

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album [REDACTED]
2. Warden Numismatics, LLC [REDACTED]
3. Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. [REDACTED]

New and Recent Publications

Craig Benjamin, *The Yuezhi. Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria*, xviii + 245 p, 160 x 240 mm, 2007, paperback, ISBN 978-2-503-52429-0, vol 14 in the series *Silk Road Studies*. € 50, \$65. Available from Brepols Publishers, [REDACTED];

The publishers have provided the following information.

“This book provides a detailed narrative history of the dynasty and confederation of the Yuezhi, whose migration from western China to the northern border of present-day Afghanistan resulted ultimately in the creation of the Kushan Empire. Although the Yuezhi have long been recognised as the probable ancestors of the Kushans, they have generally only been considered as a prelude to the principal subject of Kushan history, rather than as a significant and influential people in their own right. The evidence seemed limited and ambiguous, but is actually surprisingly extensive and detailed and certainly sufficient to compile a comprehensive chronological political history of the Yuezhi during the first millennium BC. The book analyses textual, numismatic and archaeological evidence in an attempt to explain the probable origin of the Yuezhi, their relationship with several Chinese dynasties, their eventual military defeat and expulsion from the Gansu by the Xiongnu, their migration through the Ili Valley, Ferghana and Sogdiana to northern Bactria, and their role in the conquest of the former Graeco-Bactria state. All of these events were bound up with broader cultural and political developments in ancient Central Asia and show the extraordinary interconnectedness of the Eurasian historical processes. The domino-effect of the migration of the Yuezhi led to significant changes in the broader Eurasian polity.”

Krishnamuthy Ganesh, *Karnataka Coins*, 310pp, 6" x 8½", with 900 illustrations. Contents cover early coins, coins of the Badami Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas, Western Gangas, Chalukyas of Kalyani and Kalachuris, Kadambas, Yadavas of Devagiri, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar Empire, Bahmanis, Adil Shahi dynasty, feudatory chiefs, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, the Wodeyars of Mysore and other miscellaneous issues. Anyone interested in the book may contact the author at ghoysala@yahoo.com

Vlastimil Novák, *The Josef Michera Collections: Roman, Early Byzantine, Islamic and Late Medieval Glass Weights, Vessel Stamps and Jetons*, published in English by the National Museum, Prague, 2006, 128 pp, illustrated throughout. ISBN 80-7036-205-7 It is hoped to publish a review of this work in a future Journal.

Other News

The Michael Broome Collection

We are pleased to be able to report that the collection of our founder and late Secretary-General, Michael Broome, has found a new home at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The collection has coins from a range of Islamic series but is particularly strong in the issues of the Seljuqs of Rum. This was one of Michael's

special interests. In addition there are over 100 Ildegizid copper coins, as well as a good selection of Abbasid dinars and dirhams, silver coins of the Ilkhanids, and coins of various Iranian and Turkish series. Anyone wishing to view the collection may contact Dr Mark Blackburn and his colleagues at the Museum ([REDACTED]).

François Thierry awarded the RNS Medal for 2006

The Annual Medal is the most prestigious award made by the Royal Numismatic Society, London. First presented in 1883, it is awarded in recognition of long-term excellence in numismatics. The medal for 2006 was awarded to ONS member, François Thierry, for his work on the coinages of China and Vietnam.



In the view of the Society's President, François' publications on the coinages of those two countries represent the most important contribution of substance made by any western scholar to the understanding of the history of these coinages. So far, two volumes have appeared of the catalogue of the Chinese coins in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and three volumes cataloguing the coins of Vietnam, firstly in the collection of the Monnaie de Paris and then the collection in the Cabinet des Médailles. These three last-mentioned catalogues have revolutionised our understanding of Vietnam coinage – previously one had to rely on a volume published way back in 1905. When one adds the other publications and many articles, the exhibition work, international collaboration, one can see that François Thierry is, indeed, a worthy recipient of RNS Medal.

Islamic Glass Weights

Anyone interested in Islamic coin weights should visit the following website: www.numismatics.org/dpubs/islamic/ga Here you will find a catalogue of the around 1100 such weights housed in the Gayer-Anderson Museum, Cairo. The catalogue was compiled by Gere Bacharach together with three Egyptian colleagues and includes coloured images of all the pieces.

Indore Coin Event

On 18/19 November 2006, Indore was the venue for the All India Seminar and Coin Exhibition 2006 held under the banner of the Indian Coin Society. This was the first time that such an ambitious coin event had been staged in the city. Organised by Girish Sharma, the event was inaugurated by the Minister for PWD and Energy, Kailash Vijayvargiya. Chief guests were Dr. S.K. Bhatt and Prashant Kulkarni, who were formally welcomed by Malcolm Todywalla, Shatrughan Jain and Avinash Ramteke. There were at least 50 exhibits of coins from private collections, many of which

had interesting local and regional content. Prizes were awarded for various categories, the jury consisting of Dr Dilip Rajgor and Raju Bhatt. The event was well attended and attracted good media attention.



Inauguration of the Indore event by Mr Kailash Vijayvargiya, Minister for PWD and energy (centre); on the left, Prashant Kulkarni and Dr S. K. Bhatt; on the right, Girish Sharma and the youngest coin collector at the event, Master Dhawal Sharma.

Review

Coins in India: Power and Communication, edited by Himanshu Prabha Ray, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2006 (de luxe edition 305 x 241mm, 116 pages, with 130 colour illustrations), US\$ 60.

Once again Marg Publications have produced a book which succeeds in making coins look both attractive and interesting. Their previous volume *Treasury of Indian Coins*, edited by Martha Carter, 1994, focused on coin design and showed how coins informed us about Indian art and culture. This volume, generously supported by the Reserve Bank of India, carries their success forward by presenting numismatics as a more complex topic of broader interest to historians. The main thrust of the volume sets out to show the role of coins in politics and other topics related to the religious and cultural history of the Subcontinent for a general readership. As in the previous volume, the editor has selected a team of coin specialists and invited each of them to write an illustrated essay to present a particular aspect of the subject, presenting the current position achieved by recent research, set out in a popular style which can be understood by the non-specialist reader. Many of the essays in the volume were first prepared for presentation at a conference organised by Ray at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The success of the book rests to some extent on the ability of the editor to pick the right authors and to set them the right tasks, and the conference enabled her to test their relevance to the volume.

The volume opens with an overview by the editor of the political and cultural role of coinage in India. As Ray observes 'the enormous reach of coins on account of their mobility within society made them ideal carriers of messages' (p. 8). She explores the methodologies used by numismatists and historians to gain an understanding of coinage and at the same time outlines the resources coins present to numismatists and historians. (There is a minor slip with one of the images, figure 11 (p. 14) shows a coin of Alexander the Great, but the caption misidentifies it as an issue of the Thracian king, Lysimachus. Lysimachus coins portray Alexander with an image of Athena on the reverse, whereas this coin has the head of Heracles on the obverse with Zeus on the reverse.)

The first essay is by Ray herself and re-examines the introduction of Roman coinage through Roman trade in the early centuries of the Common Era. She draws together archaeological, epigraphic and textual evidence to reassess the discoveries of large numbers of Roman coins in the subcontinent, particularly in the south.

The second essay by Shailendra Bhandare makes a more detailed use of coin evidence to create a picture of the political map of western India during the period when Roman traders were arriving in the region. Bhandare has done a detailed study in his doctoral research of the coinages of the Satavahana kings who dominated this region. He developed a methodology to distinguish the local distribution of Satavahana coins which has enabled him to map their progress in establishing control of the region and expanding their empire. He shows, through a series of overstruck coins how they interacted with the Western Satraps, their northern neighbours in western India. It is a skillful demonstration of the value of numismatic reconstruction of historical processes.

The third essay has Ray teaming with Rita Devi Sharma in examining the religious iconography of the Hindu god, Shiva, on ancient coins. They rightly show that individual coin images should not be considered in isolation, but within the context of contemporary religious ideas and the continuity of representations over several centuries. Unfortunately they wrote before the discovery by Wilfred Pieper of a representation of Shiva on the back of a late Mauryan punch-marked coin, so could not include it in their study. In the view of this reviewer they are wrong to see as three Shiva lingas the representation of three arched shrines, but they correctly see linga (Taxila, figure 2, the picture is rotated 90 degrees anti-clockwise) and Shiva representations (Ujjain, figure 4) on pre-Kushan coins (p. 37). They also mistake for Shiva representations of Balarama on Indo-Scythian coins and seals, where the deity is shown holding a plough and pestle, not a trident and club. Apart from these minor errors, they make a clear and interesting survey of Shiva images from the second century BC down to the period of Shashanka, the seventh century king of Bengal. (Figure 11 shows a coin of Vasudeva I, not Kanishka I)

The fourth essay is an interesting innovation, using coins to explore issues of Gender and Politics, a topic of considerable interest in today's academic world. Its author Devika Rangachari chooses the coinage of the queens of medieval Kashmir, Sugandha (904-6) and Didda Devi (980-1003). Her account of their reigns and their roles in the political intrigues of the period present a vivid narrative and her analysis of the ways in which former historians, all male, have fallen into the trap of characterising their actions according to their own views of women is insightful. She rightly criticises them for their simplistic explanations of the exercise of royal power by these queens. This is an important contribution to the study of gender in historical debate, only weakened, perhaps, by the paucity of the contribution coins can make to the evidence, beyond the important fact that these queens were powerful enough to ensure that their own names appeared on the coins issued during their reigns.

The fifth essay by Syed Ejaz Hussain gives us a lesson in the function of inscriptions on South Asia's early Islamic coins. From the victory coins in the name of Muhammad bin Sam recording his army's conquest of Bengal in the opening decade of the thirteenth century to the 'forced' money of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the mid-fourteenth century. Hussain concludes with the statement that 'coins were a strong, easy, and reliable medium relating to the state or kingship, a king's policy, or any political or military moves, to the people.' (p. 65) This reviewer would ask him to reconsider such a statement. He has shown clearly that coins are a good indicator of royal aspiration and achievement, but the function of such declarations is less clear. One cannot say that the messages are for the people if the likelihood is that many of the users of the coins were illiterate. We also know from our own experiences that we rarely look at the designs of the coins we use, and if we do they are often difficult to interpret. The messages are more likely to be a self-reflecting assertion by the ruler, aimed at himself and his courtiers.

The sixth essay starts with the concluding point of the previous essay, examining the coinages of Muhammad bin Tughluq. This essay by Sanjay Garg is a detailed account of his coinage, extracting as much historical evidence from them as one could possibly imagine. Like Bhandare's essay, the author has made a very detailed study of the coinage, exploring it through systematic numismatic method. He is therefore able to locate each

coin from which evidence is derived in its correct chronological and geographical location within the reign. This evidence is then explored in the context of the recorded history of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. Garg concludes by pointing to the value of the coins as contemporary eyewitnesses correcting the bias of the authors of the recorded history 'coins remain the most unbiased and reliable source of history. In the present instance, they help us in understanding a little more the conundrum called Muhammad bin Tughluq'. (p. 75)

The seventh essay seems to this reviewer a little out of place in this volume. In it, Najaf Haidar examines a problem in the coinage of the Mughal emperor, Akbar. It is out of place because here we do not have an account of how the broader topic can be addressed for the general reader through another phase of coinage, but a piece of genuine scholarly research being presented for the first time. Haidar examines the use of notions of the Islamic Millennium and a new calendar by Akbar. He assesses the chronology of the coin issues to resolve problems of interpretation and reaches a credible solution. He positions his results within a broader account of the religious and political background to Akbar's adoption of new dating systems. This is an outstanding piece of scholarship and demonstrates at a scholarly level the objectives of the book. Although a scholarly piece of work, it is written in an accessible style and the general reader can appreciate it as a bonus to the whole volume, giving an insight into the processes of numismatic research, particularly the juxtaposition of coins with contemporary texts.

Shailendra Bhandare returns in the eighth essay, in which he examines the numismatic evidence from the transition from Mughal to British imperial authority in the Subcontinent. Although Mughal power had long been in a very weakened state in the years before the establishment of the Raj, Britain's imperial rule, the coinage made nominal reference to the residual authority of the Mughals into the mid-nineteenth century. Bhandare explores the different ways in which the princely states indicated their growing independence from the Mughals and then adapted their expressions of independence to the establishment of formal British rule. He shows a full command of a very complex series of coins to create an intelligible overview. Although the British tried hard to create a uniform coinage throughout their Indian empire, it was not until the establishment of sovereign rule in India and Pakistan that the last remnants of independent coinage were eradicated.

The ninth essay by Jean-Marie Lafont turns the topic of the volume on its head by presenting a narrative of how the Subcontinent's political history has affected the study of coins. He tells the story of the early development of numismatics by foreign soldier scholars in the service of the Sikh army in the early nineteenth century. When the Sikh king, Ranjit Singh, set out to modernise his military forces in order to combat the growing pressure of Afghan incursions and the ambitions of British rule, he recruited several soldiers of fortune who had previously fought for Napoleon. The French and Italian officers amused themselves when off duty by collecting coins and digging up ancient monuments in search of their memories of Greek rule in India under Alexander the Great and his successors. The discoveries they made prompted other adventurers to explore the ruins and bazaars of the Punjab and beyond in search of ancient relics. Ranjit Singh's officers and those who followed them worked with British, French and German scholars to start piecing together the Subcontinent's ancient history from the coins and other finds. Lafont recognises among these explorers and scholars two early non-European collectors Mohan Lal and Keramat Ali.

The tenth and final chapter brings the story of coinage as a political instrument up to date by placing India's recent coinage alongside its international contemporaries. In her essay, Indira Rajaraman explores many interesting questions, looking not only at the relationship between coins and sovereignty, but also at the diminishing role of coinage in the face of the growth of the role of paper money in the twentieth century. She identifies one of the most important residual purposes of coinage as 'coins provide an interesting example of persistence as a stabilizer, of the cultural

need for symbols of continuity in a fast-changing world.' (p. 115) Throughout more than two millennia of history coins continue to have things to tell us about the societies which have used and still use them.

Himanshu Ray is to be congratulated on presenting us with this excellent volume, a worthy counterpart to the earlier Marg volume. She has gathered together a team of scholars who have shown to a general readership the amazing range and quality of insights which can be gathered from the study of coins. For the specialist, the volume also has much to offer as many of the authors are leading specialists in the history of coinage in the Subcontinent. Apart from its educational and numismatic value, Marg have also succeeded in producing a visually stunning volume. Through the extensive use of colour and of enlargements the book has become a thing of beauty. A good looking book with a beautiful mind – what more could one ask for!

Joe Cribb

Articles

LETTERS FROM ARTURO ANZANI¹

By Vincent West

Arturo Anzani (1879-c.1946/7) was the founding father of Aksumite numismatics, publishing in 1926 his great work 'Numismatica Axumita'². But the man himself remains an enigma and I have been unable to trace a photograph or an obituary³. Though his numismatic work was of a professional standard, it was accomplished as an amateur in the spare time that remained after his employment as an accountant. There are however letters from him to the French collector Claudius Côte (died 1956) preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which reveal more about the man and these are the subject of this paper.

Arturo (or Arthur as he invariably signed himself) Anzani was born at Nizza in Italy on 5 January 1879⁴. In 1903 he was living in Milan and had formed a sizable collection of Greek and Roman coins: one gold, 61 silver and 459 copper⁵. He spent most of seven years in Eritrea⁶ and his interest in Aksumite coins was no doubt aroused then. In 1907 he saw at the museum in Asmara the Aksumite coins from the 1906-7 Adulis excavations⁷. He worked in Eritrea from 1913 as an accountant at the government accounts office, returning to Rome in 1918⁸. He began to collect the Aksumite series, in 1915 presenting two coins to the British Museum - a silver of Ebana (BMC 310) and a copper of Joel (BMC 452)⁹ - and thirteen copper coins to the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁰.

Anzani's lasting fame rests on the two works he completed in the 1920's. In 1926 'Numismatica Axumita' included a corpus of 513 Aksumite coins (173 gold, 18 silver and 322 copper). Among these were Anzani's 93 coins (19 gold, 4 silver and 70 copper)¹¹. Two years later 'Numismatica e Storia d'Etiopia'¹² added another 25 coins (3 gold, 9 silver and 13 copper) and rebutted the views of Carlo Conti Rossini¹³. The works were well received by his other contemporaries, Leonard Forrer writing of the former "the author deserves much praise for his magnificent work"¹⁴. They remained the standard references on the series for fifty years and are still worth consulting, though now superseded especially in their proposed chronology¹⁵.

Claudius Côte had varied numismatic interests including Roman, Celtic, medieval and modern. He became a "Membre Correspondant" of the Société Française de Numismatique in 1911¹⁶. From 1912 to 1922 he gave his surname as Côte-Baritel¹⁷, reverting to plain Côte in 1923 when he was elevated to a "Membre Titulaire"¹⁸. He was also a member of the Cercle Lyonnais de Numismatique, as was his wife after his death¹⁹. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1926, resigning in 1942²⁰. He lived at 38 Rue au Plat, Lyons, throughout.

Among the Côte papers held in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a volume of unpublished letters relating to Aksumite coinage²¹. They cover the period from 1935

to 1956 (when Côte died) and are nearly all in French. The letters are mostly to Côte but also include poor quality copies of letters from him. The latter, especially the earlier ones, are often difficult or impossible to read. The correspondents include many of the leading numismatists or dealers of the time²². This paper will be concerned particularly with the letters written by Anzani (and also those relating to the disposal of his collection after his death).

The correspondence between Anzani and Côte ran for over six years, from 4 November 1935 to 25 March 1942, during which Anzani wrote at least 32 times²³. From 1935 to 1937 he was living at Courbevoie, Seine (9 Rue de la Mutualité), about six miles north-west of Paris, moving to Brussels (49 Place de la Reine) in August 1937 and Milan (24 Corso Indipendenza) in December 1939 on the outbreak of war. Anzani's first letter, written from Courbevoie, offered Côte on behalf of Münzhandlung Basle coin 2 (see Table 1), a gold of Ebana, which he bought. On other occasions Anzani offered coins to Côte, though whether Anzani had any financial interest in these or was just helping a fellow collector is unclear²⁴.

Typically the correspondence proceeded in the following way. Côte would send a rubbing, sealing wax impression or plaster cast of his latest Aksumite acquisition to Anzani, who in reply would provide a reading and reference to his 1926 corpus and request details of weight, die axis and provenance. The impression is of a respectful collector on the one hand and an experienced scholarly numismatist on the other.

Table 1²⁵ lists the Aksumite coins in Côte's collection during the period of his correspondence with Anzani. The number of coins, ten, is small, reflecting the rarity of Aksumite coins on the market at the time. Côte was keen to collect the series and would doubtless have acquired more if they were available - he frequently asked Anzani if he was aware of any for sale. All but one of his coins are in gold. The absence of silver is easily explained as very few examples had been recorded by then, but the presence of only one copper suggests that Côte was less attracted to this metal at the time. In contrast, by 13 Nov 1935, Anzani's collection had increased to 202²⁶ coins (22 gold, 30 silver and 50 copper) with "many unique and unpublished varieties", but he would not find many more. Côte tried on a number of occasions to buy some of Anzani's own coins, but the latter was only prepared to sell his collection as a whole to a premier cabinet²⁷.

Anzani makes no mention of his wife in his letters. She is however named as Paola in letters written to Côte after her husband's death (see below). Anzani does mention a son, but does not give his name. Writing from Brussels on 1 October 1937 he asked Côte if he would use special (French) stamps for his child who collected them. On three occasions in 1939²⁸ he thanked Côte for the fine stamps he had included for his son, particularly the one of the "Clemenceau"²⁹. Writing from Milan On 5 June 1940 he had expected postal difficulties between there and Lyon and from 25 November 1940 his mail was censored. On 26 Feb 1941 he thanked Côte for the fine stamps of Marshal Pétain³⁰ on the envelope (Lyon was in Vichy, "Free" France).

But back on 4 May 1939, Anzani did not think war was imminent³¹ and every day which passed warded off the danger. However on 22 December he wrote that he had moved a few weeks earlier to Milan. On 12 January 1940 he was still awaiting some of his furniture and effects. He hoped that the next *Revue Belge de Numismatique (RBN)* would publish an article in which he had collaborated with Professor de Vis³² while he was living in Brussels. The article illustrated the known Aksumite coin types, abridging his previous works and emphasising the legends and the kings' names. But by 31 October 1941 he had no news on the publication, having written three times to de Vis and also to two friends at the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels without response. He now had little interest in the article as it was very out of date³³. Since at least 1935 he had been labouring on a new work and had hoped it might appear in French³⁴. He had however found a new vehicle for publication, as the Società Numismatica Italiana had re-formed and was publishing *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*

(*RIN*) after a break of thirteen years. The 1941 volume contained the first two parts of his new work "Le Monete dei Re di Aksum"³⁵, the Introduction and "I Re Pagani Predecessori di Ezana" (The Pagan Predecessors of Ezana), the latter printed in two portions. Côte was the first foreigner to know about it, and Anzani asked him to tell the Bibliothèque Nationale. Anzani illustrated one of Côte's coins (Table 1 final entry), an imitation of a Byzantine solidus found at Aksum, a coin which Côte later exchanged. This was the only Côte coin cited - he had no pre-Ezana coins. By 17 November Anzani had already begun his third part "Ezana and his Time" which he hoped would appear in the Spring. He expected there would be, in all, seven or eight parts; a combined volume and translations would have to wait till the end of the war bearing in mind the printing and paper difficulties. In his last letter to Côte of 25 March 1942 he was still labouring hard on the work and was clearly very pleased with the parts so far published. He had been able to record many new types and specimens: whereas in 1926 he had listed 11 types represented by 20 corpus entries³⁶ for the kings before Ezana, he could now record 17 types represented by about fifty entries³⁷. He expected the work to require another two or three years to complete, with the third part appearing at the end of 1942. Unfortunately these plans came to nothing: the third and any later parts were never published and no manuscripts appear to have survived. The following issues of *RIN* for 1942, 1943 and 1944-7 contain nothing by him, which must have been a great disappointment to him. Despite its value, this work is rarely cited, presumably because it is incomplete. In his last letter he had described his health as excellent (on 11 February 1941 he had apologised for a late reply, partly due to flu), though times were very difficult. But it is clear that his health did soon break down (see below), perhaps due to wartime circumstances and the combined strain of both working and writing. Côte heard no more from or about him for four years.

On 15 May 1946 Herbert Cahn of Münzen und Medaillen, Basle wrote to Côte that Anzani was seriously ill and could not write to Côte. Anzani's wife, named as Paola, was at Pension Flora, Mendrisio, Ticino, Switzerland, about 30 miles north of Milan. On 24 May Cahn further explained that he did not know the details of Anzani's illness, but was in contact with his wife, who wrote from time to time. On 28 May the editor of *RIN* wrote that Anzani had been unwell in a Swiss sanatorium³⁸ for several years and probably could not continue his *RIN* work, which was why he had not replied to Côte's letters. On 6 June 1947 Cahn wrote that Paola Anzani did not want to sell her Aksumite coins at the moment, so presumably by this time her husband had died.

On 10 December 1947 Count Gian Luigi Cornaggia³⁹ of Milan wrote from Lugano that Anzani's family had now decided to sell his Aksumite coins, which could be seen at Paola's address at 3 Rue Mazzini, Lugano, Switzerland. On 31 December he wrote that he had prepared the catalogue of the collection which must be sold *en bloc*, Anzani's own wish. On 22 January 1948 he sent the nine-page typed catalogue listing 210 coins by metal (23 gold, followed by 30 silver, then 154 "copper and bronze" and finally three base silver forgeries) - an increase of only seven since 1935 - with their weights, conditions and cross-references to Anzani's 1926 and 1928 works⁴⁰. Many of the pieces were the actual coins illustrated there, but the catalogue also records many then unpublished types or varieties. Surprisingly Cornaggia seems to have been unaware of Anzani's 1941 work to which he makes no reference, regarding several coins described there as unpublished, including an Aphilas small silver and a Wazeba/Ousanas hybrid silver. Cornaggia asked for the catalogue to be returned to Madame Anzani, which Côte did on 2 February. On 21 February, Cornaggia wrote that the collection had, at one time, been offered by Anzani to the British Museum for £1000, but they had declined as nearly half the types were already in their trays. Since then the collection had grown but he thought the family would accept a similar offer of 30,000 Swiss Francs, which Côte noted with astonishment was the equivalent of 2,400,000 French francs. Cornaggia emphasised the great difficulty of assembling such a collection - one man's lifetime was not enough!

Côte however replied on the 25th that he would not buy, as more than three-quarters were (type) duplicates, and on 18 March wrote directly to Madame Anzani offering individual prices in French francs for 12 specific coins in the list (four gold, five silver and three copper). For example he offered 15,000 francs for the first coin, an Endubis gold. This stratagem failed as she forwarded the letter to Cornaggia, who confirmed on 29 March that the collection must be sold *en bloc*, no piece was available separately and it was useless to trouble Madame Anzani as she had complete confidence in his knowledge of the numismatic market.

We hear no more of Anzani's collection for the next five years but by September 1953 it was in the hands of Herbert Cahn of Münzen und Medaillen, who approached Côte on the 7th and quoted a reduced price of 20,000 Swiss francs for the complete collection on the 23rd. Côte could not travel to see the coins and Cahn eventually agreed on 21 October to provide photographs. On 5 November Côte wrote that he was comparing these with his own pieces. Cahn pressed him for a decision and Côte finally replied on 20 January 1954 that Cahn should give up the *en bloc* requirement and sell the coins at auction, suggesting Geneva, and offered his help.

Côte's reluctance to buy Anzani's collection was no doubt partly because he was now finding coins from other sources. His collection increased significantly, to 49 pieces at 1 January 1950 and to 78 at 22 June 1955⁴¹.

In 1955 a buyer for Anzani's collection was finally found. The Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, bought the collection on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee⁴². The coins are still held at the Jubilee Palace, Addis Ababa, but are not readily accessible⁴³. In 1956, on the occasion of a visit to Sweden, the Emperor presented some Aksumite coins to King Gustavus VI Adolphus who gave them to the Statens Historiska Museum Stockholm⁴⁴. These included the so far unique Armah copper from Anzani's collection with the variant reverse legend "Joy and peace to the people"⁴⁵.

Côte himself died suddenly after a very short illness on 25 November 1956⁴⁶. His wife died after a very long illness on 13 September 1960, bequeathing all his coins in accordance with his wishes to the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale⁴⁷. As well as 86 Aksumite coins, the highlights were remarkable series of Roman, Celtic, medieval and modern⁴⁸.

Table 1: Côte's Aksumite Coins 1935-1942⁴⁹

Number	Description	Corpus References Provided by Anzani	Letters ⁵⁰	Modern References	BN Reference
1	Ouazebas copper (pierced)	73 var.	1 Jun 1936 31 Oct 1936 30 Apr 1939 4 May 1939	AC ⁵¹ 54 H ⁵² 26	Côte 28
2	Ebana gold	107-8 var.	4 Nov 1935 13 Nov 1935	AC 71 H 34	Côte 33
3	Ezanas Christian gold	32-38	25 Sep 1937	AC 47 H 21a	Côte 20
4	Ezanas Christian gold	Obv.32/ Rev. 35	7 Feb 1938 18 Feb 1938	AC 47 H 21a	Côte 19
5	Ezanas Pagan gold	New var. (six dots above rev. bust)	-	AC 36 H 17	Côte 13
6	Ezana gold	39 var.	14 Apr 1938	AC 49 H 21b	Côte 21
7	Kaleb gold	136 later corrected to Obv.131/ Rev.128	31 Oct 1936	AC 91 H 41b	Côte 35
8	Ousas gold	188	14 Apr 1938	AC 85 H 37a	Côte 50
9	Ezanas Pagan gold	Obv.28/ Rev.26	12 Mar 1939	AC 36 H 17	Côte 12 or 14
10	Ella Gabaz gold	196-7	5 Jun 1940	AC 124 H 45	Côte 53
-	Gold imitation of Byzantine Justinian I solidus	Published <i>RIN</i> 1941 pp.87, 91 plate LL	11 Feb 1941 31 Oct 1941	-	-

Notes

The following abbreviations are used:

BSFN	Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique
LNV	Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NCirc	Numismatic Circular
ONSN	Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter
RBN	Revue Belge de Numismatique

RIN	Rivista Italiana di Numismatica
RN	Revue Numismatique

1. The work for this paper was aided by a grant from the Nicholas Lowick Memorial Fund for the Promotion of Oriental Numismatic Research. I am grateful to Michel Amandry, Director, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and his staff, in particular Françoise Thierry, for their kind assistance on my visits.
2. Anzani, 'Numismatica Axumita', *RIN* 3/39 (1926), pp. 5-110.

3. The library and archive of the Società Numismatica Italiana have nothing about him. I am grateful to their librarian, Giuseppe Girola, for checking.
4. G. C. Stella, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani d'Africa, Parte Ia: Civili*, (Fusignano, 1998), p. 91. I am grateful to Giuseppe Girola for this reference. There are several towns of this name in Italy.
5. F. and E. Gnecci, *Guida Numismatica Universale* (Milan, 1903), cited in G. Girola, 'Monete Aksumite: Bilancio Italiano', *RIN* 107 (2006), p. 473-85.
6. Anzani, 'Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia, note bibliografiche e nuove osservazioni di numismatica Axumita', *RIN* 3/41-2 (1928), pp. 5-69 at p. 6. "io stesso - nei sette anni passati gran parte in Eritrea".
7. Anzani, 'Numismatica e storia', p. 48 n. 21. The coins included 42 gold.
8. Stella, 'Dizionario'.
9. G.F. Hill, 'Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum 1914-1916', *NC* 4/17 (1917), pp. 1-30, pl. I-III at pp. 27-30; S.C. Munro-Hay, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1999); V. West, 'The Early History of the British Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins', *ONSN* 167 (Spring 2001), pp. 28-32.
10. Kammerer, *Essai sur l'histoire antique de l'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1926), Annexe IV, 'Les monnaies d'Aksum du Cabinet des Médailles'. pp. 154-70, pl. XX/1-22.
11. Anzani, 'Numismatica Axumita', p. 45.
12. See n.6.
13. C. Conti Rossini, 'Monete Aksumite', *Africa Italiana* 1 (1927), pp.179-212. Conti Rossini had reserved his own coins for this publication and had not made them available to Anzani.
14. L. F[orrer], *NCirc* 36 (January 1928), p. 22.
15. S. Munro-Hay and B. Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage* (London, 1995), at pp.24-6 provides a fuller assessment.
16. *RN* 4/15 (1911), p. cix.
17. *RN* 4/16 (1912), p. v; *RN* 4/25(1922), p. iv.
18. *RN* 4/26 (1923), p. ii.
19. *BSFN* 15 (November 1960), p. 480.
20. R.A.G. Carson and H Pagan, *A History of the Royal Numismatic Society 1836-1986* (London, 1986), p. 118.
21. The volume is labelled 'Copie de Lettres 12'.
22. Including among others Michele Baranowsky (Rome), Herbert Cahn (Basle), Carlo Conti Rossini, Count Gian Luigi Cornaggia (Milan), G M Galanti (Verona), Antonio Mordini, Kailey Muncharjee (Aden) and Francesco Vaccaro (Asmara, Eritrea).
23. There is no indication how they first made contact or whether they ever met, though Anzani invited Côte on several occasions (1 June 1936, 1 August 1937 and 5 August 1938).
24. For example: a Gersum copper on 1 June 1936 (available from Münzhandlung Basle ex Constantinople for 60 francs) which Côte did not buy; an Ezanas pagan gold in Italy on 19 and 22 March 1938 for £6/10/-; an Ezanas Christian gold on 14 April 1939 from Count Cornaggia which Côte returned on 18 May 1939 as too expensive at 1560 francs. In the last case Anzani was at least acting as a negotiator.
25. Based on Anzani's letter of 11 April 1938 (and its numbering) for coins 1 to 8, with Côte's manuscript updates for coins 9 and 10. Three further coins are noted in these manuscript updates, bringing his holding at 1 July 1947 to 13 coins: 5 bis (similar to 5 - BN Côte 12 or 14), 11 (a "Nezana" [*recte* Nezool] gold - BN Côte 47) and 12 (an Ousanas II gold - BN Côte 49). They are however not mentioned by Anzani in his letters, being acquired by Côte, the first presumably and the others certainly, after March 1942. The Byzantine imitation is listed here for convenience.
26. Later in the same letter he refers to 203.
27. Anzani letters 1 October 1937 and 20 May 1938.
28. 20 April, 4 and 18 May.
29. A 90c. blue stamp depicting the laying of the keel of the battleship "Clemenceau" on 17 January 1939.
30. Various French stamps of 1940-41 and later carry his portrait.
31. "Le redressement et la résolution de la France et de la Grand Brétagne feront réfléchir les fous aventuriers".
32. Abbé Henri de Vis (1885-1949). For an obituary by Paul Naster see *RBN* 95 (1949), p.170. His academic interests included Ethiopian language and culture. He collected widely, including coins, and had some Aksumite specimens. A few days before his death he was working on a (still) unpublished study on Aksumite coins.
33. In the event *RBN* was not published between 1940 and 1946. The article never appeared.
34. Anzani letters 13 November 1935 and 14 April 1938.
35. Anzani, 'Le monete dei Re di Aksum, studi supplementari', *RIN* 4/43 (1941), pp. 49-73, 81-99, 113-29.
36. Anzani, 'Numismatica Axumita', corpus 1-20.
37. Anzani, 'Le monete dei Re di Aksum', types 1/1-17/3.
38. "maison de santé" (which can mean mental home). Stella, 'Dizionario', states that he was admitted to a Swiss "sanitario" (sanatorium) in 1946.
39. *RIN* 5/50 (1948) p. 104 lists him as a life member of the Società Numismatica Italiana.
40. Copies of the catalogue are included in the file of letters at p. 173 and at the end. I hope to publish elsewhere an article on this catalogue.
41. Côte, note at front of Letters.
42. Letter 10 Dec 1955 from Antonio Mordini to Côte.
43. Personal communication from Wolfgang Hahn.
44. Stockholm 25557.
45. Anzani, 'Numismatica Axumita', corpus 259; Anzani collection AE 121; AC 152 (which in error on the basis of the two locations records two specimens) ; H 72b.
46. *BSFN* 11 (December 1956), p. 86.
47. *BSFN* 15 (November 1960), p. 480. His Lyons medals and jettons went to the Cabinet des Médailles, Le Musée de Lyon.
48. G. Le Rider, 'Monnaies Grecques Récemment Acquis par le Cabinet des Médailles ', *RN* 6/3 (1961), pp.7-26, pl. I-III at p.11. There were only four Côte Greek coins.
49. See n.25.
50. In addition to the summary of 11 April 1938 (see n.25)..
51. Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage*, as n.15.
52. W. Hahn, 'Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches', *LNV* 2 (1983), pp.113-80, pl.12-15.

SOME ADDITIONS TO THE COINS WITH THE INSCRIPTION "ULUGH MANGYL ULÛS (ULÛSH) BEK"¹

by Aram Vardanyan (Tübingen)

When the conquest of Transcaucasia and Adharbayjān was completed the Mongols left there a certain military contingent led by the conqueror of those areas, Chormaghun Noyan. At the same time the civil power in the region was entrusted to Amir Körgüz. He had to collect the taxes within those areas. However, in 1241 AD the Great Khan Ögedey (Oktay) died and his wife, Töregene (Turakina) Khātūn, inherited the whole Mongol Empire as a regent until the new Khan, her son, Güyük, was elected by the Kurultay in 1245 AD. In 1242 AH Chormaghun was replaced by Paichu Noyan who was elected the commander of the Mongol army of the West. Due to a plot, Töregene put Körgüz to death and in 1243 AD assigned her supporter, Arghūn Aqa, as a governor of the Fifth Ulūs of the Empire, which particularly included Adharbayjān, Armenia, Georgia and Diyārbakr. This Arghūn was responsible for collecting the taxes and control of administration on behalf of the Great Khan. At approximately that same time an issue of coins was also undertaken in some areas of the Ulūs. This was started in 642 AH and then continued for a couple of years. On those coins the ordinary legend "Qa'ān al-'ādil" was replaced with a Turkish inscription "Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek" which was engraved above the mounted archer shooting an arrow backwards. In 1971 M. Seyfeddini published an article on the early Mongol silver coins with the inscription "Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek". In that article he made an attempt to review the coins of that type based mainly on the most important collections of the former Soviet Union. He analysed the iconographic features of the obverse images as well as the inscriptions of the reverse

¹ This article was prepared in the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik (Univ. of Tübingen, Germany). In this connection special thanks must be given to its Director, Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen, Germany), who was, in fact, the initiator of this article. His advice and assistance made this article possible. I would also like to thank Alexander Akopyan (Moscow, Russia) for his permanent assistance during the preparation of this article as well as for the map and graphics which have been prepared by him for this publication. I also express a deep gratitude to the whole staff of the Numismatic Department of the State History Museum of Armenia and especially to Dr Ruben Vardanyan and Dr Armine Zohrabyan (Yerevan, Armenia) for giving me the chance to examine the coins of this type in the Museum collection. I would like also to thank Pavel Petrov (Nizhniy Novgorod, Russia) for the relevant material that he kindly provided.

sides of the coins and divided them into ten different types. At the same time he traced the places where such coins were issued. Those mints were Bākūya, Ganja, Kīrān, Lachīn, Lashkar, Nakhjawān, Tabrīz, Tiflīs and Warthān,* all located in Transcaucasia and Iranian Adharbayjān (North-Western Iran).² Seyfeddini suggested that the coins were issued by Amir Arghūn who, undoubtedly, played an important role in the political and administrative life of the region in those years. The inscription “Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek” was interpreted by him as the title “The Great Mongol Ulūs Bek”, which belonged to the governor of the Ulūs. In this sense he considered Arghūn as its potential owner, who took the title for a while in the absence of a Khan.³

Since the time when the article of Seyfeddini appeared thirty five years have passed. During that period more and more coins have been found to enrich our knowledge of that coinage. A number of new, hitherto unpublished coins have shed new light on the mint distribution at that time. Some especially significant specimens were in the collection of Islamic coins of Tübingen University. They provided information on some new mints which produced coins with the legend “Ulugh mangyl ulūs bek” as well. One may now assume that such a coinage also existed in the important towns of Akhlāt and Dmānīs. At the same time there were also a few mints located in the small towns of Barzand, Bawonq and Wirāwī (Warāwī). The increase in the number of coins allows us today to make a new attempt on a certain classification of the anonymous coins issued in 642-643 AH in the mints in what was then the south-western areas of the Chingīzid Empire. There is now an opportunity to review the material published by Seyfeddini together with several new coin types.

The aim of this paper is to redefine the regional borders and to seek the reason for the multitude of mints. At the same time an attempt is made to determine who carried the title “Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek” and was, in fact, the initiator of the coinage with a mounted archer in Adharbayjān and Transcaucasia.

THE LIST OF MINTS

In the list the mints have been arranged alphabetically. In order to avoid the repetition of the common legends met on both sides of the coins those have been abbreviated as follows:

Legend A = الغ منقل الوش بيك .

Legend B = لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله .

The references marked in *Italic* indicate the provenance of coins illustrated in this article.

AKHLĀT (643 AH or later)

Akhlāt or Khilāt (*arm.* Khlāt) (اخلاط) is situated on the northern shores of Lake Van and was the capital of the Armenian region Bznunik'. The population was mainly Christian where the Armenians represented the majority. Akhlāt was the capital of both the Armānshāhs and Kwarizmshāh Jalāl ad-dīn Mangubarnī. Numismatically, the town is well-known from the 12th-13th centuries AD due to the issue of Saljūqid, Bektīmūrid (Shāh Armāns) and Ayyūbid coins there.

1. AR Dirham, 64x AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to right, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots Legend B.

Around: [خلاط - ... - [وار]بعين - و ستما[ية].*

* Concerning the mint of Dvin mentioned by I.Djalaganian in the monograph *Iz istorii monetnogo dela v Gruzii v XIII veke, Tbilisi, 1958, pp. 18-9, 23*, there are some doubts, while no other coin with a mint-name Dabīl has been found so far or quoted by anyone else in the scientific literature. The mint located in Dvin stopped functioning already in the first quarter of the 13th century AD. Shortly after the Mongol invasion, Dvin lost its importance and gradually turned into ruins.

² Seyfeddini M., “Monety s nadpisju Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, IX, 1971, pp. 115-21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

* In the brackets [x] are the letters or words which have not survived and which have been restored using comparisons.



Tübingen no. 99-14-54 (2.86g, 23m);⁴ Artuk (2.60g, 17m).⁵

The coins were struck with the same pair of dies. Both specimens were overstruck upon a Tabrīz coin of the Qa'ān al-'ādil type issued in 643 AH⁶ which shows that they appeared no earlier than 643 AH or even later.

The position of the horse and horseman shows some parallels with Seyfeddini's Type V. However, the reverse field of this specimen is surrounded by a circle of dots and not a square, as on the specimen described by Seyfeddini.

In the first quarter of the 7th century AH Akhlāt and the adjacent areas belonged to the Ayyūbid princes, particularly, to the Malik Al-Ashraf Muzaffar al-Dīn al-Mūsa (1210-1220 AD) and his wife, T'amt'a. T'amt'a was a sister of the Georgian commanders (*Amirspasalars*) Ivane und Zakare, who in the first quarter of the 13th century AD entered the service of the Georgian Queen Tamar (1184-1213 AD) and her successors. After the seizure of the region by the Khwarizmshāh, Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubartī (1220-1231 AD), T'amt'a was taken away to his harem for some years. As Jalāl al-Dīn was defeated by the Mongols and the Sultan, himself, fled to Amid, T'amt'a was sent to the Mongol court where she spent the next few years. Only two years after the defeat of the Rum Saljūq, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusrū II (1236-1245 AD) by the Mongols, T'amt'a was set free at the request of the Georgian Queen Rusudan (1223-1247 AD). At the same time, an order came from the great Khan to re-establish T'amt'a in her rights over her lands. The Mongols seized the town with its adjacent areas and gave it to T'amt'a as a domain to rule.⁷

The battle between the Rum Sultan and the Mongol commander, Batu, took place in the year 1243 AD. Therefore, the re-establishment of T'amt'a in Akhlāt occurred in 1245 AD, i.e. in AH 642, the year when the issue of “Ulugh mangyl” coins started. Thus, the issue of coins with a horseman should be attributed to T'amt'a and the beginning of her new rule in Akhlāt. It is still unclear what the political relationship was between T'amt'a and Ulūs Bek, who produced similar coins in the northern and north-western mints.

BĀKŪYA

Bākūya (باكوية) was in the province of Shīrwān, located on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. Nowadays it is the capital of the Republic of Azerbaijan. As a mint it is better known from Ilkhānid times onwards.

2. AR Dirham, date illegible.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots Legend B. Around: الدرهم باكوية.

SHMM no. 515619 (2.77g, 19-20m).⁸

⁴ Ilisch L., Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik. Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen: Orientalische Münzen. Jahresbericht 1999, Tübingen, 2000, pp. 12-3, no. 9.

⁵ Artuk I., Artuk C., *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki Islāmī Sikkeler Kataloğu*, Part II, Istanbul, 1974, p. 762, no. 2199.

⁶ Ilisch., op. cit., p. 13.

⁷ Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Istoriya Armenii*, trans. and ed. by L.Khanlaryan, Moscow, 1976, p. 182.

⁸ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 119.

The coin was illustrated by Seyfeddini and attributed to the Type II of his classification.

BARZAND⁹

Ibn al-Athīr gives some information about Barzand. First, he mentions it while describing the events of 112 AH when the coalition of Khazars and Turks was struggling with the Umayyad general, Sa'īd al-Harashī. The decisive battle between the Khazars and Sa'īd al-Harashī took place at a place called Barzand, which confirms the evidence of Yāqūt al-Hamawī that earlier there had also been a country of the same name. The Khazars were defeated and retreated to the River Araxes.¹⁰ Barzand is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr again in the context of fights between Afshīn and Bābak in 220-222 AH. That time Afshīn pitched his camp precisely in Barzand.¹¹

Barzand is mentioned by Yāqūt al-Hamawī as a small town located in the direction of Tiflīs.¹² He quoted Istakhrī who claimed that there was a distance of 15 farsakhs between Ardabīl and Barzand. According to other sources, Barzand was located at a distance of 4 farsakhs from Bājarwān on the route between Tabrīz and Qarābāgh.¹³ Around 1340 AD the town lost its significance completely.¹⁴

3. AR Dirham, 64x AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right.

Of Legend A one can see only: الغ منقل.

Rev.: In a circle of dots Legend B.

Around: ضرب فرزند - ... - و اربعين - و ستماية.



Tübingen no. GA2F1 (2.62g, 23,5m).



Tübingen no. 93-9-26 (2.69g, 20m).

⁹ On the coins, the mint-name is given in the form of فرزند because of the Persian origin of the name of the town.

¹⁰ Abū-l-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī at-Tārīkh*, Vol.V, Beyrouth, 1965-66, p. 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol.VI, pp. 448-51.

¹² Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān*, by F.Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1924, p. 562. Obviously, Yāqūt al-Hamawī meant that Barzand was in the neighbourhood of Tiflīs but not in its direct proximity. The other sources prove that Barzand was located well to the south-east, much closer to Ardabīl and Tabrīz, which is more likely.

¹³ Krawulsky D., *Irān – Das Reich der Ilhāne*, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 566; Le Strange G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 175-6.

¹⁴ Nalbandyan H., *Arabakan aǧbjurnery Hajastani ev harevan erkrneri masin*, Yerevan, 1965, p. 146.



Album (2.79g).¹⁵

The obverse field of the first specimen shows that the coin was overstruck on the coin of the early Mongol type which had been struck in 630 AH. One can easily see a bow engraved in the place where the image of a horseman was insufficiently struck later.

BAWONQ

Careful observations show that the mint-name does not contain two letters *waw* in the way it is written but only one. It seems that the last one should be read either as a *qaf* or *fa*. By selecting the possible combinations of letters as well as an analysis of both toponymic and historical sources, Alexander Akopyan came to the conclusion that the mint should be read as Bawonq (بونق). In the Middle Ages, Bawonq was a small village near Mount Aragats in the Aragatsotn region of Armenia. Hovhannes (Johannes) Draskhanakertsi in his *History of Armenia* mentioned one Armenian Kat'oǧikos (*arm. patriarch*) Sion (767-775 AD) who had been born in the village of Bawonq.¹⁶ O. Darbinyan, who wrote the commentaries to the *History of Draskhanakertsi*,¹⁷ suggested that Bawonq had been a village in the *gavař* (district) of Dasnawork' in the *nahang* (region) of Tūrūberan (according to the geographical work of Ananya Shirakatsi *Ashkharacujc*, written in the 7th century AD, Tūrūberan was to the north-west of Lake Van). The district of Dasnawork' was one of the 16 districts of Tūrūberan.¹⁸ However, the latest researches have shown that Bawonq must have been located in the neighbourhood of Mount Aragats in the Aragats'otn region of the modern Republic of Armenia.¹⁹

4. AR Dirham, 6[4]5 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: ضرب بونق - سنة خمس - ... - [ست]ماية.



Tübingen no. GA2F4 (2.89g, 20m).

¹⁵ Album S., Price List, 218, 2006.

¹⁶ Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi, *Istoriya Armenii*, Yerevan, 1986, p. 100.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁸ Hakobyan T., *Hajastani patmakan ashkharagrut'juny*, Yerevan, 1984, p. 150.

¹⁹ Hakobyan T., Melik-Bakhshyan St. Barseghyan H., *Hajastani ev harakic shrjanneri teǧanunneri bařaran*, Vol.I, Yerevan, 1986, pp. 614, 757.

GANJA



Peus 374, 2003, no. 1261 (2.45g).



A half-dirham. Mehmed Mübarek (1.40g, 19m).²⁰

BAYLAQĀN

Baylaqān (بيلقان) was situated on one of the tributaries of the River Araxes, not far from Barda'a. As a mint, the town became important in the Mongol period. It was also the centre for an issue of Ildigizid copper coins in the 12th century AD. The existence of coins dated 645 AH from this mint was mentioned by J.Kolbas,²¹ but none of those are yet known to me. If correct, this would be the second issue of "Ulugh mangyl" coins implemented simultaneously with the coins of Bawonq in 645 AH. In the Tübingen collection there is one dirham of the first Mongol coin type in Adharbayjān with the legend "Qa'ān al-'ādil" and a bow below struck in Baylaqān (GA2 A6). This increases the possibility that coins of "Ulugh mangyl" type could have been struck in that town a few years later but have simply not yet been found.

DMANĪS

The Georgian town Dmānīs (*geo.* Dmanisi) (دمانيس) is situated to the south-west of Tiflīs. Around 642 AH an issue of copper coins in the name of the Georgian King, Davit IV Narin (1245–1299 AD), was made there.²² An issue of anonymous coins of "Ulugh mangyl" type was apparently struck simultaneously with the issue of coppers of Davit Narin.

5. AR Dirham, 6xx AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to right, horseman shooting an arrow to right, a dog beneath the horse to right. Legend A around. A seven or eight-pointed star is behind the horseman.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: [ضرب] بدمانيس - ... - [ست]ماية.



Tübingen no. 99-14-55 (2.81g, 19,5m).²³

²⁰ Mehmed Mübarek, *Müze-i Hümayun Meskükāt-ı Kadime-i İslāmiyye Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1318, p. 4, no. 1.

²¹ Kolbas J., *Mongol Money: the Role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 616 to 709AH/1220 to 1309AD*, Michigan, 1992, p. 196.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 13; Lang D., *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia and Transcaucasia*, New York, 1955, pp. 36-7.

²³ Iisch., *op. cit.*, p. 13, no. 10.

Ganja (کنجة) (*arm.* Gandzak) is well-known historically since the first centuries of the Hijra. The town was located on the tributaries of the River Kur. Ganja was the capital of the Shaddādid dynasty in the 11th century AD. In the 12th-13th centuries AD the Ildigizid Atabegs had their residence in Ganja as well. In the Islamic period, Ganja started producing coins from Umayyad times. Shaddādid issues of the 4th-5th centuries AH from Ganja are also known. In 630 AH Ganja also produced coins of Mongol type with a bow on the obverse.

6. AR Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards at a dragon, a winding snake beneath the horse. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: ضرب کنجة - في سنت اثنيتين - و اربعين - و ستمائة.



Tübingen no. 92-2-60 (2.56g, 21m); Album (2.93g);²⁴ SH no. 14870 (2.84g, 21m).²⁵

Both Tübingen and SH specimens were struck with the same pair of dies. The obverse side of the specimen published by Album was struck with the same die used also for the other two specimens. However, the reverse of that specimen was struck with a different die.

7. AR Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a winding snake beneath the horse. Legend A around. A seven-pointed star is behind the horse.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: ضرب کنجة - سنة اثنيتين - و اربعين - و ستمائة.



Sp 37, 1991, p. 50, no. 295 (2.95g); Tübingen no. GA2E1 (2.87g, 22m); Lane-Poole;²⁶ ANS no. 1922.216.220 = Lang (2.70g, 21m);²⁷ So 1979, no. 293; So 1985, no. 458 (2.93g); So 1987, p. 66, no. 923 (2.66g); Sikka Islāmī (2.75g, 22m).²⁸ All struck with the same pair of dies. Album (2.76g).²⁹ This specimen was struck with another pair of dies.

²⁴ Album S., *Sylogie of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Vol.IX. Iran After the Mongol Invasion, Oxford, 2001, Pl.67, no. 1344.

²⁵ Seyfeddini, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁶ Lane-Poole S., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol.VI, London, 1887, p. 5, no. 2.

²⁷ Lang D., *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, New York, 1955, p. 35, no. 15 (Pl.IV, 1).

²⁸ Sa'īd Jamāl Tabātabā 'i, *Sikka Islāmī*, Tabriz, 1347, p. 45, inv. no. 325.

²⁹ Album, *op. cit.*, Pl.67, no. 1343.

8. AR Dirham, 643 AH.

Description as no. 6.

SHMM no. 515619 (2.77g, 19-20m).³⁰ A half dirham. SHMM no. 515627 (1.20g, 15-17m).³¹

All the Ganja coins belong to Seyfeddini's Type I.

KĪRĀN or GĪLĀN

Concerning Kīrān (کیران), Yāqūt al-Hamawī wrote that it was a town in Adharbayjān between Tabrīz and Baylaqān.³² Kīrān was once mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in the context of the military campaigns of the governor of Armīniya, Marwān ibn Muhammad ibn Marwān, in 121 AH. That year, Marwān ibn Muhammad conquered several lands and finally came to Kīrān where he concluded a peace with Tabarsarān and Fīlān. According to Ibn al-Athīr all the areas which Marwān ibn Muhammad seized lay between Armīniya and the Caspian Sea.³³ While listing the twelve districts (*gavařs*) which paid taxes to the church (bishops' residence) of Syunik' (Siwnik') Step'anos Orbelyan mentions a village called Keren which was in the *gavař* of Kovsakan.³⁴ Whether this Keren can be identified with the Kīrān of the coins is unclear. What is more likely is that Kīrān was in the province of Nakhjawān, in the Ordūbād district of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan. Since 1926, archaeological excavations have been carried out in the place where the ruins of the settlement of Gīlān (nowadays better known as Haraba-Gīlān) survived. During these works a big settlement (ca. 300 hectares) with a citadel, towers and walls was revealed.³⁵ Somewhat earlier, in 1912, a hoard of 500 'Abbāsīd gold coins had been found in the ruins of that settlement.³⁶

According to Juwainī, in 1230 AD Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubirti was in Urmiya. At the same time he sent his Wazir, Shams al-dīn Yulduzchī, to defend the castle of Kīrān where his harem was placed.³⁷

9. AR Dirham, 6xx AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. The head of the horseman is facing. Legend A around. A seven or eight-pointed star above the head of the horse.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: کیران - ... - الدرهم



Peus 368, 2001, p. 54, no. 736 (2.88g, 23m); SH no. 14871 (2.85g, 21m)³⁸; SH no. 515631 (2.39g, 16m)³⁹; Peus 369, 2001, no. 1761 (2.66g); Göttingen. All struck with the same pair of dies.

³⁰ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 118.

³¹ Ibid., p. 118.

³² Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *ibid.*, p. 332.

³³ Ibn al-Athīr, Vol.V, p. 240.

³⁴ Step'anos Orbelyan, *Syunik'i patmut'jun*, trans. by A.Abrahamyan, Yerevan, 1986, p. 402.

³⁵ Aslanov G., Ibrahimov B., Kaškaj S., "Das mittelalterliche Haraba-Gilan (Azerbajdžan)", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, 29, 1997, pp. 401-2.

³⁶ Pakhomov Ye., *Monetye klady Azerbayjana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza*, Vol.I, Baku, 1926, no. 84.

³⁷ 'Alā al-dīn 'Atā-Malik Juwainī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, Vol.II, trans. and ed. by J.Boyle, Manchester, 1958, pp. 452, 454.

³⁸ Seyfeddini., op. cit., p. 120.

10. AR Dirham, 6xx AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, beneath the horse there is an ornament. The horseman has a sword or dagger at his side. The head of the horseman is facing the front. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.



Tübingen no. GA2F2 (2.85g, 18,5m); Sikka Islāmī (2.90g, 24m);⁴⁰ Sikka Islāmī (2.90g, 20m);⁴¹ Kapanadze (2.61g).⁴² All struck with the same pair of dies.

Seyfeddini attributed the coins of Kīrān to Type VIII of his classification.

LACHĪN or LĀCHĪN

11. AR Dirham, date illegible.

Lachīn (لجین)⁴³ is a small town in the region of Qarābāgh located on the border with the Republic of Armenia.

Obv.: A horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

SH no. 14876 (2.17g, 19-20m)⁴⁴; SMG no. 676 (2.61g, 20-21m).⁴⁵

Both specimens of this type were published by Seyfeddini under Type II and illustrated in his article.

LASHKAR

Lashkar (لشکر) was a military mint organised to cover the needs of the army. This mobile mint had to travel together with a military camp wherever it was stationed within Adharbayjān. According to Hamdallāh Qazwīnī, in Khuzistān there was the town of 'Askar Mukram which had previously been called Lashkar.⁴⁶ However, it is very unlikely that coins of the "Ulugh mangyl" type would ever have been minted there when all the other mints (except Akhlāt) were located either in Adharbayjān or to the north of Adharbayjān. Therefore, it is rather unlikely that this mint existed in the far-away province of Khuzistān.

12. AR Dirham, 6xx AH.

Obv.: Within a lineal circle a horse galloping to left, a horseman facing right and shooting at a bird, a dog beneath the horse to left. Legend A around.

Rev.: Within a lineal circle: الله محمد / رسول الله / الناصر الدين الله / لا اله الا الله محمد / رسول الله / الناصر الدين الله / لا اله الا الله لشکر - ... - و ستمایة. There seems to be a ring or something similar fastened to a bridle of the horse.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁰ Sa'īd Jamāl Tabātabā 'i, op. cit., p. 46, no. 326.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 46, no. 327.

⁴² Kapanadze D., *Georgian Numismatics*, Tbilisi, 1969, p. 87, no. 87 (in Georgian).

⁴³ Concerning Lachīn, given in the form of Khawakhachyats (*arm.* eagle's nest), see: *Istoriya Armenii of Kirakos Gandzaketsi*, trans. and ed. by L.Khanlaryan, Moscow, 1976, p. 170.

⁴⁴ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 118. Seyfeddini provided two different inventory numbers for that specimen. On the second occasion the same coin appears under number 746 (op. cit., p. 119).

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 121.



Tübingen no. 90-25-41 (2.87g, 21m); Peus 333, 1992, p. 77, no. 1113 (2.93g). Both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

Only on coins of this type is the name of the popular 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Nāsīr li-dīn Allāh (575-622 AH), cited on the reverse beneath Legend B. It is obvious that the name of that late caliph was placed on the coins either for political or religious purposes. An analogy is found in the coinage of the Chaghatāyids and the Golden Horde in the second half of the 13th century AD.⁴⁷

13. AR Dirham, 643 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting to left, a dog beneath the horse to left. A star behind the horseman. Of Legend A one can see: الغ من.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: ضرب لشكر - ... - ... - و ستمایة.



Tübingen no. GA2E2 (2.77g, 20,5m); SH no. 14867 (2.92g, 21-22m).⁴⁸ Type IX of Seyfeddini.

On the Tübingen specimen, the date is off-flan. On the Hermitage specimen, Seyfeddini read 643 AH. If this is correct the specimen in the Tübingen collection should also be dated 643 AH because both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

In the Tübingen collection there are two dirhams of the bow-type struck in 639 AH at the mints of Bāzār and Bāzār-Lashkar (GA2 B1, B5) as well as another two specimens without dates from Bāzār-Būlāgh (GA2 B3, B4). Apparently, these mints as well as the one called Lashkar might have had the same purposes of providing an army with coins during the military campaign within the area which was under the control of the contemporary Amir.

NAKHJAWĀN

Nakhjawān (نخجوان) was a town in the province of the self name, located on the left bank of the River Araxes. In the Arabic sources, Nakhjawān is better known under the name Nashāwā. In the Armenian sources the province is mentioned as Goğtn. Today, it is in the modern Republic of Azerbaijan. Actually, the mint of Kīrān mentioned above was in that same province of Nakhjawān.

The mint of Nakhjawān started producing coins in Ildigīzīd times (13th century AD) but coin issuing became more active only in the Ilkhānīd period.

14. AR Dirham, in the middle of Sha'bān of 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse is running to right. In the upper part of the left segment is written نخجوان. In the right upper segment is written ضرب.

Rev.: In a circle of dots the Legend B.

Around: في منتصف - شعبان سنة - اثنتين و ا - ربعين و.



Tübingen no. 93-39-22 (2.99g; 23m).

There was not enough place on the reverse for engraving the word ستمایة which was obviously omitted by the engraver. Another interesting feature is that the mint-name appears on the obverse. This is the only occasion so far showing the mint-name on that side of the coin. Finally, the date is also given in an unusual form: "in the middle of Sha'bān ... of the year ... forty two".

15. AR Dirham, 64x AH.

a)

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse is running to right. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Above: [نخجوان] رهم - الد - [...].



So 1989, p. 84, no. 458 (2.84g); Ak Akçe (2.80g, 25m);⁴⁹ SH no. 14872 (2.85g, 20m).⁵⁰ All struck with the same pair of dies.

The appearance of "الدرهم" on the reverse definitely shows that this type must be distinguished from the others. The reverse shows some signs of overstriking, done apparently, upon an Ayyūbīd dirham.

b)

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

Around: ضرب نخجوان - سنة - ... - ستمایة.



Tübingen no. GA2E3 (2.86g, 23m); So 1984, no. 145 (2.90g); SH no. 14874 (2.84g, 22m).⁵¹ All struck with the same pair of dies.

⁴⁷ Concerning this phenomenon see: Davidovich E., Denezhnoe khozjaystvo Sredney Azii posle mongolskogo zavoevaniya i reforma Mas'ud-Beka (XIIIv.), Moscow, 1972, p. 115-20.

⁴⁸ Seyfeddini., op. cit., p. 121.

⁴⁹ Yapi Kride Koleksiyonlari - 2, Ak Akçe, Istanbul, 1992, inv.10250, p. 42 = Şerafettin Erel, *Nadir Birkaç Sikke*, Istanbul, 1963, p. 8, no. 10.

⁵⁰ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵¹ Seyfeddini., op. cit., p. 119.

c)

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

In the left and bottom segments: اربعين و ستمائة is partially visible

At the right edge: [نخجوان] ضرب can be seen



Peus 341, 1994, p. 32, no. 1725 = Peus 343, 1995, p. 67, no. 1009 (2.86g).

Actually, the obverse side of all Nakhjavān specimens mentioned above was struck with the same die. The only difference here is the reverse side which was produced from different ones. Today one can observe, at least, three different reverse dies used for the coins struck in Nakhjavān.

There is also another specimen of Nakhjavān kept in the SH no. 14873 (2.30g) which unfortunately Seyfeddini left without a description.⁵²

16. AR Dirham, 643 AH.

It is difficult to determine to which type of Nakhjavān coins the specimen of 643 AH belongs that was mentioned by Bartholomaei in his third letter to Soret.⁵³ Bartholomaei claimed that the coin was similar to those of Tiflīs struck in 642 AH. On all known coins of Nakhjavān there is a hare beneath the horse, while on the coins of Tiflīs it is normally a dog. Obviously, the specimen mentioned by Bartholomaei must nevertheless be included among the Nakhjavān coins.

All Nakhjavān coins were attributed by Seyfeddini to his Type II.

TABRĪZ

Tabrīz (تبريز) was a large, important centre in the north-western Iran. It was the second capital of the province of Adharbayjān after Ardabil. It started to play an outstanding political and administrative role after the Mongol conquest. The first Mongol coins appeared in Tabrīz in the 630 AH. In the collection of Tübingen University there are two dirhams of "Qa'ān al-'ādil" type with a bow below (GA2 C2 and GA2 C3), both struck in Tabrīz. The coin no. GA2 C2 is dated 636 AH. Seyfeddini described another specimen of Tabrīz struck in 637 AH.⁵⁴ The specimen published by Album also has the bow on the obverse although the inscription above is different.⁵⁵

17. AR Dirham, 6[4]2 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards to right, a hare beneath the horse running to right. A small star is in front of the horse. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

From the left: ... - ستمائة - ... - في سنت ائنتين - [ضرب تبريز].

⁵² Ibid., pp. 118-9.

⁵³ Bartholomaei J., "Troisième lettre à M.F. Soret, sur des monnaies koufiques inédites, trouvées en Georgie", *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, Vol.VI, 1862, pp. 61-2.

⁵⁴ Seyfeddini M., *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obraschenie v Azerbayjane XII-XV vv.*, Vol. I, Baku, 1978, pp. 157.

⁵⁵ Album S., *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Vol.IX. Iran After the Mongol Invasion, Oxford, 2001, Pl. 25, no. 482.



Tübingen no. 91-9-129 (2.80g, 19,5m); ANS no. 1922.216.221 = Lang (2.83g, 21m);⁵⁶ ANS no. 1922. 99. 51 (2.54g, 19m); SHMM no. 515625 (3,25g, 20-21m).⁵⁷ All struck with the same pair of dies.

18. AR Half-Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots an archer standing on one knee, turned to the right and shooting at a bird. Beneath his knee there is a star. Legend A, entirely off flan.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

ضرب تبريز - ائنتين - و اربعين - و ستمائة.



SHMM no. 515620 (1.30g, 14-15m);⁵⁸ Zeno no. 36838. Seyfeddini Type III.

TIFLĪS

Tiflīs (تفليس) (today, Tbilisi) is located on the River Kur. It is the capital of the modern Republic of Georgia. The first Islamic coins appeared in Tiflīs in the Umayyad period.

19. AR Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting at a bird backwards, a dog beneath the horse is running to left. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

ضرب تفليس - سنة ائنتين - و اربعين - و ستمائة.



Tübingen no. GA2E6 = So 1980, no. 181 and 1981, no. 235 (2.85g, 22m); So 1981, no. 235.

20. AR Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting at a bird backwards, a dog beneath the horse is running to left. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.

ضرب تفليس - في سنت ائنتين - و اربعين - و ستمائة.

⁵⁶ Lang, op. cit., p. 35, no. 15 (Pl.III, 8).

⁵⁷ Seyfeddini, 1971, p. 119.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 119.



Lane-Poole;⁵⁹ So 1984, no. 144 (2.81g); Kolbas (2.84g);⁶⁰ *Album* (2.81g);⁶¹ ANS no. 1922.216.222 = Lang (2.87g, 20m);⁶² SMHA no. 14430 (2.89g, 22m).⁶³ The ANS, Sotheby as well as *Album* specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

Additional observations show an interesting detail. The Lane-Poole specimen as well as that of the Tübingen collection (no. GA2E6) were struck with the same obverse die, although their reverses were produced with different dies.

As is seen from the description of the specimens, both types of Tiflīs dirhams have the horse galloping to the left and a horseman turned to the right. The stylistic differences between the types are not very significant but sufficiently so to make them diverse. The coins of the second type might have been produced with two and more pairs of dies. The ANS, *Album* and Sotheby's (1984) specimens seem to have been struck with the same pair of dies whereas the Tübingen specimen (no. GA2E6) was struck with another pair of dies. This is easily observed when the obverse sides of the coins are compared. It relates to the way the dog is engraved beneath the horse. On the specimens of the second type the dog has an oblong body, stretching backwards and a long, bent tail, while the dog engraved on the Tübingen specimen has a shorter body and a modest tail behind. One can also notice that the wings of the bird that the horseman is shooting at on the coins of the second type are pointed downwards, while the wings of the bird depicted on the Tübingen specimen are splayed outwards. The bird with opened wings is also observed on the coins of the second type. For example, on the specimen from the SMHA a similar bird can be observed as well. However, the dog engraved on that coin has the same oblong body as on other specimens of the second type. On the coins of that type the only difference is the appearance of *سنت في سنة* instead of the word *سنة* as appears on the coins of the first type. On the specimen from SMHA the dog has an oblong body and a bent tail, while another specimen of the same type published by Lane-Poole has a dog similar to that visible on the Tübingen collection specimen. Both specimens may have been struck with the same obverse die. At the same time the obverse sides of the SMHA specimens and the ANS-*Album*-Sotheby's ones were definitely struck with different dies despite having the same representation of the dog. The coins of the second type were allocated by Seyfeddini to his Type X.⁶⁴

URMIYA

Urmiya (ارمية) was an important town on the western shores of the lake of the same name, on the edge of Adharbayjān (north-western Iran). Coins had been struck at that mint since 'Abbāsīd times.

A dirham from that mint was once mentioned by A.Markov. According to his catalogue, both horseman and hare were to the left on the coin.⁶⁵ The direction of the horse is unclear. No precise typological attribution can be given to this coin. Did Markov confuse that coin with the Ardabīl specimen?

⁵⁹ Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 5, no. 1.

⁶⁰ Kolbas, op. cit., p. 607, no. 4.

⁶¹ *Album*, op. cit., Pl.31, no. 617.

⁶² Lang, op. cit., p. 35, no. 15 (Pl.III, 7).

⁶³ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 121.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶⁵ Markov A., *Inventarny katalog imperatricheskogo Ermitazha*, St.Petersburg, 1896, p. 439, no. 12.

Warthān (ورثان) was apparently an Arabic version for the medieval Armenian town of Vardanakert. There were two towns called Vardanakert. The first one is known due to the rebellion of the Armenians against the Umayyads in 703 AD and which was apparently never called Warthān. According to A. Ter-Ghevondyan the Arab authors never mentioned that town in their chronicles.⁶⁶ Another Vardanakert, better known in the Arabic sources as Warthān, is mentioned rather frequently.

Yet Ibn al-Athīr writes about Warthān (Vardanakert) saying that, in 225 AH, Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Warthānī rebelled against the caliph, al-Mu'tasim billah (218-227 AH) but soon returned into obedience.⁶⁷ There is also another comment by Ibn al-Athīr on Warthān relating to an earlier time. Under the year 112 AH he relates that Sa'īd al-Harashī was struggling against the Khazars and Turks who had united and were threatening Mawsil. After devastating some areas, they besieged Warthān and the inhabitants of the town were about to surrender it to the allies. Sa'īd al-Harashī soon came from Barda'a and the Khazars had to raise the siege. After liberating the town, Sa'īd al-Harashī made for Ardabīl.⁶⁸

Warthān is also mentioned by Yāqūt al-Hamawī as a town located on the periphery of Adharbayjān. There was a distance of 2 farsakhs between Warthān and the River Araxes but there were another 7 farsakhs between Warthān and Baylaqān.⁶⁹ Miskawayh once recalls this town while telling about the events of 337 AH in connection with the struggle of the Kurd, Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm, against the Buyid commander, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq for the possession of Ardabīl. To get reinforcements, Daysam first retreated to Warthān (Warathān, according to Miskawayh) which was in the neighbourhood of Barda'a.⁷⁰ Taking into account the information of all the authors one may conclude that Warthān was indeed in the neighbourhood of Barda'a, located on the right bank of the River Araxes.

21. AR Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Of Legend A: الغ منقل can be seen.

Rev.: In a square of dots which is enclosed within a circle of dots, Legend B. Above: ضرب ورثان. In the left and right bottom segments one can read: اثنتين و اربعين و ستمائة.

SH no. 14875 (2.54g, 19m).⁷¹

22. AR Half-Dirham, 642 AH.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to right, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a dog beneath the horse to right. Of Legend A, الوش بيك can be seen.

Rev.: In a square of dots which is enclosed within a circle of dots, Legend B. Above: ضرب ورثان. In the left and right bottom segments one can read: اثنتين و اربعين و ستمائة.

SHMM no. 515622 (1.73g, 16-17m).⁷²

⁶⁶ Ter-Ghevondyan A., Ibn al-Athīr. *Otar aghbjurnery Hajastani ev hajeri masin*, Yerevan, 1981, Vol.II, p. 373.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, Vol.VI, p. 508.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol.V, p. 160.

⁶⁹ Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *ibid.*, p. 919.

⁷⁰ Abū 'Alī Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Miskawayh, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate*, trans. by H. Amedroz and D. Margoliouth, London, 1921, Vol.II, p. 136.

⁷¹ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 118.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

In writing about the coins of this mint, Seyfeddini mentions both dirhams and ½ dirhams struck in 642 AH which constitute Types V and VI of his classification, respectively. Apart from the SH specimen no. 14875 the following ones can be typologically assigned to Seyfeddini Type VI: a half-dirham of the SMHA no. 22560 (1.36g, 15,5m); dirhams of the SMHA no. 7663 (2.94g, 20m);⁷³ Peus 386, 2006, p. 133, no. 1154 (2.52g, 16m).

In the Tübingen collection there are two dirhams struck in Warthān (GA2 C5 and GA2 C6) in the 630 AH.

WIRĀWĪ or WARĀWĪ

Wirāwī was a capital of the province of the same name located at the foot of the Sabalān mountains in Adharbayjān. In the 12th century AD both province and town were renamed Pishkīn in honour of the owner of the province, the Georgian Amir, Gorji Pishkīn. The major part of the inhabitants of the town of Wirāwī comprised Shiites.⁷⁴

23. AR Dirham, date illegible.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse pacing left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Beneath the horse the mint-name وراوي is written. Of Legend A, الغ can be seen.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B. Some unclear letters are in the lower part of the left segment.



Tübingen no. GA2F3 (2.82g, 22m). The specimen was overstruck on an Ayyūbid dirham of Damascus.

24. AR Dirham, date illegible.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Beneath the horse is a zoomorphic ornament. Around: الغ منقل الوش بيك.

Rev.: In the field, Legend B.

Around: ... - ... - ... - ضرب وراوي.



Tübingen no. 92-2-61 (2.58g, 21m).

Both types of Wirāwī coins can be carefully identified with Seyfeddini Type VI.

According to Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Wirāwī (وراوي) was a small and prosperous town lying in the mountains of Adharbayjān somewhere between Ardabīl and Tabrīz. Yāqūt had, himself, visited the place. He says that there was a distance of one day's journey between Wirāwī and Ahar.* In the days of Yāqūt the town belonged to Ibn Bishkīn (Pishkīn), the King of Ahar.⁷⁵

⁷³ Musheghyan Kh., Musheghyan A., Depeyrot G., Gurnet F., Bresc C., *Coin Hoards of Armenia*, Vol.II, Wetteren, 2002, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Krawulsky, op. cit., p. 545; Le Strange, op. cit., p. 169.

* Not to be confused with the Ahar located to the south of the Caspian Sea. There was also another Ahar between Tabrīz and Ardabīl, on the road from Tabrīz to Barda'a.

⁷⁵ Yāqūt al-Hamawī, ibid., p. 918.

COINS WITH ILLEGIBLE MINT

- With conventional reverse -

25. AR Dirham, [6]42 AH. With a falling bird.

Obv.: In the circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting at a falling bird to right. Around: الغ منقل الوش [بيك].

Rev.: Legend B. Above: ... - سنة - اثنتين - و اربعين -



Tübingen no. 2003-14-16=Peus 374, 2003, no.1259 (2.83g, 19m).

It is suggested that this coin was struck in Tiflīs as other coins from that mint have also a bird engraved in the right segment of the obverse. This, therefore, could be another Tiflīs variety, this time with a falling bird.

26. AR Dirham, date illegible; with a bird to right and a dog beneath the horse.

Obv.: Image as above but the bird has its wings closed. Its body is turned to the right with its mouth open and directed towards the arrow. The tail of a dog running to left is seen beneath the horse. Around: الغ منقل الوش [بيك].

Rev.: Legend B. The date is illegible. In the left segment one can only read سنة.



Tübingen (LI) (2.72g, 18m).

This is another type of coin with a bird but this time the bird has an unusual position. It may also be an issue of Tiflīs as, on the coins of that mint, the horseman is seen shooting backwards at a bird, while the dog is running to left.

27. AR Dirham, 64x AH. With a hare beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Around: الغ منقل الوش [بيك].

Rev.: Legend B. Around: ... - سنة - اثنتين - و اربعين -



Peus 374, 2003, no. 1260 (2.77g); Album (2.68g).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Album, op. cit., Pl.84, no. 1704.



SMHA no. 12358 (2.48g, 18.5m).

28. AR Dirham, date illegible. With a star beneath the horse.

Obv.: In the field, a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. A star beneath the horse. Of Legend A only الغ can be seen

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B. Around, some unclear letters which presumably relate to the mint and date of issue.



Album (2.75g)⁷⁷.

29. AR Dirham. 64x AH.

Obv.: In the field a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. O Legend A only بيك is visible.

Rev.: In the field, Legend B. Around: [و اربعين - و ستمائة]



Album (2.51g)⁷⁸.



Album (2.49g)⁷⁹.

30. AR Dirham. 6xx AH.

Obv.: In the field a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Around: الغ منقل [لوش بيك].

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B. Around, a part of the date showing the hundreds.



Zeno no. 14358 (2.80g, 19m).

31. AR Half-Dirham, date illegible.

Obv.: The main part of the image is off flan so it is difficult to say in which direction the horseman is shown riding. It is just discernible that the horseman may be heading to the right. Of Legend A, only الوش can be seen.

Rev.: Only the two first lines of Legend B are visible. Other information, perhaps, left off flan.



SMHA no. 11975 (1.46g, 14.3m).

**COINS WITHOUT MINT AND DATE
- With reverse in square -**

32. AR Half-Dirham. With a knot beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots the horse is either pulling up or coming down from the mountain. The horseman is shooting towards the right. Legend A off flan.

Rev.: In a square of dots, Legend B. The date is off the flan.



GM 139, 2005, no. 3137 = Zeno no. 11123 (2.70g).

An interesting detail here is the motion of the horse. Another specimen is in the SHMM no. 515628 (2.87g, 19-20m). Seyfeddini Type VII.⁸⁰ Apparently, both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

33. AR Dirham. With a dog to left beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a dog beneath the horse to left. Of Legend A, only بيك is visible. There is a star in front of the horse.

Rev.: In a square of dots, Legend B. Other information is off flan.

⁷⁷ Album, op. cit., Pl.85, no. 1708.

⁷⁸ Ibid., Pl.84, no. 1705.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Pl.85, no. 1707.

⁸⁰ Seyfeddini, op. cit., p. 120.



SMHA no. 7663 (2.94g, 20,3m).



SMHA no. 6940 (2.65g, 18m);

34. AR Dirham.

Obv.: In the field a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Legend A off flan.

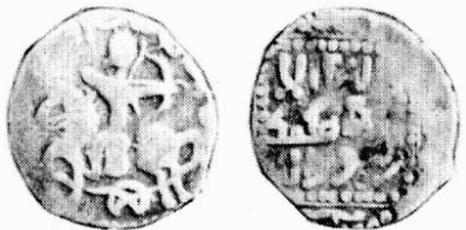
Rev.: Within a square. Legend B, partially visible. Other information, probably off flan.



Peus 386, 2006, p. 133, no. 1154 (2.52g, 16m).



Album (2.63g).⁸¹



Mitchiner (2.70g).⁸²

35. AR Half-Dirham.

Obv.: A horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Legend A off flan.

Rev.: Within a square of dots, Legend B. Other information apparently off flan.



SMHA no. 22560 (1.36g, 15,5m).

36. AR Dirham.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Around: الغ منقل الوش [بيك].

Rev.: Within a square of dots, Legend B. Other information, probably off flan.



Tübingen (LI), (2.75g, 19,5m).

37. AR Dirham. With an ornament beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a dog beneath the horse to left. Legend A around.

Rev.: Within a lineal and dotted square, enclosed within a circle of dots, Legend B. Between the circle and square of dots there are ornaments or unclear signs.

Mitchiner claimed that this specimen was struck in Tiflīs and dated 642 AH. However, none of the mint/date information is visible on this coin. Besides, Tiflīs coins normally have a circle of dots on the reverse but not a square. Whatever it is, this specimen should be distinguished from the others types because of its stereotype obverse image.

The Album specimen is similar to the other two in respect of its reverse side only. The obverse of that coin definitely shows the head of a hare running to right beneath the horse. Otherwise, both the SMHA and Mitchiner specimens could have been struck with the same pair of dies.

- With reverse in dotted circle -

38. AR Dirham. With a dog to left beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a dog beneath the horse to left. Legend A off flan.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B. The coin clearly had no information regarding the mint-name and date of issue.



Peus 378, 2004, no. 1409 = Zeno no. 5005 (2.80g).

⁸¹ Album, op. cit., Pl.85, no. 1709.

⁸² Mitchiner M., *The World of Islam*, London, 1977, p. 240, no. 1501.



Petrov collection (3.00g, 19m).

A similar obverse image, where the horse and hare are both running to the left but the horseman is shooting backwards, can be found on the coins of one type of Lashkar (see above). However, the coins of that type have the name of the late caliph al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh engraved on the reverse side, which is not observed on this specimen.

It has already been said above that the coins with a dog can be identified so far only with Tiflīs. Therefore, this specimen may be another type of coin coming from this mint.

39. AR Dirham. With a hare to the right beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B. The coin bears no information on the mint-name and date of issue.



Zeno no. 1856 (3.10g).

40. AR Dirham. With an ornament beneath the horse.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards; there is an ornament beneath the horse. Around: [الغ منقلق الوش بيك].

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.



Peus 374, 2003, no. 262 (2.83g).

41. AR Dirham.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse galloping to right, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Partial Legend A around.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.



Peus 374, 2003, no. 1263 (2.71g).



Peus 374, 2003, no. 1264 (2.73g); SHMM no. 515618 (2.75g, 17-19m).⁸³

On the second coin a hare to right can be discerned in part beneath the horse. On the first specimen there seems to be an ornament beneath the horse.

Typologically both coins can fit Seyfeddini Type IV. In his classification only the coins from Tabrīz have the image of a horseman riding to the right.

42. AR Dirham.

Obv.: In a circle of dots, a horse galloping to left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards. Around: [الغ منقلق الوش بيك].

Rev.: In a circle of dots, Legend B.



Jean Elsen Auction 82, 2004, no. 924 = Zeno no. 9472 (2.93g).

There are also two other dirhams mentioned in Sotheby's 1983, no. 354 and Peus 276, 1971, no. 2127 catalogues but neither were illustrated so it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding their attribution.

IMITATION

43. AR Dirham.

Obv.: A horse trotting to right, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse to right. Around, some unclear characters (signs) instead of Legend A.

Rev.: In a circle of dots, part of Legend B: لا اله الا. Below, some unclear signs and a part of the word "rasūl".



Tübingen no. 2006-... = Peus 386, 2006, p. 133, no. 1153 (2.49g; 19m).

CONCLUSIONS

After the instalment of Mongol rule in Transcaucasia and Iranian Adharbayjān, the issue of silver coins in these areas was restored from the 630s AH onwards.⁸⁴ For a decade the Mongols issued coins with the legend "Qa'ān al-'ādīl" and a bow on the obverse, and part of the Kalima on the reverse. Basing his work on the

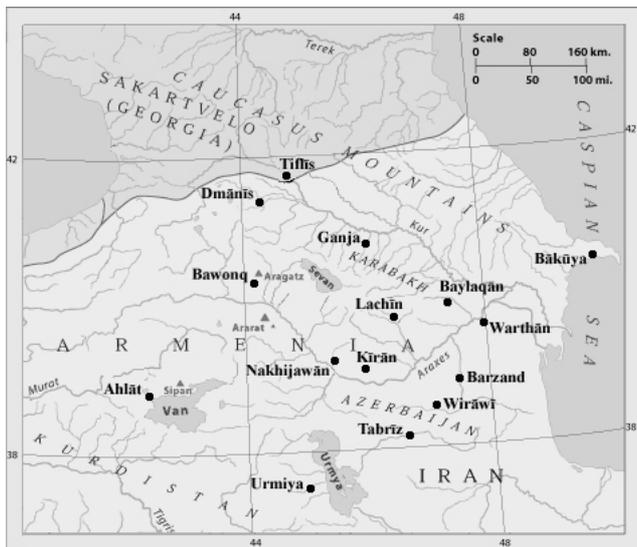
⁸³ Ibid., p. 119.

⁸⁴ Seyfeddini, 1978, pp. 156.

collections of the former Soviet Union, Seyfeddini published some coins of that type struck at Tiflīs, Tabrīz and Baylaqān.⁸⁵ Material collected within recent years has revealed some more mints where such coins were struck but which were not taken into consideration by Seyfeddini. The Tübingen collection alone reveals at least eleven additional mints where such coins were produced: Ardabīl, Barzand, Bāzār, Bāzār-Būlāgh, Bāzār-Lashkar, Ganja, Khūy, Nakhjawān, Qarābāgh, Unār and Wirāwī. Analysing the geographical location of mints where the coins with a bow were issued, one can conclude that the issues of the 630s AH clearly preceded coins of the “Ulugh mangyl” type, which came to replace them in the early 640s AH. Probably, the coins of “Ulugh mangyl” type were produced at those same mints where the previous coinage had already existed. Thus, apart from the mints mentioned by Seyfeddini, at least another four mints, namely Barzand, Ganja, Nakhjawān and Wirāwī are known as part of the issue of “Ulugh mangyl” coins. No coins of this type from Ardabīl, Khūy, Qarābāgh and Unār are yet known although the mints of those towns were also active in the 630s AH. If Bāzār, Bāzār-Būlāgh and Bāzār-Lashkar can be considered military mints, which travelled with armies along their campaign routes, then there is no doubt that the coins with a horseman with the mint-name Lashkar were struck in similar circumstances.

The new issues of 642-643 and 645 AH were struck only in silver, in both big and small towns of Transcaucasia and Iranian Adharbayjān. The following 16 mints are known so far: Akhlāt, Bākūya, Barzand, Bawoṅq, Baylaqān, Dmānīs, Ganja, Kīrān, Lachīn, Lashkar, Nakhjawān, Tabrīz, Tiflīs, Urmiya, Warthān and Wirāwī. The first of these is situated near Lake Van and is, in fact, the only mint so far located outside the borders of the areas mentioned above. After the article of Seyfeddini appeared, at least six new mints were discovered, viz. Akhlāt, Barzand, Bawoṅq, Dmānīs, Wirāwī and Baylaqān, the first five of which could be verified from coins. The mints of Baylaqān and Urmiya mentioned by Markov and Kolbas could not be verified in the present study.

The number of mints, individual styles of dies which were used in those mints, as well as the lack of obverse die-links of coins struck in different mints simultaneously, shows that the opinion of Kolbas on the existence of one travelling mint which produced coins with different mint-names⁸⁶ cannot be confirmed.



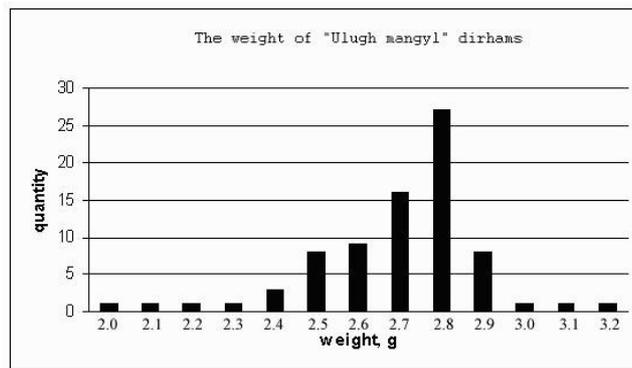
On all the coins, the same iconographic motif is used. It is a hunting scene where a horseman is riding on a horse and shooting with a bow. In most cases the horse is galloping to the left and very seldom to the right. There is also an exception: on the coins of Seyfeddini Type III (no. 18) there is no horse at all but an

archer on one knee, shooting with a bow. Sometimes the target of the hunter is not shown on the coins, in other cases it is. The hunter is shooting at a bird which is shown either with open or downward-pointing wings and sometimes with an open beak. Beneath the horse a snake, dog or hare can usually be seen, moving to the left or right. What was observed is that the dog is always running in the direction of the horse's gallop while the hare is moving in the opposite direction. Only on the coins from Ganja does a sinuous snake appear beneath the horse. On the coins of Tiflīs there is always a dog, shown beneath the horse. A bird can normally be seen on either Tiflīs or Lashkar coins. On some coins minted in Ganja, Dmānīs, Kīrān, Lashkar and Tiflīs there is a small star on the obverse. The best minting technique and die-engraving can be seen on the coins of Ganja, Dmānīs and Tiflīs.

The inscriptions on the obverse are normally the same. These comprise a part of the Kalima in the centre and a circular legend around in which the name of the mint and date of issue is found. On some issues of Bākūya, Kīrān and Nakhjawān the denomination of the coin in the form of “al-dirham” can be found in the circular legend. On some coins of Nakhjawān the details of the time of issue in the form of “in the middle of Sha'bān of the year forty two” can be found. On some coins of Tiflīs the circular legend begins with “fī sanat” where “sanat” is rendered in the form سنة. In most cases the mint-name is given in the upper part of the coins, just above the Kalima.

Careful observations can be also made on the origin of the image of a galloping horseman shooting an arrow usually backwards. It can be assumed that the image was adopted by the Mongols from the motifs found on the coinage of earlier times. For example, the same image had been already used by the Salduqids ca. 70 years earlier. On the coins of Muhammad ibn Salduq (1174-ca.1200 AH) struck in Arzarūm in 570 AH there is exactly the same image on the obverse.⁸⁷ Incidentally, the contemporary Saljūq silver coins of the Rum Sultan, Qilīj Arslān IV issued in 646 AH, also bear the image of a horseman shooting an arrow.⁸⁸ Whatever the case, there is no doubt that the image was adopted by the Mongols from the other sources.

The weight of 84 dirhams is shown in the Table below. The average weight of these dirhams is around 2.73g. The heaviest coin so far is the Tabrīz specimen weighing 3.25g (SHMM no. 515625). The lightest coin weights 2.07g. This is the specimen from the SH no. 14883 dated 642 AH.⁸⁹



⁸⁷ Bergmann M., “Zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde”, *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 23, 1869, pp. 251-2; Tiesenhansen W., “Melanges de la Numismatique Orientales”, *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Vol.II, 1875, pp. 357-8; Lane-Poole S., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol.IX, London, 1889, no. 310a; Hennequin G., *Catalogue des Monnaies Orientales*, Paris, 1985, p. 837.

⁸⁸ Lindner P., “The challenge of Qilīj Arslān IV”, in: *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History*, ed. by D.Kouymjian, Beirut, 1974, p. 414.

⁸⁹ Seyfeddini, 1971., p. 118.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 1978, pp. 154-9.

⁸⁶ Kolbas, op. cit., pp. 197-8.

Another question is who was meant by the title “Ulugh mangyl ulūs-bek” and whether that coinage was indeed carried out by Arghūn as proposed by Seyfeddini. Already in 1955 D. Lang, quoting V. Budagov, considered the titles Ulūs Bek and Amir al-Ulūs as similar ones which might have had the same meaning as the title “Amir al-Umarā” had in ‘Abbāsīd times.⁹⁰ The same definition is met in the work of Qalqashandī, who gives more emphasis on its military rather than civil origin.⁹¹ It is known that earlier the title “Amir al-Umarā” was given to the person who usually possessed the second position in the state after the Caliph. This title was given to persons who possessed the highest military rank.

It was mentioned above that in 639 AH the great commander, Paichu, took over from Chormaghun. Paichu, as commander of the Mongol army in the West, had military control over Adharbayjān, Armenia and Georgia. According to Kirakos Gandzaketsi, shortly before he died the Great Khan, Güyük, had sent a certain Alchi-Gada (Alchikiday) to replace Paichu in the West.⁹² Alchi-Gada was still in Persia as the news came that the Great Khan had died. Paichu was able to keep his position. What caused the Khan to give an order to replace Paichu? In this respect the specimen of Akhlāt (no. 1) is of special interest and it can shed some light on this issue. As was said above, the coin was overstruck on a “Qa’ān al-‘ādil” coin minted at Tabrīz. Such dirhams with the legend “Qa’ān al-‘ādil” were issued in Barda’ā, Tiflīs and Tabrīz in 643 AH. This was connected with an attempt to bring into circulation a standard silver coin approved by the Great Khan and quoting his title. That may have been done by Töregene who was aspiring those years to preserve the state as a whole until her son, Güyük, was elected Khan. It was probably to prevent any developing decentralisation that she sent Arghun to Adharbayjān in 641 AH. In fact Juwainī reports on Arghūn: “Upon arriving in Tabrīz he restored to order the affairs of that region which had been disturbed by the proximity of the great emirs such as Chormaghun, Baichu and others, who regarded that territory as their own property”.⁹³ Therefore, Paichu, as commander of the army and with the military title, Ulūs Bek, started to issue his own coins in 642 AH with the inscription proclaiming his title. Paichu Noyan often appears in Gandzaketsi’s narration under his nickname Khurchi or Khurji, which means *archer*.⁹⁴ This can explain the image of a mounted archer for his coins. This innovation by Paichu may well have been part of the reason for the discontent of the regent, who saw the trend towards a certain autonomy in Paichu’s policy. Then she or her administrator, Arghūn, ordered the issue of coins of the “Qa’ān al-‘ādil” type to be centralised on the mints of Adharbayjān. In any event, the control over that issue was entrusted to Arghūn, whose residence was apparently in Tabrīz. No coins of “Ulugh mangyl” type from Tiflīs and Tabrīz are known from 643 AH. Nevertheless, the first “Qa’ān al-‘ādil” coins of 643 AH from Tabrīz did not have a long life as Paichu overstruck them in his own way. This fact, of course, demonstrated Paichu’s unwillingness to accept the standard type of coins proclaiming the title of the Great Khan. A similar situation can be observed during the next couple of years. The coins from Bawonq dated 645 AH (no. 4) confirm that even after the election of Güyük as Great Khan, in some parts of Adharbayjān Paichu was still proceeding with his “Ulugh mangyl” coinage which was current along with the coins of the “Qa’ān al-‘ādil” type. In terms of attribution, this means that the “Ulugh mangyl” type should not be identified as coinage of Töregene Khātūn but as the anonymous coinage of Paichu Noyan.

⁹⁰ Lang, op.cit., p. 36.

⁹¹ Abū al-‘Abbās Ahmad Qalqashandī, *Subh al-‘ashā*, Bd.VII, Kairo, 1933/4 = 1915, p. 262. See also: Spuler B., *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig, 1943, p.302.

⁹² Kirakos Gandzaketsi, op. cit., p. 218.

⁹³ ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Atā-Malik Juwainī, op. cit., p. 507.

⁹⁴ Kirakos Gandzaketsi, op. cit., p. 299.

List of Abbreviations

ANS – The American Numismatic Society (New York, USA).
 GM – Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung (München, Germany).
 Göttingen – Collection of Islamic Coins in the University of Göttingen (Germany).
 Peus – Auktion Katalog von Dr.Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung (Frankfurt am Main, Germany).
 SH – State Hermitage (Saint-Petersburg, Russia).
 SHMM – State History Museum of Moscow (Russia).
 SMG – State Museum of Georgia (Tbilisi).
 SMHA – State Museum of the History of Armenia (Yerevan).
 So - Sotheby’s Coins, Medals and Numismatic Books (London, UK).
 Sp – Catalogue of Coins of the Islamic World, Spink Zürich (Switzerland).
 Tübingen – University Coin Collection, Tübingen (Germany).
 Tübingen (LI) - University Coin Collection, Tübingen. Lutz Ilisch deposits (Germany).
 Zeno – Internet coin data-base at www.zeno.ru

A POSTHUMOUS AR SIX DIRHAM COIN OF SULTAN ULJAYTU KHUDABANDA MUHAMMAD

By Haroon Tareen

Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya Wa’l Din Muhammad Khudabanda Uljaytu (was born in 1280 AD (678 AH) at Sultaniyeh (Latitude 36° 25’ N Longitude 48° 48’ E) near Qazvin in the present-day Iranian province of Zanjan. He was the eighth Ilkhan Sultan of Iran and reigned from 1304 to 1316 AD. He was the son of Arghun, great-grandson of Hulagu, (the founder of Ilkhan dynasty) and brother and successor of Mahmud Ghazan (the first Ilkhan to convert to Islam, in 1295 AD / 694 AH). He was baptized as a Christian by his mother and given the name Nicholas. In his youth he at first converted to Buddhism and then to Sunni Islam. Uljaytu was greatly under the influence of the Shi’a theologian, Al-Hilli (Sheikh Jamal al-Din Muta’har Hilli) and even intended to transfer the relics of Ali (The fourth righteous Caliph of Islam) from Najf to a domed shrine he built (1307-1313 AD) at Sultaniyeh. This structure is all that remains of Sultaniyeh, the much praised Mongol city founded c.1285 by the Ilkhan, Arghun, and dedicated as the capital by his son, Sultan Uljaytu Khudabanda Muhammad, in 1313. He was himself buried in that mausoleum, which was declared a World Heritage Building by UNESCO.



Mausoleum of Sultan Muhammad at Sultaniyeh

Uljaytu converted to Shi’a Islam in 1310 (or 1309? AD) under the influence of his teacher and mentor, Sheikh Hilli. However, this did not work to the advantage of the Sultanate and ended up disrupting the delicate balance between Shi’as and Sunnis in that region for ever, especially in present-day Iraq. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Batuta, the famous traveler from Tanja (Tangiers

in present day Morocco) who visited the area, narrates in his travelogue:

“The late king of Iraq Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda, had as a companion, while he was yet an infidel, a Shiite theologian, and when the Sultan embraced Islam together with the Tartars, he showed the greatest respect for this man, who persuaded him to establish the Shiite faith throughout his dominions. At Baghdad, Shiraz and Isfahan the population prevented the execution of the order, whereupon the king ordered the qazis of these three towns to be brought. The first of them to be brought was Qazi Majd-ud-Din of Shiraz. The Sultan ordered him to be thrown to dogs, but the dogs would not attack the Qazi and wagged their tails in the friendliest manner. The Sultan, on hearing this, showed the greatest respect to the Qazi and renounced the doctrines of the Shias. I (Ibn Batuta) met the Qazi again on my return from India in 1347 (AD) (747 AH)”

He was under the great influence of his court physician, Rashid al-Dawlah Fazalullah bin Abu'l Khair¹. In 1309 (708 AH) he founded a Dar al-Sayyedah ("Sayyed's lodge") monastery in Shiraz and endowed it with an income of 10,000 dinars a year. He died from severe diarrhoea on December 16, 1316 (Corresponding to the 30th of Ramadan 716 AH) while he was at Sultaniyeh and was succeeded by his son, Abu Sa'id.

The coin² being introduced here is an unpublished silver six dirham weighing 11.2 grams.



Obverse:

Within double six-lobed cartouche:

La Ilaha Ila Allah Muhammad Rasulullah Ali Waliullah

“There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, Ali is the chosen of Allah.”

Between the six-lobed cartouche and the external circle: salutations to the twelve Shiite Imams:

Allahuma Saley Ala Muhammad wa Ali wa al-Hassan wa al-Hussain, wa Ali wa Muhammad (wa Ja'afar wa Musa wa Ali wa Muhammad wa Ali al-Hassan wa Muhammad).

“May Allah have His peace upon Muhammad and Ali and Hassan and Hussain and Ali (II) and Muhammad (II) (and ja'afar and Musa and Ali (III) and Muhammad (II) and Ali Al-Hassan and Muhammad (III)).”

Reverse:

Within the square:

al-Sultan al-A'zam Jalal al-Dunya wa'l Din Muhammad (Mongol script) *Khuld Allah MulkaHu.*

“The Greatest Sultan, the glory of the world and the faith, Muhammad, may Allah perpetuate his kingship.”

Within the square and the external double circle: Date to left 717 (AH), Cursive script below which probably mentions the mint (Sultaniyeh)??

There are some differentiating features of this coin viz-á-viz the general silver coinage of Sultan Khudabanda Muhammad.

I. The (Arabic) titles of the Sultan on this coin are not the same as those that appear on his regular coinage. The title

“Ghiyath al-Din” (Meaning “Helper or supporter of the Faith”) has been replaced by “Jalal al-Din” (Meaning “Glory of the Faith”), and the Mongol name Uljaiytu as well as the Muslim titular name “Khudabanda” (Persian, meaning Slave of the Lord) have not been used;

II. The style of the inscription and fabric of the coin are very similar to other Ilkhanid silver coins and particularly those of Sultan Khudabanda Muhammad, but this type, i.e. square reverse and the double six-lobed cartouche within circle obverse, is not known for Uljaiytu. A similar type is known for his successor, Sultan Abu Sa'id, but that (Type-A) is reported for dinars, AR two dirhams and AR 1 dirham coins, whereas the coin under consideration here is a six dirham coin;

III. Another differentiating feature is the inscription of a word (probably the king's name) in Mongol script on this coin, whereas most known coins of Khudabanda Muhammad do not have any Mongol script. The Mongol script is crude and experts have been unable to make out a name from that inscription. Presumably it is the name of Uljaiytu, but it could also be a cursive rendition of the name of Abu Sa'id.



The coin is similar in style to Album No: A2186 except that the double hexalobe appears on one side only and there is a double lined square on the other side. Its overall appearance is that of type “A” of Sultan Abu Sa'id as reported in the “Checklist” (for gold dinars only) by Stephen Album. The date is 717 AH which indicates that it is probably a posthumous coin. It cannot be ascribed to Abu Sa'id as the Shiite Kalima, that appears on this coin, was discontinued by Abu Sa'id, who professed the Sunni faith. Stephen Album mentions all coins dated 717 AH to be posthumous, as the death of Uljaiytu was concealed until Abu Sa'id could return to Sultaniyeh and assume the throne. There was an intervening period of some months between the death of Uljaiytu and the accession of Abu Sa'id. Uljaiytu died on the last day of the month of Ramadan (the ninth month of the Islamic calendar) 716 AH. The next Hijri year i.e. 717 AH commenced three months later. This coin was perhaps issued during the interregnum between Uljaiytu Khudabanda Muhammad's death at Sultaniyeh in 716 AH and the succession of Abu Sa'id in early 717 AH. It may be worth mentioning here that Sultan Abu Sa'id was a minor at the time of his succession and for some years the royal authority was wielded by Amir Chuopan as regent. The continuity of the Shiite Kalima on this coin indicates that the coin pre-dates Abu Sa'id's reign, as Abu Sa'id professed the Sunni faith. The substitution of the title “Ghiyas al-Din” by “Jalal al-Din” nevertheless indicates some change in the executive authority of that time.

¹Rashid al-Dawlah Fazalullah bin Abu'l Khair a physician by profession had also converted to Shiite Islam. He exerted great influence over Khudabanda Muhammad and was the Sultan's royal physician. After the death of Khudabanda Muhammad, Rashid was beheaded on the orders of Amir Chuopan, the regent for Abu Sa'id, for his failure to provide relief to the late Khudabanda during his final hours. Rashid's head was paraded in Tabriz as that of the infidel who had modified the word of Allah (the Quran) and had earned the wrath of Allah. (Ibn Kathir).

² This coin is published with the express permission from the owners of www.indusnumis.com

³ A Checklist of Islamic Coins by Stephen Album.

A NEW AZILES TETRADRAHM COPYING A MAUES ISSUE

By Harry Falk

Some time ago a large hoard of silver coins came to light in the city of Peshawar. Of the more than 1500 coins most were "run of the mill", according to a local collector. 17 coins were set apart because of their rarity, all of them regional issues of Azilises, showing a "king with whip" on a horse, the finely sculptured head sporting a moustache. According to R. Senior's analysis, they should come from Hazara.

Under pressure of time I was permitted to take photographs of all of these 17 coins; on a small and not very accurate scale they were found to weigh between 9.5 and 9.7 g, with the vast majority showing 9.6 g. All coins read uniformly on their obverse in Greek letters: 8°

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΑΙΣΟΥ;

on their reverse in Kharoṣṭhī letters: 4° *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa / ayiliṣasa*.

All coins but one can be found in Robert Senior's catalogue:

- 1 x Senior 30.1T (Zeus enthroned right - mounted Dioskouroi right; same monogram);
- 1 x Senior 31.1T (Zeus nikephoros left - mounted Dioskouroi right, same monogram and Khar. letters);
- 3 x Senior 32 (KWW right, same monogram)
 - 2 x 32.1T (Khar. letters a and yra)
 - 1 x 32.2T (Khar. letters ra and a [read thus])
- 10 x Senior 36 (KWW right - god facing [see below])
 - 6 x 36.1T simple monogram
 - 3 x 36.2T monogram with stroke in delta.
 - 1 x uncertain, monogram blurred.

This type 36 is the most frequent in this lot. Senior interprets the figure on the reverse as the king himself, who, however, is already present on the obverse riding his horse. Our pieces show that his "cap" consists of a bird with pronounced beak. This in addition to his spear, sword, and long overcoat is very similar to the figure called Orlagno on the gold issues of Kanishka, likewise showing a bird on his head. Apart from the head-gear, this figure is identical in shape with Mahāsena on the gold issues of Huvishka, who, instead, shows a bird on his pike. Our unnamed god must therefore be linked to Orlagno of Kanishka and Mahāsena of Huvishka; this way he is the predecessor of Kārttikeya in plain Hindu contexts.

Seen this way, Azilises not only is the first to introduce Gajalakṣmī on his coins (Senior type 33), but he is also the first to show a god, who later becomes very prominent in the Hindu world. The plain Greek monogram (Senior 1997,I:207 no. 61) consists of M, N and D, the Kharoṣṭhī monogram (not exact: no. 172) is composed of *mi*, *na* and *ta*. The more elaborate Greek monogram (no. 60) shows an additional stroke crossing the D, possibly meant as an *iota*, corresponding to the *-i* in Kharoṣṭhī *mi*. The correspondance between both monograms is thus very close.

1 x Senior 37.9T (KWW right - Dioskouroi standing). On the reverse, the first monogram to the right of the right figure is composed of the Kharoṣṭhī letters *bo* and *tham*; the second to the left of the left figure is composed of *va* and *sa*. The obverse has a Kharoṣṭhī *ba* in exergue and a Greek monogram no. 122, consisting of A and Y, with no correspondance at all between the languages.

1 x unrecorded. Obverse: City goddess on throne right, wearing a mural crown; monogram no. 129 to the right. Reverse: Zeus *nikephoros* left, monogram composed of Kharoṣṭhī letters *bo* and *tra*.

This new type showing a city goddess on the obverse displays a defective writing, in that the second letter A was forgotten in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΕΙΛΑΕΩΝ... The letters fade out in a second circle where some older legend is still discernible at the upper right side. The Greek monogram 129 is otherwise found exclusively on Azilises plain type 44 and on a so-called joint

copper issue with Azes on type 45.1. Senior (1997,I:29f.) links it to a more complex monogram of Maues, whom Azilises seems to have succeeded in Hazara, before himself ceding to Azes. The Greek monogram is composed of B and D, thus showing a certain relationship with Kharoṣṭhī *bo-tra* on the reverse, again, as above in the case of type 36, showing Kharoṣṭhī *ta* where the Greek side prefers D.



In fact, this issue is a very close copy of two issues of Maues, one mentioning his wife Maxene (type 4), the other reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΑΙΣΟΥ (type 3), showing the city goddess and Zeus *nikephoros* in absolutely the same way. As Senior (2001 I:158) has shown, there is only one copper issue of Azilises (type 41) likewise presenting an enthroned city goddess on the obverse. Our new type shows that this relationship is not accidental.

Literature:

R.C. Senior, Indo-Scythian coins and History. 3 vols., Lancaster e.a.l. 2001.

A UNIQUE PUNCH-MARKED GOLD GADYANA OF KIRTTI(DEVA)

By Shailendra Bhandare, University of Oxford

As far as the technology of coin-manufacturing is concerned, the early medieval period (c. 7th – 12th centuries AD) in south India was marked by the revival of the 'punch-marking' technique. However, unlike the more numerous and sufficiently studied silver punch-marked coins of ancient north India, the early medieval punch-marked coins from the south are encountered in gold and are comparatively much rarer. They are struck to the 'Gadyana' standard, weigh c.4 gm and generally have five to nine punches on them. The punches seem to be arranged in a particular order – one is applied in the centre, then the next four around it on cardinal points. In the case of coins with more punches, they are applied over the four in the second striking. As the surface area of the coin is limited, many of these punches fuse into one another resulting in a garbled appearance. As each punch would be afforded only a small area in itself, its contents are often schematic and stylised. Legends, which could otherwise have been an important tool for identifying and classifying, often bear the brunt of such limitations and are mostly found truncated and shortened. All these aspects make the task of the numismatist difficult and, for this reason, the south Indian punch-marked Gadyanas remain one of the least studied series of Indian coins.

The purpose of this note is to publish a unique gold punch-marked Gadyana from the collection of Mr Kashinath Pandit of Pune and I am grateful to him for allowing me to publish the coin. It may be described as follows (see fig 1):



Fig. 1

Gold, weight ?; Uniface

Nine punches – the central punch is of a male figure riding a buffalo and holding a club in his right hand placed over his right shoulder. Four ‘lion’ punches were applied around it; two bearing the Kannada character ‘Shri’ and two more with a Devanagari legend ‘Kirtti’ are seen placed over the lions, partly obliterating them (for details of the clearer legend, see fig 2).



Fig. 2

The representation seen in the central punch has no parallel in Indian numismatics, hence the importance of the coin. Although seen only in part because of the other punches surrounding it, it is very evident what the central punch depicts (see detail, fig 3). According to iconographic tradition, this is the representation of Yama, the Hindu god of Death. He is also a ‘*Dikpāla*’ or ‘Lord of the Direction’ and represents the South in this capacity.



Fig. 3

It is evident that the coin was struck by a ruler whose abbreviated name is ‘Kirtti’. Finding him amongst a myriad of emperors, lesser kings, governors and feudatories that dot the four or five centuries of South Indian history is a difficult task. The abbreviation immediately brings to mind two rulers, named Kirttivarman I and II, of the illustrious Western Chalukya dynasty of Vatapi, or Badami. Kirttivarman I (566 – 597 AD) was the father of the famous Chalukya emperor Pulakesi II, while Kirttivarman II (746 – 753 AD) was the last ruler of this house. His defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna I, marked the end of the Western Chalukya dynasty. ‘Kirtti’ could stand for either of these two; however, there is a problem. The palaeography of the Devanagari script seen on the coin does not match with the periods of either of these rulers. They would be too early for the legend to be so refined as far as its execution and characteristics go. Our search for the bearer of the abbreviation ‘Kirtti’ should therefore be directed to later centuries.

This brings another ruler into consideration as far as the identity of ‘Kirtti’ is concerned. He is Kirttideva II, the Kadamba ruler of Hangal, who is believed to have ruled c. 1150 -1180 AD. He was initially a feudatory under the Chalukyas of Kalyani, but when the dynasty was overthrown by the Kalachurya commander, Bijjala Tribhuvanamalla, Kirttideva shifted his allegiance to the Kalachuryas. He is known from two inscriptions, located at Bankapur (Bankapur Taluka, Dharwad district, Karnataka State). These are published as nos. 290 and 291 in volume III of the ‘Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions’ (Archaeological Survey of India, 1991). Inscription no. 290 refers to Kirttideva as a ‘Mahamandalesvara’ and is dated in the 2nd regnal year of a Kalachurya king of Kalyani named Sankama Nissankamalla, corresponding to *Samvatsara* or Cyclic year named ‘Vilambi’. It is further dated Monday *Ashadha Shuddha Ashtami*. The date is

irregular, but for the week-day the details correspond to AD 1178, June 24. The week-day however was Saturday and not Monday as stated in the record. It registers the gift of the village Gavundavali in the ‘Hanumgal Five-hundred’ division, as *sthala-vritti* to a Shaivaite *Acharya* or teacher named Vimala[sakti] of the *Kalamukha* lineage. The gift was made by the king to fund the worship and services of ascetics, education and other charitable purposes, in the temple of Nagaresvara Deva. Inscription 291 records a gift of tax on gardens (*tonta-sumka*) made by the king and *Mahapradhana* Kumara Mallarasa at the request of Malliyana-Dandanayaka, the *Sunhavergade* of ‘Hanumgal Five-hundred’ division. The gift was made to the temple of Indresvara Deva at the capital town of Bankapura and was entrusted to Svasakti-Pandita, son of Somaravula Pandita. Both inscriptions mention the name of Kirttideva’s wife as Queen Kalala Devi.

Although there is no explicit proof of the attribution, judging by the chronological placement of Kirttideva II, it is very likely that the gold Gadyana was struck by him. His affiliation to Tantric Shaivaite sects like the ‘Kalamukhas’ is evident from the Bankapur inscriptions and it is likely that his adoption of the icon of Yama for the coin struck by him must have something to do with such leanings.

MORE ON BABUR

In Newsletter 184 we published a review of Aman ur Rahman’s book *Zahir-uddin Muhammad Babur*. Danish Moin of the IIRNS, Nasik, has submitted another review of this work. Most of this favourable review covers the same ground as the previous review but Danish does make some additional points on the contents of chapter 3 of the book and these are presented here.

“Chapter 3 has another sub-heading: “re-attribution”, where he re-attributes the reading of certain mints and some earlier coin attributions are corrected. The author has re-attributed the mint read as Lakhnau to Laknur. But in my opinion it should be *Lakhnau* as the letter *re* of *Laknur* (which the author claimed to read) should be read as the *hamza* of *Lakhnau*. Secondly to write *Laknur* one does not need *kh* or *kaaf* with *do chashmi he*, whereas the illustrations provided has a very clear *kh*, which can easily be read as *Lakhnau*, while to write Laknur one needs only *Laam*, *kaaf nun*, *waw* and *re*. His argument on the location based on Beveridge’s account is not very convincing when the coin very clearly reads Lakhnau.

The author has rightly refuted the view of Hodiwala on whether the mint on certain coins is Thatta or Patna but he has not produced any illustration which clearly confirms it one way or the other. In the re-constructed illustration the author has very clearly shown the mintname as Thatta, while the actual coin illustration does not have a trace of Thatta. A good specimen of this issue is required.

While discussing copper coins of Babur, the author has corrected certain old mistakes made by such doyens of Mughal numismatic as Whitehead, Nelson Wright, and C.J. Brown in their catalogues. One very important change the author proposes is that the copper coins of Agra mint bearing the mintname *dar al-khilafah* should be attributed to Humayun not Babur, as the epithet *dar al-khilafah* was first adopted by Humayun in 937. But I have a photograph of a copper coin with the date 935 and with the mintname *dar al-khilafah* Agra. This is illustrated here. Thus with the help of this coin one cannot argue that the epithet *dar al-khilafah* for Agra was first given by Humayun.



Another point can also be made here that the author has repeatedly written the epithet as *dar al-khilafata*, which is not correct. It should be read as *dar al-khilafah*.”

A COPPER COIN OF TARPATRI MINT

By Barry Tabor

We are indebted to Shailendra Bhandare for his very full and cogent paper on the “18th Century Coinage of the Cuddapah Region”¹ in which he has dealt in depth with the mints of that region, along with their output, mostly in gold, but some in silver and copper.

The mint at Tarpatri (modern spelling Tadpatri or Tadipatri, in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh) is dealt with on pp. 38-39 in that article, where it is shown that the known and published coins are all Mughal products, in the names of Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II. He describes the last-mentioned of these as “the last known issue of the Tarpatri mint”, and it is dated AH 1176.

On pp. 41-42 Dr Bhandare covers the involvement of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan with the region, and describes the coins struck there by these Mysore rulers. He mentions an elusive copper coin dated AM 1205, known only from a passing reference in Henderson’s seminal work on the coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan² and of which no extant specimen is known, nor does even a drawing seem to have survived. The author also covers issues of Cuddapah mint which, although undated, he logically concludes from their design, date from about 1780 to 1790 AD, and also the recently described elephant and flower (lotus) coins³ of the mint at Kadiri (Kadire), all known examples of which are dated AH 1202. These are one-eighth paisa weight, and they may, as he states, be cash-pieces.

It now appears that the mint at Tarpatri issued specie after AH 1176, because the illustration below shows a Tipu-style copper coin, of quarter paisa weight, dated 1217. The obverse is an elephant walking right, tail up, with the Persian letter *Nun* (or maybe a crescent) above. The reverse displays the mint name as ‘*Zarb Tarpatri*’, nearly complete, and below is the date 1217. The “seven” in the date has been engraved in a somewhat unusual fashion, but it would be hard to read it as anything else.



Fig.1 Tarpatri quarter paisa (2.5g.) dated 1217.

If this is an AM date, it is equivalent to 1789/90 AD, and means that the coin was struck during the period when the area was under the control of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The elephant motif supports this proposal, but the *Nun* seems out of place. If, however, the date is AH 1217 the coin was struck about 1802/03 AD, after the area had been stripped from the Mysore state, following Tipu’s defeat and death at Seringapattan, during the third Mysore war, in 1799 AD. This area was, by then, in the hands of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the *Nun* would be easily explained as the initial of “Nizam”, but the elephant motif would seem out of place. The resolution of this riddle will have to wait for the reporting of more such coins, with other dates, or a less imperfect understanding of the history of the mint at Tarpatri.

If any member has other coins of this type from Tarpatri, I would be pleased to hear about them.

I freely acknowledge the generous help and suggestions of Shailendra Bhandare, who read the coin and suggested improvements and corrections to the above text, during the preparation of this paper.

1. ONSJ No. 186, Winter 2006, pp. 29 – 43

2. *The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* by J. R. Henderson, R. K. Publishers, Delhi, 1921, reprinted 1987, p.27.

3. Figures 64 and 65 of Dr Bhandare’s paper cited in (1) above.

THE MARATHAS IN MALWA 1720 - 1770: NOTES ON HISTORY AND COINAGE

By Shailendra Bhandare

Malwa: History and Historical Geography

The history of the geopolitical region of Malwa in central India is steeped in antiquity. It is a plateau extending roughly between 23°30' and 24°30' N and 74°30' and 78°10' E. Its name possibly derives from the ancient ‘Malava’ tribe, known chiefly from their coins but also from mentions in texts like the *Vishnu Purana* and *Brhatsamhita*, and from epigraphic details like the Nasik inscription of the Kshaharata Ksatrapa ruler, Nahapana (c. 33 - 78 AD). Ujjayini, or ‘Ozene’ of Ptolemy’s geography, was the pre-eminent urban centre of ancient Malwa and derived – and still does – considerable religious and economic importance. It has a Shiva temple revered as amongst the twelve holiest Shaivaite shrines and is one of the sites where the famed ‘Kumbh’ gatherings are held.

Ruled by several indigenous dynasties like the Guptas, the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Paramaras throughout the first millennium AD, Malwa was conquered in 1235 by the troops of Sultan Iltutmish and made into a province of the Delhi Sultanate. When the Delhi Sultanate disintegrated in the 14th century AD, an independent sultanate was established in Malwa, ruled by the Ghori and Khalji Afghan houses. This sultanate endured attacks by neighbouring political entities such as the Lodi and Suri Sultans of Delhi, the Sultans of Gujarat, the Hindu Ranas of Chitor and the Mughals under Humayun for over two centuries. It was finally subjugated and absorbed into the Mughal Empire by Akbar when he defeated Baz Bahadur, the last ruler of Malwa, in 1562.

Malwa remained a *subah* of the Mughal Empire during its heyday. It was divided into eleven *Sarkars* or administrative divisions, and a *subahdar* or Governor was appointed from Delhi to facilitate the Emperor’s rule over the province. Ujjain, the ancient capital of Malwa, rose once again to a position of importance during these years. Chanderi and Mandu had been prominent during the sultanate rule. Other towns like Sarangpur and Shajapur also rose to prominence as commercial centres and trading stations along the main Mughal line of communications linking the capitals, Delhi and Agra, to the remote Imperial *subahs* of the Deccan. To the west, Mandasor remained an important urban centre.

The Rajputs take the prime position amongst ethnicities settled in Malwa. Rajput settlement in Malwa took place in two major waves – one was facilitated by Akbar through the grant of land tenures when he conquered the province and the second was part of subsequent Mughal advances when further tenures were granted while the armies were en route into the Deccan. Rajput clans like the Sondhs, the Ummats, the Ahirs and the Khichis occupied and settled particular tracts of Malwa and accordingly they are called Sondhwada, Ummatwada, Khichiwada and Ahirwada. These tracts lie to the north-east of Ujjain in a west to east orientation.

Marathas in Malwa: Early years

The Maratha involvement in Malwa began as part of defensive tactics employed against the Mughal forces that overran the Deccan after the deaths of the Maratha kings, or ‘Chhatrapatis’, Shivaji (1680) and Sambhaji (1689). The cardinal position of Malwa on the north-south trade route and also the peace it had enjoyed under a hundred and fifty years of Mughal rule had given the region considerable prosperity. The Malwa plateau was also very fertile, watered by the Chambal, Sindh and Betwa river systems. As such, it made a prime target for Maratha guerrilla raids, which came in handy both for accessing quick money, collected as tribute, and also as a strategic distraction for the Mughal troops stationed immediately to the south.

In 1719, while Chhatrapati Shahu was the paramount Maratha king, the Mughal Emperor granted a charter to his Peshwa (‘Prime Minister’) Balaji Vishwanath, awarding him the

rights to collect tributes such as *Chauth* (one quarter of the revenue collection) and *Sardeshmukhi* (an additional 10% as 'cost benefits') in the six Mughal *subahs* of the Deccan. The grant had its origins in intrigues at the imperial court at Delhi where the Sayyid brothers had been kingmakers. The charter gave the Marathas a much desired legitimacy to make inroads into the Mughal revenue, much against the wishes of the claimants from a rival 'order'. This order consisted not only of the politically aspiring members of the imperial elite, such as Chin Qilich Khan, alias Nizam ul-Mulk (the founder of the lineage known as the 'Nizams of Hyderabad'), but also of local landed barons (*zamindars*) and minor aristocrats who had been carrying out the task of revenue collection under Mughal rule, through mediatory rights conferred upon them by successive emperors and/or their officers. Although the *subah* of Malwa was not covered by the imperial charter, Peshwa Bajirao I (1720 – 1740), the son and successor of Balaji Vishwanath, thought it to be excellent ground for creating his own sphere of influence. The reasons behind this were manifold – owing to contemporary political developments and alignments, his master, Chhatrapati Shahu, was favourably disposed towards the Mughal Emperor and other constituents of the Mughal order. Shahu was also cautious of the rising importance of his young, brave and efficient Peshwa. He would not, therefore, let the Peshwa spread his wings further south, closer to his own capital, Satara. The prosperous Mughal *subahs* of Gujarat and Malwa lay to the immediate north of the 'Swarajya' or Maratha homelands. Out of these, Shahu had already consigned the rights of collecting tax in Gujarat to another baronial family, the Dabhades. So the Peshwa had no option but to concentrate on Malwa and, to this effect, he received the blessings of the Chhatrapati as well.

An excellent account of the conquest of Malwa by the Marathas can be found in '*Malwa in Transition or A Century of Anarchy: the First Phase 1698-1765*', by Raghuraj Singh (Bombay 1936). The historical account of Malwa presented in this paper is largely based on details given by Raghuraj Singh. He, however, considers the Maratha involvement in Malwa to be one of recurrent predation. As evident in the title of his monograph, he follows the old historiographic model of treating the indigenous polities succeeding the Mughals and preceding the British rule, as 'anarchies'. This is a clear reflection of the colonial historiographic discourse, under which the British ruling order tried to create an impression that British rule 'saved' India from such anarchies and was some sort of dispensation. After the period of 'Orientalism', much of what had been said in colonial historiography came to be challenged. Stewart N Gordon, in his study titled 'The Slow Conquest: Administrative Integration of Malwa into the Maratha Empire 1720 – 1760' (Modern Asian Studies, vol. 11, no. 1, 1977, pp. 1-40, reprinted in his monograph '*Marathas, Marauders and State Formation in Eighteenth Century India*', OUP 1994, pp. 23-63), presented a view contradicting, in good part, this traditionally held 'anarchy' model of Maratha rule in Malwa. From his viewpoint, the Marathas were able to assimilate Malwa only slowly – due to a variety of political reasons – but when they did it, they created an entire new order in Malwa by the deliberate adoption and modification of the old Mughal order as far as revenue settlement and administration were concerned. This paper will address some important historical observations made by Gordon and compliment them with numismatic data by bringing minting activities under the Marathas into the historical context. The focus of this inquiry will be the mints at emerging centres of Maratha power in Malwa namely Ujjain, Sironj and more particularly, Alamgirpur or Bhilsa.

The 'Slow Conquest' of Malwa by the Marathas:

The Maratha conquest of Malwa can be divided into two phases, 1720 – 1728 and 1728 – 1741. The end of each phase is marked by a decisive battle. The Marathas had begun raiding Malwa regularly in the 1720s. However, these raids were essentially 'camp-based' and confined to exacting tribute from local elites. The tribute thus collected would be divided amongst Maratha 'band-leaders', who, as part of the Maratha political structure,

were responsible to one of the key figures in the court of Chhatrapati Shahu. As the province of Malwa had been the preserve of the Peshwa as far as tribute-collecting was concerned, most of the Maratha band-leaders active in Malwa were the Peshwa's protégés.

The province, however, was a part of the Mughal Empire, which had slowly been crumbling. On 4 February 1721, following the fall of the Sayyid brothers at Delhi, the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, appointed Nizam ul-Mulk the Vizier of the Empire. The Nizam had been the *subahdar* or governor of Malwa from 1719, and, when he left for Delhi to take charge of his new office, he appointed Mubariz Khan as his deputy. In the early 1720s, the Nizam's relations with the Marathas and particularly Shahu had been cordial. In fact, in early 1723, the Nizam took on and defeated Dost Muhammad Khan, a prominent freebooter in Malwa (whose descendants founded the state of Bhopal), with Maratha help.

The Emperor, Muhammad Shah, was a weak and volatile character. In the years following the Nizam's appointment as Vizier, he grew increasingly wary of the latter's importance. Eager to keep the Nizam under control, he instigated Mubariz Khan against him. The Nizam marched to the Deccan and clashed with the army raised with imperial support by Mubariz Khan at the battle of Sakkar-Khedla in October 1724, where the latter was defeated and killed. This event marked the Nizam's formal cession from the imperial authority at Delhi. The Marathas remained neutral in this melée, giving the Nizam a much desired respite.

Following the Nizam's appointment as Vizier, the Emperor had entrusted the *subahdar*-ship of Malwa to Raja Girdhar Bahadur, a powerful Mughal courtier who had been the governor of Awadh. The Nizam, after he successfully checked Dost Muhammad, appropriated the *subahdar*-ship of Malwa for himself. He left his second cousin, Azimullah, as his deputy when he marched to the Deccan to take on Mubariz Khan. After the battle of Sakkar-Khedla, fearing the growing strength of the Nizam, the Emperor once again appointed Raja Girdhar Bahadur to this office (June 1725). This time Girdhar Bahadur brought with him his cousin, Daya Bahadur, to help him govern the province. While Girdhar Bahadur oversaw administrative matters and acted as a sort of 'chief executive officer', Daya Bahadur acted as the military commander.

Meanwhile, the Marathas had not been inactive. The Peshwa, Bajirao, had been eager to strengthen his position amongst other officers of Chhatrapati Shahu's court. He achieved this by raising a group of trusted partisans. Grants to collect revenues were periodically awarded to such lieutenants. Thus in 1722, the Peshwa conferred upon Udaji Pawar (whose descendants founded the princely states of Dhar and Dewas) the right to collect half of his own revenue share in Malwa. Others like Gogaji Devakate, Krishnaji Hari, Trimbak Gangadhar and Kesho Mahadev were also given the rights to collect the dues mainly in and around the districts of Dhar, Jhabua and Indore.

By this time, Mughal control over the local Rajput elite had been steadily breaking down. In the absence of an authority strong enough to make important decisions, a host of legitimacy and succession-related disputes flared up between the Rajputs. As the Marathas had been emerging as the dominant order in Malwa, the Rajput factions vied for their backing. This led to Maratha involvement in petty Rajput squabbles. As representatives of the imperial order, Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur resented the importance the Marathas had been gaining. They made an all-out attempt to restore order. This made the situation worse and the Peshwa thought it prudent to put an end to it all. He put his brother, Chimaji, in charge of an expedition against the governor of Malwa and asked Udaji Pawar and Malhar Rao Holkar (the founder of Indore State) to help him with their detachments. The Marathas took on the forces of Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur in November 1728 at Amjhera in South Malwa. In the battle that followed, both Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur were killed and it was a resounding victory for the Marathas. This brought the southern part of Malwa effectively under Maratha

control. The battle of Amjhera marks the end of the first phase of the 'slow conquest' of Malwa by the Marathas.

Following Girdhar Bahadur's death, the Emperor appointed his son, Bhawani Ram, as the governor of Malwa. But soon, Bhawani Ram found his position successively weakened by court intrigues at Delhi against him. The *subahdar*-ship of Malwa then went to Muhammad Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhabad (Sept. 1730). His tenure was followed by that of Sawai Jai Singh, the ruler of Jaipur and a Maratha sympathiser who was the *subahdar* of Malwa from September 1732 to August 1737.

Maratha 'State Formation' in Malwa: the Sindhia, Holkar and Pawar families

The next important date as far as the Maratha control over Malwa is concerned is May 1736, when the Peshwa was appointed the deputy governor of the province. In the run up to this, the Marathas continued their expeditionary raids to collect tribute. After the battle of Amjhera, Chhatrapati Shahu ratified the Peshwa's control over Malwa. The protégés of the Peshwa grew from strength to strength in these years and their involvement in Malwa affairs went on the increase. Udaji Pawar, the old ally of the Peshwa, fell out with him over his decision to appoint Malhar Rao Holkar as the commander for the expedition in 1730. After Udaji's withdrawal, Malhar Rao was left supreme in Malwa affairs. In October 1730, he was granted a *saranjam* (tenure of tribute collection, a part of which was reserved by the grantee for troop expenses) for 74 *parganahs* or smaller administrative divisions in Malwa. Another Maratha commander to rise dramatically in the early 1730s was Ranoji Sindhia, whose descendants went on to found the princely state of Gwalior.

In December 1731, the Peshwa apportioned the tribute collected from the revenue of Malwa between his protégés. This eventually led to the formation of 'spheres of influences' and culminated – a few decades later – into the formation of Maratha states in Malwa. While Sindhia and Holkar got 35% each, the Peshwa kept 21.5% of his share and accommodated Anand Rao, the brother of Udaji Pawar, with an 8.5% share of his own. Other scions of the Pawar family, namely Tukoji and Jiwaji, who were cousins of Udaji, were accommodated in 1732 with a further 8.5% of the Peshwa's revenue share.

In January 1734, the Peshwa awarded a grant in perpetuity to Malhar Rao Holkar. It comprised tracts in the Deccan and the district of Maheshwar in Malwa. Also added to this were nine villages from Indore district. This grant was to be treated as *khasgi* or 'private' income for Holkar and was not part of his *saranjam* as the revenue collector for the Peshwa. According to Raghbir Sinh, this grant marks the beginning of the State of Indore ('Malwa in Transition', p. 276-77).

The fortunes of the Pawars were less favoured in comparison, conceivably owing to the impudent behaviour of Udaji towards the Peshwa. Unlike Holkar, who had been granted tenures in perpetuity, grants to the Pawars were reviewed annually by the Peshwa. Udaji's brother, Anand Rao, received the city and district of Dhar as part of his *saranjam* in 1735. He died in June 1736 and his tenures were confirmed to his son, Yashwant Rao, in August 1736. The foundation of Dhar state may be traced to this confirmation. Udaji's cousins, Tukoji and Jiwaji, received their grants in 1734 and these included the districts of Dewas, Sarangpur, Bagod and Ingnod. The grants were given jointly and eventually resulted in the foundation of two princely branches – Dewas Senior and Junior.

The rise of Ranoji Sindhia amongst the lieutenants of Peshwa Bajirao was truly meteoric. It seems likely that the Peshwa brought him into the political picture, so far as Malwa was concerned, only to keep Malhar Rao Holkar in check, lest the affairs should remain in his hands alone. Ranoji received an equal share as that of the Holkar in the 1731 assignment, but he does not appear to have received any individual grant. Notwithstanding this, he made Ujjain his headquarters as early as 1735.

Completion of the 'Slow Conquest': Last phase of Mughal-Maratha conflict in Malwa

The complacency of Sawai Jai Singh, the *subahdar* of Malwa, towards the Marathas led to political wrangling between the Emperor, the Marathas and Jai Singh himself. Added to these were local conflicts such as those between the Rajput *zamindars* and those involving Afghan freebooters like Dost Muhammad and Yar Muhammad Khan of Bhopal. In 1735, the Emperor planned a large-scale campaign to drive the Maratha menace out of Malwa permanently. Court heavyweights like the Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad, Sa'adat Khan the Nawab of Awadh, Mir Qamruddin the Vizier, and Rajput rulers like Abhay Singh of Mewar were persuaded to join the imperial combine. As they moved south, Peshwa Bajirao decided to take on the Mughal armies and moved northwards from his capital Pune with the detachments of Sindhia, Holkar, Pawars and many other Maratha barons.

As the armies marched in Malwa against each other in 1736, a series of bloody skirmishes followed in which the Marathas proved to be difficult to beat. Both sides soon sued for peace. While negotiating the peace terms through Sawai Jai Singh, the Peshwa for the first time made explicit claims that the province of Malwa should be ceded to him and he should be appointed the *subahdar* with control over all of Malwa's administrative divisions, forts and subsidiary rulers. The rulers were to be left untroubled provided they paid tribute on time – to the Peshwa and not to the Emperor. The Emperor acceded to Bajirao's demands (May 1736), but the Peshwa was appointed the 'deputy *subahdar*' with Sawai Jai Singh continuing to be the nominal *subahdar*. This marked the cession of Malwa from the Mughal Empire "in fact, if not in form" (Raghbir Sinh, quoting Jadunath Sarkar, 'Malwa in Transition', p. 243). The Peshwa then retired to Pune with his armies.

The Peshwa, however, was not content with these agreements. After the rainy season in 1736, he renewed his bid for the *subahdar*-ship of Malwa. He also demanded the province should be given to him as a *jagir*. Along with these, he made nine other demands which the Emperor clearly found unacceptable. At the end of 1736, empowered by a secret collusion with Sawai Jai Singh, the Peshwa decided to march on Delhi. He appeared in Malwa in November 1736 and struck a blow against the Afghan forces of Yar Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal. From Bhopal, the Peshwa marched on to Bhilsa and took it on 11 January 1737 after a fortnight's siege. He then continued his march northwards through Bundelkhand.

The Emperor was troubled by the Maratha show of strength and decided to seek help from his old adversary, Nizam ul-Mulk. He summoned him to Delhi. His court stood unanimously behind him in this decision, leaving behind their mutual displeasures with the Nizam. The Nizam had been managing the affairs of *subahs* in the Deccan as his independent fief, but was still keen to meddle in imperial affairs. Moreover, he was also keen to satisfy his own ego by playing the saviour and oblige his old master the Emperor. He heeded the Emperor's calls of help and left the Deccan to arrive in Malwa in May 1737. The Marathas evaded his troops and left for the Deccan after exacting tributes in Bundelkhand. The Emperor thus breathed a sigh of relief and received the Nizam in Delhi (July 1737) with great pomp and ceremony. It was during this visit that the Emperor conferred upon the Nizam the title 'Asaf Jah' that went on to be the family appellation of his descendants, the Nizams of Hyderabad. The Nizam promised the Emperor never to let the Marathas cross the Narmada River again. In return he was granted a huge financial reward and tenures spread over five imperial *subahs*. The *subahdar*-ship of Malwa was awarded to his son, Ghaziuddin Khan, thus removing both Sawai Jai Singh and his deputy the Peshwa from their respective offices.

As soon as the Nizam tried to fulfil his promise by attempting to drive out the Maratha troops stationed in Malwa, the Peshwa decided to take up the challenge and moved once again towards the north. On 14 December 1737 the Maratha and Nizam armies clashed at Bhopal. The Nizam's troops were routed by the Marathas in a pitched battle and the Nizam found himself

besieged. He called for reinforcements from the Emperor at Delhi in this emergency, but the Emperor did not respond. His attempts to rally his sons with help from the Deccan were thwarted by quick and decisive moves against them by other Maratha leaders.

The Nizam smelt a rat in the Emperor's conduct and retreated to the Deccan for the final time in January 1738, severing all his links with Delhi and never to return north. But before that, he signed a humiliating hand-written convention with the Marathas which conferred upon them the *subah* of Malwa and the entire tract between the Narmada and Chambal rivers. The convention also held the Nizam responsible for its ratification by the Emperor and included a clause that the Peshwa should be paid repatriation costs. This convention marked the formal cession of Malwa to the Marathas. It was ratified by the Emperor only in September 1741. By that time the architect of the conquest, Peshwa Bajirao, had been dead for over a year. It was his son, Balaji Bajirao, alias Nanasaheb, who took possession of Malwa under a grant that bore the seal of the Imperial Vizier, which he received in July 1742.

In the two decades following the death of Peshwa Bajirao I, many of the personalities involved in this extended struggle died. The Emperor, Muhammad Shah, and the Nizam both died in 1748. Ranoji Sindhia died in 1745 near Shujalpur in Malwa. He had three legitimate and two illegitimate sons. His tenures and titles passed to Jayappa, the eldest of his legitimate sons. Jayappa ruled over the Sindhia territories in Malwa until he was killed in a battle against the Rajputs at Nagaur in Rajasthan (1759). His young son, Jankoji, succeeded him and Dattaji Sindhia, the second son of Ranoji, aided Jankoji in managing the affairs. In the run up to the third battle of Panipat (January 1761), in which the Marathas received a heavy setback at the hands of the Afghan ruler, Ahmed Shah Durrani, Dattaji was killed at Barari Ghat near Delhi. Jankoji himself was captured in the battle of Panipat and put to death by the Afghans. The Sindhia titles then passed on to Mahadaji, or Madhoji, the illegitimate son of Ranoji.

Malhar Rao Holkar ruled over his domains until his death in 1769, when he was succeeded by his grandson Malerao, who was mentally unstable. His widowed daughter-in-law, Ahilya Bai, acted as a regent for Malerao. Soon afterwards, Malerao died too and Ahilya Bai was left in sole charge of Holkar affairs.

The Peshwa's power increased several fold in the 1750s. He systematically undermined the authority of his master, the Chhatrapati, with the aid of succession disputes following the death of Chhatrapati Shahu in 1749. Peshwa Balaji's younger brother, Raghunath Rao, and cousin, Sadashiv Rao Bhau, won important battles against the Mughals in Gujarat, the Rajputs in Rajasthan and the Nizams in the Deccan, thereby spreading Maratha influence over vast regions of north and peninsular India. A force to reckon with, they signed treaties with the members of the Emperor's coterie at Delhi and played a significant role as imperial protectors in national as well as international politics. In 1758, Maratha power reached its zenith when they marched against the Afghan invaders under Ahmed Shah Durrani and his Rohilla cronies across Punjab. Detachments of Sindhia and Holkar armies played an important role in the Maratha expansion northwards. This glory came to an abrupt end with the battle of Panipat in 1761, where the Marathas lost heavily with several of their leading commanders perishing. The Peshwa's relationship with the Sindhias, Holkars and the Pawars during this period vacillated between one of cordiality and brusqueness. Peshwa Balaji was a character of ambition and intrigue and always tried to keep his barons under close check. In 1748, he confiscated the tenures of the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas and returned them only in 1755 after the payment of certain commissions as *nazars* ('gifts').

Maratha administration in Malwa:

An excellent account, based on fresh archival data, of how the Marathas dealt with the newly acquired province of Malwa is to be found in Stewart Gordon's contribution. The following information is the gist of what Gordon said about Maratha administration in Malwa.

With the conquest of Malwa completed, the Peshwa had to make substantial changes in the way he would collect tribute. Until the mid-1730s, the Peshwa effected revenue collection by means of forays made by 'main force troops', who made the enterprise a part of their strategy against the Mughal order. Under such militarily achieved collection, everything that was deemed to be 'movable wealth' in a village or a principle town of a subdivision would be marked, listed and converted into cash equalling the tribute amount using intermediary agencies such as money-lenders. With the province coming into the Peshwa's hands, such a strategy became redundant and the troops could be utilised elsewhere. The Peshwa then moved on to what Stewart Gordon has termed the 'stabilised *Khandani*' system, under which an agreement would be drafted between the payer and a Maratha representative, specifying the number of years the former would be responsible for payments. ('Khandani' is a Marathi word which literally means 'tribute'). The payments would be made as a lump sum and the payer invariably was a member of the local elite, such as a Rajput *zamindar* or in the case of smaller villages or 'tribute yielding units', the local revenue officer such as the *Chaudhary* or the *Qanungo*. The Maratha representative would be an administrator called the *Kamavisdar*. The difference between the *kamavisdars* and the *saranjamdars* or military collectors of earlier years was that the latter kept a body of troops and thus reserved a part of the revenues collected by him for their expense before he sent in the remittance. The *kamavisdars*, on the other hand, were civilian collectors and carried a staff with them to facilitate the bureaucratic administration of their task.

This system soon gave way to another, more simplified one – that of direct administration or *Ainjama*, to use the contemporary jargon. There were various reasons for this – Malwa did not have enough large *zamindars* to cover a large tract or 'tribute yielding unit' and effect a collection. Individuals responsible for smaller units would be difficult to track down and keep in check, while individuals with some eminence (such as the Afghans of Bhopal) would prove obstinate and would yield only to military pressure. The collection, per tenure tied up with the local representative, would thus go in waves – good collection for the first one or two years, then a steady drop and then reviving only after a threat ensued. Needless to say, the Peshwa decided to do away with the local representatives and created a structure of collecting revenues directly from the cultivators by the *kamavisdars*. The *kamavisdars* would be responsible directly to the Peshwa, with no intermediaries in-between. They would be paid a salary in lieu of their services, which would often be specified as charges of expenditure in the tenure grant before the dues were remitted and treated rigidly in terms of mutability. The units held by *kamavisdars* would be small and manageable, often not exceeding 20-50 villages, and they were allowed to run a staff with a skeletal military detachment associated with it.

While this was very similar to the Mughal *mansabdari* system, in the way that responsibility for revenue collection was down to an individual officer, it also differed from it in two major ways. Firstly, unlike the Mughal *mansabdar*, the Maratha *kamavisdar* was a fully civilian officer. Secondly, while the *mansabdar* was moved from town to town in his duty as the revenue collector, the Maratha *kamavisdars* enjoyed a much longer tenure that would allow the settlement of the grantees in new locations, allow them to forge bonds with the local population and help them achieve a certain social mobility as civilian representatives of the ruling order. Tenures of more than ten years were regularly granted. The Maratha system was also much more spread out in terms of 'revenue units' – there were far more *kamavisdars* appointed than there ever were *mansabdars* in Mughal times.

As land revenue was linked directly to the agrarian economy, it was essential for the Marathas to give fresh impetus to agriculture following a few decades of disorder. They actually attempted this well before their hold on Malwa was ratified by the Emperor, presumably whenever they were at the right place at the right time, with the agrarian cycle being governed by the monsoons. Thus, we find Maratha 'band-leaders' like Holkar and

Sindhia trying to achieve maximum cultivation in divisions secured by varying tenure rights in Malwa during the first appointment of the Peshwa as 'deputy *subahdar*' in the months following the rainy season of 1736.

As the Maratha administration gained foothold in Malwa following the setting up of the *Ainjama* system, attempts to boost cultivation further were made by imposing a 'stepped' collection regime – starting from a base which often carried a discount to allow for the impetus, each year the collection would go up and reach a maximum depending on agrarian yields. The system of collecting revenue dues in such a step-wise rise was called '*Istawa*'. The *kamavisdar* would be responsible for its eventual remittance and the terms of remittance would be specified in tenures known as '*Makhtas*'. Gradually, as prosperity returned and collections became more and more streamlined, the remittance could also be made as an advance. Interest on such advances on speculative remittances gave the government much desired cash in hand. It was charged according to the moves of a surprisingly elaborate money market at Pune, the Peshwa's capital. As remittances assumed such advanced forms, the need for monetisation grew and money use began to spread from administrative centres located within revenue collecting units into the hinterland.

The efficiency of good administration as far as military leaders like the Sindhias and the Holkars were concerned, rested in the hands of able *diwans* or financial executors. Ramchandra Baba Sukhtankar acted as the *diwan* for the Sindhias and Gangadhar Yashwant Chandrachud, alias Gangoba Taty, was the administrator of Malhar Rao Holkar's domains.

Mughal Coinage in Malwa

Coinage in Malwa needs to be seen against the background of such important economic and political developments. The province of Malwa had been well-monetised during the sultanate period and profuse currency, in gold, silver and copper was issued by the Khilji Sultans of Malwa from a mint located in their capital, Mandu alias Shadiabad. With the advent of the Mughals, the currency was reformed to suit the Mughal monetary apparatus. The provincial capital of Malwa was moved to Ujjain and the mint there became operational during the reign of Akbar. However, probably because of the coins already existing in circulation, fresh issues were not needed and the mint appears to have functioned sporadically, the issues struck by Akbar's successors Jahangir and Shahjahan being few and far between [though copper coins are not uncommon – Ed.].

In 1658, during the reign of Aurangzeb, Ujjain acquired the sobriquet 'Dar al-Fath' (abode of victory) to celebrate his victory over Murad Bakhsh, the rival claimant to the Mughal throne, at the nearby village of Dharmat. This epithet became a constant feature on all subsequent issues of Ujjain mint under the Mughals. The mint ran regularly until the reign of Muhammad Shah, striking coins in the names of even ephemeral rulers like Azam Shah, Raf'i al-Darjat and Raf'i al-Daula. The Marathas began raiding Malwa during the reign of Muhammad Shah. As the raids were concentrated more on the south-western part of the plateau located to the immediate south of Ujjain, disorder loomed large at Ujjain. This is reflected in the coin issue from Ujjain mint. Coins in the name of Muhammad Shah are scarce and the dates known conform mainly to the early RYs (2, 4 and 8 are listed in Nagpur Museum Catalogue, nos. 1093-95, and a date run of 1-4, 8 and 12 is listed in KM, no. 436.62).

Sironj and Bhilsa are the two other towns that had mints functioning during the Mughal period. Both lay strategically on the main route linking the imperial capitals of Delhi and Agra to the Deccan. The earliest Mughal issues of Sironj are copper *dams* struck in the name of Akbar. The mint at Sironj was run very briefly during RY 31 of Shahjahan (*vide* 'Sironj – a new Mughal Mint of Shahjahan', by Bernd Becker, ICSNL 21, July 1993. The same coin was also published by R C Senior in ONS 135 and it is plausible that the coins struck there met exigent needs for Mughal troops en route to a Deccan expedition under the command of Prince Aurangzeb. The mint became active again only in the reign

of Raf'i al-Darjat, but as with many other issues of this transient ruler, coins of Sironj are exceedingly rare. Sporadic issues in the name of Muhammad Shah are also known – a date run of RYs 1, 5 and 8 is listed under KM no. 436.59.

The first coins struck at Bhilsa are also in the name of Shahjahan and they are known in both silver and gold. The earliest RY noted on these is 12. Issues in the name of Aurangzeb are also known, but coins in the name of both these emperors are scarce. In 1682, Aurangzeb destroyed a prominent Hindu shrine named the Beejamandal at Bhilsa and renamed the town after himself as 'Alamgirpur' (Note: It is interesting that Aurangzeb's coins bearing the mint name 'Alamgirpur' are known with date/R.Y details much earlier than 1682. Surely if Bhilsa was renamed as such only in this year other coins antedating this event must belong to another mint named 'Alamgirpur'. More research is needed to establish its location). All subsequent coins are struck with this mint name. After the change of name, the issues of this mint become more numerous, conceivably owing to the fact that the years after 1682 saw a vast movement of Mughal troops to the Deccan where they fought the Marathas, and the strategic location of Bhilsa on the north-south route meant that it was an important garrison station in Malwa. Two main legend variations are known for the reverse, with the mint name inscribed at the top or at the bottom. Towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, the legend arrangement on the reverse accommodated the RY to the left of *Julus* and the same is seen on the coins of subsequent emperors to Muhammad Shah. Coins in the name of Shah Alam Bahadur, Jahandar Shah, Raf'i al-Darjat and Muhammad Shah are known. Those in the name of Raf'i al-Daula (Shahjahan II) had not been published, but recently a rupee was noted on EBay which is worth illustrating (fig. 1). It may be seen that the RY is to the left of *Julus* on the reverse, which is in accordance with the issues of all the previous emperors and also with an issues of Muhammad Shah (RY 2, fig. 2).



fig. 1



fig. 2

Thus it can be satisfactorily concluded that the coin is indeed of Shahjahan II and not of the later ruler, Shahjahan III.

Apart from these mints, a coin of Aurangzeb reportedly struck at Sarangpur was published by K K Maheshwari (ND vol 12/13). But as the illustration accompanying his note is not very clear, the veracity of the reading of the mint name cannot be confirmed.

The Maratha take-over of Malwa: numismatic reflections

As we have seen earlier the Maratha involvement in Malwa intensified after the battle of Amjhera in 1728. This year may therefore be suitably designated as the 'watershed' between the shifting political control of Malwa. Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, two of the Peshwa's most trusted lieutenants, became established in Malwa soon after this year. We will now look at the coins of the mints that we have just discussed, namely Ujjain, Sironj and Bhilsa (alias Alamgirpur), in these years.

1. Ujjain

Although control of Malwa did not decisively pass to the Marathas in the decade following 1728, there is room to believe that they were engaged in some numismatic activity during these years. A rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah struck in RY 13 (courtesy Jan Lingen, fig. 3) at Ujjain would illustrate the point.



fig. 3

Although it carries no ostensible symbols or marks of Maratha affinity, the general fabric and the execution of the legends is inferior to the standards usually attributed to a 'Mughal' workshop and therefore it is plausible that this rupee may have been struck by the Marathas in their annual tribute collecting expeditions to Ujjain in RY 13 (c. 1732-33). It is also noteworthy that the RY corresponds to the year following that in which the Peshwa pronounced the apportionment of tribute from Malwa between himself and his protégés, namely Sindhia, Holkar and the Pawars, which led to other charters that established the 'spheres of influence' of these band-leaders in Malwa.

A gold mohur in the name of Muhammad Shah bearing the same RY as the rupee just discussed featured in Baldwin's Auctions 45 (3 May 2006) as lot 1330 (fig. 4, courtesy M/s Baldwin's Auctions).



fig. 4

It is worth comparing the rupee and the mohur so far as the calligraphy of legends is concerned. It cannot be said with certainty whether the mohur was struck by the Marathas as well, but if calligraphy and style are reliable diagnostic features it would appear that it was not, owing to the much better executed legends of the mohur, especially for the obverse die.

It is certain that Ranoji Sindhia made Ujjain the seat of his sphere of influence in Malwa in 1735 and it would, therefore, be a reasonable proposition to attribute subsequent coins of this mint to the Marathas. It must, however, be noted that, at this juncture, Ranoji was by no means independent of the Peshwa's authority, neither did the administrative division around Ujjain belong to him under a *khasgi* or 'private' tenure. In other words, he was very much a representative of the Peshwa as far as his hold over Ujjain was concerned. The same is true for his descendents, Jayappa and Jankoji (see below). Therefore, it will be appropriate to attribute the coins in this period to the Marathas rather than treat them as issues of 'Gwalior State', the formation of which was still a few decades away.

Two rupees, of RYs 17 and 18, corresponding to 1736-38 are illustrated here (fig. 5, courtesy Jan Lingen, and fig. 6, documented while in trade).



fig. 5



fig. 6

Unlike the rupee of RY 13, the execution of the legends of these coins is of a reasonable quality plausibly because they are a product of an adequately supervised mint, unlike the previous issues, which could have been struck in uncertain circumstances and in the haste of a tribute collecting raid. The mint at Ujjain seems to have functioned sporadically after 1740. Rupees and mohurs of RY 20 and 24 of Muhammad Shah are known (KM 436.62; fig. 7, courtesy Jan Lingen) and should be doubtlessly attributed to the Marathas.



fig. 7

After Ranoji's death in 1745, Jayappa Sindhia took over the management of Sindhia affairs. Under his control, the mint of Ujjain functioned with the same sporadic frequency as it did before. Coins in the name of Ahmed Shah Bahadur, the successor of Muhammad Shah, are known but they are very rare (fig. 8, this coin bears RY 6, the last year of Ahmed Shah Bahadur).



fig. 8

From the reign of Alamgir II, the mint of Ujjain is seen to run with much more regularity – coins bearing his name and a range of RYs such as Ahd (1), 3, 5 and 7 are known (fig. 9).



fig. 9

It is also evident that fractional coins were also struck, a quarter rupee is illustrated here as fig. 10 (courtesy: www.southasia-coins.org). Coins in the name of Shah Alam II are also known – one with RY 2 is shown here (Fig. 11, courtesy Paul Stevens) and KM lists another with RY 3. As the issue dates of these coins fall within the reigns of Jayappa (1745 – 59) and Jankoji Sindhia (1759-61), they should be attributed to these individuals as the Peshwa's protégés.



fig. 10



Fig. 11

Judging by the quality maintained in the standard of execution of the issues at Ujjain, it is evident that the Marathas inherited a mint set-up which had reasonably skilled personnel working for it. It is therefore plausible they had access to the same agencies that had operated the mint for the Mughals.

2. Sironj

Unlike Ujjain, which belonged to the Sindhias, the mint at Sironj belonged to the areas administered directly by the Peshwa. The best listing to date of coins struck by the Marathas at Sironj is by Wiggins and Maheshwari ('Maratha Mints and Coinage, Nasik, 1989, pp. 127-28). They acknowledge the historical fact that Sironj had come under Maratha control around 1736 and attributed two rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah struck at Sironj to the Marathas. However, the attribution of rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah is somewhat difficult. The main attributive tools in this case are the date and/or the RY. On coins of Sironj, the RY is placed to the left of the mint name at the bottom of the reverse and the date precedes the name of the emperor at the top right of the obverse. As the coin dies were almost invariably larger than the coin blanks, these details are often off the flan or only partially visible. The coins illustrated by Wiggins and Maheshwari are no exception to this and therefore their attribution to the Marathas cannot be substantiated.

Notwithstanding this, it can be seen from coins published by Wiggins and Maheshwari that the issues of Sironj in the name of Muhammad Shah belong distinctly to two categories – one has a 'flower with a stalk and a tuft' mark to the left of *Julus* on the reverse, while the other has a quinefoil-like mark which is devoid of both the stalk and the tuft. Coins with the 'flower and stalk' mark show only two dots in the letter 'seen' of *Julus*, whereas coins with the pentafoil mark have another pentafoil mark placed at the same position (figs. 12 and 13).



fig. 12



fig. 13

As evident from the study of specimens showing extant RYs, coins of the first category are dated to the early RYs of Muhammad Shah, while those of the second are dated later. The illustration provided here has a clear RY 8 for the first variety and

another of RY 5 was offered for sale in 'Todywalla's Auctions' no. 8 as lot 87. Even the one shown in Wiggins and Maheshwari has a distinct trace of a '6', but it has not been taken into account by them. The latest RY traced for the first variety is RY 13 and this date is tantalisingly close to Maratha involvement in the region as to regard the symbols of the second variety (i.e. the two pentafoil marks, one placed inside and the other outside the letter 'seen' of *Julus*) as a change instituted by the Marathas in the coin design for the Sironj mint. Another rupee is shown in fig. 14 (Baldwin's Auctions no. 26, 9-5-2001, courtesy Baldwin's) – it has a misengraved AH date 1106 in the top line. 1106 should obviously stand for 1160, corresponding to 1747-48, safely within the period in which Sironj was in Maratha hands.



fig. 14

As seen from data published in Wiggins in Maheshwari, the mint at Sironj was run regularly during the reigns of successive emperors after Muhammad Shah - coins struck in the names of Ahmed Shah Bahadur and Alamgir II are represented in reasonably frequent date/RY runs. It is worth noting a minor change in the differentiating marks on these coins – the second pentafoil outside the 'seen' of *Julus* is replaced with a hexafoil on all these issues. However, a coin struck in metal other than silver was hitherto unknown. A gold mohur struck in the name of Alamgir II, therefore, comes as a welcome addition to the monetary picture as far as Sironj under Maratha rule is concerned (fig. 15). This coin has RY 2, seen clearly at 7 o'clock on the reverse and bears the *Sikka zad* (sic) *Sahib Qirani 'Aziz al-Din Alamgir thani* couplet on the obverse.



fig. 15

The date run listed by Wiggins and Maheshwari for coins in the name of Shah Alam II begins at RY 10 with a rare rupee that has the mark of a trident in addition to the usual penta- or hexafoil marks. However, dates earlier than RY 10 are also known for coins struck in the name of Shah Alam II. They include 1169/Ahd, 1172/Ahd and 1172/2 (information by courtesy of Raghuvir Pai, Mumbai). This proves that the mint at Sironj was functional right up to the Panipat year and even a few months after the battle.

As at Ujjain, the Marathas seem to have inherited the existing mint set-up at Sironj, with access to good die-cutters, as seen from a general high standard maintained in the execution of legends on the Sironj issues.

3. Alamgirpur (Bhilsa)

By far the least known Maratha monetary activity is in respect to the Alamgirpur or Bhilsa mint. The mint is not listed amongst those discussed by Wiggins and Maheshwari and no coins from this mint have hitherto been attributed to the Marathas. This is remedied to a large extent by fresh data published here which includes issues struck in the name of emperors from Muhammad Shah onwards.

While discussing Mughal coins of Alamgirpur mint, we have seen that they follow a particular legend arrangement pattern for the reverse – from the late regnal years of Aurangzeb, the RY is

almost invariably placed to the left of the word *Julus* on the reverse. We have also seen how this feature has helped in attributing a rupee bearing the name 'Shahjahan' to Shahjahan II and compared it with a rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah RY 2 (figs 1 and 2 above). This rupee of Muhammad Shah RY 2 (corresponding to 1721-22) is by far the last to be struck at Alamgirpur under Mughal rule. The Maratha raids began soon after the year in which it was struck and it seems likely that the mint at Alamgirpur virtually ceased its production in response to the resulting disarray in political control that these may have caused. The mint becomes operational again only in the late 1740s, when the administrative division of Bhilsa is taken under direct administration by the Peshwa. This is evident from a rupee in the name of Muhammad Shah RY 27 illustrated here (fig. 16, courtesy www.southasia-coins.org).



fig. 16

It is worth noting that the legend arrangement on the reverse of this coin has the RY appearing to the *right* of *Julus*. Also noteworthy is the general crudeness of execution of the legends and the manner in which the mint name is inscribed – with the words 'Alam' and 'Gir' joined in a single word by inscribing the letters 'mim' and 'gaaf' ligated. All these features suggest a break and subsequent revival in minting at the Alamgirpur mint and it is evident that the Marathas revived it once the town came under their control, probably in response to a need to augment revenue collection in the form of currency. Another specimen in the name of Muhammad Shah RY 30 (fig. 17, courtesy Jan Lingen) is shown here, which betrays similar characteristics in the execution of the legends; however, it bears the mint name inscribed in its correct form with 'Alam' and 'Gir' as separate word components.



fig. 17

It must be said that the first notice of an Alamgirpur rupee of RY 30 of Muhammad Shah was made by R B Whitehead (coin no. 36 in 'Some Mughal Coins', JASB-NS XV, 1910). He did not, however, illustrate it so a comparison with the coin published here cannot be made. A third coin with indistinct RY, but ostensibly a Maratha issue, is also illustrated here (fig. 16, courtesy J P Goenka, Mumbai).



fig. 18

A coin struck at Alamgirpur in the name of the succeeding ruler, Ahmed Shah Bahadur, was first noted by S Goron in ONS 152, 1997. The same coin featured in Baldwin's Auctions no. 26, 9-5-2001 as lot 1455 and is illustrated here (fig. 19) courtesy J P Goenka. It bears RY 5 of the emperor and was thus struck towards the end of his reign.



fig. 19

Coins in the name of Alamgir II were also issued from the Alamgirpur mint. Two are illustrated here – the first of RY *Ahd* or 1 was seen recently on eBay (fig. 20) and the second with RY 2 (fig. 21) is illustrated by courtesy of J P Goenka. Both coins have the same couplet as seen on the Sironj issues – *Sikka zad* (sic) *Sahib Qirani Aziz al-Din Alamgir thani* – but show calligraphy much inferior to the well-executed Sironj specimens.



fig. 20



fig. 21

The fact that the mint at Alamgirpur was operational well up to the battle of Panipat is evident from a specimen struck in the name of Shah Alam II, RY *Ahd* or 1 corresponding to Dec 1759-Nov 1760 (fig. 22, courtesy of J P Goenka). The execution of its legends makes it certain that it is a product of the same atelier that struck coins in the name of the preceding emperor, Alamgir II.



fig. 22

Unlike the issues of Ujjain and Sironj, the coins struck at Alamgirpur mint under Maratha authority show considerable degradation in the standards of execution of the legends. It is, therefore, certain that the mint at Alamgirpur was revived from scratch by the Marathas, with no access to the technical staff that had struck coins there while it was under Mughal control. It is also possible that the production at Alamgirpur went through a longer hiatus before it was resumed by the Marathas after 1745 than was the case with the sporadically active mints of Ujjain and Sironj.

Malwa after Panipat 1761-1770

The setback the Marathas received by the defeat at Panipat had deep repercussions. In all the territories north of the river Narmada, which the Marathas had so painstakingly brought under their direct or indirect control, their rule was now challenged by a host of local contenders for power. Malwa was no exception and,

although bases like Ujjain and Sironj continued to remain tenuously under their control, in all other parts of the province Maratha authority was lost in part or in total. Bhilsa was taken over by the Afghan Nawab of Bhopal. Many Rajput *zamindars*, notably the Khichis and the Ahirs, rebelled against the Marathas and stopped paying tribute.

The Peshwa, Balaji, died soon after the battle and his young son, Madhav Rao, took over. The late Peshwa's younger brother, Raghunath Rao, acted as 'Lord Protector' for the young and inexperienced Peshwa, but Madhav Rao soon came into his own and this led to tussles between him and his uncle.

The role of restoring order in Malwa fell onto the shoulders of the veteran Malhar Rao Holkar, who had escaped alive from the massacres following Panipat. He accomplished the task remarkably, having first dealt with smaller revolts closer to his home territories around Indore in Malwa and then defeating a rebellious Rajput combine headed by Madho Singh of Jaipur at Mangrol (late 1761). In his attempts he was aided by other prominent Maratha barons like Vitthal Shivdeo Winchurkar, Naro Shankar Rajebahadur and Gopal Rao Patwardhan. Some persons belonging to the local order remained faithful to the Marathas, too – one such, named Govind Kalyan, was asked by the Peshwa to recover Bhilsa from the Nawab of Bhopal in 1762. When exactly Govind Kalyan accomplished this task is not known. By 1765, Maratha order in Malwa had been re-established, largely through the efforts of Malhar Rao Holkar. Malhar Rao died on 26 May 1766 at Konch in Bundelkhand.

After the deaths of Jankoji and Dattaji Sindhia, the succession to the Sindhia domains in Malwa was subject to dispute. After nominating two legitimate but distant claimants to the Sindhia titles, the Peshwa finally appointed Mahadaji, the illegitimate but last living son of Ranoji Sindhia, to his tenures in 1764. After Malhar Rao's death, the reins of Maratha affairs in Malwa came into the hands of Mahadaji Sindhia. He accomplished the task of recovering the Maratha supremacy not only in Malwa but in the entire north – a task that was completed when the Marathas once again emerged supreme after defeating the Rohillas in 1772 and thus avenging their defeat at Afghan hands in Panipat. They also played a pivotal role in settling political matters at Delhi, when the feeble Mughal emperor, Shah Alam II, came to his capital under Maratha protection from his place of seclusion in Allahabad and was placed on the Mughal throne in late 1772.

Even though, legally, Maratha control was re-established in Malwa as early as 1765, it took another decade for them to attain full administrative control of the province. It was not until 1775 that the 'spheres of influence' were redrawn in Malwa – as the stars of the Sindhias were in the ascendant by this time, Mahadaji benefited the most from such realignments. Bhilsa became a Sindhia possession and continued to be so until Indian independence in 1947. Ujjain emerged as the Sindhia capital and remained so till Daulat Rao Sindhia moved the capital to Gwalior in 1802. Sironj was transferred by the Peshwa to Malhar Rao Holkar, but as part of the latter's *saranjam* and not a *khasgi* or private tenure. The date of this handover is not certain although the Imperial Gazetteer of India gives it as 1754. It remained in Holkar hands till 1798 when it was made over to Amir Khan, the Pindari leader and a friend of Yashwant Rao Holkar. Hereafter it became a part of the Pindari domains and when they were made into the princely state of Tonk following a treaty with the British in 1817, Sironj became a part of it.

Coinage in Malwa after 1761

It is not a matter of surprise that, in the chaos that ensued after the Maratha defeat, the mints in Malwa go into a mode of temporary suspension. Ujjain is revived only when the succession to Sindhia titles is resolved as seen from a rupee listed in KM bearing RY 8 of Shah Alam II. It is only in 1775 (corresponding to RY 15 of Shah Alam II) that the issues of Ujjain bear a distinguishing mark on the reverse – that of a horizontal sword above the *Julus* and this mark becomes the main identifying feature of the 'Ujjain Halli Sikka', one of the Sindhias' prominent currencies.

Sironj, after its revival in the late 1760s continues with the same set of symbols as before. Nothing about Alamgirpur was known until a unique rupee appeared in the CNG electronic auction 142, lot 273 (fig. 23, courtesy of Satya Bhupatiraju), dated AD 1181/ RY9, corresponding to 1767-68.



fig. 23

This coin is remarkable for the overall similarity it bears in terms of style and execution to the issues of Sironj mint – it is as if the same engraver was employed at these two mints! Sironj had been under Holkar's control for a while at this juncture and it is plausible that Bhilsa alias Alamgirpur, too, rested under his control for a while when this coin was struck. This is interesting as such an involvement of Holkar at Bhilsa is not known from other sources.

Coins in Malwa in an administrative context

The general picture of coinage struck at mints under the control of the Marathas in Malwa fits in very well with the historical picture as far as the administration of the province was concerned, as outlined by Stewart Gordon. The data published by him shows that the revenues from Malwa rose steadily as we move from the years of the formal conquest (1742-45) to the year of the debacle at Panipat. With the advent of the *Ainjama* system, the peaks appear in the late 1750s, while tribute collection through the *khandani* system drops in these very years. This indicates a period of economic stability brought to the province by the Marathas. The concomitant operations of mints at Ujjain, Sironj and Bhilsa may be understood in the context of these revenue collection figures. Conceivably, as agrarian stability returned, the emphasis of collecting revenue in the form of specie must have provided the desired impetus needed for the operation of these mints. Gordon's findings also indicate that the Marathas made a deliberate attempt to create a new fiscal regime by establishing a more simplified revenue collection system, which, in turn, allowed new settlement in the region and caused the flourishing of new towns such as Sironj and Bhilsa, in place of Sarangpur and Shajapur that had been prominent during Mughal times. The fact that two of the most regular mints of the time were located in these very towns substantiates his claims to a good extent. It is also not surprising that the 'humble beginnings' these mints had in the run up to the battle of Panipat eventually made them the most productive mints of the region. All three mints, namely Ujjain, Bhilsa and Sironj, survived well into the 19th century. The first two thrived under the Sindhias of Gwalior and the third, first under the Holkars and subsequently under the Nawabs of Tonk.

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MARATHA SEALS FROM KONKAN AND DECCAN

By Shailendra Bhandare, Oxford, and Sanjay Godbole, Pune

The use of seals as identity and authority-bearing objects is known from a very early date in India. Seals from the Indus Valley civilisation (c. 3000 BC) are well known and one of them, that with the impression of a majestic 'Brahmi Bull' has often been used as the 'mascot' for India's proto-historic past. In the epic *Ramayana*, there is an episode where Hanuman, the monkey-god visits Rama's wife, Seeta, who has been abducted by Ravana, the demon-king of Sri Lanka, in a grove where she has been

imprisoned. To prove his identity as the messenger of Rama, he shows Rama's signet ring to Seeta.

In the Mughal period, the use of seals reached most official and administrative levels, both in governmental and personal capacities. Seals were made of various materials, such as metals, semi-precious and precious stones and glass. They often carried nominative inscriptions, some of which were composed poetically using metres and often included clever alliteration and similes. The language of medieval seals is by and large Persian and the inscriptions often reflect the 'Patron-Client' relationship of the individual whose name they bear. Most individuals describe themselves as '*Bandeh dar Gāh*' or 'servant as the door of...' followed by the name of their superior. Other Persian terms denoting subordination such as '*Abduhu*, '*Abīd*, '*Fidwī* or '*Murīd*' are also seen on Indian Islamic seals. In the case of royalty, the seal inscriptions often assume a genealogical form, thus reflecting legitimacy and parentage alongside authority and identity.

Texts like the '*Ain-i-Akbari*' describe the official protocol in which seals could be employed (vide '*Ain-i-Akbarī*' by Abu'l Fazl Allāmī, book 1, chapter 20, 'The Royal Seals'; trans. H. Blochmann, 1927, Vol. 1, pp. 54-55). When used in correspondence, the seal (or '*Sikkāh*', literally a 'stamp') was usually stamped at the top of the document. At the end of the document, another seal was employed to denote that the document had officially ended. This was called '*Murattab*' – from the word that literally means 'edited', 'composed' or 'brought together' – and often was inscribed with the words '*Murattab Shud*' (meaning 'hereby edited', or, in other words, 'thus ended'). '*Sikkāh* and '*Murattab* were thus used in combination and the validity of the document was deemed doubtful if any one of these had not been stamped.

The Marathas, who inherited and modified many of the administrative procedures of their Islamic predecessors, used seals in exactly the same capacity as the latter did. What is noteworthy, however, is the use of Sanskrit or other indigenous languages, such as Marathi, for the inscriptions and a direct continuation of the inscriptional protocol which was translated into these languages. The earliest of these, is the seal of Shivaji, which he began to use at a very early stage in his career long before he held his official coronation – letters bearing his seal are known from as early as 1642-43 when he was only thirteen. It is exceptional in being in pure Sanskrit and incorporating a pledge for good governance. It is noteworthy for the exclusion of any higher authority – he acknowledges no one except his father, whose name, too, appears strictly as his parent. It is also noteworthy that Shivaji retained the same seal even after his coronation in which he declared himself 'Chhatrapati', the 'bearer of the royal umbrella', or Supreme King. His seal serves as a prototype for the seals of subsequent 'Chhatrapatis', all of which refer exclusively to their names and patronymics, along with a reference to the executive power they wielded as the bearer of the seal.

Other organs of Maratha statecraft stemmed directly from the authority of the Chhatrapati and the seals directly reflect this fact. Many of the subordinate elements of the Maratha confederacy, as it came to grow in the 17th and 18th centuries, referred to the Chhatrapati as their superior. However, references to patron deities are also known. Thus, the members of Maratha families, such as the Sindhias, invoke 'Jyotisarwopa' or the pastoral god, Jotiba (see 'A Seal of Jankoji Scindia', by S. K. Bhatt, JAINS, Indore, vol. 2, 1978-79, p. 48), while the Holkars invoke 'Mhājasākānt' or 'husband of Mhājasā', an appellation of Khandobā, the patron god of the Holkar family. Families such as the Pratinidhis make reference to both the patron god 'Āi Ādipurusha' (the primal Mother and Father) as well as the Chhatrapati. Retaining the metric character, the seal inscriptions often employed direct translations of the older Persian into Sanskrit or other vernacular languages. A common usage is '*charaṇī tatpara*', or '(servant) at the feet of', a version of the Persian 'servant at the door of...'. The word 'servant' is, however, not directly mentioned. Other terms denoting the 'patron-client' relationship seen on Maratha seals include '*Harsha Nidhān*' ('aggregate' or 'abode of pleasure') and '*Krupānidhī*' ('abode of

favour'). The choice of these was often dictated by the rhyme needed to fulfil metric requirements – for example, 'Nidhān' rhymed with 'Pradhān', i.e. 'minister' and is thus found almost exclusively on the seals of the Peshwas, or prime ministers.

By far the most detailed study of Maratha seals along with their nature, scope and mode of employment is to be found in a Marathi book titled '*Arwāchīn Maharashtra-itihās Kālātīl Rājya Kārbhārāchā Abhyās*' ('A Study of Political Governance in Early Modern Maharashtra') by S. N. Joshi, published by the University of Pune in 1959. The chapter concerning the seals, pp. 209-254, was originally delivered as a lecture, as part of a sponsored lecture series, to the University in 1956. Joshi classified Maratha seals into '*Nāma-mudrā*' and '*Maryādā-Mudrā*', corresponding respectively to the Persian '*Sikkāh*' and '*Murattab*'. At the heart of his contribution lies a group of Maratha seals deposited in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (now Asiatic Society, Mumbai), which includes seals of several very important Maratha personages such as the Chhatrapatis. Some of these, not surprisingly, are made of inscribed silver facets attached to pure gold bodies. In the preface, Joshi mentions having organised an exhibition of these seals in Pune while the series of sponsored lectures was being delivered. The exact number of seals in this collection is not known but Joshi published a total of 30 seals, including 8 bearing Persian inscriptions.

In 1978, P. L. Gupta published twenty-two seals from the same source ('The Maratha Seals – part 1' in '*Numismatic Digest* vol. 2, pt I, pp. 58-77.). From the title of his contribution it is plausible that Gupta intended to write a sequel, but never got round to it. Gupta included a few of those published by Joshi but excluded a few, too. He, however, did not seem to be aware of Joshi's Marathi contribution as he mentions, "when I was in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (1954-1963), I was shown these seals by the then Secretary of the Society. He desired I should write about them. Accordingly he permitted me to photograph them. But...I could not find time to write anything.... When I shifted to Patna Museum, all was forgotten about the seals.... Only after my retirement from Museum services...I looked into my papers and discovered the notes and photographs. And now I take this opportunity to publish them".

Apart from S. N. Joshi and P. L. Gupta, some other Maratha seals belonging to the Bhonsla family of Nagpur were published by Chandra Shekhar Gupta in JAINS, Indore (vol. 3, 1980, pp. 61-67). But here the seals are reported from impressions made on paper. Those illustrated include the seals of Santaji and Sabaji (pre-1730), Raghuji I (1730-55), Mudhoji (died 1778), and Raghuji II (1772-1816).

Both Joshi and Gupta acknowledged the fact that the seals they discuss belonged originally to the treasury of Satara state. Satara had been the seat of the Chhatrapatis since Shahu I established his capital there in mid-1710's, but the state was a 19th century creation of Mountstuart Elphinstone, one of the architects of the final fall of the Peshwas (1818 AD), who 'reinstated' the Chhatrapatis in Satara with nominal ruling powers to create an impression that he was restoring the Maratha centre of power to where it legitimately belonged. Following the notorious 'Doctrine of Lapse', the Company Government blocked the right of succession of an adopted heir to the throne of Satara in 1847 and thus the state lapsed to British rule. The seals were handed over to the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society in 1875 for safekeeping and presumably remain there even now. The first to make notice of these seals was Oliver Codrington, who penned a short note on them in '*JBBRAS*, vol. 16 (OS), pp. 126 ff which both Joshi and Gupta acknowledged – however, Codrington did not illustrate any of them. While Joshi classified the seals into 'Indian' and 'Persian', Gupta presented them roughly in a chronological order. Thus, first to appear in Gupta's classification is the Persian seal of Yesubai, the mother of Chhatrapati Shahu and wife of the second Chhatrapati, Sambhaji. But Gupta makes no mention of seven other Persian seals in the collection, one of which is of Madan Singh the illegitimate son of Sambhaji. These seals were created to facilitate the correspondence of the retinue of Sambhaji, in the custody of Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor,

after his armies sacked the Maratha capital Raigad in 1689. Yesubai was freed almost thirty years later.

Combining Joshi and Gupta's contributions, we have a total of 42 Maratha seals published, which include 5 seals of the Chhatrapatis, 5 seals of the Peshwas, 11 seals of the Pratinidhis, 5 seals of the Panta Sachivas and 2 seals of the Pandit Raos. Joshi further included 8 seals of members of the Nimbalkar family of Phaltan, a seal of Kanhoji Angrey the Maratha admiral, and one each of Antaji Vasudeo Mutaliq and Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, two 18th century Maratha statesmen. There are three more seals included in Joshi's paper that belong to members of the Bhosale household but refer to the *Watans* (see below) held by them, rather than their regal titles. Joshi also included seals of the Gaikwads of Baroda in his paper, although they are known mainly from the impressions on paper rather than actual objects. While discussing these seals, Joshi made an important point as to the seals reflecting the feudal titles held by such families.

Compared to the seals of members of the ruling elite, precious little has been said about seals of the 'lower order' of the Maratha administrative hierarchy. For centuries before Shivaji and even after, the most important element in Maratha polity had been the *Watan*. Although the word is Arab-Persian in its origin and means 'country' or 'land', Stewart Gordon translated it neatly as offices of 'nested rights' when used in the Maratha context (see *The New Cambridge History of India, II.4: The Marathas 1600 – 1818*, CUP 1993). *Watans* were conferred upon individuals, known thus as *Watandars*, and ran in families with a sanction from the superior authorities at every interface involving a transfer. They could be inherited, donated by will or bought and sold. *Watans* were identified by particular names, often used in titles and/or as surnames. *Watans* were essentially charters conferring various indemnities and privileges upon individuals who held them, which included a share of or exemption from land revenues, a right to command troops, a right to settle disputes and so on. In return, the *Watandar* performed duties which, in S. N. Joshi's opinion, represented unique articulation of political power expressed in social and agrarian terms. He uses the Marathi term *Deshaka Sattā* to describe it. This term is difficult to translate in English; loosely it may stand for 'local governance by the agrarian elite'. It was access to this power that gave the *Watandar* a right to instruments such as seals, and their employment in a specific governance context, which generally would have been a preserve of only the political elite. The privileges and rights attached to a *Watan* were truly eclectic and would give the holder considerable importance in terms of political power and social mobility. The most common *Watans* held in various areas of the Deccan and Konkan dominated by the Marathas included 'Patil', 'Deshmukh' and 'Deshpande' *Watans*. The term 'Desh' or 'country' or 'locale' included in the last two names refers essentially to the fact that these offices were vested in land use and tenured in agrarian terms with direct links to revenue collection, while the term 'Patil' is derived from Sanskrit *Paṭṭakīla*, meaning 'charter-holder'. A few 'Deshmukh' seals were mentioned and discussed by Joshi. Noteworthy amongst these are the seals of Ramraja, the successor of Chhatrapati Shahu, who despite being the Chhatrapati or supreme king, refers to himself on these seals only as the 'Deshmukh' of the Karhad and Wai provinces. This gives a good indication of just how much importance the bearers of *Watans* attached to the fact that they held one. Joshi also discussed the seals of a lady Deshmukh named Makābāi, thus showing that holding the *Watan* titles was not just a male prerogative.

Two seals were recently documented by one of the authors (Godbole) and are worth a note. They belong to the Deshmukh family resident in Warandha, a small town located in Konkan, at the foothills of the Western Ghats, about 55 km to the southwest of Pune. An arterial pass through the Ghats, linking the Konkan lowlands with the Deccan plateau, begins its ascent at Warandha. The old Maratha capital Raigad is located to the northwest of Warandha, and not very far from it. We are thankful to Mr Subhash Deshmukh of Warandha for allowing us to publish these seals.



Fig. 1

The first of these seals (fig. 1)¹ is roughly pyramidal in shape - as indeed most of the seals published by Joshi and Gupta are - and made of silver. It has a round facet that has a Marathi inscription in Devanagari script, in four lines as follows:

'Gau Ra Pā/ Ti Ḷa (followed by a symbol) / *Ā Da Kā/ Rī*'.

गौर पा / टी ळ (followed by symbol) / आद का री

This identifies the seal to be of an individual named 'Gaur Patil' who was 'Adhikari' or in-charge, most likely of tenured duties pertaining to village administration. The symbol that appears in the second line is of a ploughshare, which directly alludes to this fact, as most administrative tenures at this level were linked directly or indirectly to an agrarian milieu. The 'Deshmukh' seals of Ramraja and Makabai published by Joshi have the symbol of a plough prominently displayed on them. It is also seen on seals of the members of the Nimbalkar family, but only when these individuals are referred to as 'Deshmukhs' in the seal inscriptions. The ploughshare or plough symbol is seen on several Marathi administrative documents, particularly village *Mahzars*, or dispute settlements, where it is often noted against the names of witnesses who hold agrarian tenures.

The seal of Gaur Patil is significant as it is the first seal of a 'Patil' ever to have been published. While Joshi acknowledges that the plough was a sign of the Patils, he mentions that no seals of Patils had been known and thus doubts whether the Patils actually ever held such a right (Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 189). The discovery of this seal proves quite the contrary. The employment of letterforms, particularly the 'R' and the substitution of the retroflex 'Ḷ' for normal 'L' in the word 'Patil' indicate an early date for the seal, possibly from the time of Shivaji (1630-80) or even before. It is worth comparing it to the letterforms seen on the seal of Shamraj Neelkanth Ranzekar, the first Peshwa of Shivaji whose career ended before 1660 AD, published by Joshi and by Gupta.



Fig. 2

The second seal (fig. 2), courtesy of Mr Deshmukh of Warandha, is a signet ring made of silver, with an octagonal facet bearing a four-line Marathi legend in Devanagari script, which reads:

Gā Ya ka / Wā Ḷa De Sh Mu / Kha Ta Fa Bī/ Ra Wā Ḷa

गा य क / वा ळ दे श मु / ख त फ बी / र वा ळ

This can be restored as '*Gāyakwād Deshmukh Tarfa Bīrwadi*'. A hollow circle, representing the sun heads the inscription. Conceivably, it refers to a member of the Gaikwad Deshmukh family and thus could have been used by anyone who held the title; no name of a specific individual is given. Mr Subhash Deshmukh informs us that the original surname of his family was 'Gaikwad' and thus the inscription makes good sense. The 'Deshmukh' *Watan* of the family is located in 'Tarfa Bīrwadi'.

¹ The facets of the seals in this and the following illustrations are shown both as actually on the seal and in mirror-image to show how the impression would appear when used.

'Tarfa' is a term denoting an administrative subdivision, while 'Birwadi' refers to the garrison town – the head of the subdivision – which Warandha, the village where the Deshmukhs were resident, was a part of. Birwadi is located about 7 km from Warandha. According to Mr Deshmukh, the 'Deshmukh' *Watan* was conferred upon the family by the 'Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur, under whose command this part of Konkan lay in the late 16th- early 17th centuries AD. The family was also permitted the use of *Sikkāh* or individual seal, which was to be impressed upon all correspondence and documents originating from the family's administrative office.

Two more seals of *Watandāri* type were recently noticed in public auctions and deserve publication. The first appeared in Todywalla Auction 11, conducted at Mumbai on 24-9-2005 as lot 284 and the second was offered in Todywalla Auction 12, conducted at Chandigarh on 25-12-2005 as lot 288. The first is made of silver, while the second is of copper. Both are tear-shaped and have a hold behind the inscribed facet to secure the seal when it is applied.



Fig. 3

The 6-line Marathi inscription on the silver seal (fig. 3), in Devanagari script, reads as follows –

Shri / Venkatesha / Charaṇi Tatpara / Gur(u)rāwa Nārāyaṇ / Deshpānde Pa – followed by two vertical lines – Hun / Gund Nīrantara

श्री	/	वेकदेश	/	चरणी	तत्पर	/	गुराव
नारायण	/	देशपाडे	/	पा	हुन	/	गुद नौरसर

This can be translated as '(a seal of) Gururao Narayan Deshpande (of) Hungund, (who is) ready (to serve) at the feet of Venkatesha'. The portion 'Pa followed by two vertical lines' preceding the place-name 'Hungund' is an acronym for *Parganā*, or an administrative division. Gururao Narayan was thus a holder of the 'Deshpande' *Watan* in the district of Hungund. 'Venkatesha' to whom he mentions as being subservient to is a prominent Vaishnavite deity and has centres of worship all over the Deccan. The seal does not bear a date but from characteristic letter forms such as the retroflex nasal second 'N' in 'Narayan', which bears a small knot in the curved part, the seal can be dated to the late 18th century AD. Seals of Narayan Rao Peshwa (1772-73 AD), published by Gupta, bear exactly the same form of 'N'.

While nothing more is known about Gururao Narayan, the bearer of this seal, something can be said about Hungund, the place where he held his *Watan* rights. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 13, p. 224, the subdivision (*tālukā*) of Hungund was part of Bijapur district and contained one town, namely Ilkal and 160 villages including Hungund and Amingarh. Hungund village is located about 30 miles from Bagalkot. Both Bagalkot and Ilkal were towns of considerable local importance and centres of weaving and dyeing, the latter famous for Saris named after it. Bagalkot was a part of the Saranjam of the Raste family in the late 18th century and it is possible that Hungund came under their jurisdiction, too.



Fig. 4

The copper seal (fig. 4) bears a 5-line Marathi inscription in Devanagari script which reads:

Shri (flanked by a semicircle and a circle, denoting crescent moon and sun) / *Mārtaṇḍa Bhairā / Wa Charaṇi Tatpara / Govind Rāwa Kṛ / Shya Nirantara*

श्री	/	मार्तंड	भैर	/	व	चरणी	तत्पर	/
		गोविंदराव	कृ	/	ष्ण	निरंतर		

This can be translated as '(the seal of) Govind Rao Krishna, (who is) ready (to serve) at the feet of Martanda Bhairawa'. In the absence of further details we do not know who Govind Rao Krishna was and which *Watandari* titles he held or where – but judging by the general characteristics, it can be safely presumed that this is also the seal of a *Watandar*, like Gururao Narayan Deshpande.



Fig. 5

Mr Godbole documented the last seal (fig. 5) being brought to notice here in Pune. It is made of copper, has an oval facet and measures 3.7 cm across. It bears the following inscription in Sanskrit/Marathi and Devanagari script –

Shri (flanked by symbols denoting crescent moon and sun) / *Rājārāma Narapa/ Tī Harshaniḍhān Mādha / Va Rāwa Ballāḷa Mu / Khya Pradhān*

श्री	/	राजाराम	न	रपती	हर्षनिधान	माध	/	व
		राव	बल्लाळ	मु	/	ख्य	प्रधान	

This can be translated as '(the seal of) Madhav Rao Ballal, the Prime Minister and 'abode of pleasure' of the illustrious King, Rajaram'.

Ostensibly, this is a seal of the Peshwa, Madhav Rao, who assumed de facto charge of Maratha confederacy upon the death of his father, Peshwa Balaji Rao alias Nanasahab, following the tragic defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. Madhav Rao was only seventeen when he was appointed Peshwa and his uncle, Raghunath Rao, the younger brother of the deceased Peshwa, acted as his mentor. But Madhav Rao soon tried to assume independent charge and thus alienated Raghunath Rao, against whom he developed a series of intrigues, culminating in the battle of Dhodap in which Raghunath Rao was brought to heel. The young Peshwa then concentrated upon reinstating the Maratha domination in various parts of India, keeping Hyder Ali of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad in check in the south, while his trusted commander, Malhar Rao Holkar, strove to bring the north back under Maratha control. The Nizam was dealt a decisive blow by the Peshwa's army, at the battle of Rakshasabhuvan in August 1763, from the effects of which he never revived. Madhav Rao also reined in errant administrators and launched an appraisal of revenue collection, often overseeing and scrutinising matters on his own and meting out strict punishment – he is known to have flogged an elderly administrator while in court attendance! The career of this young and illustrious Peshwa was brought to an abrupt end in 1772 when he succumbed to tuberculosis. On his deathbed, he nominated his minor brother, Narayan Rao, to office and requested his uncle, Raghunath Rao, to act as the regent, in much the same way he had acted for Madhav Rao when he became the Peshwa. But infighting in the Peshwa household took a vicious turn a year later and Raghunath Rao murdered Narayan Rao to assume the Peshwa-ship in 1773. Then a ministerial alliance appointed the infant son of Narayan Rao, born posthumously to his wife, as Peshwa and ousted Raghunath Rao to take over Maratha affairs.

A seal of Madhav Rao features in Gupta's contribution and acknowledges Shahu as his overlord. Gupta notices the

incongruence here – Chhatrapati Shahu I died in 1749, long before Madhav Rao was ever appointed Peshwa, whereas Shahu II became Chhatrapati only in 1779, seven years after the death of Madhav Rao. The mention of Shahu in the seal from the Asiatic Society/Satara seal collection is thus confusing. However, the inscription on the seal published here puts things right – here Rajaram is mentioned as the Peshwa's overlord and thus matches with historical facts. Rajaram, alternatively called Ramraja, was the adopted son and successor of Shahu I and ruled as Chhatrapati at Satara between 1749 and 1779.

Another curious feature of this seal is the last character 'N' which is engraved in positive on it, so would appear negative when the seal were impressed – exactly the opposite of how all the other characters would appear. The same feature appears on seals of Narayan Rao Peshwa, Madhav Rao's ill-fated successor, which P. L. Gupta published in his paper. This was plausibly an intentional deviation, to include an 'imperfection' in the seal so as not to attract the 'evil eye' upon its executorial power. The fact that documents were marked by such 'imperfect' seals is quite telling as to what the nature of Maratha polity had come to, particularly in the later Peshwa period!

THE BUDKEE, AN ENIGMATIC SIKH COIN

By Hans Herrli

The currency system of the Sikh state in the Panjab was based on silver with a leading coin, the Nanakshahi rupee of Amritsar, with the same value as the Shahjahanabad rupee of the Mughals or the British Sicca rupee. Since about 1800 AD, i.e. mainly during the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors, rare gold mohurs and even rarer fractions worth ½ and ¼ mohur were minted for the treasury and for representation purposes, mainly to be distributed during the marriage festivities of Sikh princes and Sirdars.

In documents we find another Sikh gold coin which was known as a *budkee*, *bugti* or *panchia*. As the last name indicates, it was worth about 5 rupees or ⅓ of a mohur and was mainly used for *nazaranas*, charity and possibly for ornaments. A Russian traveller, Prince Alexis Soltykoff, mentioned that "On the first day of the month the Raneé Chunda, the mother of Maharajh Dulleep Sing, according to custom, distributed one hundred golden budkees as charity in the name of her son."⁹⁵

We also hear of gold coins called *budkee* current in Sikh possessions beyond the borders of the Panjab and in neighbouring countries. Mrs Hervey, an enterprising English lady who travelled in 1850/51 in Kashmir, Ladakh and parts of the Hill States, where she was often the first European visitor, noted that "there is a gold coin current in Kashmir, called *Boodkee*, which is valued at seven (*Hari Singhi*) rupees; and another gold coin called *Mohur*, value twenty (*Hari Singhi*) rupees."⁹⁶ The same Mrs Hervey also found a *budkee* in Chamba: "The only gold coin current is the *Boodkee*, value from four to six rupees."⁹⁷

In Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries on the NW of India* we find among the foreign coins current in Afghanistan: "*Boodkee* or *ducat* = 9s. 9.048d." and the remark: "The gold mohur is sometimes worth 15 rupees, sometimes 18, its average value may

be taken at £1 10s."⁹⁸ We see that the *budkee* is here again worth about ⅓ of a mohur.

From these and other quotations it becomes evident that in the first half of the 18th century the *budkee* was well known in the Panjab, yet we never hear of a mint striking gold coins worth ⅓ of a mohur or 5 rupees, we do not learn what the *budkee* looked like nor do we not find the elusive coin in the catalogues of collections of Indian coins or in modern catalogues of gold coins.⁹⁹ We stand here before a riddle with a rather surprising solution: the *budkee* was not an Indian coin at all!

The mention of a "*Boodkee* or *ducat*" in Thornton's *Gazetteer* gives us a clear clue. There were no Indian, Afghan, Persian or central Asian ducats, but there was a ducat circulating and known all over India. Its gold content was c. 3.43 g, almost exactly a third of the content of a Sikh mohur of Amritsar weighing 10.6-10.9 g and containing c. 10.5 g of gold and often slightly less. This coin was the Dutch ducat, which showed on one side a knight holding a bundle of 7 arrows and on the other side a latin legend in a square and which was struck in several Dutch mints and in enormous quantities for the use in the Dutch colonies. A large number of these coins found their way to India and also to the Panjab. I quote here again Prince Soltykoff, who visited Maharaja Sher Singh on the 4th of March 1832: "(Sher Singh) made us sit on chairs made of silver while he and his favourites sat on chairs and had footstools made of melted ducats of Holland. They bring these ducats from Bombay on camels and mules and melt them to make furniture and utensils as well as big gold coins of this country that are called mohurs."¹⁰⁰

Dutch ducats or *budkees* were certainly not common at Lahore and Amritsar, but they were probably more readily available than Sikh mohurs and therefore well known to those people who were rich or lucky enough to come into contact with gold coins.

The ducats even left a strange trace in Sikh numismatics in the form of a rare brass token.



The token shows on the obverse a rough imitation of a Dutch ducat struck at Utrecht in 1707. The knight in armour of the original has become a 19th century horse-soldier in jack-boots, but the legend is fairly correct. The TOA at the end is a blundered TRA, an abbreviation of *Traiectum*, the latin name of Utrecht.¹⁰¹ The reverse shows the *mool mantra* in Gurmukhi script, a religious text which is commonly found on Sikh tokens. Surinder Singh and D.K. Handa, who wrote papers about this token, were both ignorant of the fact that the Sikhs were quite well acquainted with Dutch ducats and therefore gave obviously wrong and anachronistic explanations of its origin.¹⁰²

95 A. Soltykoff: *Voyages dans l'Inde et en Perse*, Paris 1853, p. 127.

96 Hervey, Mrs: *The Adventures of a Lady in Tartary, Thibet, China, & Kashmir*, 3 vols, London 1853, I,259-261. Mrs Hervey's exchange rates do not correspond to her own time, when a Hari Singhi rupee of Kashmir was worth 8 annas, but to a point in time 15 years earlier. An Austrian traveller, Baron von Hügel, mentioned that, in 1835, 21-22 Hari Singhi rupees went to a Nanakshahi mohur of Amritsar. (K.K.A. von Hügel: *Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek*, 4 vols, Stuttgart 1840-1848.) A Kashmiri *budkee* would then have been 1/3 of a Panjabi mohur. I think that Mrs Hervey never personally came in contact with gold *budkees* or mohurs during her 2 stays in Kashmir (in 1850 and 1851), but that she obtained her information from some earlier traveller.

97 Hervey, Mrs.: *op.cit.* I,311.

98 E. Thornton: *A Gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India on the North-West; including Sindh, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab and the neighbouring States*, 2 vols, London 1844, I, 25.

99 We find in catalogues ⅓ mohurs struck by the rulers of the Sikh state of Patiala in the 20th century. As these coins were only used as *nazaranas* they may even be considered late descendants of the *budkee*.

100 A. Soltykoff: *op.cit.*, p.158.

101 The complete legend appearing on German coins and Dutch medals is: CONCORDIA PARVAE RES CRESCUNT, DISCORDIA MAXIMAE DILABUNTUR (Through concord small countries grow large, through discord the largest go to rack and ruin), a statement which held only too true in the last years of the Sikh state.

102 Surinder Singh: "Sikh Religious Tokens", *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion* XI,1 (January-June 1992), Guru Nanak Foundation, Delhi, p. 58-59.

D.K. Handa: *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi 1989, p.170.

THE COINS OF THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY – THE FARRUKHABAD MINT

By Dr Paul Stevens

From date of cession to end 1802 = 557,670
From 1 Jan 1803 to 30 Sep 1803 = 1,057,334
October 1803 = 50154
November 1803 = 104,189
December 1803 = 175100
January 1804 = 135,467
February 1804 = 318,087
March 1804 = 151,120

Introduction

In an earlier paper discussing the transitional mints of the Bengal Presidency¹, I stated that the mint at Farrukhabad would be the subject of a separate investigation. The present paper is the result of that work.

Background History²

Muhammad Khan, a Pathan born at Mau-Rashidabad in 1665, was a mercenary freebooter for much of his early life. His support of the Moghul Emperors, Farrukh Siyar, who gave him the title of Nawab, and then of Muhammad Shah, enabled him to create a power-base in the region, which subsequently became known as Farrukhabad. In so doing, he established the line of the Bangash Nawabs. Following his support for Farrukh Siyar, in 1714 he was awarded fifty-two villages at a site at which he determined to build a city named in favour of the Emperor.

The fortunes of the Bangash Nawabs were very unsettled. They constantly faced, or initiated, aggression from or against, their neighbours, Rohilkhand and Awadh, or from Marathas. The defeat of the Marathas by the Durranis at Panipat in 1761, temporarily removed one threat, but Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Awadh, took advantage of this and tried to seize Farrukhabad in 1762. Shuja-ud-Daula was defeated in several battles by the British and by 1765 he no longer posed a threat to the incumbent Bangash Nawab, Ahmad Khan, a son of Muhammad. However, the Marathas then returned in 1769 and Ahmad Khan was sorely pressed to keep them at bay. He died in 1771 and was succeeded by his son, Muzaffar Jang, who combined with the Nawab Wazir of Awadh to expel the Marathas in 1773, only to find that his territory was then subordinate to that of Awadh.

By 1777 the Nawab Wazir had agreed that the British should establish a force, known as the temporary brigade, at Fatehgarh on the outskirts of Farrukhabad. Once this force was in place, and paid for by the Nawab Wazir, try as he might, he could not get it removed and the cantonments remained there for many years (see later for importance to the mint). Muzaffar Jang died in 1796, probably poisoned by his eldest son. As a result, the title of Nawab devolved to Muzaffar Jang's second son, who received an allowance of Rs 50,000 per year, but all power was given to an older half-brother. When this older brother tried to reduce his allowance, the young Nawab went to Bareilly and negotiated a deal with the British, in which he ceded all of the Farrukhabad territory for an annual allowance of Rs 108,000. Thus the Farrukhabad area came into the possession of the British on 4 June 1802.

The Bangash Nawabs issued rupees which became very popular in the region and on which the British eventually based the rupee that was to be used across Northern India.

Rupee of the Bangash Nawabs. Mint-name Ahmadnagar Farrukhabad



The Transitional Coinage

When Farrukhabad was ceded to the EIC in 1802, it came with a working mint. That this mint was kept operational is revealed by an entry in the records detailing the output of the mint at this time³:

In 1803, the Acting Agent to the Governor General suggested that the control of the mint should be overseen by a committee consisting of two people: the Judge & Magistrate (one person) and the Agent to the Governor General. This was sanctioned by the Governor General⁴.

The poor state of the mint buildings was also a cause for concern soon after the mint was acquired and the new Mint Committee went ahead and spent money (Rs. 485.10) repairing the buildings as they saw fit before asking for permission to do so. This was sanctioned but with a warning that, in future, expenditure must be approved before it was incurred⁵. This little exchange gives some indication of the limited scope of action that the Committee actually had.

In February 1805, the Farrukhabad Mint Committee wrote to the Bengal Government requesting that the hammered coinage should be replaced by a milled coinage⁶. The reason they cited for wanting to make this change was that the hammered process had several imperfections, and they went on to describe one of these in detail:

'The defect in question is found under the head of *multa* in every monthly account, and arises from the partial impression of the two figures on the planchet, or piece of metal, and from the planchet being thrown out of its horizontal position when struck by the hammer, causing dents and scratches (*multa*) on the surface of the image. The allowance for *multa* not only reduces the amount of public tax (no duty being levied on one tenth of the bullion, on account of this blemish), but also affords an opening to shroffs to reject the defaced rupee or receive it below its intrinsic value, to the great embarrassment of merchants, and loss and vexation to individuals.'

They went on to state that the implements used to strike the coins (presumably the dies) required repair after 8,000-10,000 coins had been produced, and that they produced about 15,000 coins per day. This implies that they needed to produce dies at the rate of more than one a day.

They went on:

'We therefore further request to be furnished with such as are used at the Presidency mint, and which we conclude are manufactured after the European model, namely 1st a mold for casting the plates of metal, 2nd a laminating engine and rollers for giving the plate its uniform and exact thickness, and 3rd a steel trepan to shape and cut off the planchet at one and the same time.'

In the same letter the Farrukhabad rupee was recommended as the coin that the British should establish as the currency throughout the Conquered and Ceded Provinces, and they also confirmed that gold coins had not been produced at Farrukhabad for some time.

In April 1805 the Governor General wrote to the Mint Committee at Farrukhabad informing them that the Governor General⁷:

'has determined on the immediate introduction of a new silver and copper currency, of an uniform weight and standard, into the provinces ceded by the Nawaub Vizier to the English East India Company, and into the conquered provinces in the Doab and on the right bank of the river Jumna, including the zillah of Bundelcund, to be denominated the Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun, struck at Farrukhabad, corresponding in weight and standard with the rupee at present struck at Lucknow, in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, and to select the town of Farrukhabad to be the place at which a mint shall be established for striking the new silver and copper coin to be established in the said provinces.'

I am further directed to acquaint you that His Excellency in Council has been pleased to appoint the Judge and Magistrate of zillah Farrukhabad for the time being, and the Agent or Acting Agent to the Governor General at Farrukhabad for the time being, to be a committee for the superintendence of the business of the mint at that station, and to appoint Mr Robert Blake to the joint offices of Mint and Assay master for the immediate conduct of the business of the mint at Farrukhabad, subject to the authority of the Mint Committee, above mentioned.'

In the meantime, the Mint Committee at Farrukhabad was instructed to continue producing the then existing type of rupee and to report whether or not the existing mint building would be suitable for the new coinage.

A letter was sent to Robert Blake, who was then at Bareilly, informing him of his appointment and instructing him to proceed to Farrukhabad.

The Mint Master at Calcutta was informed that:

'The Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun is to be of a circular form, and one inch in diameter, and is to bear the same impression as the nineteenth sun sicca struck in the Calcutta mint, with an exception to the sun, or year of the reign of the present King Shah Alam, and to the name of the place at which the coin is struck. The new coin is to bear the 45th sun and the words 'zurb Farrukhabad' are to be substituted for the words 'zurb Moorshedabad'. The edges of the new silver coin are to be milled, and the dies are to be of the same size as the coin so that the whole of the impression shall appear upon the surface of it.

In preparing the dies for the new silver coinage in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, you will cause a private mark to be put upon all the dies, but in such a manner as not to be distinguishable by the naked eye, or by persons unacquainted with it. You are desired to register such private marks in the records of the mint, in order that you may be enabled to discover any defaced or defective coin which may be hereafter found in circulation...

...The Governor General in Council understanding that machinery, which you have been instructed to prepare for the mint which the Government have it in contemplation to establish at Fort St George, is completed. I am instructed to desire that you will appropriate as much of that machinery as may be necessary to the use of the mint at Farrukhabad...

...I am further directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council has determined on the introduction of a new copper coinage in the Conquered and Ceded Provinces, to be also struck in the mint at Farrukhabad, consisting of pure copper, and corresponding in form, size and impression with those prescribed for the new silver coinage intended to be immediately established in the said provinces. The pie is to be of the same size as the rupee and the half pie of the same size as the half rupee, increasing in thickness in proportion to the difference in weight between silver and copper coin. It is not intended that smaller copper coin shall be struck than a half pie. In preparing specimens of the new copper coin you will regulate the weight of each pie at 290 grains troy weight. It is necessary to add that the edges of the new copper coin are not to be milled, or to have any mark or impression thereon...

These extracts contain several points worthy of further discussion. Firstly, Robert Blake, the newly appointed mint master at Farrukhabad had at one time been mint master at the Patna mint before its closure in 1796. When that mint closed, Blake took on the role of assay master. This job finished early in 1799 when it was noticed that Blake had obtained over Rs 3000 more than he should have done when he finished his job as mint master. He undertook to repay this money but by 1800 he had failed to do this and it emerged that he had actually invested this money in an indigo plantation that had gone wrong. He was unable to repay the money immediately and was given an extension until January of the following year (1801). In fact, he managed to repay the money before this⁸. Subsequently, in 1802, Blake was asked to go to

Bareilly and help with the newly acquired mint at that place (see below and⁹). This is rather strange when one considers that, in 1800, the Government had been surprised by the fact that "public money should have been misappropriated by the late assay master, Patna, or in any way blended with his private concerns". Secondly, it is interesting to note the link between the establishment of the new Farrukhabad mint and the introduction of machinery at the Madras mint, with the machinery due to go to Madras being redirected to Farrukhabad. New machinery then had to be built for Madras where the mint master, Benjamin Roebuck, experienced considerable difficulties in getting it to operate effectively¹⁰.

Thirdly, it is clear that, right from the start of the new coinage, it was considered important that the coins should contain a secret (or privy) mark. These marks were discussed by Pridmore¹¹ and will not be further discussed herein except for a mention of a later order for marks to distinguish the different mints producing Farrukhabad rupees.

Fourthly, the proposal to issue copper coins. No copper coins of the proposed type have been identified up to this time (but see below).

The Calcutta mint master, H.P. Forster, was not happy with the proposal, and in June 1805 he replied to the Governor General that he had prepared specimens of the proposed new coinage but¹²:

'Were it permitted me to offer an opinion on the subject, I would venture to suggest the propriety of making the coin in question more obviously distinct from the Calcutta sicca rupees than the mere alteration of the date of the year and place of coinage render them, which to the bulk of people not acquainted with the Persian character is no distinction at all, and they will of course be liable to be imposed upon. At the same time I would with deference recommend that the inscription on the copper coinage be not the same as that on the silver, as it furnishes a ready means of imposing on the public by silvering them over with quicksilver and passing them for rupees and half rupees and, under the idea that His Excellency will approve of the suggestion, I have likewise prepared distinct dies for the pice and half pice with an inscription in the Persian and Nagree characters on one side expressive of their denomination and value. The reverse remains the same as directed.

Pridmore (Bengal No. 342) recorded a copper pice that might be an example of the copper coins mentioned by Forster



Despite these forebodings of the mint master, in August 1805 the Governor General went ahead and published a Resolution in Council that established the new coins along the format that he had originally proposed, including the statement¹³:

'A copper coin of the forty fifth san weighing two hundred and eighty four and a half grains troy and consisting of pure copper shall be established.'

This Resolution was an updated version of a resolution originally put together in 1803 and known as Regulation 45. Blake decided that the existing mint building at Farrukhabad was not suitable for the new coinage and indeed was not able to provide the quantity of coins needed by the army. He therefore selected a site near to the cantonments to build a temporary mint to meet the immediate needs of Lord Lake's army¹⁴. It is not clear whether this mint started producing the new coins. More likely this temporary mint continued to strike the old Farrukhabad rupees until the bullion, which had already been delivered, was minted.

In February 1806 a Colonel Morris offered to rent or to sell (for Rs. 12000) his property at 'Futy Ghur' to Government for use as a mint and this was accepted^{15,16}. In fact, it is likely that this was where Blake had established the temporary mint because the records contain an invoice, from Colonel Morris, for renting the buildings from October 1805 to May 1806.

In the meantime, in February 1805, the Agent to the Governor General at Bareilly had written to the Mint Committee at Farrukhabad asking for the new copper coins, pice and half pice, to be produced to meet a shortage of copper coins at Bareilly¹⁷. This was supported by the Bengal Government:

'the Honble the Governor General in Council authorizes you to direct the Mint and Assay Master at Farrukhabad to coin such quantity of pice and of half and quarter pice, as you may deem necessary, as a medium of exchange in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, after making such enquiries respecting the quantity required for that purpose as you may judge to be advisable from the Agent to the Governor General at Bareilly and other local officers. The Acting Commercial Resident at Bareilly will be accordingly directed to furnish you on your application with such quantity of copper from the Company's stores as you may require for the above purpose. The Governor General in Council, however, desires that you will report at an early period of time the quantity of pice which you may propose to be coined under the foregoing orders.'

I have not found an entry pertaining to the quantity of pice coined, so it is not certain that this ever happened. However, the above instruction from the Governor General does not seem to leave much room for the local authorities at Farrukhabad to avoid complying.

The report of an investigation by a Board of Commissioners undertaken in 1807¹⁸, contains a list of dead stock, including:

- '30 pairs of dies as follows:
- 28 prs for the new 45 Sn Rps
 - 14 prs fit for use
 - 14 prs reported unserviceable
- 2 prs of plain dies for the half rupee
- 3 prs of dies for the copper coinage
- 12 prs of concave dies
- 5 prs of ditto for ½ and ¼ rupees
- 58 prs of plain dies for forming the planchets
- 37 spare ditto ditto
- 4 prs plain dies for ½ rupee
- 7 prs ditto for ¼ rupee
- 5 spare ditto ditto'

This inventory contains three pairs of dies for the copper coinage, implying that a copper coinage might well have been undertaken as directed in 1805. If that was the case, then copper coins with the same design as that of the 45 san rupees should exist, although none is currently known. The coin is likely to have the following characteristics: same size and design as the Farrukhabad rupee. Weight 18.8g or 16.1g depending on which of the figures, shown above, is taken.

A number of 'copper'-looking 45 san rupees have been seen by the author and were reported in this Journal some years ago¹⁹. One of these coins has a weight of 9.6g which approximates to the proposed weight of a half pice. However, it is the same diameter as a rupee, which was the size specified for the pice. The half pice was supposed to be the same size as the half rupee.

Copper 'Farrukhabad Rupee'



By 1807 a few problems began to emerge concerning the mint master, Mr Blake. The first of these was a complaint from the

Accountant General that no accounts had been submitted for the operations of the mint²⁰, to which Blake replied that he had been too busy building the new mint, which was now ready for operation (written in March 1807)²¹.

The second problem arose from the fact that Blake had moved into a bungalow on the newly purchased site and had found a number of items of furniture, which he refused to return to Colonel Morris²². He was ordered to do so but he claimed that Colonel Morris had said that he could have them. At that point Government decided that it was a personal matter between Blake and Morris, who should sort it out themselves. Blake appears to have returned the furniture.

In July of 1807, the Governor General proposed that the position of Mint and Assay Master should be divided, with Mr R Graham being appointed Mint Master and Mr Blake as Assay Master²³.

Production of the new 45 san coins had clearly begun by July 1807 (and probably some time before this) because a letter refers to the fact that they were being issued at a rate below that of their intrinsic value²⁴. This means that the 'old' Farrukhabad rupees may have continued to be struck until early in 1807, although mintage figures are only available up until the middle of 1805.

Table showing mintage

Date of Cession to end 1802	557,670
1803	1,386,777
1804	2,658,719
January to June 1805	2,036,284

The coins themselves would have been the same type as that issued by the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, and known dates that fit into the British period are: 1217/39, 1218/39, 1219/39, 1220/39. Other AH dates that have been reported (1224/31, 1225/31, 1227/31, 1228/31) do not seem to fit to the recorded facts given above. Perhaps these coins were issued from a local mint outside of the area controlled by the British, in imitation of the Farrukhabad coins?

The records do contain a list of dates of Farrukhabad rupees collected for examination²⁵:

- Ry: 1, 2, 4, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 39.

'old' Farrukhabad Rupee



The New Coinage



In August 1807 Mr Graham took on the responsibilities of Master of the Mint at Farrukhabad. However, in November he requested leave of absence and Mr Yeld, who had been Mint Master at Banares for many years, was asked to move temporarily to Farrukhabad to cover Graham's absence²⁶.

A Board of Commissioners had been examining the running of the new mint at Farrukhabad²⁷ and they produced their report in October 1807:

'The machinery used in the European process of coinage appears to us to be generally in an inefficient state at present, and the laminating machines we found could not be used until the ingots had been prepared for them by the hammer. In consequence of the defective state of the machinery, the want of skill of the workmen, and of our entertaining doubts with respect to the practicability of preparing proper machinery at this place, it appears to us that it would not be advisable, at present, to attempt to carry on the coinage generally by means of the laminating and cutting machines, and that no fixed establishment should therefore be allowed for those machines or for the adjustment of the planchet.

The melting was reported to us by the Mint and Assay Masters in the first instance to be very defective and those officers stated that it had been found impracticable to reduce the metal to a perfect fluid state, but this difficulty, we are happy to say, has been overcome upon actual trial in our presence. A difficulty experienced from a want of proper moulds for casting ingots fit for the laminating machine was also complained of, but it may also we think be easily surmounted in a short time.

The persons at present employed in carrying on the different processes by machinery appeared to us to be very inexpert, and we should not have supposed that they could have had any experience whatsoever. Those in particular who were collected as adjusters had never, we understood, been employed before in that process.

The coinage also carried on by Daraps appeared to us to be coarse and imperfect. The tools used in this process are very defective and do not admit of the workmen producing as good planchets as might be fabricated even by the ordinary process in use among the natives.

The planchets made by the Daraps, not being circular, and the concave and collar dies as they are at present used, not having the effect of rendering them so, the milling dies are likely to be greatly injured in being applied to such planchets, and the milling is consequently imperfect. We suggested to the Mint Master to apply for new milling dyes, and we recommend that these dyes be always furnished from the Presidency as they cannot be properly made here at present, and it is desirable that the construction and use of the milling machine should not be generally known.

There appeared to us to be a want of order and arrangement throughout the different departments of the mint. The duties of the several officers and workmen had not been defined, and some general regulations for the conduct of the business were evidently wanting.

The actual loss incurred in the processes of refining and milling had not, we understand, been ascertained, but our orders to the Mint and Assay Masters of this date have in view to obtain accurate information on this point, as well as to ascertain the loss likely to be incurred in adjusting the planchets by the European process...

...we have deemed it necessary to direct the Mint and Assay Masters to carry on conjointly a series of experiments in person, and we hope that from the results some judgement may be formed with respect to the measures which it may be necessary for your Lordship in Council to adopt for regulating the establishment in future.'

The Board of Commissioners returned to the mint in December 1807 but found little improvement²⁸ and the Bengal Government agreed with their recommendation that:

'...no attempt should be made to introduce the European process of coinage at Farrukhabad until such arrangements shall have been adopted as may afford a more satisfactory assurance that it can be introduced with effect.'

In other words the new Farrukhabad mint appears to have been only partially automated to start with.

In December 1808 Mr Yeld 'surrendered charge of the mint at Farrukhabad'²⁹ presumably to a Mr Donnithorne who was definitely Mint Master in 1809. Donnithorne and Blake between

them appear to have been able to improve the functioning of the mint³⁰.

'The mechanical abilities of both Mr Donnithorne and Mr Blake might we think be advantageously employed in preparing on the spot most of the articles now supplied from Calcutta. Both gentlemen are equally perfect in the practical as well as the theoretical parts of mechanics, and the two milling machines on which Mr Donnithorne is now engaged, promises to equal the most delicate execution of a professional artist. The corrections he has given to the milling machines now in use have already removed a defect to which that part of the process had till now been liable.'

Blake took the opportunity to ask for some back-pay and his request gives an interesting insight into the ways that the British in India earned their livelihoods³¹:

'I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Board my claim to a further remuneration for the duties performed by me as Mint and Assay Master at Farrukhabad from the 25th April 1805 to the 2nd July 1807.

Shortly after the cession I was encouraged by the Marquis Wellesley to come up into this part of the country to carry into effect the views of Government for the reformation of the coin in the upper provinces and I in consequence quitted the indigo pursuit in which I was engaged near Patna, where it is presumable from the success of others in that quarter I might, had I remained, have acquired ere this a competent fortune.

From the rainy season of 1802 I remained (with a short exception) until April 1805, at Bareilly in expectation of the post with which I was afterwards honored, and during the whole of this period I received no pay or emolument tho' repeatedly employed by the Lieutenant Governor and Board of Commissioners, and subsequently under the orders of Government by the Agent to the Governor General, in making assays and reports of the various coins current in this quarter of India and in preparing the table of rates and in deputation to investigate and report on the commerce of Cuman and Almoah. The expense incurred in the duties here mentioned was defrayed from my private funds.'

He had received Rs 1500 per month but now asked for Rs 2500. This seems a bit cheeky given his history of 'borrowing' money from the Patna mint but, nevertheless, he was granted an extra 309 rupees per month for the 26 months that he had held the job.

The output of the mint, in the early years of its operation, is known

Date	Value of Rupees Produced
1807/08	3,398,877
1808/09	5,553,341

New machinery appears to have been delivered to the Farrukhabad mint in 1810, built by Mr Da Costa³², who was responsible for building and/or erecting machinery, not only at Farrukhabad, but also at Banares, Madras and Delhi³³. Presumably this was the point at which the Farrukhabad mint was finally fully automated.

Guarding the mint against theft was the responsibility of the army, who had to provide sepoy for the job. This was obviously not always very pleasant as revealed in a letter from Donnithorne, who was still the Mint Master in 1815 when the letter was written:

'The Commanding Officer of the station having lately visited the mint, signified his wish that the guard should at all times be within the wall of the compound instead of living on the outside, and thereby leaving the charge of the treasure to the few [sepoys] on duty. The proposed arrangement is in my opinion a vary salutary one, and I beg leave to enclose an estimate of the expense which will be incurred in erecting a building 70 feet long and 14 broad, and solicit the Boards sanction for the work being immediately commenced on, as the guard together with arms and accoutrements are exposed to all kinds of weather.'

The expense of Rs 453.4 was approved.

In 1816, the Board of Control proposed that the Farrukhabad mint could usefully be employed in producing copper pice if the proposed weight of the coin was reduced to that of the Banarès pice³⁴:

'In consequence of the small quantity of silver which has for some time past been brought to the Farrukhabad mint by individuals for coinage, we have had it in contemplation to suggest to your Lordship the expediency of employing that mint in the coinage of copper pice on account of Government so as to defray from the profits of such coinage, the establishment, which is necessarily kept up for the occasional calls of the silver coinage.

By sections 43 to 52, Regulation 45, 1803, establishing a copper coin for these provinces, individuals are invited to bring copper to the mint for the purpose of its being manufactured into pice of a specified weight and size, but no application of this nature appears to have ever been made to the mint by any individual and a coinage on account of Government at the weight there specified of 284½ grains would be productive of no profit.

On the contrary it would be found that by throwing into circulation pice of that weight at the prescribed tale of 32 whole and 64 half pice for a rupee, the persons taking them would be supplied with a maund of copper at the price of only rupees 51 and as the market price for copper here is seldom less than rupees 68, they might be expected to remelt immediately the whole of such pice for the sake of so large a profit.

There can, at the same time, be no doubt that if the weight of the pice were to be reduced so as to assimilate more nearly the intrinsic value of the coin with the market price of the metal, a considerable advantage might accrue to Government from the coinage.

We accordingly beg leave to recommend that the prescribed weight of the Farrukhabad pice be reduced from 142¼ grains for the single or half pice, to 100, at which weight if delivered into circulation at the same tale of 64 per rupee, the maund of copper would cost the parties taking such pice, rupees 72½ and no inducement would remain to them for remelting the coin...

... We beg leave to observe that the copper coinage established at Banarès by Regulation X 1809 is fixed at the same rate which we have here proposed, of 100 grains, and that it appears to have been very extensively introduced into circulation.'

In 1817 a decision was taken to extend the production of Farrukhabad rupees to other mints in the Presidency:³⁵

Regulation XXVI, 1817. Authorizing the circulation of Farrukhabad rupees coined in either of the mints of Calcutta, Farrukhabad or Banarès or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council.

'Whereas it may from time to time be found expedient to coin rupees of the weight and standard of the Farrukhabad rupee at the mints of Calcutta or Banarès, it has been deemed advisable to rescind so much of section 2 of Regulation 45 of 1803 as tends to limit the coinage of Farrukhabad rupees to the mint of Farrukhabad and to direct that the following enactment be henceforth in force.

The silver coin denominated the Farrukhabad rupee and of the weight and standard prescribed by section 2 of Reg. 3 of 1806 struck at the mints of Calcutta, Farrukhabad or Banarès or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council is hereby declared to be the established legal silver coin in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.'

The output from the Farrukhabad mint for the preceding few years was published in 1818³⁶

Date	Coinage on account of Government	Coinage on Account of Individuals
1813	1,861,795:1:3	4,945,355:12:3
1814	2,385,843:14:11	647,851:0:2
1815	2,543,247:2:8	151,217:11:10
1816	2,764,656:15:1	655,644:7:8
1817	5,875,424:0:1	1,943,031:2:11
1818	2,890,168:6:1	2,190,208:15:9

Following the 3rd Maratha war, in July 1819 an investigation by the Calcutta Mint Committee arrived at the following recommendations³⁷:

- 1st the abolition of the Benarès rupee
 - 2nd The limitation of the currency of the Upper Provinces to a rupee of the value of the present Farrukhabad rupee
 - 3rd The carrying into effect the alteration of the standard of that rupee as already sanctioned.
 - 4th The discontinuance of the mint at Farrukhabad
 - 5th The coinage of the new Farrukhabad rupee at the Banarès mint and consequent improvement and extension of that establishment.
- Should these arrangements meet with the approbation of Government, we conceive it would be found advantageous to give them as early effect as possible, as the difference of standard at present existing and the distant situation to which bullion is necessarily sent to be coined into Farrukhabad rupees, entail much inconvenience and expense on the remittance of treasure to the Upper Provinces on public account. Their enforcement is not indispensably connected with the following propositions, which do not perhaps admit of so early a decision.
- 6th The substitution of the new Farrukhabad rupee for the currencies of the newly acquired territory
 - 7th and the temporary establishment of a mint in Ajmer and one at Saugor to convert the present currencies into that improved coin.

This is the first mention of the closure of the Farrukhabad mint and also the first mention of the establishment of a mint at Saugor, which will be the subject of a future paper.

At the same time it was proposed that the silver standard of the Farrukhabad rupee should be changed to that of the Calcutta sicca rupee³⁸.

The Bengal Government was keen to ensure that the Farrukhabad rupees issued from the different mints could be recognised and issued orders that secret marks should be added to the coins³⁹:

'It is understood that the dies recently sent by the Mint Master at Calcutta to the Banarès mint (being the same that Mr Saunders had himself used) have a distinct private mark from that borne by the dies in use at the Farrukhabad mint.

You will be pleased to instruct Mr Saunders to be careful to preserve the same distinction in all dies, which he may hereafter furnish to the Mint Masters at Banarès or Farrukhabad respectively, distinguishing also by different marks those which he may himself eventually hereafter use, or which he may have occasion to send to the mint at Saugor or elsewhere.'

This letter also contained a resolution which contained, *inter alia*, the following points:

- 1 That the coinage of the Banarès rupee be discontinued.
2. That the Farrukhabad rupee be declared the legal currency of the province of Banarès
3. That the standard of the Farrukhabad rupee be assimilated to that of the present Calcutta rupee
4. That the Government will receive Farrukhabad rupees at par with the present Banarès rupees in payment of the land revenue and in liquidation of all other public demands and will pay them at the same valuation within the Province of Banarès.

10. That the Farruckabad mint be continued only during such time as may be found requisite for effecting the arrangements necessary to the full efficiency of the Benaras mint. The Farruckabad rupee of the new standard to be in the mean time coined at both mints with such separate private marks (not discoverable by the naked eye) as may serve to distinguish the coinage of the several mints.

The standard of the new Farrukhabad rupee was⁴⁰:

Weight	Troy grains	180,234
Pure Silver		165,215
Alloy		15,019

In 1820 Mr H.H. Wilson was sent to Farrukhabad to investigate the operation of the mint there⁴¹ and the Calcutta Mint Committee reported to Government in April 1821 that everyone agreed that the Farrukhabad mint should not be kept in operation after the Benaras mint became fully capable of producing the Farrukhabad rupee⁴². By 1823 the improvements to the Benares mint were complete and consideration was again given to closing the Farrukhabad mint⁴³:

‘We have the honor to acknowledge the letter of the Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department dated the 31st ultimo, forwarding to us the report of the Superintendent of Public Buildings announcing the advanced state of the Benares mint and calling upon us to give our opinion respecting the expediency of abolishing the mint at Farruckabad.

The abolition of the mint at Farruckabad was first suggested on general grounds by the Mint Committee in their letter to Government dated the 28th July 1818. In the following year (26th July 1819) the measure was further recommended on special consideration, it appearing that the average net charge of the Farruckabad mint had been for the preceding 6 years, 59000 rupees a year. No more than 18 lacs had formed the preparation of coinage on individuals’ account.

In our letter to Government of the 3rd April 1821 forwarding the report of Mr Wilson on the Farruckabad mint, we had occasion to repeat the same recommendation founded on the continuance of the same circumstances, the low amount of private coinage and high average of net charges, anticipating also from the extended powers of the Benares mint when completed, ample means of effecting the recoinage on public account of such mixed currencies as still circulated in the Upper Provinces.

Although we had no reason to expect that the views taken by us on these occasions were inapplicable to more recent occurrences, yet in order to rest our opinion on secure grounds we have obtained from the Accountant General a statement of the proceedings of the Farruckabad mint subsequent to the date of our last communication or for the years 1820/21 to 1822/23. From this it appears that the average of the individuals’ coinage for the last three years has continued to be but 18 lacs a year, that in the third of these years it was less than 18 lacs and that it may be expected to be still less in the current year, 1823/24, the first four months having coined but 41,000 rupees. The expenses of the Farruckabad mint have continued to bear much the same proportion as formerly, and the average net charge of the period under review is above 51,000 rupees per year.

Under the circumstances therefore we have only to repeat the opinion we have already expressed and to recommend the abolition of the Farruckabad mint as appearing to us to be no longer necessary for the accommodation of individual commerce nor essential to the convenience of Government in any proportion to the annual expense it entails. The Benares mint will be now fully adequate to this latter object as far as the old provinces are concerned, and the temporary demand which may be expected in those newly acquired will of course be more expeditiously and economically met by the subsidiary mint at Saugor. This mint we presume must be

equally forward with that [at] Benares and perhaps it may be found expedient to transfer to it some of the apparatus and establishment of the Farruckabad mint when no longer required at that station.’

	Coinage for Individuals	Coinage for Government	Copper Coinage
1820/21	2,030,507	3,459,066	0
1821/22	2,714,092	2,710,807	0
1822/23	794,043	180,476	0
1823/24 (1 st 4 months)	41,612	5639	0

On 30th April 1824 the Collector at Farrukhabad was instructed to pack up the mint and send the useful equipment to Saugor⁴⁴:

‘I am directed by the Committee for superintending the affairs of the mint at this Presidency to request you will on receipt of this letter stop the operations of the mint under your charge and pack up and transmit with Captain Presgrave to Saugor such part of the Farruckabad mint machinery as may appear necessary or useful to him for the Saugor mint.

I am also directed to inform you that Captain Presgrave has been authorised to select such artificers as he considers calculated to assist him in the operations of the Saugor mint.’

The Farrukhabad Collector, Mr Newnham, was not happy about this, not because of the mint, but because of the people who would lose their jobs⁴⁵. He stated that he had had only two months experience as Mint Master and:

‘I had no sort of wish to be involved in the responsibility of closing an old concern and discharging the hundreds of people who have been connected with an establishment which was local with the Patan Dynasty at Farruckabad...

...The regular establishment is another subject for your instructions. Until all is arranged and the stock cleared out many must be retained on their responsibility. Some are also grown old and infirm in the Company’s employ, some look for pensions in common [with] invalid servants, and it is not the usual custom of the British Government to suddenly throw people out of bread. Perhaps a donation may be extended to all...’

Some employees of the Farrukhabad mint were offered the chance to move to Saugor, where a new mint was being built but most declined.

Newnham was asked for a list of people he considered deserving of a government pension, a list that included people who had worked there almost since the mint opened. For instance⁴⁶:

‘Bishendass, Darogah, paid 50 Rs/month, started 1807 for 18 years, aged 70, From 1807 to 1817 he was employed as a Darogah in the melting department at 35 Rs per month & from 1818 succeeded Thaskoordass as Darogah.’

The people affected by the closure also included a Mr Blake, who appears to have been Robert Blake’s son⁴⁷. He seems to have been offered a job at Saugor, but not on terms acceptable to him. However, this does not seem to have been communicated to Newnham:

‘No intention of your Committee to employ Mr Blake at Saugor in a situation correspondent to that which he held at the Farruckabad mint has ever been made known to me.

The length of Mr Blake’s immediate services and respect to his father who was for nearly half a century in the employ of the Honble Company appears to me to merit due consideration. As no official discharge has been notified to Mr Blake he must of course be entitled to his salary, nor can I suppose that Government in any case permanently entertain a person in a distinct line of employment on any known or implied acknowledgement that the occupation may be suddenly withdrawn unless on proof of misconduct.’

In fact Blake demanded that several conditions be met before he moved to Saugor in particular that he should be given an assistant

to work with him. This was refused and he does not appear to have got the job at Saugor.

Pridmore¹¹ has catalogued the coins of Farrukhabad and the reader is referred to that work for additional information.

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SRIKSETRA SILVER COINS PRODUCED ON THE CHANDRA WEIGHT STANDARD

By Vasilij Mihailovs, Ronachai Krisadaolarn

The coins bearing the Bhadrapiṭha symbol on the obverse (sometimes identified as a Damaru, see discussion on symbols in [1]) and Srivatsa symbol on the reverse have three major types (fig. 1).

Although the opinions about the dating of these series vary, the major authors^{2, 3, 4} agree on the comparative chronology of these coins. Thus, the earliest of these coins (left) bear a conch shell in the Srivatsa temple, the later issues (centre) show a nine-pellet stupa in the Srivatsa temple, and the latest one (right) carries an axial pole and eight-pellet stupa in the Srivatsa temple.



Fig. 1 : Three major types of Sriksetra coins: the earliest (left), the later (centre), and the latest (right) issues, all illustrated coins are of 96 rati standard

The full unit standard of 96 rati [2, p.47] explains the denominations of these coins quite successfully. The three denominations previously described for these coins include 96 rati (usually 10.1g-11.6g range), 48 rati (4.2g-5.4g), and 24 rati (2.0g-2.7g), and are reported as tangka, half-tangka, and quarter-tangka by Cribb³. Recently, seven coins of previously unpublished weight - 64 rati, or two-thirds tangka (all specimens weighing between 6.7g and 7.8g) - were discovered by the authors.

Although Cribb noted that the earliest issue of Bhadrapiṭha / Srivatsa was struck to a heavier standard³, these coins generally show the largest number of varieties among all three basic types of the series. The provenance of this issue is suggested as Sriksetra 600-637 AD by Mitchiner [2, p.128], uncertain Burmese Pyu 725 AD by Cribb³, and Central Burma 450-500 AD by Wicks⁴. Several distinct varieties of this type are found in various districts of southern and northern Burma. Mitchiner reports specimens from south Burma [5, p.31] and Halin [4, p.130], while Mahlo suggests Mandalay-Mingyan-Yamethin region as a possible origin for the latter⁶.

In a hoard of nearly 250 Pyu coins, reportedly found in Mae Sot (Thailand-Burma border) and acquired by the authors in Bangkok, the coins of the earliest Bhadrapiṭha / Srivatsa issue amounted to nearly thirty pieces. Approximately two thirds of them were of Sriksetra type [2, N411-N423], while the others were attributed to Halin [2, N424-N425], relying on Mitchiner's attribution. Studying the hoard further, we found several pieces struck with the dies smaller than those of the 96 rati but larger than 48 rati coins, which were much thinner than 96 rati coins and even 48 rati coins. Weighing the coins showed that four pieces of the Sriksetra issue [2, N411-417], struck with at least two different dies, range from 6.7g to 7.8g (fig. 2, second from the left), and two pieces of the Halin issue [2, N424-N425] struck with one and the same smaller die of the size similar to the one mentioned above, weigh 6.8g and 7.4g (fig. 3, right). Although all six coins show some noticeable wear, the amount of weight loss can certainly not be as much as 10% of the coin. It was also evident that all six specimens were produced using the same technology as the normal coins of Sriksetra. A simple density measurement and primitive chemical test suggested that the silver content in the newly discovered 64 rati coins is not significantly different from previously known data on the other denominations^{5, 7, 8}.

The new discovery has shed some light on another mystery coin encountered by the authors in 2005. The Bhadrapiṭha / Srivatsa coin was acquired from the same source in Mae Sot (fig. 4, centre), and was produced in the manner characteristic of the ancient Pyu of Burma with the dies for a 96 rati coins of the latest Sriksetra type [2, N451] on a smaller blank and weighing 7.9g. The edge of the coin was similar to the normal edge for the type, and showed no evidence of clipping. With the discovery of five other specimens of similar weight, the authors suggest that this coin was produced on a 64 rati, or two-thirds tangka, standard.



Fig. 2 A set of the earliest Sriksetra coins, a Sriksetra variety according to Mitchiner; illustrated (left-to-right) are the coins of 96 rati, 64 rati, 48 rati, 24 rati standards



Fig. 3 A set of the earliest Sriksetra coins, a Halin variety according to Mitchiner; illustrated (left-to-right) are the coins of 96 rati and 64 rati standards



Fig. 4 A set of the latest Sriksetra coins; illustrated (left-to-right) are the coins of 96 rati, 64 rati, and 24 rati standards

Based on the observation of seven specimens of Sriksetra coins, we propose the existence of another denomination - 64 rati, or two-thirds tangka, with a standard weight of approximately 7.5g. The 7.5g weight standard was probably borrowed from early Chandra and Harikela coins - the denomination of those types is identified as 64 rati by Mitchiner [2, p.63], or tangka by Cribb³. It is very likely that the coins denominated at 64 rati were intentionally produced by the Pyu in Sriksetra in order to match the monetary standards used by different trading partners. Remelting Chandra coins and using the metal for Sriksetra strikes is another possibility, but, taking into account the technology the Pyu used for minting⁴ this possibility is not likely to produce the Arakan weight standard issues. The monetary value matching logic should not be applied to the Rising Sun / Srivatsa series of the Burmese Pyu because, in contrast to the weights of the group of 64 rati coins of Sriksetra, which demonstrate a relatively small spread, the weights of the varieties of Rising Sun / Srivatsa series demonstrate a continuous range of weights between approximately 7g up to the normal weights of 9.0-9.5 g.

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7. the tests were performed by the authors at the facilities of The Programme for Post Graduate Education and Research in Chemistry, Faculty of Science, Mahidol University, Bangkok, Thailand, in June-July 2005, in preparation
8. the tests were performed by Prof. Joseph A. Caruso Research Group, Division of Analytical Chemistry, Department of Chemistry, University of Cincinnati in December 2005, in preparation

SOME COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, TAHMASP I: PART 3

By Stan Goron



Nakhjavan 942 mint and date within scalloped circle; Kalima within square. This and all following coins on the "second western weight standard" around 6.2 g.



Qazvin 938 ruler's name, mint and date within circle; Kalima within quadrifoil.



Qazvin 938 ruler's name, mint and date within quadrilobe with ringlets at each cardinal point; Kalima within circle.



Qazvin no date visible ruler's name and mint within rather ornate elongated cartouche; Kalima within scalloped quadrifoil.



Qazvin 939 ruler's name, mint and date within elongated quadrilobe; Kalima in square Kufic within square.



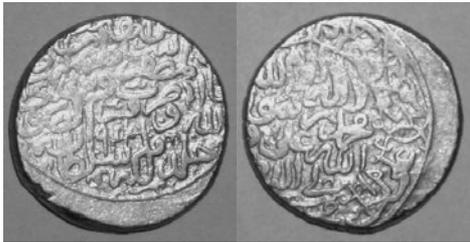
Qazvin no date visible ruler's name and mintname within circle; Kalima within pointed circle.



Qazvin 942 linear type with ruler's name, mint and date within legend; Kalima within slightly scalloped quadrifoil.



Qumm 938 ruler's name, mint and date within circle; Kalima within circle.



Qazvin 944 similar to previous type but different legend layout; Kalima within slightly scalloped circle, normal vertical arrangement.



Ramhormuz no date visible mintname in central cartouche; Kalima within square



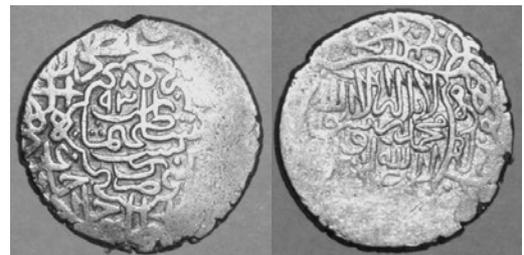
Qazvin 944 as previous type but Kalima in the margin and the names of the 12 Rashidun within the slightly scalloped circle.



Rasht 938 ruler's name, mint and date within ornate cartouche; Kalima within a circle with bulges at the cardinal points.



Qazvin no date visible ruler's name within small central cartouche, mintname towards the bottom; Kalima within circle



Rasht 938 as previous type but Kalima within quadrifoil.



Sabzavar, no date visible ruler's name within central central, rather elongated cartouche, mintname below it; Kalima within circle.



Semnan 944 mintname within small hexalobe, ruler's name to the lower right; Kalima within circle.



Sabzavar, no date visible mintname within rhombus, ruler's name bottom right; Kalima within margin, names of the 12 Rashidun within circle, arranged in mill-sail style.



Shimakhi, no date visible ruler's name and mint within circle; Kalima within square.



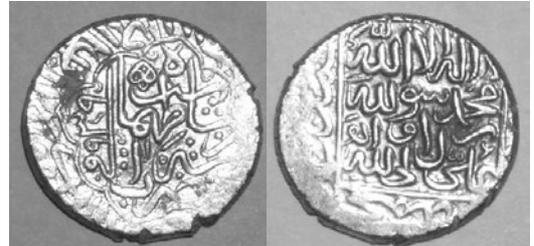
Sabzavar, no date visible as previous type but Kalima within square.



Shimakhi, no date visible mintname within small square; Kalima within square.



Sari, no date visible mintname within ornamental, slightly elongated cartouche; Kalima within scalloped circle.



Shiraz 939 ruler's name, mint and date within tri-scalloped quadrifol; Kalima within square.



Sari, no date visible similar to previous type but Kalima within square.



Shiraz 939, Muḥarram, ruler's name, mint, date and month within ornate cartouche, the '9's engraved retrograde; Kalima within square. One of the rare instances of the month of issue being engraved on a Safavid coin issue.



Semnan 939 mintname within rectangular cartouche with bulging ends, ruler's name to the left; Kalima within circle.



Shiraz 940 ruler's name, mint and date within hexalobe; Kalima within pointed circle.



Shiraz 940, ruler's name, mint and date within circle, date centre left; Kalima within quadrifoil



Shiraz 940 similar to previous type, date top left; Kalima within square. To the right of the date there is a symbol that looks like a seven (7). This is probably an ornament.



Shiraz, no date visible ruler's name and mint within quadrilobe; Kalima within quadrifoil.



Shiraz, no date visible, similar to previous type but Kalima differently arranged.



Shiraz 945, half shahi, (3.05 g) ruler's name, mint and date within scalloped cartouche; 12 Rashidun arranged in mill-sail design. Half shahis of this standard seem to be rare.



Sultaniya 938 ruler's name, mint and date in circle. Kalima within square.



Tabriz 938 ruler's name, mint and date within hexalobe; Kalima within square.



Tabriz 938, as previous type but Kalima within bulging square.



Tabriz 938, as previous types but with Kalima in scalloped circle.



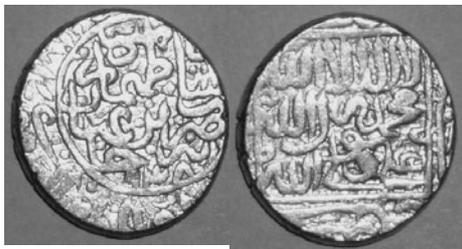
Tabriz 938, as previous types but with Kalima within circle divided into two parts.



Tabriz 938, as previous types but Kalima in margin and the names of the 12 Rashidun arranged in mill-sail style within a scalloped circle.



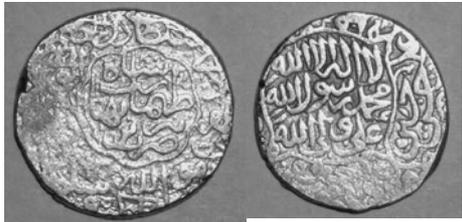
Tabriz 938 similar to previous, but cartouche includes *bahadur khan* and date at bottom; Kalima within bulging square.



Tabriz 938 as previous type but Kalima in square.



Tabriz 938, as previous type but Kalima in square.



Tabriz 938 ruler's name with *bahadur* but not *khan*, and mint in octolobe, date bottom left in margin; Kalima within bulging square.



Tabriz, no date visible but probably struck in 938 ruler's name without *bahadur*, and mint in quadrilobe; Kalima in circle. To be continued.

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