatehchand having refused to lend any more unless they would take Nadir Shah's siccas, which pass at present only as Arcot". They were unable to despatch money or treasure to the Kasimbazar factory saying that they could not

think it proper to take Shah Nadir's siccas at the rate which Fatehchand offered them, "the loss being so very considerable". The East India Company authority at Calcutta

think it proper to take Shah Nadir's siccas at the rate which Fatehchand offered them, "the loss being so very considerable". The East India Company authority at Calcutta therefore directed the Kasimbazar Council "to take up what

1,695,000 kg in silver or approx. 113,000 kg in gold), besides a vast amount in jewels, clothing, furniture and other things. The grand total from all sources amounted to 70 crores. Money was extorted from all sources, particularly the merchants and nobility. Whole families were ruined and many committed

Next morning, 11 Chandi Chowk, close to the Sarafa Bazar. After he proceeded, he un-

wards and classes of men the massacre proceeded. He unsheathed his sword as a signal for the general massacre which lasted from 9 o'clock onwards whereby nearly 20,000 people were slain.

The total indemnity was estimated at nearly 15 crores of rupees which lasted from 9 o'clock onwards whereby nearly 20,000 people

The total indemnity was nearly 15 crores of rupees or approx. 1,695,000 kg in silver or approx. 113,000 kg in gold), besides a vast amount in jewels, clothing, furniture and other things.

therefore sums the until the Dacca so merchant 1730 d.



This rupee is wrongly attributed by Whitehead and is actually of Dār al-Amān Sarhind. See under Sarhind; it is of a different variety than the rupee published by Whitehead under Sarhind (PMC-40).

**Shāhjahānābād, Dār al-Khilāfa (Delhi)**

Rupee 1151/- PMC-41 coll. Puniab Museum. Lahore

This rupee is wrongly attributed by Whitehead and is actually of Dār al-Amān Sarhind. See under Sarhind; it is of a different variety than the rupee published by Whitehead under Sarhind (PMC-40).

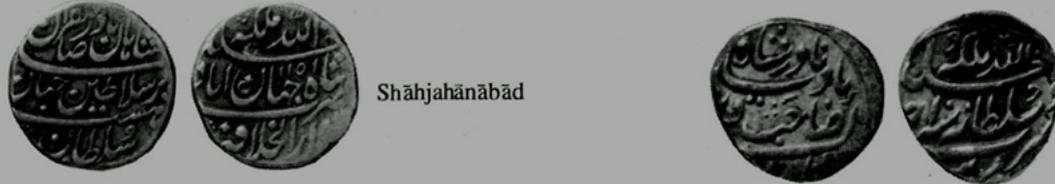
**Shāhjahānābād, Dār al-Khilāfa (Delhi)**

Rupee 1151/- PMC-41 coll. Punjab Museum, Lahore

Rupee 1152/- PMC-42, Pl. I-10 Idem, Lingen coll. Punjab Museum, Lahore



Rupee 1152/- PMC-42, Pl. I-10 Idem, Lingen coll. Punjab Museum, Lahore



**Sarhind, Dār al-Amān**

Shāhjahānābād

Shāhjahānābād

Sarhind

PMC-40, Pl. I-9  
PMC-57, Pl. I-18

coll. British Museum.  
coll. British Museum.  
Idem, Lingen

**Sarhind, Dār al-Amān**  
Rupee 1152/-  
Rupee (var.) 1152/Ahd

**Coin inscriptions**

The following inscriptions and couplets appear on Nādir Rupee 1152/-  
Rupee (var.) 1152/Ahd

The sovereignty of Nādir Sh counted from 10 of March 1739 coll. British  
PMC-40, Pl. I-9 coll. British  
PMC-57, Pl. I-18 coll. British  
Idem, Lingen

**Coin inscriptions**

The following inscriptions and couplets appear on Nādir coins struck in India.

The sovereignty of Nādir Sh over Hindustān should be counted from 10 of March 1739, when he was proclaimed sovereign from the pulpit of the Jamā' Masjid and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. The Hegira year 1151 terminated on 29 March 1739.

0 and 50 (Lāhore)

*nādir, al-sultān* The following inscriptions and couplets appear on Nādir Shāh's coins struck in India.

Coins in the name of Nādir Shāh with the date AH1152

sovereign from the pulpit of the Jamā' Masjid and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. The Hegira year 1151 terminated on 29 March 1739.

Coins in the name of Nādir Shāh with the date AH1152 were produced during the period between 30 March 1739 up to 1 May 1739, when Muḥammad Shāh was installed again as Emperor of Hindustān.

**The interregnal**

Nādir the Sultan

Rev.: *darb dār al-saltāna lāhor, khallad allāh mulkahu* (+date)

Struck at the seat of the Sultanate Lāhore, May God perpetuate his Kingdom

were produced during the period between 30 March 1739 up to 1 May 1739, when Muḥammad Shāh was installed again as Emperor of Hindustān.

The interregnal period of Nādir Shāh took place during the 21st regnal year of Muḥammad Shāh (16 July 1738 - 4 July 1739). The coins in the name of Muḥammad Shāh with date AH1151/Ry.21 were struck before Nādir Shāh's invasion and

PMC-11 (Aḥmadābād), 40 (Sarhind), 41 & 42

(Shāhjahānābād), 49 (Lāhore), 58 & 59 (Multān)

21st regnal year of Muḥammad Shāh (16 July 1738 - 4 July 1739). The coins in the name of Muḥammad Shāh with date

PMC-11 (Aḥmadābād), 40 (Sarhind), 41 & 42



# Some New Silver Coins of Fath Shāh of Garhwal

by Nick Rhodes

The coinage of Garhwal has been described on several occasions, but it is a little studied series, and new discoveries continue to be made. In particular, several new discoveries have

The accession year of Fath Shāh has been debated over the years, and John Deyell, in his article followed H.G. Walton<sup>4</sup> and others, in assuming that he ascended the throne in 1684. More

The coinage of Garhwal has been described on several occasions, but it is a little studied series, and new discoveries continue to be made. In particular, several new discoveries have been made since I wrote the first survey of the coinage in ONS Information Sheet No.4.

The accession year of Fath Shāh has been debated over the years, and John Deyell, in his article followed H.G. Walton<sup>4</sup> and others, in assuming that he ascended the throne in 1684. More recently, however, A.S. Rawat has demonstrated that Fath Shāh succeeded his grandfather, Prithvi Pat Shāh, in 1665, since his

The earliest known coin of Garhwal so far published in the literature is a remarkable octagonal rupee of Fath Shāh, dated 1757 VS (1700 AD). This is the only known coin of this ruler, who

others, in assuming that he ascended the throne in 1684. More recently, however, A.S. Rawat has demonstrated that Fath Shāh succeeded his grandfather, Prithvi Pat Shāh, in 1665, since his father, Medinī Shāh, had died in exile in 1662<sup>5</sup>. 1693 is, therefore, the 29<sup>th</sup> year of this reign, confirming the reading of the date in the Vikram Samvat era.

been made since I wrote Information Sheet No.4. The earliest known name of a Maharaja of Garhwal is in the collection of Jan Lingen<sup>1</sup>. Until now, this was the

confirming the reading of the date in the Vikram Samvat era. Fath Shāh should have decided to strike coins in this year, one can perhaps look at the Saharanpore Memoir quoted by G.R.C. Williams<sup>6</sup>. According to that account, Fath Shāh led a raid into the plains and pushed back to Dehra Doon with great difficulty by Sayyed 'Alī, the imperial general. Williams adds that Fath Shāh was "far from being the Emperor's humble and obedient servant". It is possible that the part of the legend that I read may refer to a military success, in which case the reason for the issue would be confirmed. There is no record that Aurangzeb made any effort to reimpose his suzerainty over Garhwal, so this issue of coins may have been a conscious demonstration of independence. Fath Shāh, however, presumably felt that the modest economic benefits of the coinage did not warrant the risk of incurring the Emperor's future wrath, so he did not continue the coinage after the initial political statement

As regards the reason why Fath Shāh should have decided to strike coins in this year, one can perhaps look at the Saharanpore Memoir quoted by G.R.C. Williams<sup>6</sup>. According to that account, Fath Shāh led a raid into the plains and pushed back to Dehra Doon with great difficulty by Sayyed 'Alī, the imperial general. Williams adds that Fath Shāh was "far from being the Emperor's humble and obedient servant". It is possible that the part of the legend that I read may refer to a military success, in which case the reason for the issue would be confirmed. There is no record that Aurangzeb made any effort to reimpose his suzerainty over Garhwal, so this issue of coins may have been a conscious demonstration of independence. Fath Shāh, however, presumably felt that the modest economic benefits of the coinage did not warrant the risk of incurring the Emperor's future wrath, so he did not continue the coinage after the initial political statement

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reigned in Garhwal from about 1665 until 1716. This rupee has legends in Nagari script, and, at first sight, appears to be copied from a rupee of Assam, although P.L. Gupta has suggested that Maratha seals may have been the inspiration.

to strike coins in this year, one can perhaps look at the Saharanpore Memoir quoted by G.R.C. Williams<sup>6</sup>. According to that account, Fath Shāh led a raid into the plains and pushed back to Dehra Doon with great difficulty by Sayyed 'Alī, the imperial general. Williams adds that Fath Shāh was "far from being the Emperor's humble and obedient servant". It is possible that the part of the legend that I read may refer to a military success, in which case the reason for the issue would be confirmed. There is no record that Aurangzeb made any effort to reimpose his suzerainty over Garhwal, so this issue of coins may have been a conscious demonstration of independence. Fath Shāh, however, presumably felt that the modest economic benefits of the coinage did not warrant the risk of incurring the Emperor's future wrath, so he did not continue the coinage after the initial political statement

Recently, a rupee of Fath Shāh was discovered in India<sup>2</sup>, where is it now in a private collection, and I am pleased to be able to illustrate this piece here. Instead of the Hindu legends, this new piece looks very much like a Mughal rupee in style, and can be described as follows<sup>3</sup>:-

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Obv: sikka az dahr zad



sikka az dahr zad chū mohr 'ināyat (?) srt mahārāja a zamān; 29 in field b srīnagar, sanat 1750 (?) srt badrīnath.....

The later coinage of silver timashas, or quarter rupees, in Garhwal has been described in an article I wrote in 1981<sup>7</sup>, and I would only like to add that it is interesting to note that one coin described in that article has the number "29" in Arabic numerals below the obverse<sup>8</sup>. While it is possible that this refers

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Obv: ... fath shāh Rev: dar

A New Type of Copper Dam from the Nepal Hills  
By Nicholas Rhodes



Hills  
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A New Type of Licchavi Coin from Nepal  
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