



### ONS News

#### Annual General Meeting in London

This year's Annual General Meeting will take place at the meeting (mentioned in Journal number 194) at 11.00 a.m. on 15 November 2008 at the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum in London. Another notice of that meeting will be included in the next Journal.

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#### 4. New and Recent Publications

*Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tuebingen XVa: Bukhara-Samarqand* has been given the go-ahead for printing and should be available by the end of April this year. The volume contains the coins from Bukhara and Samarqand plus a few minor mints like Amu, Ordubazar, Tatkand, Kharlukh Ordu, Qarshi, Karmina, Kish, Kufin and Nasaf. The authors are Michael Fedorov, the late but still omnipresent Boris Kochnev, Golib Kurbanov and Madeleine Voegeli. The volume publishes 1268 coins on 131 pages. The print-run will be 400 copies and the selling price, 84.95 euros. Please note the large format of the publication, a shelf height of at least 38 cm (15½ inches) will be needed for upright storage.

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*The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 167, 2007, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London (ISSN 0078-2696) has the following items of oriental interest:

“The names of the Pāratārājas issuing coins with Kharoṣṭhī legends”, by Harry Falk

“Identification of the Nguyễn Thông coins of the Cảnh Hưng period (1740-1786)” by François Thierry

“A hoard of early Mediaeval Chach coins from Kanka” by Michael Fedorov & Andrew Kuznetsov

In addition, there are reviews of Nikolaus Schindel (et al.) *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum. Paris, Berlin, Wien. Shapur II – Kawad I/2 Regierung* and Judith Kolbas *The Mongols in Iran, Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 1220-1309*.

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“A new tea garden token from Sylhet” by PR Thompson in *Spink Numismatic Circular*, February 2008, vol. CXVI, number 1. This article publishes a token of the South Sylhet Tea Company Limited, Kajuri.

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The following book of around 500 pages may be of interest to members. *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from*

*Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jan Lucassen, contributions from various authors. Published by Peter Lang AG, Bern, 2007 [redacted] [redacted]. ISSN 1420-5297; ISBN 978-3-03910-782-7.

“The basic hypothesis of this volume is that currency patterns may tell us something about the spread of wage payments in specific societies in history. As far as wages are paid in currency, in particular in coin, specific patterns of denominations produced and used in space and time may provide insights into the importance of wage labour in those societies. In this book, a number of specialists discuss the relationship between wages and currency, with reference to different countries and regions in Europe, Asia, and South America over more than 2000 years. The main purpose of this volume is to look for new sources from the fields of monetary history and numismatics for the occurrence and importance of wage labour in general. More specifically, the contributions offer new perspectives on those periods and those parts of the world where alternative sources for labour history were hitherto lacking; or, where a fresh view on the occurrence and nature of wage labour would be worthwhile.”

Chapters in the book relating to specific ONS interest are:

“Official salaries and local wages at Juyan, north-west China, first century BCE to first century CE” by Helen Wang

“A South-Chinese currency zone between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries” by Arjan van Aelst

“Currency, wage payments, and large funds settlement in Japan, 1600-1868” by Yoshiaki Shikano

“Linking two debates: money supply, wage labour, and economic development in Java in the nineteenth century” by J L van Zanden

“Structure and movement of wages in the Mughal Empire, 1500-1700” by Najaf Haider

“Long-distance trade, coinage and wages in India, 1600-1960” by Om Prakash

“The logistics of wage payments: changing patterns in northern India in the 1840s” by Jan Lucassen

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Praful Thakkar, *Collector's Guide to Chronologies of Sultans, Rulers and Colonial Heads of India*, published by Kunal P. Thakkar, for Thakkar Numismatic and Art Foundation, 102 Deanscroft Court, Cary, NC 27511, USA. Email: info@indiannumismatics.com

Released on the occasion of the exhibition of the Gujarat Coin Society at Ahmedabad on 14 March 2008, this book gives the chronologies of sultans, Mughals, independent kingdoms, Princely States and colonial administrations. It also gives an exhaustive list of all the Princely States along with a list of gun salutes. There are conversion tables for the various dating systems used on Indian coins and the book is nicely designed with illustrations of various rulers, coins and coats of arms of the states and authorities.

V. Yevdokimov, *Coins of the Genoese Kaffa*, 2006, ISBN 0-9731889-3-6, 238 pages, in Russian. This is the fourth volume published by Yevdokimov on the coinage of the trading post of Kaffa on the Black Sea in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It includes a catalogue with black and white drawings of the coin types with some additions from that published in the earlier *Silver Coinage of Genoese Kaffa* and *Copper Coinage of Genoese Kaffa*. Details of how to purchase the volumes are available from the author, [redacted]

P. Srivastava, *The Apracharajas: A History based on Coins and Inscriptions*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2007, ISBN 81-7320-074-2 140 page. The Apracharajas have frankly very dull coins, but the discovery in recent years of a number of inscriptions giving the genealogy of the kings has made them the source of considerable interest. This book gives a general account of the

history of the period. The coins are unfortunately not well illustrated (only a single low quality plate) and some of the most recent work, by Richard Salamon and Harry Falk, is not included. However, this might be of interest to readers wanting to understand some of the context of this series. (RB)

## Other News

### *7th Century Syria Numismatic Round Table*

The next meeting of the 7th Century Syria Numismatic Round Table will take place at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, UK on 4 and 5 April 2009. Anyone interested in giving a paper on the numismatics, economic history, sigillography or related archaeology of the Near East from the late Byzantine period through the Umayyad period should contact Andrew Oddy at [redacted]. An indication of interest would be appreciated as soon as possible.

The 7th Century Syria Numismatic Round Table is an informal group of people who are principally interested in the coinage of Greater Syria from the period of the Persian invasion in the early 7th century to the decline of the Umayyads in the mid 8th century. In recent years the remit has been widened to include the end of the Sasanian Empire in Iran and the end of Byzantine rule in Egypt and North Africa. The proceedings of the last round table held in Birmingham were published as *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East, Supplement to the Oriental Numismatic Society Journal no.193*, Autumn 2007.

The meeting is open to anyone with an interest in the Near East at the time of the Arab conquests. Papers can be very short - perhaps announcing a new discovery - or up to 30 minutes. More time may be available in special circumstances. Please contact the organiser. For those who are interested, a few rooms have been reserved in college.

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### *Second Assemani Symposium on Islamic Coins, Trieste, Italy*

The Symposium will begin on Friday 29 and end on Sunday 31 August, 2008. The meeting will take place in one of the lecture halls of Trieste's University or Civic Museum. Papers have already been promised from a good range of experts on Islamic numismatics and it is hoped to publish the proceedings of the symposium as soon as possible thereafter. For more information please contact

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Eminent epigraphy and numismatic expert from Pune, Dr Shobhana Gokhale was recently awarded the 'Parmeshwarilal Gupta Award' for her work in the above fields by the South Indian Numismatic Society, Chennai. The vice-president of this society, Shri Shashikant Dhopate, presented this award to Dr. Gokhale at a function, chaired by eminent archaeologist, Dr M K Dhavalikar, on Friday, 15 February 2008.

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### *Icons of Revolution. Mao badges then and now*

Exhibition at the British Museum (Gallery 69a), 10 April – 14 September 2008

Five billion Mao badges were made during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). They were worn as part of the dress code of the time and as an expression of loyalty to Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Communist Party of China. Mao's portrait appears on most of the badges. They also refer to scenes from his

life, important political events, his poetry and his writings. The badges combine symbols of international communism, such as the hammer and sickle, with traditional Chinese designs, such as plum blossom. Aspects of this imagery are still in use today.

This small exhibition shows a selection from the British Museum's collection of 350 badges from the Cultural Revolution and arranges them thematically together with posters, prints, coins, banknotes and other objects of that time. The exhibition is arranged in 12 sections: (1) International icons of the 1930s-40s (showing Communist iconography on coins and banknotes issued in the revolutionary base areas, including a Mexican silver dollar stamped with a hammer and sickle); (2) Chinese icons of the 1930s-40s (as seen in prints and on banknotes); (3) Mao badges in the 1960s; (4) Mao Zedong Thought in the world; (5) Mao Zedong Thought in everyday life, 1966-76 (including ration book and ration ticket); (6) Money of the Cultural Revolution (the entire range of coins and banknotes); (7) Tian'anmen; (8) Historical landmarks; (9) National Day; (10) National Congresses; (11) Symbolic flowers; (12) Mao and Cultural Revolution imagery today.

## Auction News

AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd were pleased to announce the May 6 sale of the finest collection of British Indian coins to come up for auction since the 1982/1983 Pridmore sales. There are more than 1000 lots of coins. It starts with 199 choice examples from the Indian Presidency Series, followed by 600+ lots of proofs, proof restrikes, patterns and choice grade coins of the British India series and finishes with some fine coins of the Princely States. Highlights include a choice Bombay Presidency 1676 PAX DEO Angelina. Choice examples of the Madras Presidency 1807 1/4 and 1/2 pagodas. There are more than 400 lots of proofs, patterns, off-metal strikes, and proof restrikes of British India. There are more than 40 Gold Coins including an Original 1835 2 mohurs. The sale was catalogued by Randy Weir who has put forth some new insights into this series of coins. In the descriptions are many references to Paul Stevens' listing of Indian coins, part of which can currently be found at [www.baldwin.co.uk/coins-of-india](http://www.baldwin.co.uk/coins-of-india)

Catalogues available from A.H. Baldwin, 11 Adelphi Terrace, London, England WC2N 6BJ. Or [REDACTED]

## A REJOINDER TO THE ARTICLE BY DR HANS LOESCHNER

By Michael Fedorov

Dr Hans Loeschner (2007) mentioned my article (Fedorov, 2004) and tried to refute one of my arguments: "There is important analysis that the Kushans were not of the Yüeh-Chi race but were Saka ... This allocation of the Kushan to the Shaka people was recently rejected by Michael Fedorov, mainly based on the analysis that the Kushan emperors had artificial skull deformations, the same as the ruling class of the Ta Yüeh-chih. *But there is the example of Eastern Germanic people (e.g. Goths) who also adopted the custom of artificial skull deformation as subkings of the Western Hunnic empire* (emphasis added). Furthermore, the Rabatak inscription informs us about the deeds of Kanishka the Great: '... Kanishka the Kushan ... inaugurated the year one as the gods pleased. And he issued the Greek edict (and) then he put it into Aryan' i.e. obviously his native Bactrian language". Incidentally there is nothing in the Rabatak inscription that permits the inference that Bactrian was Kanishka's native language, any more than the inference that the native language of Kanishka was Greek.

Of course, when Dr Loeschner picks out only one of my arguments (setting other arguments and relevant information of the written sources aside) and tries to refute this single argument, I cannot regard it as serious scholarly argumentation, though I think that Dr Loeschner's argument proves nothing. Even if the hypothetical Sakas had adopted the custom of artificial skull

deformation they could not place images of their precious newfangled heads on the coins since they were not rulers of the country *conquered by the Yüeh-chih*. The Chinese chronicles never mentioned the Sakas in connection with the Yüeh-chih conquest of Bactria and the creation of the Kushan empire.

Dr Loeschner did not read carefully either my article or the Chinese chronicles' narration. Here is the Chinese chronicles' narration.

*Shih-chi*, the earliest of the chronicles says: "Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu ... they passed Ta-Yüan (Fergana) and went west as far as Ta-hsia (Bactria) which they attacked and subjugated. They settled their imperial court at the northern side of the Wei-shu (Oxus)" (123.4a with parallel text at Han Shu 96A.10a). There, north of the Oxus, the Chinese envoy Ch'ang Ch'ien who had been dispatched in order to induce them to fight against the Huns met them in 129-128 BC (Narain 1962, 129-133). After his visit the situation changed, according to Narain (1962, 140) ca. 100 BC the Yüeh-chih crossed the Amu Daria *en masse* and occupied southern Bactria.

*Ch'ien Han shu* (*History of the Former Han, 206 BC-8 AD*) says: "The Ta-shia had originally no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had their small chiefs. The people were weak and feared fighting. So the Ta Yüeh-chih moved there, subjugated them all ... There are five *hsi-hou*: Hsiu-mi, with its capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi with its capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tsao; Hsi-tun with its capital Po-mo; and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu. All belonged to the Ta Yüeh-chih as their subjects" (96A.14b). Narain (1962, 130) wrote: "the term *hsi-hou*, connected by some with the title *yabgu* 'chief', taken by Kujula Kadphises, seems to imply indiscriminately 'clan' or 'chief of a clan'". I would add 'principality of a clan' (i.e. *yabguate*), and certainly the *yabguate* was mentioned: "Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tsao".

The *Hou Han shu* (*History of the later Han, 25-125 AD*) says (Narain 1962, 131): "... when the Yüeh-chih were destroyed by the Hsiung-nu, they went to Ta-hsia and divided the country among five *hsi-hou* Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Pa-tun, and Tu-mi. One hundred years and odd later Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh, *hsi-hou* of the Kuei-shuang, attacked and destroyed four *hsi-hou*, became independent and set himself on the throne. (His) kingdom was called Kuei-shuang-wang (king of Kuei-shuang). He invaded An-hsi (Parthia) and took the district of Kao-fu (Kabul). He destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin, both of which were completely subjugated to him. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh died at the age of more than eighty. Yen-kao-chen became king in succession. He destroyed T'ien-chu (India), where he stationed a general to supervise and govern. *Since then the Yüeh-chih are the most prosperous and rich. Many countries call them Kuei-shuang-wang (Kushan kings), but in China they are called Ta-Yüeh-chih according to their old designation* (emphasis added)." (118.9a) The last sentence is underlined by me. Could it be said more unequivocally and explicitly? *And where are the Saka?*

The Chinese chronicles are quite unequivocal and explicit: Bactria was conquered by the Ta-Yüeh-chih! And it was the Ta-Yüeh-chih who split the booty between five *hsi-hou* or rather five Ta-Yüeh-chih tribes ruled by those *hsi-hou* (*yabgus*) who created five *yabguates* with capitals in Ho-mo, Shuang-mi, Hu-tsao, Po-mo, Kao-fu. The notion that the Ta-Yüeh-chih came all the way from the borders of China and conquered Bactria just in order to split it between the five Saka *yabgus* (even if the latter made artificial deformation of their skull) sounds absurd and ludicrous (to say the least).

Strabo wrote that Sacae occupied Bactriana, but he wrote in the same sentence that Sacae "acquired possession of the land in Armenia" (Narain 1962, 129). Trogus (Narain 1962, 129) wrote: "in the affairs of Bactria how king Diodotus established his rule; then how, *during his reign the Scythian* (emphasis added) tribes

Saraucae and Asiani seized Bactra". Diodotus I, according to Narain (1962, 181) 256-248 BC, reigned more than 100 years before the nomad conquest of Bactria which resulted eventually in creation of the Kushan empire and the *Scythians* resided north of the Black Sea. So the terms *Sacae* and *Scythians* were used by Strabo and Trogus to denote some eastern nomad tribes about which they did not know better.

I conclude this rejoinder to Dr Hans Loeschner's article with the words of such an outstanding specialist as W.W. Tarn (1951, 283) "the new theory, which makes of the five Yüeh-chih princes (the Kushan chief being one) five Saka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yüeh-chih, throws the plain account in the *Hou Han shu* overboard. The theory is one more unhappy offshoot of the elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria". Could it be said better than that?

#### References

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 Loeschner, H (2007) "A new Oesho/Shiva image of Sasanian 'Peroz' taking power in the northern part of the Kushan empire", *ONS Journal*, 192, Summer 2007, 22-24  
 Narain, A. K. (1962) *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.  
 Tarn, W. W. (1951) *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge.

Dr Loeschner has written a reply to this critique entitled "Notes on the Yuezhi - Kushan Relationship and Kushan Chronology" but it is too long to be included in this issue of the Journal. It is planned to publish it in Journal 196. In the meantime, however, members can find it posted on the ONS website [www.onsnumis.org](http://www.onsnumis.org) or it can be obtained in pdf format from the author [hans.loeschner@ims.co.at](mailto:hans.loeschner@ims.co.at)

### Corrigendum

## HOARD OF CLIPPED AND COUNTERMARKED KHUSRO II DRACHMS FROM THE ILI VALLEY IN XINJIANG

By Anne van't Haaff

In JONS 194 I published an article on a hoard of clipped and countermarked Sasanian drachms.

No fewer than 4 members were kind enough to draw my attention to the wrong identification of the dates and mints on most coins. I regret my incorrect and insufficiently researched information. Thanks go to Frank Timmermann, Bob Schaaf, Thomas Mallon-McCorgray and Susan Tyler-Smith who all have helped to set the record right.

The following corrections are necessary:

Coin 1: Clearly a coin of Yazdgard III, mint SK. As the bust is beardless the date is most probably 8, maybe 5.

Coin 2: Year 14 and not 34

Coin 3: A suggestion was made that the mint is APL, but after a good look at the coin I think the mint is indeed KL

Coin 5: The date is 28 not 38

Coin 6: I quote Susan Tyler Smith: "this is an interesting coin. The bust and reverse types are used from year 2 to year 10 only (very occasionally in year 11) on Khusru II's coins. This coin is one of a group of copies (possibly Caucasian). The date is an attempt at 21".

Coin 7: Mint BBA, the year is identified by Susan as 36 on stylistic grounds. In year 26, which was suggested by another reader, BBA did not have this very distinct linear style.

Coin 9: The mint may be WYH (it is not DA), year 29 not 39.

Coin 11: The coin could be Arab-Sasanian, mint BYSh.

The corrected mints and years illustrate that the host coins date from the early to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and come from all over Persia.

### Articles

## TWO NEW PARTHIAN DRACHMS

By Adrian Hollis, Christopher Mitchiner and Michael Mitchiner



The two Parthian drachms, which form the subject of this article, can be described as follows.

1. Bearded Parthian style bust left, diademed, with a loop at back and streamers below. In front: star in crescent  
*rev.* Archer seated right, on high-backed chair, holding bow. Mint letter below bow: Π  
 Legend around, arranged as a single line on four sides: BACIAIY / C PHPA / TOY / APΣA / KOY  
*Silver, 18 mm, 3.40 gm, ex Karshi (Uzbekistan)*
2. *obv.* Same description, struck from a different die  
*rev.* Same description, struck from same die as previous coin  
*Silver, 18 mm, 3.45 gm, ex Uzbekistan*

Both coins are made of good quality silver. The coin with black patina (3.40 g) was observed in 2005. The coin with sandy-brown patina (3.45 g) was observed in 2006. The differences in patination suggest that the two coins did not originate from a single hoard.

The inscription on the reverse reads as follows:

BACIAIYC PHPATOY APΣAKOY

The letter sigma is twice of lunate form, and once of traditional form.

It will be apparent that this Parthian die-cutter knew little, or no, Greek (less than his counterpart in Mesopotamia). However, we feel confident that the intended inscription would have been:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΡΑΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ

"Of King Phraates, Arsaces".

One might hesitate only about the precise form of the king's name. On the Monumentum Ancyranum (Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, p. 47), his name has two letters alpha in the Greek version, but a single letter 'A' in the Latin version. He is called Φραάτης in Greek and Phraates in Latin. Horace's Sapphirc metre requires the trisyllabic form.

Arsaces was the name of the putative founder of the Parthian dynasty, which was continued by his successors (more as a title than as a personal name). The Great King's personal name seldom appears on coins. When it does appear, this is nearly always a sign that the title Arsaces currently has more than one claimant. In the present case, the omission of the customary string of epithets (e.g. Just, Beneficent, Philhellene) emphasise the one vital point, that Phraates and no other is the Great King Arsaces.

### Numismatic aspects

The general sequence of Parthian coinage (Sellwood 1980) suggests a date of issue during the second half of the first century BC. The general style of the obverse portrait supports this dating. More specifically, Orodes II (c. 57-38 BC) placed either a crescent, or a crescent plus star, or a crescent plus two stars on the obverse of many drachms. The coins catalogued here show a star in crescent. The star in crescent occurs on drachms of Phraates IV (c. 38-2 BC: Sellwood 54) and Phraataces (c. 2 BC - AD 4: Sellwood 56) – although in each of these cases there is an additional symbol behind the head, either an eagle (Phraates IV), or winged Nike (Phraataces). The diadem with loop, was to be normal from the reign of Artabanus II (c. AD 10-38).

The reverse shows the traditional figure of a seated archer, together with the mint mark Π and an unusually short legend.

Sellwood attributed the Π mint mark to the north-east mint of Merv (Margiane). Merv was situated in the north-east frontier region of the Parthians, and it is now in Turkmenistan. Uzbekistan, where these drachms were found, shares a modern frontier with Turkmenistan.

Silver drachms bearing the Π mint mark were issued until the reigns of Orodes II (S. 43.8, 46.13, 47.11) and Phraates IV (S. 52.19). Debased copper ‘drachms’, bearing this mint mark, were issued by Phraates IV (S. 52.39), Phraataces (S. 57.14) and Artabanus II (S. 62.12).

Recent excavations at Merv (Smirnova 2007) substantiate Sellwood’s attribution of the Π mint mark to Merv. Many Parthian copper coins were recovered in the excavations. Smirnova described them as being Parthian issues down to the reign of Phraates IV, and then as local issues from the time of Artabanus II (AD 10-38) onwards. Those local issues retain the Π mint mark beneath the bow of the seated archer. The Parthians administered part of their kingdom through satraps appointed by the king, and other parts as several vassal kingdoms (Koshelenko and Philipko 1992). Merv (Margiane) was one such vassal kingdom from around the first century AD, onwards. Mitchiner (1975-6, 606-615; 1987; 2004) and Senior (2001) have discussed other Parthian vassal kingdoms in the east, which were administered by Scythian vassals. Rapin (2007) has discussed Scythians (Kangju) living in Uzbekistan at this period.

The legend on these two drachms is fully legible. The letter forms are consistent with the period of Phraates IV, and the slight corruptions might be expected in the far north-east of the kingdom.

Considered only in respect of the general Parthian coin sequence, the points just made suggest that these drachms were minted at Merv during the reign of Phraates IV.

### Historical aspects

This was not a regular issue of Parthian drachms. There was some specific reason for omitting the list of the king’s titles, which was normal at this period. There was also some specific reason for citing the issuer’s personal name, which was exceptional at this period. The legend simply names ‘King Phraates, Arsaces’, which is very short and unusual.

Phraates IV ascended the throne c. 38 BC, the year after his elder brother, Pacorus I, had been killed while on campaign. Phraates also appears to have helped their father, Orodes II, to his death. Phraates secured his throne by arranging the deaths of various relatives. He rapidly gained a reputation for cruelty.

Phraates was expelled from the throne, and Tiridates was installed as king of Parthia, c. 29 BC. Combat ensued, with the result that the Romans re-installed Tiridates on the Parthian throne, which he held until 26 BC. Errington and Curtis (2007) have recently discussed further details. Phraates took refuge in the east, where he mobilised a Scythian army, and subsequently regained the throne of Parthia with Scythian help. Meanwhile, Tiridates issued tetradrachms at Seleucia, dated in the Seleucid era by both month and year (Sellwood 1980, 55.1-55.14: SE 284, 285, 286, corresponding to 28, 27 and 26 BC)

Justin (XLII, 5) put it this way: “Having then for a long time weared the neighbouring people, and at last the Scythians, with entreaties for aid, he was at last restored to his throne by a powerful Scythian force. During his absence the Parthians had made Tiridates king, who, when he heard of the approach of the Scythians, fled with a great body of his partisans to Caesar, who was then carrying on a war in Spain”.

Both kings were also named by the poet Horace: Tiridates (fearing imminent ejection) in *Odes* 1.26.5 and Phraates (recently restored to the throne) in *Odes* 2.2.17.

The same political pattern was to be replicated in the next generation. Then, the pro-Roman Vonones I (c. AD 8-12) at first defeated Artabanus II (c. AD 10-38). The latter then regained his throne with the help of Scythians from the east.

### Discussion

Placed in their numismatic and historical context, the two drachms published here can best be interpreted as belonging to a military campaign issue. The coins were probably minted to pay the Scythian army, which Phraates recruited.

Phraates was an exile in the east. He was not the *de facto* Parthian king. His simple inscription just affirms his legitimacy. He, King Phraates, was the legitimate holder of the title Arsaces. Tiridates was the *de facto* king of Parthia. Phraates, the exile, recruited a Scythian army. He had to pay the army. These two drachms, minted at Merv, appear to illustrate one of the methods he used to pay his army, an army that would soon afterwards (re)install him on the throne of Parthia. The coins can be dated c. 27 BC, or very close to that date. Their area of circulation appears to have been restricted to the regions where the Scythians were living.

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## A UNIQUE COIN OF THE SHADDĀDID RULER, ASHOT IBN SHĀWŪR<sup>1</sup>

By Alexander Akopyan (Moscow)

A monograph devoted to the investigation of the coinage of the Shaddādids, the Kurdish dynasty that ruled in Armenia and Arrān in the IV–VI centuries AH, has recently been published by A.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for the idea of preparing this paper as well as for many helpful discussions which resulted in the correct attribution of the specimen.

Koyfman, V. Lebedev and D. Markov<sup>2</sup>. That long-awaited study closes many lacunae while considering the coinage of the Shaddādids, provides a clear typology, metrology as well as some observations on die links. However, many aspects concerning several genealogical issues related to that dynasty require some more attention from scholars. In this short paper one such issue is reconsidered using both historical evidence and numismatic data.

In 1985 G. Hennequin published a coin<sup>3</sup>, which, however, was misread and wrongly attributed to (*Ašwat b. Sā'ūn* or *Šā'ūn?*). That billon coin, listed in the catalogue as *AE (AR?)*<sup>4</sup> (5.66 g; 20.5 cm; die axis 8:30; Fig. 1) has the following legends:

<p>Obverse: central legend لا اله الا الله السلطان المعظم شاهانشاه البارسلان ... marginal legend ... بامر الله ...</p>	<p>Reverse: ... الامير الاجل العادل شرف الدو لة ابو علي اشوط بن شاوور</p>
--	---

Obv: *There is no God but Allāh / Sulṭān Supreme / Shāhanshāh / Alp Arslān*

Rev: *Amīr the respectable / the just, protector of the sta / te Abū 'Alī Ashūt / bin Shāwūr.*



Fig. 1. The coin of Ashot b. Shāwūr I

The marginal legend of the obverse would probably have included the قائم بامرالله (*al-Qā'im bi-āmrallāh*) and, possibly, also the mint name and date. Some observations have shown that the coin can be linked to Ashot b. Shāwūr. He was the son of Abū al-Aswār Shāwūr I b. Faḍl I, who ruled in Dvin from AH 413/1022-3 AD and in Ganja from AH 441/1049-50 AD, died in AH 459/1066-7 AD. Ashot's mother was daughter of the Armenian king Gurgen I (AH 355-381/966-991 AD)<sup>5</sup> of the neighbouring Kingdom of Tashir-Dzoraget (Lori)<sup>6</sup>, and granddaughter of Ashot III of Ani.

The Armenian name 'Ashot' (اشوت) was one of the ancestral names of the Bagratids for a long time. In the main Bagratid line of Ani there were three kings called Ashot. The tradition of giving a son the name of his mother's grandfather was popular among the Kurds, Armenians and Georgians. Apparently, this fact explains why the son of Shāwūr I obtained the Christian name Ashot. According to K. Yuzbashyan Abū al-Aswār Shāwūr

I also had an unofficial Christian name of Davit' with a nickname Dunaci, which means *David of Dvin*<sup>7</sup>.

The marriage of Shāwūr I to the daughter of Gurgen I, the sister of King Davit' Anholin (The Landless), was very important for the Shaddādids, because the Tashir-Dzoraget kingdom was one of the powerful Christian states that bordered the Shaddādīd emirate<sup>8</sup>.

In AH 457/1065 AD, the Shaddādīd emirate was subjugated to the Saljūqs. In 459/1067 Alp Arslān gave both Shakkī and Tiflīs to Faḍl II b. Shāwūr I, the ruler of Ganja. But after the Saljūqs departed from there, Faḍl II was captured by the king of Kakhet'i and sent to Tiflīs. Some time later the brother of Faḍl II Ashot b. Shāwūr I was crowned in Ganja. However, the next year the Saljūq commander, Sāw Tegin, liberated Faḍl II from prison and the latter returned to Ganja rapidly. It seems that, after repossessing his own domains, Faḍl II struck the coin which is the subject of this paper. If so, then the possible issue of this specimen can be limited between the month of Shawwāl of the year 460 / August 1068 and Jumādā II of the year 461 / April 1069<sup>9</sup>. Thus, that period includes the time of the reigns of both Alp Arslān (AH 455-465) and the caliph al-Qā'im (AH 422-467). It should be also noted that while the same *laqab* الامير الاجل العادل (the amīr, the respectable, the just) normally appeared on coins of both Shāwūr I and Faḍl II<sup>10</sup>, the *laqab* شرف الدولة (protector of the state) does not appear on any other Shaddādīd coins. At the same time, the *kunya* ابو علي Abū 'Alī, which no doubt belonged to Ashot b. Shāwūr I, is now known only from this specimen. It is remarkable that the coin does not bear any ornamental patterns, unlike the other coins of the last Shaddādīds struck under the Saljūqs<sup>11</sup>.

Confirmation of the correct way of writing the name Ashot as اشوت instead of اشوت (as in the catalogue) can be found in the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb wa Sharwān*<sup>12</sup> as well as from the seal of the Armenian king Ashot I Bagratid (855-891 AD), the son of Smbat (سنباط اشوت بن) (Fig. 2)<sup>13</sup>.

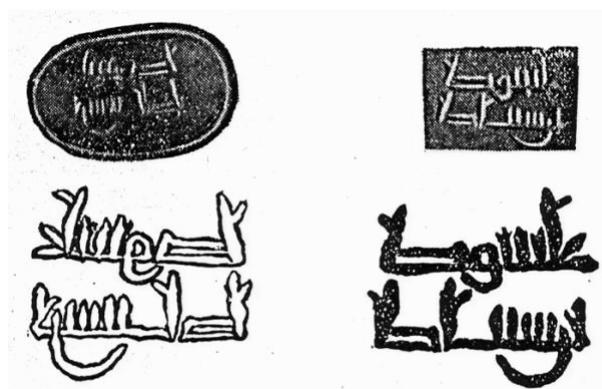


Fig. 2. The seal of Ashot I

<sup>2</sup> Lebedev V., Markov D., Koyfman A. *Monetnoe delo i monetnoe obraschenie Gandzhiyskogo emirata Shaddadidov (ser. X – XI vv.)*. Moscow, 2006. For the coin of Minūchīhr b. Shāwūr I Shaddadid (AH 462-512) of Ani see: Kouymjian D. *The Unique Coin of the Shirvānshāh Minūchīhr II Dated A.H. 555/1160 AD. // Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*. Beirut, 1974. P. 339-46.

<sup>3</sup> Hennequin G. *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Asie pré-mongole, les Saljūqs et leurs successeurs*. Paris, 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Hennequin, *op. cit.* P. 47; type LVII, coin No. 64, Fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The founder of the Tashir-Dzoraget branch of the Bagratid family, wrongly called by Minorsky and some scholars Kiwrike (I) (see Mat'evosyan, *op. cit.* P. 111).

<sup>6</sup> On the Kingdom of Tashir-Dzoraget see: Mat'evosyan R. *Tashir-Dzoraget (X d. – XII d. skizb)*. Yerevan, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> *Povestvovanie vardapeta Aristakesa Lastivertci*. With an introduction and comments by K. Yuzbashyan. Moscow, 1968. P. 159.

<sup>8</sup> Minorsky V. *Studies in Caucasian History: I. New Light on the Shaddadids of Ganja. II. The Shaddadids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*. London, 1953. P. 65.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* P. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Lebedev, *op. cit.* P. 60.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* P. 132.

<sup>12</sup> Minorsky, *op. cit.* P. 24.

<sup>13</sup> Krachkovskaya V. *Pechat' bagratida Ashota s arabskoy nadpis'yu // Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Material'noy Kul'tury*. Vol. XII (1946). P. 112.

## THE UQAYLIDS OF UKBARA

By Yahya Jaffar

Although the Uqaylids of Ukbara were a minor dynasty that existed for a short period and produced dirhems for less than a decade, they played an important political role during a difficult Buwayhid period. They are directly related to the better known Uqaylids of Mosul and were in conflict with each other for most of their overlapping existence. They were allegedly a wealthy dynasty that issued mostly over-weight dirhems at Ukbara as well as other towns at a time when silver was reportedly scarce.

The Uqaylids were Bedouins of the Banu Ka'ab tribe, who originated in the Arabian Peninsula. After their conversion to Islam, some of them migrated to Iraq and Syria, but the majority went to Bahrain. Disputes and conflicts broke out between the Uqaylids in Bahrain, and the more powerful Taghlib tribes eventually persuaded many to move on to Iraq, where many of their relatives were already living.

During the fourth century of the Hijra the Uqaylids in Iraq and Syria came under the direct rule of the Hamdanids. However, in AH 380 the last Hamdanid ruler, Abu Tahir Ibrahim bin Nasir al-Dawla al-Hamdani, who had ruled Mosul conjointly with his brother, Abu 'Abdallah al-Husayn (AH 371-380/981-990 AD), called on the Uqaylids for help in protecting the city against the Marwanids. The Uqaylid leader, Abu'l-Dardaa Muhammad bin al-Musayyib (AH 380-386/990-996 AD), who was considered to be the founder of the Uqaylid dynasty, went to his aid, and was rewarded with the towns of Jazirat Ibn Umar (today's Cizre), Nisibin and Balad. However, when Abu-Ali al-Hasan (AH 380-387/990-997 AD), the Marwanid leader, imprisoned Abu 'Abdallah al-Husayn, Abu Tahir fled to Nisibin to seek the protection of Abu'l-Dardaa. Abu'l-Dardaa, however, took both him and his sons prisoners, had them executed, and seized Mosul. The Buwayhids, who were the main force in the region at that time, and exercised control over the Abbasids, approved Abu'l-Dardaa's *wilaya* (governorship) over Mosul, and thus he ruled the town until his death in AH 386.

It is not entirely clear how the Uqaylids captured and shared new territories in the early years of their rule, or how they divided these lands among themselves, or indeed how they maintained control over them. Still, it is evident that they ruled over very large areas, including most of the land bound by the Tigris and the Euphrates north of Baghdad, as far as Mosul and Nisibin.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Uqaylids in Mosul are comparatively well documented in the literature, other members of the tribe are much less known. It appears that the early members of the dynasty were far from united, and there was much feuding and conflict within the family. Some of the coins described here suggest that the Uqaylids of 'Ukbara deserved more attention and mention in the records than they have thus far received, particularly during the disturbed periods of family feuds during which these coins were struck.

Ukbara,<sup>15</sup> the Uqaylid's central base, was a town situated on the east side of the old course of the Tigris River. It was approximately fifty-five kilometers north of Baghdad on the route to Mosul, opposite the town of Awana<sup>16</sup> which was on the other side of the Tigris River. Both Ukbara and Awana are non-existent today, and would now have been to the west of the present course of the Tigris. This forms an important agricultural area that supplied fruits and vegetables. The most notable ruler of Ukbara was Kamal al-dawla Sayf al-Din Abu Sinan Gharib bin Muhammad bin Mughan (or Ma'an) (AH 401-425/1010-1034 AD) who succeeded his father, Mohammad b. Mughan (d. 401), the latter reportedly dying at the age of 120. Gharib is first mentioned in the chronicles in 387 when he supported al-Hasan bin al-

Musayyib who was challenging his brother, al-Muqallad (AH 385-391/996-1001 AD). In 411, a combined force of Gharib and the Mizyadis defeated Qirwash b. al-Muqallad (AH 391-442/1000-1050 AD) and Rafi' b. al-Hussain with the help of a Buwayhid force from Baghdad and took control of Tikrit.

With the diminishing control of the Buwayhids over territories in Iraq, feuding amongst the various factions of the Uqaylids, as well as with other tribes in the area, increased. The death of the Buwayhid ruler in Iraq, Sultan al-Dawla (AH 403-415), followed closely by the death of his successor, Moshrif al-Dawla, in 416, and the initial refusal of their appointed successor, Jalal al-Dawla (AH 416-435/1026-1044 AD), to arrive in Baghdad and take charge, left a precarious situation there when the Turks took virtual control. It was not until 418 that Jalal al-Dawla finally accepted the appointment and arrived in Baghdad as the head of the Buwayhids there.

Jalal al-Dawla would very likely have needed to ally himself with strong tribal leaders to boost his position. The ambitious Uqaylid ruler of Mosul, Mu'tamid al-Dawla Qirwash, was probably considered unreliable; he had previously read the *Khutba* (Friday Sermon) earlier in the name of the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (AH 386-411h/996-1021 AD), in 401 and had attempted to occupy Baghdad on more than one occasion. The Uqaylid ruler of Ukbara, was thus a good choice to liaise with as he could form a buffer force between Baghdad and Mosul. In addition, Gharib was reported to be a very wealthy man, which may have further added to his suitability as a liaison. It was probably then, and with the support of Jalal al-Dawla, that Gharib was given titles and the rights to the *sikka*, in other words, the right to mint dirhems which started in 419, (coin 1).

Gharib was also mentioned as the leader of a force which challenged Qirwash bin al-Muqallad in 421. He besieged Tikrit, whose ruler, Rafi' bin al-Husayn, went to Mosul and appealed to Qirwash for help. Qirwash obliged and this resulted in a battle fought near Tikrit from which Gharib was forced to retreat because of the treachery of some of his own men; however, Qirwash, realising Gharib's potential strength, refrained from any further pursuit.

After the sack of his palace in Baghdad in 423, following his failure to pay his army, the Buwayhid ruler, Jalal al-Dawla, fled and sought refuge with Gharib in 'Ukbara until he could return to his capital. Gharib offered him his full support, probably including finance, and gave him his daughter in marriage. There were several other occasions in those troubled times when wazirs and other prominent men paid for and received refuge in 'Ukbara. As a result, Gharib's importance increased and when he died in 425 he was a very rich man who left 500,000 dinars. His tomb still exists today near Balad, a town midway between Baghdad and Sammara'.

The coins described in this article are part of two small hoards, which were mostly in poor condition. The majority of them were struck and issued by Gharib, and the earliest date is 419 as on dirhem 1. This probably represents his first issue because the mint name is given as "Madinat Ukbara", while on later issues it is simply given as "Ukbara". It is possible that the Abbasid Caliph at that time objected to another town so close to the capital being referred to as "Madinat" (City), because this term was reserved for "Madinat al-Salam", and a few other major cities in the east. This coin also bore the full *basma* "bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim ..." in the obverse margin, whereas later issues removed the words "al-rahman al-rahim" in order to conform to the more usual design for dirhems issued during this period.

The main characteristics of the coins are as follows:

1. Although most of them are clipped, it is evident that the original weight of the dirhems was greater, sometimes estimated at double or even more, than the usual weight of the standard dirhem, which was 2.95g. Furthermore, a simple acid test revealed that the silver quality was high and estimated to be more than 900 parts fine.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Ma'did, Kashi'-Dawlat Bani Akil fil Mosul, Shafiq Press 1968 (Arabic)

<sup>15</sup> Hamawi, Yaqt-Mu'jam Al Buldan - see Ukbara (Arabic)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, see Awana

2. A sword is seen to the left of the field inscription where the title “*Kamal al-Dawla*” appears with “*Sayf al-Din*” (Sword of Religion) inscribed to the right of the coin.
3. The change in the format of the coins is usually associated with the reporting of a major event in order to draw attention to it. Therefore, for instance, apart from the first issue in 419, and when al-Qaim was appointed heir in the month of *Jamada Awwal* of 421, the format of dirhem 4 was in the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Qadir bi-Allah (AH 381-422/991-1031 AD) and was only changed with the addition of the heir as on coins 3 and 4 which were obviously minted after that month in the same year. It may also be noted that when the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qaim bi-Amr Allah (AH 422-467/1031-1075 AD) assumed the Caliphate in the month of *Thul Hijja* 422, the format was again changed as on dirhem 7, where the name of the Caliph was placed on the reverse of the coin instead of the usual obverse.

When Gharib received the title “*Imad al-Muslimeen*”, a change of format is again noted as seen on coin 7, after which the sword together with Gharib’s other titles appeared on the obverse of the dirhems up to his death in 425. Lastly, we note the elaborate format when Gharib was promoted to the extended title of “*amir al-Umara*” as seen on coin 15.

4. On the reverse of all these dirhems, the words “*wa ’alihi = و الله*” are always included after “*salla Allahi*” which indicates that they were struck by a member of the *Shi’a* sect, which the Uqaylids were reported to be.
5. As was suggested, the Buwayhid ruler allied himself and supported Gharib for the reasons given. Therefore, it is likely that it was with his support that Gharib received the right to mint dirhems together with his various titles. It is suggested that Gharib received the title “*Imad al-Muslimeen*”, which is essentially a religious title, from the newly appointed Caliph, al-Qaim bi-Amr Allah, probably through the recommendations of Jalal al-Dawla. This title began to appear with coin 7. No doubt that when the army of Jalal al-Dawla rebelled against him again in 424, Gharib supported his son-in-law again and hence was rewarded with the very worthy title of “*Amir al-Umara*”, which began to appear on coin 15 onwards.
6. The Buwayhid ruler, Jalal al-Dawla, was always referred to by his usual titles “*Abu Talib*” and “*al-Malik Shahanshah*”. The latter title, “*Shahanshah*” meaning ‘King of Kings’ in the Persian language, attracted much controversy at the time, and its Arabic form’s use was reportedly forbidden by both Caliphs, al-Qadir and al-Qa’im, and only allowed in 428, yet we note it was used on the dirhem of Awana 426, no. 22.
7. On dirhem 8 of Ukbara 423, Jalal al-Dawla is mentioned in both the obverse and the reverse inscriptions, with his *laqab* “*Rukn al-Din*” on the obverse. This issue is characterised by having two marginal legends on the obverse, the inner bearing the mint name and date of issue, and the outer Quran *Sura* 30 verses 3 and 4. Could that dirhem been issued to mark Jalal al-Dawla’s presence at Ukbara during the troubled times of that year?
8. On dirhems 14, 16 and 17 word “*Kharq = خرق*” appears at the top of the obverse in *Nakshi* calligraphic style, undotted in the first but dotted in the last two, which enables its correct reading. It is to be noted that a similar undotted word appears on dirhems of other dynasties and was believed to read “*Harq*”, which was interpreted to mean “pure silver”! Since a dotted version has now appeared, perhaps a new interpretation is required. Also single characters and symbols appear on some of the coins, for which no explanation is offered.

The complex nature of the power struggles during this period is well documented in the sources.<sup>17</sup> Briefly, the Abbasids and the Fatimids were in constant competition for the spiritual leadership of the Islamic world. Although the Buwayhids, as Shi’as, were closer spiritually to the Fatimids, they were unwilling to surrender political power by turning Baghdad over to them. Instead, they maintained a contented balance in being the custodians of the Abbasid Caliphate.

The Uqaylids were potentially a major force in the fifth century, especially during the weakening period of the Buwayhids. However, the continual feuding amongst their various family factions prevented them from uniting to overthrow the Buwayhids and seize control of Baghdad. The Uqaylids of Mosul exhibited their divided loyalties by switching their allegiance from the Fatimids of Egypt on the one hand to the Abbasids/Buwayhids on the other. It appears that during the relatively short period of power of the Uqaylids of Ukbara, the Buwayhids, who were on good terms with them, seized the opportunity of the feuding with their cousins in Mosul and used them as a very useful buffer state between Mosul and Baghdad in order to thwart any attempt by the Uqaylids of Mosul to move southwards and occupy the capital, all in return for recognition and titles.

The coins described here aim to emphasize the importance of the Uqaylids of Ukbara during the early years of the reign of the Buwayhid, Jalal al-Dawla. They further illustrate the respect and allegiance the Buwayhids enjoyed from Gharib, who was given the right to the *sikka* and lavished with titles. Whilst the literary historical sources differ over Gharib’s titles, for he was referred to as “*Kamal al-Dawla*” by some and as “*Sayf al-Dawla*” by others, the coins, as primary historical references, do not share this disparity. Gharib’s *laqabs* were consistently “*Kamal al-Dawla Sayf al-Din*”, and shortly before his death he was promoted to the rank of “*Amir al-Umara*”.

An important observation revealed by the study of these coins, is that while Ukbara was not part of Mosul during Gharib’s lifetime, it became so shortly after his death. Gharib’s defeat in Tikrit in 421 was reported by Ibn al-Atheer and confirmed through a dirham (no. 20), which was struck in the name of “*Mu’tamid al-Dawla Nasir al-Din*”, Qirwash bin al-Muqallad. The latter at the time was the Uqaylid ruler of Mosul. However, the appearance of a spear, which was unusual for dirhems of the Uqaylids of Mosul, may suggest that Tikrit may previously have been under the influence of Gharib.

The “*Sayfiyya*” dirham, no. 21, of Tikrit 424, was probably struck by Rafi’ b. al-Hussain. It shows his titles “*Mudhahir al-Dawla, Izz al-Umma*”. I believe this suggests that Rafi’ acknowledged Gharib by showing a sword on the left of the obverse, which stands as a pictorial symbol of the word “*Saif*”, and, when combined and read together with the word “*al-Din*” to the right, produces Gharib’s title “*Saif al-Din*”, as otherwise the existence of the word “*al-Din*” would not have any meaning on its own.

Dirham 22 bearing the mint name Awana, 426, substitutes an upright spear, an *’anaza*, for the sword, which had become the symbol of the Uqaylids of Ukbara. Also, the *laqab* on this coin “*Izz al-Dawla, Sinan al-Umara*”, is likely to refer to one of Gharib’s sons, who became his successor for a short time<sup>18</sup>. Since dirhems 18 and 23, which were struck in Ukbara and Awana respectively one year later in 427, carry Qirwash’s titles “*Sultan al-Umara, Mu’tamad al-Dawla, Nasir al-Din*”, this suggests that these towns became part of the territories of Mosul. Lastly, dirhem 19 of Ukbara, 431, which carries Qirwash’s titles, but which has neither a sword nor a spear, confirms that, by then, Ukbara had come under his control. In conclusion, according to this interpretation of both the literary and primary historical sources, the rule of the Uqaylids of Ukbara must have ended in 426.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Ma’ did, op.cit

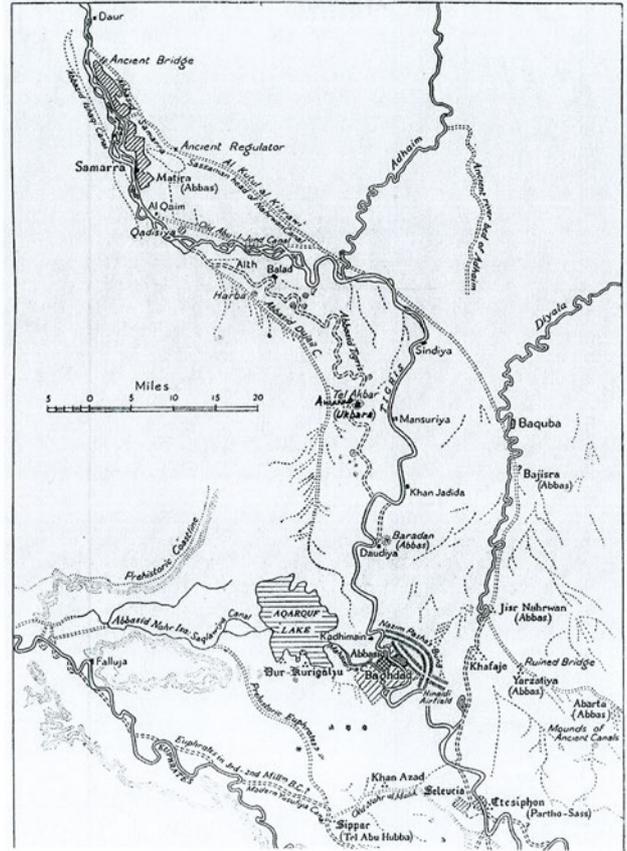
<sup>18</sup> Lane –Poole, Stanley: *Dynasty of Islam* (see Ukaylids)

**Acknowledgements**

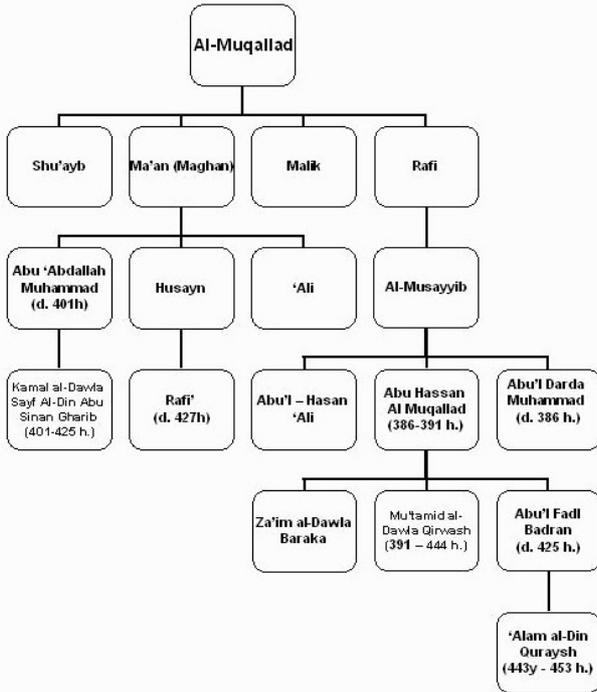
I wish to thank my friends Mohammad Limbada and Robert Darley-Doran for giving me good advice and help when I was contemplating this article many years back. I also thank Stan Goron for his efforts in converting what was a messy write-up and images into a presentable and publishable article. Additionally I would like thank Zaid Abdul Rahman for preparing the descriptions in the final format. Lastly, but not least, I must thank my daughter Tara for reading the draft, editing it and providing very useful changes and advice.

All coins mentioned are in the collection of the writer except coin no.(23) which is in the collection of Mohammad Limbada.

Ancient and modern course of the Tigris in the vicinity of Baghdad. The ancient course is shown by dotted lines.



**FAMILY TREE OF THE UQAYLIDS**



**Coin descriptions and illustrations**

1) Ukbara 419  
4.63gm, 31mm

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله الامير العادل كمال الدولة	بسم الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه واله الملك شاهانشاه ركن الدين ابو طاهر
--	---

Obv. margin: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة بغداد سنة ثمان وعشرين واربعمائة  
 Rev. margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين 9/33 الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

2) Ukbara 421  
2.87gm, 28mm

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له شاهانشاه ابو طاهر	بسم الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه واله القادر بالله الامير العادل كمال الدولة
--	--

Obv. Inner Margin:....بعكبرا سنة احدى وعشرين واربعمائة....  
 Obv. Outer Margin: .....الله الامر Sura 30/3+4  
 Rev. Margin: Sura 9/33



Map of modern Iraq

3) Ukbara 421  
2.30gm, 29mm

د  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القادر بالله وولي  
عهده القائم بامر الله  
الامير كمال الدولة

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. inner margin: ...بعكبرا سنة احدى و عشرين و اربع مائة...  
Obv. outer margin: .....Sura 30/3+4 الله الامر.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

4) Ukbara 421  
3.26gm, 31mm

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القادر بالله  
وولي عهده  
القائم بامر الله

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر الامير  
كمال الدولة

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة احدى و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

5) Ukbara 422  
3.77gm, 30mm

ن  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القادر بالله  
وولي عهده  
القائم بامر الله

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر الامير  
كمال الدولة

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اثنتي و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

6) Ukbara 422  
4.28 gm, 30 mm

ن  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القادر بالله  
وولي عهده  
القائم بامر الله

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر الامير  
كمال الدولة

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اثنتي و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

7) Ukbara 422  
3.10gm, 29mm

\*ن\*  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامير العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. margin: بعكبرا سنة اثنتي و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

8) Ukbara 423  
3.77gm, 30mm

الله  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ركن الدين ابو طاهر

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر الامير  
كمال الدولة

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. inner margin: ....بعكبرا سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Obv. outer margin: .....Sura 30/3+4 الله الامر.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

9) Ukbara 423  
4.77gm, 30mm

عماد  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
كمال الدولة  
المسلمين

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
ركن الدين ابو طاهر

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

10) Ukbara 423  
3.02gm, 31mm

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ركن الدين ابو طاهر

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

بِسْمِ  
اللَّهِ  
الرَّحْمٰنِ  
الرَّحِیْمِ

Obv. inner margin: .....بعكبرا سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربع مائة.....  
Obv. outer margin: Sura 30/3+4  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

11) Ukbara 423  
4.05gm, 29mm

ن \*  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامير العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. inner margin: .....بعكبرا سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Obv. outer margin: Sura 30/3+4  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

12) Ukbara 423  
3.15gm, 28mm

ن  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامير العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

13) Ukbara 424  
5.22gm, 30mm

ق  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامير العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اربع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

14) Ukbara 424  
2.98gm, 29mm

خرق  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامير العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اربع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

15) Ukbara 424  
30mm, 4.44gm

عماد  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده  
لا شريك له  
امير الامرا  
كمال الدولة  
المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اربع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

16) Ukbara 424  
3.35gm, 29mm

خرق  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
امير الامرا العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة اربع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

17) Ukbara 425  
4.08gm, 28mm

خرق  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
امير الامرا العادل  
كمال الدولة  
عماد المسلمين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة خمس و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

18) Ukbara 427  
3.18gm, 29mm

ناصر  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
سلطان الامرا  
معتمد الدولة  
الدين

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
ملك الملوك العدل  
المنصور ابو ظاهر

Obv. margin: .....بعكبرا سنة سبع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

19) Ukbara 931  
2.91gm, 30mm

ناصر  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
معتمد الدولة  
سلطان الامرا  
الدين

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر

Obv. margin: ...بعكبرا سنة احدى و ثلثين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

22) Awana 426  
3.80gm, 30mm

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ملك الملوك  
ابو طاهر

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
عز الدولة  
سنان الامرا  
ح  
صلاة الدين

Obv. margin: ...باوانا سنة ست و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

20) Tikrit 422  
5.17gm, 31mm

ع  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
سلطان الامرا  
معتمد الدولة  
وزعيم الملة

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
ركن الدين  
ابو طاهر

Obv. margin: ....(بتكر)بت سنة اثنتين و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

23) Awana  
427, 5.0gm

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طاهر

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
سلطان الامرا  
معتمد الدولة  
ناصر الدين

Obv. margin: ...باوانا سنة سبع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

21) Tikrit 424  
3.80gm, 30mm

ن  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
مظاهر الدولة  
وعز الامة

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه واله  
القائم بامر الله  
الملك شاهانشاه  
ابو طاهر

Obv. margin: ....بتكربت سنة اربع و عشرين و اربع مائة  
Rev. margin: Sura 9/33



Coin 1 Ukbara 419



Coin 2 Ukbara 421



Coin 3 Ukbara 421



*Coin 4 Ukbara 421*



*Coin 11 Ukbara 423*



*Coin 5 Ukbara 422*



*Coin 12 Ukbara 423*



*Coin 6 Ukbara 422*



*Coin 13 Ukbara 424*



*Coin 7 Ukbara 422*



*Coin 14 Ukbara 424*



*Coin 8 Ukbara 423*



*Coin 15 Ukbara 424*



*Coin 9 Ukbara 423*



*Coin 16 Ukbara 424*



*Coin 10 Ukbara 423*



*Coin 17 Ukbara 425*



Coin 18 Ukbara 427



Coin 19 Ukbara 431



Coin 20 Tikrit 422



Coin 21 Tikrit 424



Coin 22 Awana 426

## A FEW MORE NEW INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN DISCOVERIES

By R.C. Senior

### 1) Peucolaos



Tetradrachm 8.93 gm, 24.5 mm dia, parallel die axes.

Obv: Diademed beardless bust right with straight diadem ties, legend around

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ

Rev: Zeus standing left with sceptre and outstretched right arm, making gesture with hand, legend around: *Maharajasa*

*dhramikasa tratarasa Piukulaasa*. Monogram 17 (ISCH, IV, xxviii) in left field

Peucolaos is one of the rarest Indo-Greek kings and, to date, only three of his silver coins were known to have survived. One example is in the British Museum (Mitch. 369), one in the Cabinet de Méd. (Bop. Ser. 1 Pl. 48) and one which was sold at Glendinings in 1970 (18/Pl. II, 47). The last two coins were from the same dies but the BM specimen differs in both dies. The reverse BM die also has the legend cut by Zeus' spear *after* the *dhra* of *dhramikasa* and not before as on the other two specimens. Two tetradrachms of Archebios acquired by the BM in 1972 (Monnaies Indo-Grecques Surfrappées, *Revue Numismatique*, XXXI 1989, Nos 16 & 17) can also be shown to be overstruck on tetradrachms of Peucolaos.

This new specimen shares the same obverse die as the CM and Glendining coins but differs from all three of the known full specimens in having just a single monogram 17 in the left field and **no** monogram 33 in the right field. As on the BM coin the legend is split after *dhra*.

Peucolaos is far more interesting than would appear from his coins at first glance. The double monogram appearing on the previously known three coins only occurs together elsewhere on the coins of Archebios and in fact one of the overstruck coins has a helmeted overtype of Archebios that has this same dual monogram reverse. The other Archebios overstrike is of a helmeted spear-thruster type that has monogram 17 alone, in the left field – as on this new Peucolaos coin. Few of the Indo-Greek monarchs have double epithets alongside 'King' and of these only a few coins of Strato, Archebios and Apollodotos join them with the addition of KAI. Only Strato and Peucolaos used both 'Just' and 'Saviour', though Strato put 'Saviour' first and Peucolaos preferred 'Just'. Archebios replaced 'Saviour' with 'Victorious' (ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ). Apollodotos II, though contemporary (c. 85 – 65 BC) ruled in a different area and his titles reflect other considerations – additionally using 'Great' and/or 'Father-loving'.

In ISCH Vol. IV, I dated Strato to circa 105 – 80 BC, Peucolaos to c. 75 BC and Archebios to 75 – 65 BC. Some of the Strato coins may be a little later than suggested and it is even possible they could be split between two kings of the same name (and certainly several kings called Strato follow in line at the very end of the Indo-Greek series). In the period 85 – 75 BC we see several other kings striking coins, some ephemeral such as Polyxenos and Epander, Artemidoros, Menander II and Telephos while others not so rare, such as Heliocles II and Amyntas also struck coins. One feature of this period is the number of coins that are now being identified where one king overstrikes those of another – with Heliocles II being the main 'culprit'. These overstrikes are assisting in confirming the sequence of the kings in a period where much confusion seems to have existed.

The Indo-Greek rulers seem to have belonged to distinct families or clans and the reverse types or deities found on their coins appear to be significant in identifying themselves with a particular group. During this period the situation seems to have become complicated due to two main causes. On the one hand (the East geographically) a new leader, Maues (c. 125 – 85 BC), king of kings of the Scythians, had appeared on the scene and possibly formed an alliance with one of the Indo-Greek groups. On the other hand (in the West) a king Heliocles II, who seems to have succeed his namesake Heliocles I, was pushed across the Hindu Kush by the advancing Kushan and needed to carve out territory for himself amongst his fellow Greeks. The situation was further complicated by a second group of Scythians spreading into Gandhara from the Kabul Valley and issuing coins in the name of the posthumous ruler Hermaios as well as some in their own names under Vonones (c. 85 – 65 BC).

Identifying just who was Indo-Greek and who was Indo-Scythian is no easy matter. Taking their names is not conclusive, especially since my discovery of the coins of Artemidoros stating that he was the son of Maues! Greek silver coins generally have portraits though the coins of Telephos do not. One can argue that several of the rulers previously considered to be Indo-Greek

should now be listed as possibly wholly or partly Indo-Scythian. I feel that Peucolaos could fall into this latter category. The main reasons for thinking this are twofold. Firstly the form of Zeus appearing on this coin is not one that appears on other Indo-Greek coins but *does* become the principal obverse type for Maues – noting not only the stance but especially the diadem ties of Zeus. This same Zeus appears on coins of Azilises (issue ISCH 31.1T) and the earliest issue of Azes (76.1T) – both Scythian kings. As explained in ISCH, I consider Azilises to be the main successor of Maues and probably, like Artemidoros, his son. Telephos and Apollodotos II are likewise his successors (mainly based on monogram sequence) and I feel that Peucolaos similarly may not only be a successor but, due to his use of the Zeus type, a member of his family. The second reason for thinking this is his use of the deity Artemis on his coppers – a strong link to the coins of his ‘brother’ Artemidoros, the only other ruler to depict this goddess, and in the same form.

The coins are so rare that a reign of months rather than years would seem to be indicated and the coins being overstruck by Archebios with issues bearing the same monograms suggest that they were struck, and overstruck at the inception of Archebios’ reign – in 75 BC in one locality only. This may have been in part of a major city since the monograms used are associated with rulers as far back as Philoxenos and fall into a major group of monograms (see ISCH IV, Plate a6, p. xxviii).

The above tetradrachm (1) was found with four other coins; A copper of Lysias (1b - BN Série 8, 8.4 gm 12x13 mm), a copper of Antialcidas (1c - BN série 17, 8.6 gm 15x13 mm), a copper of Hippostratos (1d - BN série 12, 19.5 gm 20x18 mm) and a copper of Peucolaos (1a - BN série 2). As would be expected, the first two coins were the most worn and the Hippostratos the best preserved but it is the Peucolaos copper that is the most interesting and extremely rare.

1a) Copper of Peucolaos



10.2 gm, 14x17 mm



Only four or five coins were previously known in copper and, according to BN, the monogram on the two BM specimens is a variant of monogram 33 while on this new specimen it is clearly monogram 17 as found on the new tetradrachm (coin 1). The legends are as on the tetradrachm, but on three sides of the rectangular coin. On the obverse, Artemis is shown facing, withdrawing an arrow from a quiver on her back with her right hand, while holding a bow in her right – exactly as on the coins of Artemidoros. On the reverse is a ‘city deity’ with palm over her left shoulder and holding a lotus (?) in her outstretched right hand. Monogram 17 is in the left lower field. This is probably the same deity appearing on the reverse of the Hippostratos (c. 65? – 55 BC) coin 1c (though on that coin she holds no lotus) and helps cement the chronology of Peucolaos in this short period at or shortly after 75 BC. The reverse deity is also very similar to that appearing on silver and some copper of Azilises (c. 85 – 40 BC), though the object in that deity’s hand is considered to be a brazier.

2) Copper of Lysias (c. 130+ - 125 BC) overstruck by Philoxenos (c. 125 – 110 BC)

In ISCH IV I placed Philoxenos as successor of the two contemporary kings, Lysias and Antialcidas, mainly from hoard evidence and stated that there was no overstruck coin known to guide us in backing this theory. This coin has now surfaced which successfully meets this criterion of showing that the coins of Lysias probably pre-date those of Philoxenos (though they could also theoretically be contemporary).



On the line-drawing I have shown the visible undertype in bold. The coin weighs 8.28 gm and is 18x18 mm. One can clearly see the deity and bull of the Philoxenos coin (MIG 344 – no monograms visible) with the king’s epithet ANIKHTOY/[A]padihatasa and, on the reverse, Phila[sinasa] of the king’s name. Turning the coin through 180 degrees vertically one can see the outline of the bust of Hercules (under the bull) and the back of the elephant (behind the deity) of the coin of Lysias (MIG 266e). Clearly visible on the undertype obverse are parts of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANIKHTOY and ΛΥΣΙ[ΟΥ] of the king’s name and, on the reverse, [A]padihatasa Lisika[sa]. An important addition to the list of known overstrikes.

3) Copper of Apollodotos II overstruck by Dionysios



In the later Indo-Greek series Dionysios has long been recognised as a successor of Apollodotos II but the following is perhaps the first identified overstrike indicating the sequence. The overtype is a rare issue not in MIG or Bop but illustrated in ISCH Vol. IV, pl. 62, coin 27 – from the Chakwal Hoard. This particular coin is a little too dark to illustrate clearly but the drawing shows the necessary details. Other traces of the undertype are visible but the reverse shows most clearly parts of Tra[*tarasa*] at the top and Apa[*lada*]*tasa*] of the king’s name at the bottom. The overtype has:

Obv. Apollo right with bow, monogram in left field, with legend on three sides;  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ  
 Rev. Tripod with letters Ra left and Ti right. Legend on three sides  
 ma[*haraja*]sa tratarasa Dianisiata  
 15.65 gm, 28 mm diameter.

4) Apollodotos II *Æ* square



This *Æ*, 16.30 gm, 23x24 mm, fits into the group of bronzes listed by Bopearachchi as BN série 15 but the obverse monogram and reverse letters are as on série 6c – a round coin, and one of the commonest Apollodotos II coins. Until now this square variety was unreported and may have been an initial issue before the obverse monogram was changed from No. 2 (Table 1. p. 130 ISCH, IV – the Chakwal hoard) to No. 3, the commonest monogram on the Chakwal coins?

5) Azes with Spalirises *Æ* overstruck on Spalirises as sole king.



That the coins of Azes issued jointly with Spalirises (ISCH 75.1) follow those of Spalirises as ‘King of Kings’ (73.1) had been deduced from the silver sequence and this overstrike, 8.38 gm, 24 mm diameter, confirms the sequence. The undertype is surprisingly clear on the reverse where it seems a possible part of the flan has lifted off, as if laminated, to show the previous design. The undertype is a square issue and this round coin may have been produced by beating the original coin into the round shape or possibly by creating a flan from more than one coin and cutting it to shape/weight and then re-striking it. Perhaps in the latter process a piece of the flan came away exposing the design from the prior coin. See PMC 393 for a round coin that should have been square in a related issue.

6) Azes ¼ unit *Æ* issue ISCH 107



This unique and surprisingly well executed coin, 2.87 gm, 16 mm diameter, should be given the number 107.31b and is a lower denomination of ISCH 107.31 to go with the silver issue 105.193 with which it shares both obverse and reverse field letters/monogram. Few such fractional denominations have so far surfaced but more should be expected.

7) Azes square fraction ISCH 109.10



In ISCH I referred to the possible monogram below the Elephant on the obverse of this scarce issue and this specimen, struck off-centre, 1.66 gm, 13x12 mm, shows the full monogram very clearly.

8) Kharahostes *Æ* issue 143.1



This coin, 6.76 gm, 19x18 mm, in neat style is similar to the BM specimen and shows that the obverse letter is *Pa* not *Pra* as on issues 143.2. The reverse legend has missing letters [*Chatra*]pasa-Pra Kha- [*raostas*]sa] Artasa [*putrasa*] but the obverse legend seems particularly accurate (often blundered Greek on most specimens).

9) Kharahostes *Æ* ½ unit



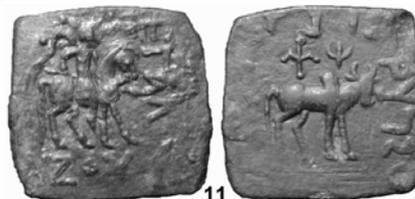
Issue S27.2 (143.2b) in ISCH Vol. IV, p. 9 was the first reported fraction of this series of Kharahostes and is a unique ¼ unit. This coin, 3.19 gm 17x17 mm, is the first reported ½ unit and has the obverse letter *Sam*. The reverse is struck off centre and so it uncertain whether it is a fraction of issue 143.3 or 143.4.

10) Mithradates I hemi-drachm



Diobols and obols are reported for issue Sellwood 10 but this coin, 1.92 gm 14mm, which has had moderate circulation must have been a triobol or hemidrachm of c. 2.15 gm when struck.

11) Azes *Æ* unit



This new discovery, 13.09 gm 25x25 mm, was identified by Barbara Mears. The type was so far known from a single ¼ unit specimen, ISCH 84.6b, and the absence of a full unit was surprising – a gap now filled. These *Æ* units of ‘King Mounted right with Spear [KMS]’/ Bull, accompany a silver series with similar obverse, and reverse of ‘city deity with palm and brazier’ which had been introduced by Azilises. The reigns of Azilises and Azes overlap and in the same location Azes has issued a KMS/‘Facing Zeus’ silver series with *Æ* issue of ‘King on Camel’/Bull right types. This latter issue is often found overstruck by Azilises with his KMS/Bull series (see ISCH note to 58.3/58.3a) and my first thought was that this coin might be a similar overstrike but of issue 58.2 over 81.1 - but with just Azes’ name visible. However, there is no sign of overstriking. Azilises’ issues bearing the reverse monogram/letter combination found on this coin (56.30 – 56.34) are of unusual style and quite scarce while the *Æ* issue 58.2 is less rare. Azes must have succeeded to this ‘mint’ fairly early since his silver issues of the type (82.200 – 82.213) are much commoner and with larger number of ‘control letters’ – but as seen, the *Æ* seems to be known from just two specimens! On silver issue 82.210 a dot appears in the obverse field and on this *Æ* unit a similar dot occurs by the King’s whip. Such dots appear on coins both of Azilises and Azes in this series, as some kind of mint control-mark. The style of the coins of this type issued by both Azilises and Azes, in both silver and *Æ*,

appear to have been the product of one celator. Perhaps there was no great demand for Æ during the period of Azes' rule in the locality where these coins were circulating, or the need was already met by the coins still in circulation. These issues were replaced by the general recoinage of Azes bearing 'King Mounted right with Whip' issues and their standardised accompanying Æ issues.

## MORE EARLY MEDIEVAL SILVER PORTRAIT COINS OF THE YASHAADITYA SERIES

By Pankaj Tandon<sup>19</sup>

In ONS 181, Wilfried Pieper<sup>20</sup> published a number of small, silver portrait coins reportedly from northern Pakistan, suggesting that they might be Hunnic issues from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, while acknowledging that the evidence in favour of this proposal was not definitive. Pieper divided his coins into two broad classes, those with a fire altar reverse, which were anepigraphic, and those with a trident reverse, which carried a legend in Brahmi around the trident. Among the latter types, Pieper was able to read the legend on some of the coins as *Sri Yashaaditya*,<sup>21</sup> while remaining unable to read the legend on the others. He also attempted to begin a classification of the coins on the basis of the crown worn by the king on the obverse. In this brief note, I publish some more coins of this series. In so doing, I am able to tentatively identify one more king, publish the first known coins of the fire altar type that appear to carry a legend (of a possibly third king), strengthen Pieper's argument that the issuers of these coins were Huns or their immediate successors, re-examine the attribution of these coins to northern Pakistan, and begin an examination of a curious feature of the orientation of the reverse legend.

There are thirty three coins presented here (see the following Table 1).

**Table 1: The 33 new coins<sup>22</sup>**



**1 (#131.69)**  
0.63 gm, 9-10 mm, 6 o'clock  
Single small dot in "open rectangle" crown, trident  
tines straight and V-shaped



**2 (#616.06)**  
0.66 gm, 11-12 mm, 9 o'clock



**3 (#616.09)**  
0.93 gm, 11 mm, 8 o'clock  
Almost full legend



**4 (#616.10)**  
0.96 gm, 10-11 mm, 7 o'clock  
Legend entirely **above** trident!



**4 (#616.10)**  
0.96 gm, 10-11 mm, 7 o'clock  
Legend entirely **above** trident!



**5 (#616.11)**  
0.68 gm, 11 mm, 5 o'clock  
No dots in crown



**6 (#616.07)**  
0.62 gm, 11 mm, 3 o'clock  
**Sri** before face!



**7 (#616.20)**  
0.61 gm, 12 mm, 1 o'clock



**8 (#I2019)**  
Details unavailable

<sup>19</sup> I wish to thank Harry Falk for his insights into the readings and Wilfried Pieper for helpful comments and for permission to publish his coins.

<sup>20</sup> Wilfried Pieper: "New Types of Early Medieval Silver Portrait Coins from Northern Pakistan", *ONS Newsletter* 181, Autumn 2004, pp. 17-20.

<sup>21</sup> Pieper credited this reading to Harry Falk.

<sup>22</sup> The number in parentheses after the # sign is my inventory number for the coin. Coins with the same three digits preceding the decimal point were acquired together as part of a group.



**9 (#I2021)**  
Details unavailable  
Bare head, no crown?



**10 (#I645)**  
Details unavailable  
Bare head, no crown?



**11 (#629.39)**  
0.61 gm, 11-12 mm, 3 o'clock



**12 (#629.40)**  
0.74 gm, 11 mm, 3 o'clock  
Legend before face



**12 (detail)**  
Detail of Legend: Sri Suma ?



**13 (#630.07)**  
0.58 gm, 10-12 mm, 5 o'clock



**14 (#630.01)**  
0.57 gm, 9-11 mm, 8 o'clock



**15 (#630.02)**  
0.64 gm, 12-13 mm, 8 o'clock



**16 (#630.03)**  
0.71 gm, 12-13 mm, 5 o'clock



**17 (#630.04)**  
0.73 gm, 11 mm, 4 o'clock



**18 (#630.05)**  
0.67 gm, 11 mm, 5 o'clock



**19 (#630.06)**  
0.90 gm, 10-12 mm, 12 o'clock



**20 (#630.15)**  
0.80 gm, 11 mm, 6 o'clock



**21 (#630.08)**  
0.59 gm, 10-12 mm, 5 o'clock



22 (#630.09)  
0.57 gm, 10-11 mm, 8 o'clock



23 (#630.10)  
0.56 gm, 11-13 mm, 5 o'clock



24 (#630.11)  
0.58 gm, 11 mm, 8 o'clock



25 (#630.12)  
0.88 gm, 11-12 mm, 2 o'clock



26 (#630.13)  
0.70 gm, 10-12 mm, 2 o'clock



27 (#630.14)  
0.59 gm, 11 mm, 1 o'clock



28 (#630.16)  
0.61 gm, 11-12 mm, 7 o'clock



29 (#630.17)  
0.65 gm, 12-14 mm, 2 o'clock



30 (#631.1)  
0.69 gm, 11 mm, 8 o'clock



31 (#631.2)  
0.69 gm, 12 mm, 3 o'clock



32 (W. Pieper)



The first of these I acquired from Bob Senior in 1999, with no provenance available. Senior had merely classified the coin as "post-Gupta," and I had placed it in my collection following the coins of Vallabhi, on the basis of the trident on the reverse. This is coin 1 in the Table. The next six coins (numbers 2-7) I acquired last year in the trade market, and these almost certainly come from the same hoard as did Dr Pieper's coins. Coins 8-10 are coins that I had seen on offer; again, they come from the same source as the others and are likely also from the same hoard. Coins 11 and 12 were acquired from a different source at the recent New York international coin show (January 2008). Coins 13-29 were acquired after the first draft of this paper had been completed (February 2008) from the same source as coins 2-10. Coins 30 and 31 were acquired in March 2008 from a source on the internet. Finally, coins 32 and 33 are new coins from the collection of Dr Wilfried Pieper, who has kindly allowed me to publish them here.

Coins 1-5, 8 and 19-29 all appear to carry the reverse legend *Sri Yashaaditya*, and are therefore likely issues of that same king, or the same dynasty if "Yashaaditya" is not a personal name, but rather a ruler's title. I think this is not impossible, considering the very large number of different dies and reverse types we have already seen. The name Yashaaditya means "the sun or glory of

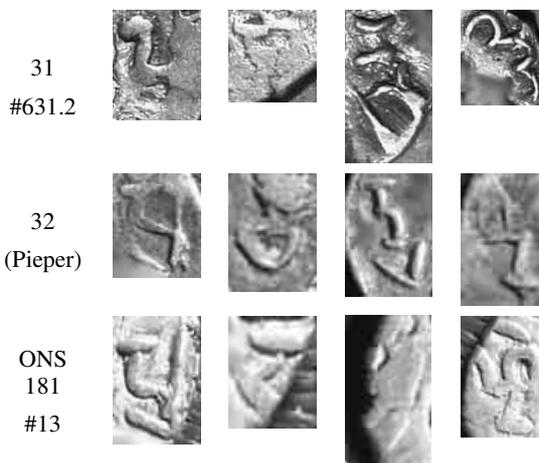
fame or honour,” so this could well be an epithet and also a name. The legends on coins 6 and 7 are not absolutely clear, but they may also be coins of Sri Yashaaditya.

### New King Identified

Coins 9, 10, 14-18, and 30-32 carry a different legend. I believe it is the same one as on Pieper’s Type 13. The reading of this legend has proven to be extremely difficult. Above the trident is clearly the word *Sri*, written on its side as on the Yashaaditya coins. There are then four additional letters arranged around the trident, in much the same way that the four letters *ya*, *shaa*, *di* and *tya* were arranged in the Yashaaditya coins. Sometimes the letters are clockwise, sometimes anti-clockwise, sometimes they remain vertical throughout, while at other times they are turned upside down. In Table 2, I present the letters one by one from all eleven specimens known to me – the ten from Table 1 and coin 13 from Pieper’s ONS 181 article.<sup>23</sup>

**Table 2: Letters of the new legend**

Coin #	Letter 1	Letter 2	Letter 3	Letter 4
9 #I2021				
10 #I645				
14 #630.01				
15 #630.02				
16 #630.03				
17 #630.04				
18 #630.05				
30 #631.1				



The table shows that, while three of the letters (the first, third and fourth) maintain a fairly consistent form and can therefore be read, the form of the second letter seems to fluctuate quite widely, rendering a reading quite difficult. Things are further complicated by the fact that, on quite a few coins, the second letter is very indistinct or off the flan. In any event, the first letter is clearly *pra*, the third letter seems to be *tu*, and the fourth letter can be read as *nde*, where the *n* and *d* are hard, dental retroflex consonants. The stem *tunde* means “beak” or “mouth.” The second letter could be *ca*, *bha*, *bhu*, *ru*, *va* or possibly *sha*. For the sake of having a specific name, I am reading the legend as *Sri Pracatunde*, knowing full well that this reading is highly tentative and subject to change when better specimens emerge. Unfortunately, I could not discover a meaning for the stem *Praca*, which leaves me feeling quite insecure about this reading. *Prabhutunde* seems like an attractive reading with a clear meaning; however, the letter forms for the second letter do not look much like *bhu*. Harry Falk had tentatively suggested<sup>24</sup> *Sri Phrashatunde*, but this is also quite unlikely and I believe Professor Falk would concur. In his opinion, whatever the name is, it sounds like a “foreign,” perhaps Hunnic, name. In any event, we will need to wait for better specimens to render a definitive reading.

Several of the *Pracatunde* coins (coins 9, 10, 14, 15 and 32) feature a king’s bust that is bare-headed and, in particular, without the “open rectangle” crown seen on many of the *Yashaaditya* coins.<sup>26</sup> This is a feature unique to the *Pracatunde* coins, as I am not aware of any *Yashaaditya* coin with a bare head.. However, not all *Pracatunde* coins have this feature, as coins 16-18 and 30-31 have busts topped with rectangular crowns.

It is natural to wonder about the chronological order of the *Yashaaditya* and *Pracatunde* coins. We get a possible hint of an answer to this question in coins 19 and 20. These are both coins carrying the legend *Yashaaditya* with the four-dotted rectangular crown, but with an interesting addition: they both carry the *Brahmi* letter *Pra* in front of the face on the obverse. The form of the letter matches perfectly with its form in the *Pracatunde* coins. It therefore seems reasonable to surmise that this *Pra* stands for the name *Pracatunde*, and that these coins mark a transitional period between the coins of *Yashaaditya* and *Pracatunde*. *Pracatunde* might have been a viceroy or satrap of *Yashaaditya*, or perhaps he was his son, wanting to continue to honour his father by issuing coins in his name while stamping them with his initial to begin to establish his legitimacy.

### Four Coins of the Fire Altar type

Coins 11, 12, 13 and 33 do not carry the trident on the reverse, but rather feature a fire altar, as in Pieper’s types 2 and 3. On coin 11, the fire above the altar is represented by two nested triangles, giving the appearance of the pediment of a Greek temple. The

<sup>23</sup> In presenting these individual letters, I edited the photos slightly to eliminate vestiges of markings that clearly belonged to other letters in order to focus attention on the letter in question. The original coin photos in Table 1 have not been edited in any way and therefore can be used for reference.

<sup>24</sup> Private communication.

<sup>25</sup> Private communication.

<sup>26</sup> This is also true of coin 13 in Pieper’s ONS 181 article.

attendants on either side have become mere diamond shapes topped with round dots to suggest heads. Based on the degradation of the design, I would suspect this coin came after Pieper's coins 2 and 3.

Coin 12 is another fire altar type where the fire is represented by a vertically bisected triangular shape, similar to Pieper's coin 2. The attendants are, as in coin 11, represented by diamond shapes with dots above. But the coin has an important new feature: what appears to be a legend in front of the king's face on the obverse. Unfortunately, the legend is not very clear. My best guess in looking at the coin by itself is *Sri Suma*, although this is highly tentative. There is a very slim possibility that the *Su* is actually *Ya*, but no amount of trying on my part could suggest the next letter to be *sha* in order to make the legend *Sri Yashaa(ditya)*. More coins are needed to clarify this legend.

Coin 13 is an unusual type. The obverse bust is of the usual type with a single-dotted open radiate crown. There is a slight possibility of letters in front of the face, but I have not been able to read anything. The reverse, however, is quite unusual in that the altar shaft has transformed into a triangular shape much like the fire above it, and the attendants on either side have been reduced to mere dots! Because of the degraded design, I would assume this coin comes chronologically after the other known altar types.

Finally, coin 33 is similar to coin 13 in terms of its reverse design, which consists of two vertically bisected triangles stacked one on top of the other, representing the altar and the fire above, and dots on either side representing the attendants. But the obverse is similar to coin 12, with the turreted style of coin and a legend in front of the king's face. Dr. Pieper has read the legend as *Sri Bhanaga*, which is plausible. However, I would like to suggest that there is a possibility that the legend is the same as on coin 12. The letters are very similar, and the reverse designs are quite similar also. If these are the same legend, one possible reading is *Sri Bhima*. Again, more coins are needed for a definitive reading of these legends.

#### Attribution of the coins

Pieper attributed these coins to a Hun principality in northern Pakistan, on the basis of what he had been told about the find spot of the coins from his supplier. However, virtually all the apparently related issues that he pointed out suggest that the coins come from further south. Pieper mentions the following series of low weight silver coins:

1. The post-Gupta "3-dot" coins from the Punjab. Estimates of the date of these coins varies from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century (Mitchiner) to the early 9<sup>th</sup> century (Tye, and possibly Cribb).
2. The elephant coins with the legend *Rana Hastya* dating from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and coming from Gujarat.
3. The portrait coins attributed to the Kalachuris of Mahismati, dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.
4. The 7<sup>th</sup> century portrait coins with the legend *Sri Rana Vighraha*, attributed to the Gurjaras of Broach.
5. The bilingual coins of the Gharlabids of Multan, dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

There are no corresponding low weight silver coins from northern Pakistan, except for the very rare *Sri Rovina* coins published by Mitchiner in ONS 84. Thus the metrology of the coins seems to point to an origin further south than "northern Pakistan."

Further, Pieper pointed to different aspects of the design and iconography of the coins. In particular, the obverse of bust right and reverse of a trident encircled with a Brahmi legend is exactly the design of the Vallabhi coinage dating from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. Once again, this points to a more southerly location.

To all of these factors, I have four more to add. Firstly, in private correspondence, Harry Falk informed me that the IndoSkript analysis of the paleography of the Pracatunde coins pointed to the area around Gujarat in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.

Secondly, coin 6 presented here features a stylised letter *Sri* in front of the king's face on the obverse. This feature calls to mind the late Sasanian and post-Sasanian coinage of Sind, where the same letter was placed in the same location.<sup>27</sup> That coinage dates from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Thirdly, the style of the bust, particularly the cheek and neck, on this coin and on some others, such as coin 2 in the table, is very similar to the treatment of these features in the Ranaditya Satya coinage of Sind,<sup>28</sup> which I suspect follows immediately from the afore-mentioned Sasanian style coinage featuring the letter *Sri*.

On the basis of all of this evidence, I felt very sure that this coinage must have originated further south, most probably in Sind or perhaps even in Gujarat. I was planning to argue this, and planned to add that, even if a hoard of coins is found in one place, we cannot conclude that the coins originated in that place. The hoard of Diodotos staters found in Bihar recently in no way imply that they were minted there, rather than in Bactria. But I then uncovered a fourth, and possibly conclusive, piece of evidence. On an old, moth-balled computer that I no longer use, I dug up an old email from a source in Pakistan that I had received in January 2003, offering to sell me a hoard of 300+ small silver coins that had recently been "*found in Sind*"(emphasis mine). The email was accompanied by two photographs, reproduced here in Table 3.

Table 3



Original January 2003 photos



Coin 34: shape matched



Coin 35: shape matched



Coin 36: shape matched

<sup>27</sup> See R.C.Senior: "The Coinage of Sind from 250 AD up to the Arab Conquest", ONS Newsletter 129, June-July 1991, pp. 3-4.

<sup>28</sup> Senior read the legend as *Rana Datasatya*, but a close examination of better specimens yields the reading *Ranaditya Satya*.



Coin 34: oriented



Coin 35: oriented



Coin 36: oriented

Clearly these coins belong to the same series and it is a virtual certainty that they belong to the same hoard as the Pieper coins, which were first reported to the South Asia Coins Discussion Group in July 2004. The information in my email obviously contradicts the information given to Pieper. I suspect the information I received, which was very soon after the uncovering of the hoard, is accurate. In any case, it clearly calls into question the assertion that the coins come from northern Pakistan.<sup>29</sup>

My own best estimate for these coins is therefore that they were issued in Sind in the 6<sup>th</sup> century by a Hunnic or post-Hunnic minor dynasty. By the time the Arabs invaded Sind in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, we know that it was ruled by a Brahmin dynasty, so at some point in time there must have been a transfer of power, or the Huns must have completely co-mingled with the local population. The history of Sind is somewhat obscure in the 5<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, and many aspects of this coinage fit in neatly into this time frame.

Before moving on, I wish to take a bit of a look at the three coins imaged in my January 2003 email. It is safe to say that the two photos show the fronts and backs of the same three coins, as can be seen by the constructed photos entitled “shape matched” in Table 3. The ensuing three photos show the coins with reverses oriented correctly. We see that the first coin (Coin 34) is of Sri Yashaaditya, while the next two are coins of Sri Pracatunde. One point to note is that the Pracatunde coins show obverse busts topped by “open rectangle” crowns, similar to coins 16-18 from Table 1.

#### Observations on the Reverse design

A curious feature of these coins is the lack of consistency in the arrangement of the reverse legend. Let us first consider the placement of the title *Sri*. In almost all cases, the word *Sri* is placed horizontally above the trident, although even here we have one exception: coin 4 in Table 1 shows the *Sri* vertically to the left of the trident. But on the coins where the *Sri* is placed horizontally above the trident, it is sometimes oriented to be read from the left, and at other times to be read from the right. Of the 12 coins published by Pieper (3 are excluded as they were anepigraphic

altar types) and the 29 more published here in Table 1 (excluding coins 4, 11-,13, and 33, leaving 41 in all):

- 22 are oriented right,
- 10 are oriented left, and
- 9 cannot be read.

Quite clearly, the orientation of the word *Sri* does not have a consistent pattern.

Of the 32 coins where the orientation of *Sri* can be determined, the breakdown of *Yashaaditya* and *Pracatunde* coins also shows a consistent non-pattern. The 22 right-oriented coins break down as follows: 16 *Yashaaditya* and 6 *Pracatunde*. And of the 10 oriented left, the breakdown is: 7 *Yashaaditya* and 3 *Pracatunde*. Put another way, of the 23 *Yashaaditya* coins, 16 have the *Sri* oriented right and 7 have the *Sri* oriented left; and of the 9 *Pracatunde* coins, 6 have the *Sri* oriented right and 3 have the *Sri* oriented left. In each case, roughly two-thirds of the coins have the *Sri* oriented right and one-third have the *Sri* oriented left.

Another aspect on which the reverse design is inconsistent is the direction of flow: clockwise or anti-clockwise. Moreover, there are coins on which the letters remain vertical throughout, and others where the letters turn upside down as they make their way around the coin. Finally, there are coins where the legend is meant to be read from the inside and others where it is meant to be read from the outside of the coin! Of the 34 coins for which I was able to clearly determine the location of the letters, I counted no less than 11 different legend arrangements! Of these, 21 are arranged clockwise, 6 are anti-clockwise, and 7 are neither, as they do not maintain a consistent circular flow. This lack of consistency in the legend arrangement makes the coins very difficult to read, and it takes some ingenuity to figure out accurately what is going on with the legend. The different arrangements, and the coins that conform to each, are shown in Table 4. Since the number of letters in the two legends, *Yashaaditya* and *Pracatunde*, is the same, it is possible to pool these two types together in the table. I have included coins from Pieper’s ONS 181 paper, and those coins have been identified with a P preceding the coin number.

Table 4: Reverse legend arrangements

Letter number	1	2	3	4
Yashaaditya	Ω	Α	Σ	Ϻ
Pracatunde	Ϻ	Α	Σ	Ω
Legend Arrangements				
Coins				
Arrangement	(* means coin of Pracatunde)			Total
Clockwise				
4 1	1, 5, 6, 9*, 10*, 14*, 23, 24,			12
3 2	25, 32*, P6, P13*			
7 1	8, 19, 26, 27, P7, P8			6
8 2				
2 3	4			1
1 4				
4 1	7, P5			2
3 2				
Anti-clockwise				
1 4	3, 22, P4, P10, P12			5
2 3				
1 4	2			1
2 3				

<sup>29</sup> To muddy the waters further, my source for coins 1-10 informed me the coins had been found in Baluchistan. I suspect this information is not very reliable.

Neither clockwise nor anti-clockwise		
3 1	15*	1
4 2		
3 1	17*, 18*, 31*	3
4 2		
1 3	30*	1
2 4		
3 4	21	1
1 2		
3 4	14	1
1 2		
4 2		

We see from the table that the clockwise arrangement, starting at 2 o'clock and ending at 10 o'clock, is the most common arrangement, as it is exhibited by 12 out of the 34 coins. But there is a bewildering array of alternative arrangements. This lack of consistency in the legend placement is quite remarkable and, I believe, unprecedented in Indian coinage. It points to the use of many die-cutters and therefore a possibly quite long period of time of issue. I suspect there is no other significance to this phenomenon other than the lack of attention to this detail.

One remaining question on the reverse legend arrangement is whether there is any correlation between the orientation of the word *Sri* and the arrangement of the legend. We might expect that the legend might be arranged clockwise, starting from 2 o'clock, if the *Sri* is oriented to be read from the right, and that the legend might be arranged anti-clockwise, starting at 10 o'clock, if the *Sri* is oriented to be read from the left. Sadly, there is no consistency here either. Of the 22 coins where the *Sri* is oriented to be read from the right, 18 do indeed have clockwise legends, but 4 have anti-clockwise legends. And, of the 10 coins where the *Sri* is oriented to be read from the left, only 2 have anti-clockwise legends, with the remaining 8 having clockwise legends. So the overall picture of a somewhat chaotic placement of the legend remains unchanged.

### Conclusion

In summary, this note has shown that the medieval portrait coins of the "*Sri Yashaaditya*" series exhibit considerably more variety than was first visible in Pieper's paper. We have a second (*Sri Pracatunde*?) and possibly a third (*Sri Bhima*?) king or family name and a wide variety of obverse and reverse types. I have further argued that the geographical location of the place of issue of these coins is further south than previously thought, perhaps in what is now the Pakistani province of Sind.

## AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF 'ALI MARDAN KHALJI

By S. M. Iftexhar Alam

On the eve of Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji's expedition to Tibet, he placed 'Ali Mardan in charge of the north-eastern region, Husam al-Din 'Iwad Khalji in charge of the western region and 'Izz al-Din Muhammad Shiran Khalji in charge of the south-western region of his dominion.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after Bakhtiyar Khalji's return to Deokot from the Tibet expedition he died a sudden death in 1206 AD. At the news of his death Muhammad Shiran Khalji, the governor of the south-western region left Birbhum and marched to Deokot in the north-eastern region, performed the mourning ceremonies, and from there further marched towards Naran-go-e (نارنگوئی), which was known as 'Ali Mardan's fief. Here he seized and imprisoned 'Ali Mardan, the alleged murderer<sup>2</sup> of Bakhtiyar. Then Shiran Khalji returned to Deokot where the Khalji nobles and soldiers present there at that time elected him as their leader. He assumed the rule

of the dominion of Lakhnauti keeping 'Ali Mardan in confinement under a kotwal<sup>3</sup> named Baba, the Safahani [Isfahani].<sup>4</sup>

Muhammad Shiran Khalji, by following a policy of conciliation towards the supporters of 'Ali Mardan and by confirming his nobles in respectable positions, brought peace to the kingdom of Lakhnauti. But soon afterwards, 'Ali Mardan, by convincing Baba and with Baba's help<sup>5</sup> as well, managed to escape from his confinement. 'Ali Mardan then went to the Delhi Sultan, Qutb al-Din Aibak, and instigated him to attack Lakhnauti.

Aibak ordered Qae-Maz-Rumi, the governor of Oudh, to attack Lakhnauti, resolve the disputes between the Khalji nobles and place them in their respective regions. In 1207 AD<sup>6</sup> Qae-Maz-Rumi started for Lakhnauti. At first, 'Iwad surrendered to Qae-Maz without a fight. Then Shiran Khalji retreated from Deokot towards the further north-east. Qae-Maz then placed 'Iwad as the ruler of Deokot and started for Oudh. Hearing the news of Qae-Maz's return journey to Oudh, Shiran Khalji came back to Deokot with his army and attacked 'Iwad Khalji.

As 'Iwad was attacked, Qae-Maz quickly returned to Deokot and attacked Shiran Khalji. Defeated, Shiran fled towards Moseda Santosh where, according to Minhaj, Shiran Khalji was killed in the hands of his own nobles as a result of internal feuds among themselves. However, after the defeat of Shiran Khalji, 'Iwad was appointed the governor of Lakhnauti in 1208 AD. In the meantime, 'Ali Mardan had accompanied Qutb al-Din Aibak in his march upon Ghazni, had fallen a prisoner in the hands of Yalduz's partisans but had ultimately managed to return to Delhi after one year's stay at Ghazni. In recognition of his services and sufferings, Qutb al-Din appointed him governor of Lakhnauti<sup>7</sup>. In 1210 AD 'Ali Mardan took charge as governor of Lakhnauti from 'Iwad. But soon afterwards, in November 1210 AD, Qutb al-Din Aibak died in Delhi. A complicated situation arose due to internal conflicts for the throne of Delhi. At this critical juncture 'Ali Mardan assumed independence in Lakhnauti and struck coins in his name.

The above is a brief history of how 'Ali Mardan rose to the position of Sultan of Bengal after the death of Bakhtiyar Khalji. Of the above-mentioned events, 'Ali Mardan's escape from prison was very significant. Had Baba Kotwal not helped 'Ali Mardan escape from imprisonment, Khalji history in Bengal would have been different.

Anyway, after assuming independence, 'Ali Mardan issued silver and gold coins<sup>8</sup> in his name taking the titles: *al-sultān al-mu'azzam rukn al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar 'alī mardān*.

A particular type of silver tanka of 'Ali Mardan is described below:



Obverse

Reverse

The coin weighs 10.5 g, and is 26 mm in diameter.

*Obverse*: Horseman holding a mace in his right hand while the galloping horse faces left. A word "Bābā" (بابا) is clearly written just behind the horseman. Margin: *Kalima Tayeba*. But the other part of the margin which usually bears the date is off the flan.

*Reverse*: السلطان المعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر علي مردان

This particular type of coin bearing the word Baba is hitherto unpublished. The obvious question is what Baba in this coin stands for. In Arabic, Baba means father (daddy) as well as pope – the head of the Roman Catholic church. Mentioning the Pope in 'Ali Mardan's coin is very very unlikely. So, by inscribing Baba

in the coin did 'Ali Mardan pay respects to his father? This is also very unlikely. Because had 'Ali Mardan meant his father by Baba he could have mentioned his father's name directly after his name in the form of 'Ali Mardan bin xxx. This is the customary way to mention one's father as followed by the kings before and after 'Ali Mardan's time.

Another meaning of Baba in this coin could be that 'Ali Mardan expressed his gratitude to Baba Safahani without whose help he would not have been able to escape from confinement and later become the Sultan of Bengal. As we look at the history of the Khalji amirs in Bengal we can see that escape from prison, by entering into a compact<sup>9</sup> with Baba Kotwal, was the real turning point of 'Ali Mardan's life. So the inscription of "Baba" in this particular coin of 'Ali Mardan as a way to express his gratitude to Baba is more probable than other possibilities.

#### Notes & references :

1. Muhammad Mohar Ali, *History of the Muslims of Bengal*, vol-IA, Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud Islamic University, Riyadh 1985, p-75.
2. Maulana Minhaj-uddin Abu Umar-I-Uzman, *Tabakat-I-Nasiri* translated by Major H. G. Raverty, vol-1, part-2, London 1881, p-573.
3. Persian word "Kotwal" ( کوتوال ) stands for a person in charge of security of a city or town. Baba was a kotwal of 'Ali Mardan's fief which was, according to Minhaj, Naran-go-e / Naran-ko-e ( نارنگونی ).
4. Maulana Minhaj-uddin Abu Umar-I-Uzman, *Tabakat-I-Nasiri* translated by Major H. G. Raverty, vol-1, part-2, London 1881, p-574.
5. Rakhal Das Bandopadhyay, *Bangalar Itihas*, vol-II, Calcutta 1996, p-19.
6. Abdul Karim, *Banglar Itihas ( Sultani Amal )*, reprint, Bangla Academy, Dhaka 1993, p-89.
7. Muhammad Mohar Ali, *History of the Muslims of Bengal*, vol-IA, Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud Islamic University, Riyadh 1985, p-76.
8. For coins of 'Ali Mardan readers may refer to Stan Goron and J. P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi 2001, p-147 and Michael Mitchiner, *The Land of Water Coinage and History of Bangladesh and Later Arakan*, Hawkins Publications, London 2000, p-84.
9. Maulana Minhaj-uddin Abu Umar-I-Uzman, *Tabakat-I-Nasiri* translated by Major H. G. Raverty, vol-1, part-2, London 1881, p-575.

## THE MINOR MINTS OF BHOPAL STATE AND THEIR COINAGE

By Barry Tabor

We are indebted to our respected colleague, Sri Prashant P Kulkarni (referred to hereafter as "PPK") for his publication of a number of rupees of the minor mints of Bhopal<sup>30</sup>. He offers a detailed description of Bhopal State rupees from Udaipur (a town about 90 km northeast of Bhopal), Rahatgarh (often wrongly spelled Rathgarh), Raisen and Bari. I have used some material, with his permission, from his paper, but of course he is not responsible for the way I have used and interpreted it. There is a town named Udaipura to the east of Bhopal, close to Bari, and it might be asked whether the Udaipur rupees may not have been struck there, rather than the one to the northeast. Since the layout of the legends on the coins in question is very like that on Sironj rupees, and Sironj is close to the more northerly Udaipur, it is practically certain that PPK has attributed them to the correct Udaipur. In his paper PPK did not go into great detail about the history of the state, or discuss at length how the coins he described fit into that history. For this reason, and because there are (at least) another two minor mints (Shujalpur and Sharifganj) in the state that PPK did not mention, and because the Numismatic Digest has a limited circulation outside India (some Indian coin aficionados feel that it deserves to be more widely read) I felt that a more complete explanation of the coins might not be out of place. I should also mention that, although "Daulatgarh" is included by Krause as a Bhopal State mint<sup>31</sup>, this is spurious, as

Daulatgarh (not to be confused with Daulatabad) was the name given to Rahatgarh by Daulat Rao Sindhia when the area was taken by a Maratha army in about AH 1221 (1806/07 AD)<sup>32</sup>. This name was dropped after the city was handed back to Bhopal state following the British defeat of the Marathas and Pindaris, in the 1817-18 AD hostilities known as the Pindari Wars.

I venture to suggest that coins can only be properly understood against the background of events occurring when they were struck, so before describing the coins, I propose to lay before the reader a brief early history of the state. Most history is not factual. It is definitely not science. It is the opinion of informed and uninformed, biased and unbiased participants, observers and commentators. "One man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist". I do not claim that the following, necessarily extremely brief, version of the early history of Bhopal is accurate in every detail. It certainly does not include all occurrences ever recorded as having taken place in and around the state in the years from 1696 to 1818 AD, but I hope it gives a fair account of the major events, and a feel for the matters that befell the state during that period. Where discrepancies exist between the many versions consulted, this is sometimes, but not always alluded to in the text or notes that follow.

#### The history of Bhopal State until about 1818 AD

Dost Muhammad Khan, an Afghan Sardar, son of Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, came to India towards the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to seek his fortune in the service of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir. He served under a number of other employers before obtaining a position under the Empire. He was sent by Aurangzeb to Malwa, where he paid Rs.30,000/= for the lease of Berasia (north of Bhopal) and gave an undertaking to subdue the 'turbulent' Rajputs who lived there, reducing them to full subjection to Aurangzeb. He accomplished this, and then called on as many of his tribe and family who wished to, to join him and benefit from his new estate, and many of them did so. He continued to add to his territorial holdings during the disturbed times at the start of the new century, by warfare, treachery and deceit in roughly equal proportions. He established his first headquarters at Jagdeshpur, the first fortified town he captured, renaming it Islamnagar. The next conquest was Bhilsa, with which he got Gayaraspur, Doraha, Sehore, Ichhawar, Devipura and Galgaon. He then spent a little time consolidating his holdings and organising an efficient administration. He unwisely

<sup>32</sup> *Coins of the Sindhias* by J Lingen and K Wiggins, Hawkins Publications, 1978, tells us on p. 83 that the mint name often spelled Rathgarh should, in fact, be spelled Rahatgarh. There are a number of dates quoted there for a rare rupee attributed to Daulat Rao Sindhia with the mint name 'Daulatgarh', which was the name given to the fort at Rahatgarh by Daulat Rao. 'Rahatgarh is a large village situated 25 miles west of Saugor on the Bhopal road. In AH 1255 it belonged to the Ponwar Rajas of Dhar. Later it came under the Gond Dynasty of Garha-Mandla but was ceded to the Mughals in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and was conferred by Aurangzeb on a Mughal family. Rahatgarh later came into the possession of the Nawabs of Garhi-Ampari in Bhopal and they held it [as part of Bhopal state] until 1807, when the fort and town were seized by [Daulat Rao] Sindhia. Rahatgarh came under British management in 1826 AD, to defray the expenses of a contingent of troops. It was finally ceded to the British Government in 1861 AD, and incorporated into the Central Provinces.....No documentary evidence has been found to suggest that coins bearing the mint name Daulatgarh were struck at Rahatgarh, but what evidence there is suggests that these coins may be properly attributed to this mint. It is probable that a mint was established in the fort, which was renamed Daulatgarh, after its capture by Sindhia in 1807. The known range of dates [of the Maratha rupees there described] conveniently fit the period when Rahatgarh was occupied by Sindhia: AH 1221 (1806/07 AD) to Muhammad Akbar II, regnal year 22 (AH 1243, 1826/27 AD): assuming that the minting ceased with the British occupation. ....Rahatgarh is mentioned by Prinsep as being one of Sindhia's mints. He gives the weight of the rupee as 168.35 grains. The symbol of a winged trident is attributed by Prinsep to the Bhopal, Bhilsa and Rahatgarh mints. There are no [known] copper coins attributable to this mint'.

<sup>30</sup> *Numismatic Digest* Vol. 31, 2007, pp.177-186.

<sup>31</sup> *SCWC* 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (2006), p.629.

chose the 'wrong' side in a couple of disputes in 1719 and 1722, which made the Nizam into an enemy. In about 1720, he annexed Ginnurgarh and Chainpur Bari (modern Bari).

In 1723, the Nizam was marching south from his successful campaign in the Delhi area and turned aside to avenge himself for Dost Muhammad's uncalled-for overt hostility. Dost Muhammad was understandably alarmed, knowing he could not possibly confront such a powerful adversary militarily. Instead, he submitted and apologised for his error. He was forced to give a hostage, his (at that time) only son, Yar Muhammad, as a guarantee of his future behaviour; also he had to cede some territory. Satisfied, Nizam-ul-Mulk confirmed him in his remaining territories.

Attracted by the beauty of the area, he began to build a new capital near the old village of Bhopal, in about 1723, and protected it with the Fatehgarh fort. On his death at age 66 in 1728 (some versions state 1726) he passed on to his heirs a territory that was already well-established, well-administered and was ruled from a fortified capital.

Following his death, there was a dispute to determine who should inherit the state. Sultan Muhammad was a legitimate son, but at eight years of age, much younger than his illegitimate brother, Yar Muhammad, who was then about 18 to 20 years old. Yar Muhammad was still absent from Bhopal as a hostage and learning to be a soldier at the court of the Nizam, and the Bhopal Pathan noblemen took advantage of his absence to have Sultan Muhammad installed on the Gaddi under their regency. Yar Muhammad, however, had the support of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and immediately led a small army of the Nizam's cavalry to Bhopal, where he deposed Sultan Muhammad without opposition. He granted Sultan Muhammad possession of Rahatgarh and its dependent territory for his support and that of his family. Not all the nobles of the state accepted him as ruler, because of his illegitimacy, and he was, in deference to a rule of ancient usage within his tribe, never permitted to take the title of Nawab. For the same reason, Sultan Muhammad took precedence in many functions of the state and durbar. With the backing of the court nobility, however, Yar Muhammad continued his father's work of expanding his territories. He took Udayapur (Udaipur), Sewani and Pathari, and had the doubtful privilege of having the state attacked by the Marathas for the first time during his reign. His Dewan, Ali Akil Muhammad, died in 1739, and was followed by the famous Bijai (Vijaya) Ram.

On his own death in 1742, his eldest son, Faiz Muhammad, then only eleven years old, succeeded to the gaddi, with the assistance of Bijai Ram, against opposition from a faction that wished to restore Sultan Muhammad to the throne. There was bitter fighting, in which many lives were lost, and Sultan Muhammad fled to Sironj, from where he returned to Rahatgarh. Eventually the rivals signed an agreement at the instigation of Faiz Muhammad's mother, Yar Muhammad's widow, Mamola (Mamullah) Begam, universally known and respected as Mahji Sahiba or 'Lady Mother'. Under this agreement, Sultan Muhammad renounced his claim to the throne in exchange for the territory and city of Rahatgarh and its revenue being granted to him and his successors, who became known as the 'Lords of Rahatgarh'. Faiz Muhammad was not minded to take the reigns of power, being of a deeply religious and reclusive disposition. He handed the administration over to Bijai Ram his Dewan, and Mamola Begam. Later, during the Dewanship of Gairat Khan, Nawab Faiz Muhammad allowed himself to be taken on the only trip outside his palace that he ever took. It was to the town of Bhilsa, which had for some time been under siege by his troops. The city fell to his soldiers immediately on his arrival, and it is largely for that 'miracle' that many of his subjects afterwards revered him as a saint.

Following the disastrous invasion of Hindustan by Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) in 1739, the Maratha Peshwa, Baji Rao, had succeeded in getting himself declared Subehdar of Malwa by the weak emperor, Muhammad Shah. In 1745, he invaded Bhopal, and demanded (in the Mughal Emperor's name) the restoration of

all lands 'usurped' by the Bhopal state rulers in Malwa. Bijai Ram knew that he could only retain the independence of Bhopal by buying off Baji Rao. He did this by ceding most of his Malwa lands, the parganas of Ashta, Devipura, Ichhawar, Bhilsa, Shujalpur and Sehore, amounting to almost half the territory of the state. The Peshwa's honour and need for revenue having been satisfied, he confirmed the nawabship of the much-reduced state on Faiz Muhammad. Soon thereafter, a disturbance among the Maratha garrison at Raisen laid the place open for seizing, and Bijai Ram took full advantage of this, and captured it.

Bijai Ram died after a successful career in 1762 or 1763, and the Dewanship passed to Gasiram, who lasted only a year before being killed by the Nawab's brothers, Hayat Muhammad Khan and Yassein Muhammad Khan. He was followed by a Pathan, Gairat Khan, who was poisoned after six years in office. Maratha incursions into Bhopal were not common at that time, but one case is recorded of the demand for tribute, in 1766.<sup>33</sup> Then followed Raja Kishore (Raja Lala Kesri) who did the job well for fourteen years before falling foul of a (probably true) rumour that he had had relations with one of Faiz Muhammad's 'ladies of the Harem'. Faiz Muhammad's brothers consequently murdered him, as a matter of honour.

Faiz Muhammad died in 1742, and his brother, Yassein Muhammad, followed him on the throne, but he survived for only a few days, and Hayat Muhammad succeeded after yet another dispute. Like Faiz Muhammad, Hayat Muhammad was unsuited to the life of a ruler because of his devout character and indolent inclinations. He had no natural offspring, but had adopted four Hindu boys as *chelahs* (adopted family dependents with full familial and some inheritance rights) according to Shariah Law. These he had converted to Islam and educated at his own expense. This act of religious charity enhanced his saintly reputation among his Moslem subjects. Their names were Faulad Khan, Islam Khan, Jamsheer Khan and Chhote Khan, two of whom became Dewan of Bhopal in turn. The first was Faulad Khan, whom Hayat chose as his Dewan immediately on his accession, and in whom the *de facto* power was vested. It was Faulad Khan who was in charge when the much-reported Col. Goddard incident took place in 1778 AD<sup>34</sup> and which had such far-reaching consequences. The arrangement was continued whereby the Nawab had only *de jure* rulership, and territory yielding rupees five lakhs (about a quarter of the revenue of the state) for his support.

Because of his tyrannical disposition, quarrels arose between Faulad Khan and the doughty widow of Yar Muhammad, the late Nawab, which resulted in his murder in 1780. By the efforts of that same lady, the office of Dewan now passed to another of the adopted converts, Chhote Khan. His time in office was marked by

<sup>33</sup> *The Rise of British Power and the Fall of Marathas* by D C Lal Vaish, The Upper India Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Lucknow, 1972. p.137

<sup>34</sup> The British carried out a number of campaigns against the Marathas and into Gond territory from about 1776 onwards, and especially after the Bombay and the Company's Supreme Governments had determined to repudiate the Purandar agreement and place Raghunath Rao on the Peshwa's throne in Pune. This was during Hayat Muhammad's reign, and one such occasion has been noticed in all accounts of Bhopal history of the period. In 1778 General Goddard asked for leave to cross Bhopal territory with a Company army, which was granted. On this occasion, and on a number of others thereafter, British forces were well received and courteously assisted by the population and rulers of the state, as noted by several other British military commanders in the years following. This helped endear the state and its rulers to the English powers, and established a debt of gratitude with them. Without this help, some campaigns would not have been possible, or would almost certainly have ended less well for British arms. In addition, in James Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* Vol. II. p.273, we read: 'The conduct of the Nabob of Bhopal was precisely the opposite of that of the Mahratta officer [Ballaji Punt, who had attacked Col. Goddard's baggage after professing his friendship]. He treated the English with the greatest confidence and hospitality, [and] furnished them with every supply and every possible assistance at the risk of incurring future enmity from the Mahrattas, without the support of new friends.'

long periods of peace and relative prosperity, despite periodical interference from the Marathas, who were generally not on hostile terms with the state and its administration, thanks to the great efforts made to this end by Chhote Khan.

There were internal dissensions and revolts, and, on one occasion in 1786, he dealt with a rebel nobleman by the name of Sharif Muhammad Khan. His revolt was at the instigation of the Begam, who wanted more power to interfere in the state's affairs than Chhote would permit. Chhote Khan defeated Sharif Muhammad in battle near Ginnurgarh in 1787, and drove him into exile (one account states that Sharif Muhammad Khan died in the battle). His son was Wazir Muhammad, whom he had placed in safety along with the rest of his family, in Ashta, southwest of Sehore, and of whom we shall shortly hear more.

Chhote Khan continued to face opposition to his rule from Faiz Khan's widow until she died in 1792, but he put down each rebellion, and continued to administer the state well until his own death in 1795. His son, Amir Muhammad Khan, and his old revenue chief, Himmat Ram, then jointly occupied his post. However, the administration of the state deteriorated under these two, and Amir Muhammad Khan was soon dismissed by the Nawab for his tyrannical behaviour. He rebelled and invited Raghujee Bhonsle to assist him and capture Hoshangabad, which he did, in late 1795, in company with a large number of Pindaris, whose combined depredations laid waste the state lands and emptied the state coffers. The Nawab's chief lady and an eunuch, Gul Kojah, then invited Lakhwa Dada, one of Sindhia's independent generals, to come to the state's aid and, for high pay, remove the Bhonsle's forces from the land, retrieve Hoshangabad and retake Raisen. This he did, but after he had expelled the Bhonsles and Pindaris, Lakhwa Dada and his forces, which also included a large contingent of Pindaris, themselves began to plunder Bhopal state, and its condition became worse than before.

At this juncture, late 1797 or 1798 (some versions have 1795, which would appear to be wrong) Wazir Muhammad, whom we last noticed as a youth living in safety at Ashta, while his father had fled (or was killed) following an unsuccessful rebellion against Chhote Khan's stern rule, and who had meanwhile been subsisting by plunder, in the service of a Rajput named Hatti Singh, in Omutwara, turned up at the gates of Bhopal. He offered his services to the elderly Nawab, and Hayat invited him into his employment, and asked him to remove the Marathas and freebooters from the state, which he did in about eight months. For this, he was regarded as a hero, and would have been offered the post of Dewan but for the jealousy of the Crown Prince, Ghaus Muhammad, and his mother. These two poisoned the Nawab's mind against him, describing him as a disaffected rebel, seeking revenge for his father, who would depose the Nawab when an opportunity arose. The weak Nawab believed them and, instead, offered the post to Murid Muhammad Khan, a descendant of Sultan Muhammad, Lord of Rahatgarh.

Murid Muhammad Khan insisted on the dismissal of all Marathas and their Pathan and Pindari auxiliaries still in the state's employ, and whose pay-off cost a good deal of money for such an impoverished state. When they had departed, Murid came to Bhopal, with his own private army. Things started well, but this man soon showed his true colours, and his rule reportedly turned into the most 'venal and vicious' ever seen in the state. He was not effectively engaged in the state's security, being too 'busy with extortion and intrigue for his own aggrandisement and enrichment', so the freebooters soon returned, and the state was again overrun and plundered. This necessitated heavier taxation to enable the large Bhopal army to be paid and Murid utilised increasingly violent means to obtain the necessary cash, including murder, torture, theft and extortion. Then Murid Muhammad Khan turned his attention to Wazir Muhammad, whose reputation made him a figure of dread and jealousy to this 'unprincipled tyrant'. In the hopes of procuring his death at the hands of the Pindaris, Murid sent him to repel a large number of them with insufficient forces at his command. However, Wazir succeeded in defeating and dispersing the freebooters. Murid next contacted the

Governor of Chainpur Bari, asking him to capture and kill Wazir, who discovered the plot from a captured letter, attacked Bari and killed the Governor. He also retook Ginnurgarh. At last Hayat's eyes were opened to the true character of Murid Muhammad Khan, and he called for Wazir and Kuli Khan to return to Bhopal and rescue the state from Murid's power. Wazir joined forces with Kuli Khan and together they marched to Bhopal. Murid, taking fright, called upon Balaram Inglia (a general of Sindhia) for assistance, offering him the fort of Fatehgarh, which he put into the hands of Amir Khan, and also Islamnagar. However, Moti Begam, the widow of Faiz Muhammad, who was living at Islamnagar, shut the fort gates against the large army of Balaram Inglia and Murid Muhammad Khan, and the garrison opened fire on it. Wazir Muhammad, Kuli Khan and the Nawab began preparations to oppose the invading forces. Wazir's force was much inferior to that of the Marathas and their allies, and would almost certainly have been defeated, but for a chance occurrence in his favour. Sindhia began to experience serious difficulties at Gwalior, and recalled his forces from their campaign in Bhopal. They withdrew and advanced to Sironj, taking Murid Khan as a prisoner and left the Bhopal state in relative peace. The proceedings that followed in Balaram Inglia's camp at Sironj cannot, I think, be put into better words than those of Major William Howgh, quoted below from his *Brief History of Bhopal* referred to earlier:

*"These orders [from Sindhia, for his forces to withdraw from Bhopal and make haste to Gwalior] were immediately obeyed; but Balaram carried with him the Dewan, Murid Muhammad Khan, as far as Sironj. He now accused that chief of being the author of all his disappointments, and of being concerned in the resistance which had been made to his occupation of the fort of Islamnagar. The other, in vain, denied the charge, and stated how irreconcilable such conduct was with his own interests. His notorious reputation as a deceiver was brought forward by the Maratha leader in answer to all he could urge in his defence. He was threatened with torture, unless he immediately gave up the treasure he was known to possess, and his fears and confinement brought on a violent illness [other accounts say he poisoned himself with diamond dust]; but even this was treated as a trick, and when he died, Balaram refused for two days to allow his body to be buried, declaring his conviction that he had counterfeited death to effect his escape. Nor was it until putrefaction had commenced, that the Maratha chief would resign his prey, and believe that for once, Murid Muhammad Khan did not practise deceit! The name of this man is doomed to execration by his tribe, and to this day, when a Pathan of Bhopal visits Sironj to pay his devotion at a shrine sacred to Murtaza Ali, it is deemed an essential part of the pilgrimage, to bestow five blows with a slipper on the tomb of Murid Muhammad Khan; to mark at once the contempt and indignation which his memory excites."*

Wazir Khan now received the recognition he deserved, and was made Dewan in 1798. He immediately retook Hoshangabad and Raisen from the Bhonsle's troops. He remonstrated with the Nawab for his 'wicked and insane' behaviour and, with the agreement of the nobles, reduced him to pageant status, taking the reigns of power into his own hands. In order to hold the state together, which necessitated finding pay for the army, Wazir Muhammad allied himself with some Pindaris for the plundering of neighbouring states, and to retake territory lost during previous years of inactivity. Among other actions, he evicted Amir Khan from the Islamnagar fort and sent him out of the state in 1802 AD. The alliance with the Pindaris also gave some respite from other freebooters and the Grassias. However, his activities brought him into confrontation with the Maratha chieftains, who now regarded him as a declared enemy. Amir Khan, having been ousted from the state, also became an enemy of Bhopal.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Amir Khan, on joining Sindhia's forces in Malwa, soon rose to be a very powerful and influential man in Malwa and Rajasthani politics. He later joined Holkar's side. During the years when he found employment with both these Maratha Sardars, he often added bands of Pindaris under their

In 1805, at the end of the Maratha War, Bhonsle and Sindhia were intent on attacking Bhopal. Sindhia tried to justify his hostile intent on the grounds of the necessity of putting down a rebellion by a subsidiary state, but this was not so. Of necessity, Bhopal had paid tribute to the Marathas on several occasions, but had never entered a subsidiary treaty with Sindhia. The British authorities were not taken in by this subterfuge, and were determined to oppose such a hostile act by the Marathas on a 'friendly state'. However, the British were still compelled by their non-intervention policy to refrain from making alliances and from defending friendly states militarily unless they were already allies. Bhopal was not an ally. In fact, by his allying himself with the Pindaris, Wazir Muhammad had put himself into bad odour with the British, who would have hesitated to make him an ally, even were they free to do so.

The latter part of Hayat Muhammad's reign became a constant stream of incursions by the Pindaris, Amir Khan's Pathan freebooters and Maratha armies, which at times completely overran the state, and terrorised or killed much of the population. This caused many of the remaining ryots to abandon their fields and the citizens their homes, which, in turn, severely impoverished the Bhopal state whose revenues at times fell to near zero. There was the prospect of the imminent obliteration of the state, the same fate as had befallen many other petty states about that time. Contemporary accounts of the Pindari and other predations are full of terms such as 'extremely barbarous', 'swarms of locusts', and 'evil predators'. Bloody descriptions of the way the Pindaris and Pathan freebooters carried out their raids and the cruel and barbaric ways in which men, women and children were treated abound in the literature of the time and after. Although the Pindari menace was building inexorably during this period, there were brief respites, for instance, in 1806 AD, and again in 1808.<sup>36, 37</sup> Against all the odds, the state survived.

In 1808, Hayat Muhammad died and his son, Ghaus Muhammad became Nawab. Under his Nawabship and the

continuing Dewanship of Wazir Muhammad, Bhopal again began to flourish. This was in spite of his inheriting an empty treasury and a recently devastated state with disaffected, scattered and deceased subjects. Wazir Muhammad laboured to bring in reforms which looked likely to return the state to prosperity. Then, in 1812, Bhopal was besieged by the Marathas, and came perilously close to defeat, before the rainy season brought a respite. In 1813, Sindhia and Bhonsle prepared to return to annihilate the now severely weakened state, but by now the English had enabled themselves to intervene, at least diplomatically. They did so just in time to avert a disaster, by the intervention of the British Residents at Gwalior and Nagpur, who narrowly persuaded them both to desist, declaring Bhopal to be under British protection. The next period was a frantic one for British diplomacy, as well as one of rapid preparation of British arms for the extirpation of the Pindaris.<sup>38</sup>

Wazir Muhammad died in February 1816, and never knew his state at peace. His eldest son, Nazar Muhammad came to power. He married Qudsia (Kudsia, Gohur) Begam, daughter of Ghaus Khan, thus combining in one line both the Nawabship and the Dewanship and removing one important reason for internecine disputes within the state. Qudsia Begam and her female descendants were destined to dominate Bhopal history for the next hundred years, but that is outside the scope of this article. On 26 February 1818 Nazar Muhammad did what his father had tried many times to do, but had not succeeded. He signed a treaty with the British, who, mindful of the help they had received in former times from Bhopal, now added the fortress of Islamnagar (which had remained in the hands of the Marathas) and several valuable *parganas* to the state territory. By an 1817. agreement, Bhopal was obliged to assist the English in the elimination of the Pindaris, which it did, with considerable efficiency.

In 1819, Nazar Muhammad was accidentally shot by a young kinsman after a promising reign of only four years.

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own chieftains, Karim Khan, Chitu Khan and others, to his Pathan freebooter army. In 1798, he founded what was to become Tonk state upon territory around Sironj that had been given him by Holkar. The Bhopal, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bhonsle states also employed him from time to time. He was willing to hire himself out to the highest bidder and to undertake any task, no matter how dishonourable, if it offered the chance of a profit. If circumstances changed, or if he got a better offer, he was perfectly happy to turn his coat and attack his former employers without a second thought. Although he had his own Pathan army, he is often referred to as a 'Pindari Leader' because he behaved much as they did, and because he often employed them, under their own leadership. Most British sources of the time do not refer to him in this way.

<sup>36</sup> *British Policy Towards the Pathans and the Pindaris in Central India, 1805-1818* on p.64/65 says: 'In June 1806, the Pindaris seemed not to be planning the attack on the Nizam's territories which had been feared by the British, and which they had taken steps to prevent by putting pressure on Sindhia, who was supposed to be their controller and employer, and responsible, if anybody was, for their conduct, to prevent that action. .... The principal body of Pindaris under Karim Khan was cantoned between Bhopal and Ujjain. Chitu Khan was stationed south of the Narbada at Satwas. The Pindaris remained quiet for the rest of 1806.'

<sup>37</sup> *The Native States of India* by Sir William Lee-Warner, Tulsi Publishing House 1979, says on p.111-112 'The Nawab of Bhopal, who had in vain sought British protection in 1809, and whose gallant defence of his city has already been mentioned, was dead. He had been forced by the [British] policy of non-intervention to invite the Pindaris to his aid in order to repel the attacks of Sindhia and Bhonsla. His son, Nazar Muhammad, was accordingly addressed by the Governor-General's representative, on the 13 of October 1817, in these terms:- 'The British Government has now unalterably determined to suppress the predatory power of the Pindaris, and to destroy and prevent the revival of the predatory system in every part of India. The British armies are advancing from every quarter into Malwa for this purpose. Every state must therefore declare itself either friend or foe. Those even who do not co-operate zealously in this cause will be viewed and treated as enemies.' He was offered and accepted the British alliance, and although he did not sign a treaty of subordinate co-operation until 26 Feb 1818, the admission of Bhopal into the protectorate dates from Lord Hastings' letter, written on 23 December 1817, in which he was granted protection.'

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<sup>38</sup> In James Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* Vol. iii. p.277 et seq. we get an insight into the efforts to make alliances with native authorities that had been rendered urgently necessary by the non-intervention policy referred to above. Because it is such a long passage, I have taken the liberty to paraphrase it here: *In 1814 AD, Warren Hastings had arrived to take charge of the Government of British India. He was worried about the military advances and political hostility of the Marathas towards the British possessions and those of their allies, and tried to make an alliance with Nagpur, but could not succeed. His alternative plan was to get Bhopal and Saugor into an alliance, but he was just then involved with the Nepal wars and could not advance his plans at that time. Then he found out that offensive/defensive alliances were being formed between Sindhia and Bhonsle, and Sindhia and Holkar, which made it appear to him urgent that some alliances were made by the British, before their position became desperate. Sindhia had attacked Bhopal in 1812 AD, and intended to attack the exhausted state again in 1813 AD. It would surely be defeated this time. Bhopal, of course, had been asking for an alliance with the English for many years. Sindhia was informed that Bhopal was under British protection, and some British troops were moved forwards. Sindhia was furious and determined to attack Bhopal anyway. He started to move his troops forward in reply, but then thought better of it, and his army withdrew before making any attack on the Bhopal forces. Negotiations with Bhopal faltered over the surrender of a fort required to be used by British forces, and an agreement was not signed. Jaipur made similar overtures to the British when under threat from Amir Khan, but withdrew when the threat went away (1816 AD). The Nawab of Bhopal died on the 17<sup>th</sup> March 1816 AD, and Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur died on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. Appa Sahib joined the defensive alliance with the British on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1816. The Pindaris attacks continued to increase. The British fought and won the Pindari war in 1817 and 1818 AD following Pindari incursions into British territory.*

**List of Rulers. The real power was often in the hands of regents or the Dewans, as noted below (All dates are AD)**

<b>Dost Muhammad Khan</b> 1708-1728*	Founder of the Bhopal State.
<b>Yar Muhammad Khan</b> 1728* (March – April)	
<b>Sultan Muhammad Khan</b> 1728*-1742	
<b>Faiz Muhammad Khan</b> 1728*-1742	Power was in the hands of his Dewan, Bijai Ram,[1742-62] Gasiram [1762] Gairat Ram [1762 – 67] Raja Kishore [1767-1781] Yasin Khan [1777-1778]
<b>Yassein Muhammad</b> for a few days only, in 1777	
<b>Hayat Muhammad Khan</b> 1777-1808†	Power was in the hands of his Dewans, Faulad Khan [1778 - 80], Chhote Khan[1780 – 95] Amir Muhammad Khan [1795], Himmat Rao [1795/6], Murid Khan [1796 – 1798 - taken hostage by Bala Rao Ingliā, died 1798], Wazir Muhammad [1798 – end of reign, when he became Dewan to next Nawab.
	<b>Wazir Muhammad came to Bhopal in 1795 or 1797.</b>
<b>Ghaus Muhammad Khan</b> †1808-1816	His Dewan was Wazir Muhammad Khan.[1808 – 1809], who then took on full ruling powers. Ghaus retired to Raisen and took no more part in the ruling of the state, which devolved upon Wazir Muhammad, who died in 1816.
<b>Nazar Muhammad Khan</b> 1816-1819	Son of Wazir Muhammad, ruled as Nawab He married Ghaus Khan’s daughter in 1818, thereby uniting the lines of Dewan and Nawab.
<b>Gohur (Qudsia) Begam</b> 1819-1837☼	<b>Details from here forward belong to the next part of the story.</b>
<b>Jehangir Muhammad</b> ☼1837 -1844	
<b>Sikander Begam</b> 1844-1861	
<b>Sikander Begam</b> 1861-1868	In her own right
<b>Shah Jahan Begam</b> 1868-1901	
<b>Sultan Jahan Begam</b> 1901-1926	
<b>Sikander Daulat Hamidullah Muhammad Khan</b> 1926-	
<b>Abida Sultan Begam</b>	

- \* Some authorities date these events in 1726.
- † Some authorities date these events in 1807.
- ☼ Some authorities date these events in 1835.

**The Minor mints of Bhopal and their known coins.**

The opening dates of all these mints is unknown, and I have failed to find mention of any of them prior to the striking of coins for Bhopal State, with the exception of Raisen, which struck a few tankahs during Sultanate times. It is probable that, if any of them were still operative in 1818 AD, they would have been closed by the British as part of the resettlement of the area.

**Shujalpur and Sharifganj, mints and coins.**

Shujalpur was a town about 60 km west of Bhopal city, and it struck both silver and copper coins. No illustration of the rupee is available, but they are reportedly similar in style and type to those of Bhopal mint and other silver mints dealt with in PPK’s paper<sup>39</sup>, with only the mint name to distinguish them. A specimen of the Shujalpur copper is illustrated below, in Fig. 1.



Fig. 1.

Copper takka, approx. 16.5 g. Mint name Shujalpur, struck in the name of Shah Alam II, *bādshāh ghāzī* legends, date off, RY 28 (about AH 1200, 1786 AD) .

The entire mint name is rarely, if ever found on a single specimen. The ‘*Shuja*’ part is to the right of the regnal year (in this case 28) and is all that can be seen on this coin. The ‘*alpur*’ part is above it in the top line of the legend and is completely off this specimen, but visible on others<sup>10</sup>. The spelling of the mint name is notable for the fact that it contains an ‘*Ain*’ between ‘*Shuj*’ and ‘*alpur*’, making the complete mint name read ‘*Shujā’alpūr*’<sup>10</sup>. Also noticeable on the reverse face is the letter ‘*he*’ standing for **Hayat Muhammad Khan**, the sixth Nawab of Bhopal, to the left of the regnal year. The ‘*he*’ is also found on some rupees of Bhopal mint, and such a rupee of RY 40 of Shah Alam II is illustrated in PPK’s paper<sup>30</sup>. The obverse bears the normal ‘*bādshāh ghāzī*’ legends of Shah Alam II. Shujalpur is a place in modern Shajapur district, about 83 km. west of Bhopal on the Ujjain road.



Figure 1a. Copper takka of Sharifganj

<sup>39</sup> Information is from Shailendra Bhandare, in private correspondence, for which he has my thanks and acknowledgement.

Above is a coin bearing a mint name Sharifganj<sup>40</sup>. It is a copper takka of about 18.0 grams, and uniface. In fabric, it is apparently much like the Bari paisa illustrated below. The mint name is the only legend on this coin. The reverse appears to be the reverse of a Bhopal paisa like KM. C21, of Bhopal mint, dated RY 28 of Shah Alam II. If this is so, the date of this coin must be after AH 1201/ 1187 AD. There is no direct evidence on the coin as to when it was struck, or under whose authority. Sharifganj has not been located so far, and may well be a temporary name given to an existing town by Sharaf Muhammad Khan, or by his son Wazir, in honour of his father. At any event, no place of that name has been located on any map or gazetteer so far consulted. Possibly it is or was near to Sehore or Ashta, although it has also been suggested that it was probably near Bhopal itself.

**Rahatgarh, Bari, Raisen and Udaipur mints.**

For a full description of rupees of these mints, please refer to the paper by PPK mentioned above. Pictures of specimens from the first three are given below as Fig. 2. All these places are shown on the map on page 30 below.



Fig. 2 Rupees of three Bhopal minor mints  
Top to bottom: Rahatgarh, Bari and Raisen

The word wazir can be clearly seen to the right of the mīm of ‘ālam on the obverse of the Rahatgarh coin.



Figure 3. Copper coin of Bari Mint

Undated, uniface copper paisa weighing 11.47 grams and with a diameter of about 19mm, having the legend ‘zarb bārī’ in Persian, and a Nagari ‘Shri’ symbol.

This uniface Bari copper is undated and, unfortunately, it carries very little information except the name of its mint place. However, in addition to the legend ‘zarb bārī’, there is a Nagari ‘Shri’. This is a specifically Hindu symbol, and we have seen already that all the rulers and ‘aristocratic’ figures were Muslim. It is extremely unlikely that any of them would have used such an overtly Hindu religious symbol on their coins. So we are probably

looking for a Hindu polity that held sway over parts of the state at some time. These coins are not at all common, so the period of occupation was probably short. There were undoubtedly short occupations of parts of the state from time to time, as the forgoing history indicates. The obvious candidates are the Pindaris or Amir Khan, neither of whom seem very likely strikers of money, or the Marathas. The ‘Shri’ symbol appears on coins of several mints of the Maratha Peshwas and Shivaji (such as Chakan, Ajmer, Satara and Gokul) and of the Sindhia (Lashkar, Gwalior Fort and Ujjain spring immediately to mind). Moreover, it is certain that Sindhia’s agents such as General Peron, if not Sindhia himself, held temporary sway over many parts of the state on a number of occasions. Perhaps there is no proof available at present, but Sindhia seems a strong contender for the originator of these scarce coppers.

Taken together, we know of only a small number of recorded dates and regnal years on coins from these minor mints, and few of any of these types have been reported so far. One reason for the small number of known specimens of the rupees may be that the only way of distinguishing them from the common Bhopal mint coins is the mint name, a part of the legend often missing from Bhopal rupees of this type. If the word ‘wazīr’ or letter ‘he’ falls off or nearly off the flan, it may escape notice. So it could be that the coins were struck in small quantities and in very few years, or maybe many were struck, but most cannot be (or have not been) distinguished from each other or from those of Bhopal mint.

If we proceed on the supposition that the currently available specimens are a fair representation of the numbers actually minted, we are prompted to ask why so few were struck and why so few dates are found. Why, we may ask, if so few coins were required, was it found necessary to strike coins at any of these locations at all? As usual, we cannot study the coins satisfactorily except against the relevant historical background.

The dates and regnal years on coins known to me are listed below, but others are certain to exist.

**List of coins of the minor mints so far reported. Coins are in the name of Shah Alam II, and the regnal years are his.**

1. Struck under Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan, with Persian ‘he’

Udaipur	Rupee	RY 19	AH 1191(2), 1198	1777/78 AD
Shujalpur	Takka	RY 28	(AH 1201/2)	1786 to 88 AD

In addition, PPK reports and illustrates a rupee of Bhopal mint, AH 1216 and regnal year 40 of Shah Alam II with the ‘he’ mark.

2. Struck under authority of Wazir Muhammad Khan (Dewan to Hayat Muhammad Khan), with Persian ‘wazīr’.

Raisen	Rupee	RY 42, 43	AH 1215, 1216	1800 to 1802 AD
Bari	Rupee	RY 42, 43, 45	AH 1215 to 1218	1800 to 1804 AD
Bari	Paisa	Undated, anonymous		

3. No Bhopal ruler indicated, citing only Mughal authority.

Rahatgarh*	Rupee	RY 42, 43	AH 1215, 1216	1801/02 AD
Sharifganj	Takka or Paisa	No Mughal authority cited		

\* See also p. 83 of *Coins of the Sindhias* by J Lingen and W Wiggins, Hawkins Publications 1978, for coins struck at the same place by Daulat Rao Sindhia between 1807 and 1827 AD.

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Lance Dane and Shailendra Bhandare for supplying the images of this coin, and for Dr Bhandare for supplying the drawing.

### *How the coins of the minor mints fit into the picture.*

We can now try to relate the minor mints and their coinage, as we know it, to the history of the state. Were the minor mints opened when the state was in danger, and the capital was at risk of being overrun and occupied by the Marathas (as was the case with Tikamgarh [Teri] mint, in Orchha State)? Or was it during times of expansion, when a greater quantity of specie was needed in several busy commercial centres some distance apart that these mints were used?

The known Udaipur coins were struck in 1777/8 AD. This was a period of relative peace and prosperity, during which Bhopal state was strong enough to be of enormous assistance to British armies moving through its territories. Bhopal seems to have been sufficiently confident of its own strength and security at this time to risk severely irritating the unforgiving Maratha powers. Udaipur is in the north of the Bhopal state, and remote from the capital and PPK describes it as “a place of brisk [presumably commercial] activities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.” It therefore seems a natural choice for the installation of a second silver mint, while things were going well for the state. We have seen clearly how quickly such activities could be disrupted at times, but it seems probable that the opening of the Udaipur mint was a reaction to increased need of specie there, combined with confidence born of relative peace and prosperity. This peaceful period did not last long, and neither, apparently, did the mint.

The Shujalpur coins were struck in 1786-87 AD, during the successful regime of Chhote Khan as Dewan. This seems also to have been a time of relative prosperity and maybe of expansion of trade and commerce. These coins, and some rupees of Bhopal mint dated AH 1213 with regnal year 40 of Shah Alam II, as shown by PPK, bear the mark of a Persian ‘he’ for Hayat, the Nawab at that time. These coins appear to be scarce, and the reason for the addition of the mark to only some coins in those years is not apparent at present, but may be presumed to represent Hayat Muhammad’s claim to have his independent rights of Nawabship respected.

The known Raisen, Bari (rupees) and Rahatgarh coins were struck in 1800-1802 AD, and bear the name of Wazir Muhammad, the Dewan who, we have already noticed, was struggling against the recalcitrant Nawab for full control of the state at this time, as well as the independence of Bhopal State. Indeed, he had already begun to ally himself with certain of the Pindari elements. This was also when he was in the process of rebuilding the state after the Maratha depredations of 1795-98 AD, and just as the Pindari/Maratha menace was starting to build up again quickly. We may therefore suppose that the state was again developing its trade and commerce and needed coins in diverse places, but was unwilling to trust the roads for transporting them if they could be produced in or near the places where they were needed. Perhaps it was deemed safer to develop strong places as local treasuries and mints (all these places had forts). This decision would entail the movement of heavy bullion rather than the more easily stolen and immediately negotiable coins. It was, moreover, a period of divided leadership, when Hayat Muhammad still had a personal following, which represented opposition to Wazir Muhammad’s Dewanship. Wazir Muhammad was fighting for the survival, not only of Bhopal state, but also of his own position in it. The mints of Raisen and Rahatgarh were in towns that had already demonstrated their support for Hayat Muhammad. Bari had also shown that it was willing to act against Wazir’s interests. It is possible that this influenced him to enforce and demonstrate his position as head of state by striking money bearing his own name, thus demonstrating his sway over even potentially hostile territory.

The Sharifganj takka is anonymous and undated, the only information on the coin is the name of its mint place, and a

suggestion from the host coin that it was probably struck after 1787 AD, during a period with alternating good and bad phases for the economy of the state. It would be pointless to speculate further. The name of the place suggests a settlement founded or named by Sharif Muhammad Khan, who rebelled against Chhote Khan in 1786 AD, as described above, or maybe Wazir Muhammad Khan, his son, in his father’s memory. Wazir Muhammad was engaged in predatory warfare in Omutwara, to the north of Bhopal, after he left Ashta, where his father had left him for safety when he rebelled in 1786 AD. That was an unsettled period in his life, and too soon for him to have set up a mint anywhere, or for any coins to be struck in his honour. Perhaps he may have done so later, during a relatively peaceful time, once he was established at Bhopal. The place name does not appear on any map or any gazetteer to which I have access, so it may be a small place or one that had the name Sharifganj only temporarily. This coin, like similar coins of the Bhopal mint, bears the hallmarks of an ‘emergency’ or temporary, makeshift coinage, and may have been struck during a period of great stress or danger to the state. We could make our choice from several such periods. In any event, the coin seems to be rare, and was probably produced in small quantities over a short period – perhaps only once, as a kind of commemorative.

The Bari coppers appear likely to have been struck during a temporary occupation of that town by an agent of the Sindhia, and therefore nominally of the Peshwa. At present, we cannot say when that was.



Figure 3. Map of the area surrounding Bhopal State, showing the positions of the cities and mints described above and the modern District boundaries of Madhya Pradesh.

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## AN IMPRESSIVE ORDER OF DATIA STATE

By Nicholas Rhodes

In a recent press report, commenting on a near crash of a British Airways jet at Heathrow, an anonymous employee commented that the pilot had done a fantastic job, and "deserved a medal the size of a frying pan". This reminded me of an unsigned professional photograph I acquired many years ago, showing an appropriately sized medal! The photograph has the somewhat unhelpful notation in modern handwriting, "Maharajah, Governor-General and son", and was presumably taken on the occasion of the award of the State Order to a senior ICS officer.



Closer examination of the photograph shows the words DATIA STATE in the panel below the coat of arms, which are clearly the arms of that state. This helps to identify the Maharajah as Lokendra Sir Govind Singh of Datia (1907-1951) and one of his sons. The "Governor General" proved easy to identify, and is Sir W M Hailey, later 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Hailey of Shahpur, who was Governor of the Punjab (1924-28) and Governor of the United Provinces (1928-31). Unfortunately it has not yet proved possible

to determine the date of the photograph any more accurately, although Hailey looks older than he did in a photograph dated 1924<sup>41</sup>, although it can be assumed that the award of the Order was made to Hailey when he was a serving Governor, i.e. between 1924 and 1931.

This professional photograph seems to have escaped the attention of students of orders and medals. Tony McClenaghan, in his admirable book entitled *Indian Princely Medals*<sup>42</sup>, notes that a State Order existed in two classes, although "no insignia have been located"<sup>43</sup>. The details of the ribbon were reported to have been of a royal blue centre edged by golden yellow. For the first class order, the ribbon was 10 cms in width, and for the second class 5 cms. The majestic appearance of this order indicates that it is most likely to have been of the first class, but no sash is visible, and the order is suspended by an impressive ornamental chain rather than a ribbon.

## DR STEWART'S COPPER PATTERNS FOR BOMBAY 1820-1821

By Dr. Paul Stevens

### Introduction

In 1997 a group of copper pattern coins was offered for sale by Bonhams<sup>1</sup>. These coins were machine struck for the Bombay Presidency, with denominations of one anna, half anna, quarter anna and one pie (twelfth anna) and dated 1820 or 1821. This group greatly extended the known denominations and dates that had been recorded previously by Major Pridmore<sup>2</sup> but no further information on these coins has been published subsequently. This paper is an attempt to put these coins into their numismatic background and add more information to that originally published by Pridmore.

### The Coins and their Context

Following the final war with the Marathas in 1817, the British added large tracts of territory to their Bombay Presidency. This expansion required a larger number of coins in circulation to meet the demands of the increased population, and the authorities were obliged to keep working those mints that they had acquired with the territory. These mints have been called 'transitional' mints and have been discussed in some detail elsewhere<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to keeping these transitional mints working, the Bombay Council, at a meeting of on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1818, ordered that the Bombay Mint Committee be asked whether or not they could build machinery capable of meeting the new demands<sup>4</sup>. They also believed that they could make sufficient profit on a copper coinage to cover the cost of building a new, machine-driven, mint:

*The quantity of copper coin alone required for circulation in the new extended districts of this government cannot be estimated at less than five lacs of rupees, and if this were coined by means of machinery, there would as shewn by the Mint Committee in their letter of 30<sup>th</sup> April last be "a gain of nearly two lacs and a half of Rs on the first issue of the pice which will be much more than sufficient [to cover?] the expense of any mint that it can be deemed advisable to erect".*

The other Presidency mints at Calcutta and Madras had already constructed machinery to produce their coinages some years earlier (Calcutta in the early 1790s and Madras in 1807) and had been successfully producing milled coins for some time.

<sup>41</sup> My thanks to the staff of the British Library for locating another photograph of Hailey. Unfortunately the Administrative Records of Datia State for the relevant period are not available in the Library. These records may provide further information about the circumstances of the award of this order.

<sup>42</sup> Lancer Publications, New Delhi, 1996.

<sup>43</sup> *Op.cit.* p.116.

The mint master at Bombay, Dr Stewart, reported that 'for some time past' he had been considering building such machinery but in order to continue the work he would need help from the gun carriage manufactory<sup>5</sup>. This he was granted and he received the help of Matross Mulholland and sub-conductor Hughes as well as access to the foundry in the gun carriage manufactory. In fact, Stewart appears to have been working on the machinery for more than a year (i.e. since at least 1817), and Hughes and Mulholland had been helping on a casual basis. This distraction seems to have annoyed the officer in charge of the gun carriage manufactory, Captain Mackintosh, who had ordered Hughes and Mulholland to stop helping Stewart<sup>6</sup>. In November 1818, Stewart wrote:

*I shall premise that it is now upwards of a year since I first directed my attention to the machinery in question, the progress of which has been delayed from time to time by various causes, but chiefly from the want of workmen to execute anything to my satisfaction. During this period however, until lately, I had the occasional assistance of both the mechanics in question, on Sundays and sometimes on Hindoo holidays when the Gun Carriage Manufactory was necessarily shut up by the non-attendance of the native workmen. I had also the assistance of Matross Mulholland by Captain Mackintosh's permission for a few days in the latter end of September, or beginning of October last, when the Gun Carriage Manufactory was removed to Colaba, and consequently the labour of this man suspended for a time. On the latter occasion I was so satisfied that the services of Matross Mulholland were so indispensably necessary to the completion of my plan, that I ventured to speak to Major General Baillie, and also Captain Mackintosh, of obtaining his discharge from the military, with the view of employing him under Government both for making and keeping in repair the machinery with which I was engaged. So far however was this application from forwarding my purpose, that, from that time, the men in question were strictly prohibited, by an order of Captain Mackintosh, from working anywhere but in the department. Thus deprived of the casual assistance I formerly had from these men, the alternative remained to me of relinquishing altogether the plan [on] which I had already made considerable progress, or by an application to Government, to obtain such assistance as I thought absolutely necessary towards its completion and from the department where alone it was to be found.*

Dr Stewart now got the help that he needed and was able to report that the investigatory work would be complete by January 1819. Unfortunately, Mulholland, who appears to have been the person with the necessary skills to build the machinery, fell ill and the whole project was delayed<sup>7</sup>. Captain Macintosh continued to complain that he could not find workmen of the standard of Mulholland but the Bombay Government continued to believe that Mulholland was better employed in the mint than in the gun carriage department<sup>8</sup>.

*Ordered the Military Board be informed that as no person equally capable with Matross Mulholland to prepare the superior description of machinery required for the mint can be procured, there is no alternative than to allow that person to remain in the mint so long as his services may be required.*

In May 1819, Stewart set sail for England (probably due to ill-health) and a Mr Henderson was appointed Mint Master on 20<sup>th</sup> May<sup>9</sup>. Stewart's departure seems to have been very rushed, leaving Henderson little time to pick up knowledge of what had been happening in the mint. One of his first actions was to take an inventory of the machinery that had been constructed and he reported that the following was available<sup>10</sup>:

Cutting Presses  
Milling Presses

Stamping presses to be contained in wooden frames, length 5 feet, breadth 7 feet, height 6 feet 6 inches

4 Fixing beds & 14 screws complete  
3 ditto without screws  
4 slides and brass boxes with bolts  
8 iron screws & 4 brass boxes incomplete  
1 ditto extra  
1 pr dies complete  
1 ditto in hand  
2 ditto ready to be sunk  
4 ditto ready to be turned  
Laminating mills each to work 2 rollers  
Various pieces of metal of different types (iron, steel, brass, lead, zinc)

He considered that the required machinery would be 8 cutting Presses, 8 Stamping Presses, 4 Milling Presses and 4 Laminating Mills at an estimated cost of Rs 8000-9000, and that these would be ready by the end of the year (1819)<sup>11</sup>. However, in August 1819, a letter was received from Captain Hawkins<sup>12</sup>, who had been sent to England to investigate the new steam driven machinery produced by Boulton at his Soho mint and then used in the Royal Mint. Hawkins appeared to be making good progress in persuading the Court of Directors to have a new mint built in Bombay.

*...The idea of the Court of Directors seems to be to make the coin of the same stamp and value all over India beginning with Bombay as being the most in want of [a] mint. The art of coining has been brought to wonderful perfection in the Royal Mint, particularly in laminating or fine rolling the metal, which is done by the power of a steam [engine] applied to improved rollers, which so compress the metal as to render its specific gravity uniform throughout. The cutting out stamp has also been carried to great perfection so that from the improvements on fine rolling and cutting out the coin, any subsequent adjustment is almost entirely superseded. This improvement has caused a wonderful saving in labour, time and metal and the quantity of coin turned out of the Royal Mint in one day, over and above the former plan, is quite incredible. The thing we have most to combat introducing the improved plan into India is the expense of machinery which from the plan already submitted to the Court will cost about thirty thousand pounds, but I have hopes of bringing it down fully one third, which sum the Court appears inclined to grant. If this can be done our mint at Bombay will, I have no doubt, be the first in the world.*

This letter made the Bombay Government review the idea of building machinery locally for all the gold, silver and copper coins and they ordered the Mint Master to concentrate on producing machinery for the manufacture of copper coins alone<sup>13</sup>. He was asked to reduce the number of machines required and to reduce the cost, and this he did. Henderson now felt that he needed 2 Rolling Mills, 4 Cutting Presses and 6 Stamping Presses at a cost of about Rs 1000. This machinery would be capable of the following output<sup>14</sup>:

- 10 pieces could be struck per minute
- 6 hours per day = 3600 per machine
- 6 machines = 21600 per day
- 300 working days = 6,480,000 per year

He estimated that this should be sufficient to meet demand based on the fact that the output of pice, half pice and quarter pice over the previous ten years had been 17,179,650 pieces. In the same letter (August 1819), Henderson stated that he had actually produced coins from the new machinery

*The Honble Board will be able to judge from the specimens which I have the honor to hand up, what description of coinage can be executed by the machinery. These have not been particularly selected but have been struck one after the other in the press.*

*The dies have been cut by a private in His Majesty's 65<sup>th</sup> regiment and should they be considered sufficiently well executed, his services might be permanently engaged by*

allowing him to exchange with a private of the Honble Company's European regiment.

Pridmore speculated that the private who cut the dies may have been Robert Gordon.

On 31<sup>st</sup> August, specimens of the coins were submitted to the Bombay Council for their approval. Pridmore was not able to identify these pattern coins because no specimens dated 1819 were known at the time, and no coins dated 1819 were present in the Bonhams' group, but there were two dated 1820 (see below).

Henderson at first reported that the machinery would be ready for the production of the new copper coinage at the beginning of 1820<sup>15</sup> but by November he had to move this back to February or March<sup>16</sup>

*The private of H.M. 65<sup>th</sup> regiment employed as a die sinker having been obliged to embark with the corps, this part of the work will be suspended until another can be procured. On the completion of the machinery it may likewise be sometime before the workmen to be employed can be sufficiently instructed in its operations.*

*I therefore request you will be pleased to acquaint the Honorable the Governor in Council that, under all these circumstances, the commencement of a copper coinage, if undertaken with the machinery authorised to be completed for the purpose, would in all probability be delayed until the month of February or March next.*

A second problem facing Henderson was the fact that there was not enough room in the mint for the new machinery to operate. Various existing buildings were considered but rejected<sup>17</sup> and by May 1820 no suitable building had been found and the machinery itself was still not ready<sup>18</sup>. However, by July 1820 the machinery appeared to be sufficiently advanced that the Mint Committee felt that they should reply to the letter received from Government the previous September asking their opinion of the pattern coins submitted the previous August (i.e.1819)<sup>19</sup>. They were very positive in their recommendation:

*However little these coins will admit of a comparison with the copper coins executed in England, some of which are still to be seen in circulation, there can be no difference of opinion as to their superiority over those executed in this country of which nearly the whole currency is composed. We should therefore have no difficulty in recommending their issue as the Government coin, if reliance can be placed (as we think it can) on the whole being executed as well as the specimens which have been submitted.*

they further recommended that the new copper coinage should consist of a pice (pie) of 33 1/3 grains, a quarter anna of 100 grains (i.e. 3 pies), a half anna and a one anna coin.

*...and this we should recommend as the lowest denomination of our currency, each pice to contain 33 1/3 grains. Then 3 pice – 1 qr anna; a name which we should propose to be assigned to what would be the 100 grain pice above noticed, which would otherwise create a confusion with the pice of account; and then 2 qrs annas – 1 half anna; and 2 half annas – 1 anna;*

This is the first mention of the name 'quarter anna' for the 100 grain coin. Up until then, coins of this size had been referred to as 'pice'. The Mint Committee went on to discuss the lack of depth of design that was achieved on the coins produced by the machines, as well as the design itself:

*It is rather difficult to say whether the present faintness in the impression arises from the mode in which the presses have been constructed or from a fault in the dies, but we are induced to think the former, because every alteration yet tried in the dies (which will if practicable be sunk with punches) has proved but little effect. It is possible enough that it may arise from the screws of the presses being only two threaded, and a model of a four threaded screw has therefore been prepared by*

*the head workman, which when cast in the foundry, will be tried. If it arises from any general defect in the mode of constructing the press, we fear the hoped of remedy are but little. The only further observation which it seems necessary to offer in respect to the impression is that it should be rendered as difficult of imitation as possible, and we think that it will not be easy for any native artist to imitate successfully that struck on the coinage of 1804, sent out from Europe, which might therefore be adopted and which will no doubt sufficiently meet the wishes of the Honble Court on this point.*

The coins examined may have included the known patterns for a quarter anna and twelfth anna dated 1820 (and AH 1235), which came to light in the Bonhams' listing. It is conceivable that these coins were produced in 1819 and dated 1820 because the machinery had been promised for the end of the 1819 and production was planned to begin in 1820. However, it is more likely that the 1820 dated coins were produced as trials whilst the machinery was under construction in 1820 and that these were the coins examined by the Mint Committee in 1820. They are certainly very weakly struck and this would fit with the comments of the Mint Committee. If this latter assumption is true, then the 1819 coins still await discovery.

#### Quarter Anna 1820 (Bonhams lot 415,420 & 421)



Weight = 5.2g. Diameter = 26mm

Obverse: Coat of arms of the East India Company with the legend EAST INDIA COMPANY above and the date below

Reverse: Balanced scales with the Persian word 'adil (= just or fair) between the pans and the Hijri date 1235 below. No value written above scales

#### Pie 1820 (Bonhams lot 416)



Weight = 2.1g. Diameter = 19mm

Obverse and reverse designs as on the quarter anna above

On 28<sup>th</sup> July 1820 a resolution to suspend the copper coinage was passed<sup>20</sup>. This resolution was to continue in force until the decision about sending machinery from England was finally made, one way or another, and this seemed like the end of the trial to build machinery locally for the Bombay mint. But the story does not end there.

By November 1821 the Mint Committee was in a position to submit, to Government, its report on the reform of the coinage of Bombay<sup>21</sup>. By then, the Committee knew that machinery would be arriving from England but they recommended that Dr Stewart's machinery should be used to produce the copper coins, thereby saving the new machinery for the gold and silver coinages. This would also have the advantage that the new copper coinage could begin as soon as an appropriate building was found:

*...Of course little can be done towards carrying these views, even if approved, into execution, until the actual arrival of the machinery from England, since it would be unsafe to commence building for its reception without more accurate knowledge than we possess of its dimensions, but it has occurred to us that we might, without interfering with, or impeding, the erection of the more perfect European machinery, which we would recommend to be reserved for the*

coinage of gold and silver exclusively, contrive to set in motion the machinery projected and begun by the late Dr Stewart, and which for some time past has been constructed in this country for the coinage of copper.

As a proof of its powers, we beg leave to hand up for the inspection of your honble Board a few specimens of copper coins (Viz 6 annas, 6 half ditto, 6 quarter ditto, 6 pice), recently struck by it, which appear to us of highly respectable execution, and should any question arise as to the expediency of having two sets of machinery, we beg leave to observe that we consider it of the utmost importance that we should, both with a view to expedition, and of saving as much as possible the European machinery, which, in the event of accident, we should find it so difficult to repair.

What we would propose therefore is that, as Dr Stewart's machinery may now be said to be completed, since dies only are wanting, which can easily be supplied long before they will be required, a vacant space of considerable extent – say three hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth – be immediately enclosed simply by a wall, and that along the inside of the back wall of the quadrangle, a line of rough but substantial sheds be built, capable of containing the machinery in question, with one or two strong casements, for the safe custody of the copper in course of coinage.

This enclosure, we entertain no doubts from the general knowledge we possess of the dimensions of the European machinery, will afford ample space for both, and will even admit of the copper coinage proceeding whilst the building for the other machinery are erecting, which, if practicable, will obviously be a very desirable arrangement.

The site we would recommend for the enclosure, is that on which the new mint was formerly proposed to be built, namely the space to the eastward of the mint tank, between the rear of the town barracks and the north east angle of the castle, and we have only further to add that, as it has become indispensably necessary to provide some building for the reception of the machinery here at all events, the plan we have suggested can hardly prove a very expensive experiment, even should our expectations of receiving machinery from England be disappointed.

In December 1821, the machinery was still stored in the house originally occupied by Dr Stewart and was looked after by a Parsee specially employed for the job. It was recommended that this man should transfer to the mint establishment and this was agreed<sup>22</sup>. The pattern coins dated 1821 must have been produced there. These coins have an AH date of 1231 on the reverse. This equates with an AD date of 1815/16. Quite why the coins bear this anomalous Hijri date is not known. Pridmore has speculated that the final Persian numeral 1 may have been intended as a Persian 7. It is also possible that the only dies available were those from Dr Stewart's earliest experiments, which he appears to have started in 1817 (see above for list of equipment available in 1819 including dies). However, the quarter anna of this series is named as such and therefore probably was produced after July 1820 when the Bombay Council agreed to this epithet for the coin. Neither of these explanations seems very good. Perhaps it was just ignorance on the part of the die engraver?

There seem to be two series of these 1821 coins. One with the denominations expressed as e.g. ONE HALF ANNA and the other with the denominations expressed simply as e.g. HALF ANNA. Some denominations are missing from these sets but this may be because they have not yet been discovered. Whether all of these coins were submitted to the Bombay Council at the same time, or not, is not clear. It may be that different sets were prepared as trials and only one chosen for submission to the Council.

**Half Anna 1821 (Pridmore sale, lot 560 )**



Weight = 12.7 g. Diameter = 30 mm

Obverse: as one anna above

Reverse: Scales with the Persian word 'adil (=just or fair) between the pans and the hijri date 1221 below. The value above: ONE HALF ANNA

**Quarter Anna 1821 (Pridmore 335)**



Weight = 6.22g. Diameter = 26.1mm

Obverse: As one anna above

Reverse: Scales with the Persian word 'adil (= just or fair) between the pans and the hijri date 1221 below. The value above: ONE Q<sup>R</sup> ANNA

**Anna 1821 (Bonhams lot 413 & 419)**



Weight = 25.9-26.3g. Diameter = 35mm

Obverse: Coat of arms of the East India Company with the legend EAST INDIA COMPANY above and the date below

Reverse: Scales with the Persian word 'adil (= just or fair) between the pans and the hijri date 1221 below. The value above: ANNA

**Half Anna 1821 (Bonhams lot 414 & 419)**



Weight = 12.9-13.1g. Diameter = 30mm

Obverse: as one anna above

Reverse: Scales with the Persian word 'adil (= just or fair) between the pans and the hijri date 1221 below. The value above: HALF ANNA

**Pie 1821 (Twelfth Anna, Bonhams lot 417, 418 & 419)**



Weight = 2.1-2.2g. Diameter = 19mm

Obverse: As one anna above

Reverse: Scales with the Persian word 'adil (= just or fair) between the pans and the hijri date 1221 below. The value above: PIE

In February 1822, the Chief Engineer submitted a plan for the new building and this was estimated to cost between Rs 36,000 and Rs 42,000<sup>23</sup>, which was considered rather high and was never proceeded with.

In July 1822, Dr Stewart's machinery was moved to a warehouse in the town<sup>24</sup>, in 1824 it was moved into the mint<sup>25</sup> and in 1825 the machinery was broken up and disposed of to various departments, including, ironically, the gun carriage manufactory<sup>26</sup>. Eighty-seven dies that had already been sunk were ordered to be defaced, so there were a lot of dies available, any of which could have been used to produce the coins described herein. In the same letter it was reported that Mr B Mulholland, the person who had built most of the machinery, would continue to be employed on the mint establishment and would help Captain Hawkins with the erection of the new mint due to arrive from England.

#### Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Dr David Fore for his help with the photographs used in this paper

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- <sup>12</sup> Bombay Consultations. IOR P/411/39 p86. Extract of a private letter from Captain Hawkins, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> March 1819
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- <sup>14</sup> Bombay Consultations. P/411/39 p 134. Letter from the Mint Master (Henderson) to Government, dated 31<sup>st</sup> August 1819
- <sup>15</sup> Bombay Consultations. P/411/39 p 150. Letter from the Mint Master (Henderson) to Government, dated 26<sup>th</sup> September
- <sup>16</sup> Bombay Consultations. P/411/39 p158. Letter from the Mint Master (Henderson) to Government, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1819
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- <sup>20</sup> Bombay Consultations. P/411/40 p71. Minute, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1820

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- <sup>22</sup> Bombay Consultations. P/411/40 p117. Letter from the Mint Committee (including J Bouchier as Acting Mint Master) to Government, dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1821
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## THE KONG-PAR TANGKAS OF TIBET

By Wolfgang Bertsch

### 1. Historical Background

The so called Kong-par tangkas are the first dated silver coins which were struck in Tibet. From about 1650 until 1775 the silver coins current in Tibet were supplied by Nepal. After Prithvi Narayan Shah had completed his conquest of the Kathmandu valley in 1768 he introduced new silver coins struck from better silver than those which the Malla kings had previously sent to Tibet. He wanted the Tibetans to accept his new silver mohars at the rate of one new coin for two old coins of the Malla period. This would have meant an unacceptable loss for the Tibetan traders and was the reason for the Tibetan government refusing to accept this unfavourable exchange rate. During the rule of Prithvi Narayan Shah's successor, Pratap Simha, this problem was temporarily resolved. This ruler struck silver coins especially for Tibet; these had a low silver content which was about equivalent to that of the last Malla coins which were sent to Tibet. However, the coinage problem which existed between Nepal and Tibet arose again after the death of Prataph Simha and finally lead to two wars between the two countries. The Nepalese lost the second war in 1792 to a Chinese army which had intervened on Tibet's request and drove the Nepalese out of Tibet. Part of the peace treaty which was signed between Nepal and China in 1793 stipulated that the Nepalese were deprived of the right to mint coins for Tibet.

Due to this coinage dispute, a shortage of silver coins made itself felt in Tibet during the late 1780s. The Chinese army which intervened in the second war between Tibet and Nepal arrived in Tibet carrying silver ingots in the form of sycees. Earlier experience had shown in 1720, when a Chinese army had arrived in Tibet to drive out a Dzungar army which had invaded Tibet from the north, that Lhasa had become flooded with Chinese silver which caused a considerable inflationary pressure in the markets of the Tibetan capital (Filippi, 1937, p. 167). In order to avoid similar problems when the Chinese army arrived in Tibet in 1791, the Chinese allowed the Tibetans to strike silver coins, so that members of the Chinese army could exchange their sycee silver into these coins, thus avoiding a similar inflation to that of 1720<sup>44</sup>. These coins which were originally struck for Chinese army members and subsequently were used in central Tibet along with the Nepalese coins which were still current are the so-called Kong-par tangkas, dated TE 13-45, (AD 1791), 13-46 (AD 1792) and 13-47 (AD 1793)<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> According to Y. K. Leung, who quotes from a Chinese source, the total amount of silver brought by the Chinese troops was 10,520,000 taels.

<sup>45</sup> Terrien de la Couperie (1881, p.348) and Wood (1912, p. 166) record the dates 13-44 and 13-48 for the kong-par tangkas. However, coins with

## 2. The Mints

Walsh was the first to report that these coins were struck in Kong-bo (*kong po*) province in a place called Giamda (*rgya mda*). However, Chinese authors identify the place of the mint as Jomo Dzong (*jo mo dzong*), also located in Kong-bo province, east of Lhasa. The name “kong-par tangka” refers to this province and has the meaning of “tangka struck in Kong-bo”<sup>46</sup>. Kempf (1969) reports that only the tangkas dated 13-45 were struck in Kong-bo, while the later issues were produced in the Shol (*zhol*) mint which was located in Shol village at the foot of the Potala in Lhasa. All the dies (including those for the year 13-45) for this coinage were most probably produced in Shol, and it is very likely that the early issues of the Kong-par tangkas were struck from these dies in Jomo Dzong (Kong-bo province) and not in Giamda. No details are known of the mint in Jomo Dzong, but we do have some information regarding the mint located in Shol, where the Kong-par tangkas dated 13-46 and 13-47 and the later issues of 1840 and 1850 were most probably struck. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama founded workshops at the foot of the Potala when construction works for the Potala Palace were initiated. These workshops comprised nine departments which were mainly responsible for what nowadays we would call the “interior decoration” of the Potala. These departments were:

1. Coppersmith (*zings rdung*). The workmen were responsible for preparing metal sheets and moulds for casting statues.
2. Engraving (*tshags pa*)
3. Casting (*lugs pa*)
4. Inner roughcast (*jim bzo*). Moulding of prototypes with clay.
5. Inlaying (*phra bzo*). Inlaying gems into carved work
6. Painting (*lta bris*)
7. Lathe (*dkrugs pa*). Producing woodwork.
8. Carpentry (*shing bzo*). Production of wooden frames, repairing tools and other odd jobs.
9. Blacksmith (*lcags bzo bcas bzo*). Producing and repairing tools for the coppersmiths.

These workshops were known as Shol Dopal (*zhol 'dod dpal*).

We can presume that the mint grew out of the coppersmith and engraving department in 1763/64 when the first Tibetan coins were struck.

As stated above, it is reasonable to assume that only the first Kong-par issues dated 13-45 (AD) 1791 were struck at Jomo Dzong with dies produced in the metal department of Shol Dopal, while the subsequent issues of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kong-par tangkas were probably all struck in the Shol mint, as well as the issues of 1840 and 1850. By that time the mint must have formed a separate department within Shol Dopal. Rhodes (1978) draws the attention to the fact that Rockhill (1894, p. 259) reports that the Kong-par tangkas were referred to as “Bo-gi Gyal-pa-gi tangka” (this would be *bod gyi rgyal po gyi tang ka* in proper Tibetan spelling and has the meaning of “Tangka of the Tibetan king”, i.e. the regent<sup>47</sup>) by the Tibetans and concludes that this indicates that the later issues must have been struck in or near Lhasa.

these dates have never been found, and we can be almost sure that coins bearing these dates were never struck.

<sup>46</sup> “Kong par tangka” is most probably the abbreviated form of *kong po 'i par ba 'i tam ga* i.e. “tangka struck in Kong-bo (province)”.

<sup>47</sup> In another publication Rockhill (1891, p. 2, note 9) remarks the following: >>The Chyi-lön (*sphyi blon*) Hutuktu is the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Tibet, he is commonly called by the people Peu-gi gyabo “king of Tibet” or Jya-ts’ab (*rgyal tashab*) “viceroys”>>. Apparently Rockhill was misinformed when he says that the “king of Tibet” or the “viceroys”, i.e. the regent was the chancellor of the Exchequer. But certainly coins could only be struck after the regent had agreed to the proclamation which referred to the issue of a coin. At least this was the procedure during the minority of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in the 1940s when the regent had to seal the relevant proclamation for the issue of coins or banknotes. There is reason to believe that the procedure was not very different in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 3. The Design of the Coins

The basic design of the Kong-par tangkas is inspired by the Nepalese Shah Dynasty mohar coins which were specially struck for Tibet in the name of Pratap Simha of which I illustrate an example below:



Fig. 1

Mohar struck in the name of Pratap Simha in SE (= Saka Era)  
1697 (= AD 1775)

The obverses of the kong-par tangkas have a central square in which an ornament is placed which has been described as the Sanskrit letter “om” (Terrien de la Couperie, 1881, p. 348; Marvin, 1907, p. 12; Kann, 1966, p. 406) or, more recently, as “date arch” (Bruce II et alii, 1981, p. 404). Below the date arch are the Tibetan figures 13-45, 13-46 or 13-47, indicating the Tibetan cyclic years (for example 13-45 is the 45<sup>th</sup> year of the 14<sup>th</sup> cycle or it means that 13 cycles plus 45 years of the 14<sup>th</sup> cycle have passed since 1026) which correspond to AD 1791, 1792 and 1793 respectively<sup>48</sup>. The design of the last issue of kong-par tangkas has a similar obverse design, but the figures for the date are 15-24 and 15-25 (AD 1890 and 1891). The central square is surrounded by eight scroll ornaments which have been referred to as “lotus hands” by Shakabpa (1992). These ornaments are separated by eight groups of three pellets, and all this is surrounded by a circle of dots or pearls.

The reverse has eight petals in each of which one of the eight Buddhist auspicious emblems (*astamangala*, Tibetan *bkra shis rtags brgyad*) is placed. In the centre, surrounded by single or double circle, can be seen the design of a flower which generally has been identified as being a lotus flower. Laufer (1987, p. 514) reports, however, that this feature was explained to him by a Lama as “wish-granting tree” (*dpag bsam ljon shing*; Sanskrit: *kalpalata*). As on the obverse of the coin, a circle of dots is placed near the rim.

## 4. Weight and Silver Content

The silver content and the weight standard of the kong-par tangkas closely follows that of their Nepalese prototypes, the mohars of Pratap Simha. The weight is relatively uniform for the early issues and their imitations which were struck in 1840 and 1850. Only the last issues, dated 15-24 and 15-25 have a reduced weight standard in line with the contemporaneous Ganden tangkas which were struck to a similar reduced weight standard (Rhodes’ group B III; Rhodes, 1983, p. 4).

For the first two groups of kong-par tangkas the silver content is roughly  $\frac{2}{3}$  while  $\frac{1}{3}$  is copper. Many specimens of the third group struck in about 1850 seem to have a lower silver content compared with the coins of the first two groups. Xiao Huaiyuan (1987) reports that the copper content varies between 30 and 40% and that the average weight is 5 g. The late kong-par tangkas dated 15-24 and 15-25 seem to be an exceptional case. According to Xiao Huaiyuan (1987, p. 32-33) the issue dated 15-25 has a silver content of 75% and the average weight is 4.5 g, while the issue of 15-24 has a lower silver content and its average weight is 5.0 g.<sup>49</sup> However, the average weight of the specimens

<sup>48</sup> Walsh reports that, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, most Tibetans he asked about the meaning of the figures on the coins were not aware that these represent the year cycle and year respectively (Walsh, 1907).

<sup>49</sup> Dong Wenchao (1993, p. 143-145, 147 and 159-160) gives a fineness of 80 to 95% for the kong-par tangkas dated 13-45, 13-46 and 13-47 and of

of this type in my collection do not confirm the statement that there exists a difference in the weight standard between the issues dated 15-24 and 15-25, the average weight of the coins with the date 15-25 being only slightly higher than that of the coins with the date 15-24. Judging by the appearance of the coins, most of the specimens which bear these dates do seem to have a higher silver content than the earlier issues. But there is one specimen in my collection, dated 15-24, which is of copper and was silver washed and seems to be struck from genuine dies.

### Weight of Kong-par Tangkas

Date	Type	Number of coins examined	Highest weight	Lowest weight	Average weight
13-45		15	5.47 g	4.21 g	5.16 g
13-46	Rev. double circle	12	5.62 g	3.84 g	4.97 g
13-46	Rev. single circle	40	5.62 g	4.18 g	5.22 g
13-47		8	5.32 g	4.86 g	5.11 g
13-46	Pointed date arch (1840)	18	5.82 g	5.02 g	5.31 g
13-46	Struck ca. 1850	138	5.69 g	3.82 g	4.95 g
15-24	AD 1890	38	5.12 g	3.47 g	4.51 g
15-25	AD 1891	14	5.12 g	4.21 g	4.57 g

### 5. Catalogue of Kong-par tangkas

I only list and illustrate the main types along with their most significant varieties. The minor varieties seem to be almost innumerable, particularly those found by carefully studying the reverse emblems of the third issue. For more details regarding these minor varieties one may refer to the unpublished paper by B.N. Shrestha (late 1960s).

#### A. The first Issue (TE 13-45 until 13-47)

Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the kong-par tangkas were known to western experts. Among the earliest specimens on record in the West are probably the kong-par tangkas which were presented by Évariste Huc to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and some early gifts of Tibetan coins made to the British Museum. The coins with the dates 13-45 and 13-46 are known with two major reverse variants: either double or single central circle. The coins dated 13-47 were only known with single central circle on the reverse, but recently a specimen with double circle was published in China. Most probably the latter coins have to be considered as mules (obverse of 13-47 issue and reverse of 13-46 issue).

De la Couperie recorded coins with the dates 13-44 and 13-48, but these dates could never be confirmed (De La Couperie, 1881. p. 348). Wood, probably following de la Couperie, also recorded these dates (Wood, 1912, p. 166).

80% for the issue dated 15-24 and 15-25. The appearance of the coins shows that these high estimates cannot be correct. Moreover, not many coins would have escaped the melting pot if the silver content of the kong-par tangka was as high as indicated by Dong Wencho.

### 1. Coins dated 13-45 (AD 1791)



Fig. 2

Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming clockwise. Southwest symbol is composed of 9 dots (no stem). Weight: 5.17 g, diam.: 27.5 – 28.0 mm



Fig. 3

Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming counter-clockwise. Southwest symbol is composed of 9 dots and stem. Weight: 5.24 g; diam.: 27.5 – 27.9 mm



Fig. 4

Dated 13-45. Reverse: northeast symbol: the fish swimming clockwise. Southwest symbol is composed of 10 dots (no stem). North symbol different from previous two coins. Weight: 5.36 g; diam.: 27.0 – 27.6 mm.



Fig. 5

Weight: 4.92 g; diam.: 26.1 – 26.7 mm. Reverse: Northeast symbol: fish swimming counter-clockwise, southwest symbol is composed of ten dots.

### 2. Coins dated 13-46 (AD 1792)



Fig. 6

Obverse: small figures in central square. Reverse: Double central circle. Northeast symbol: two fish swimming anti-clockwise. Weight: 4.96 g; diam.: 26.5 – 27.2 mm.



Fig. 7

Weight: 5.16 g; diam.: 26.7 – 27.4 mm. Obverse: Large figures. Reverse: Northeast symbol: fish swimming anti-clockwise, but are in a different position compared to the previous coin.



Fig. 8

Obv.: Two small dots between large figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Single circle. Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol composed of one dash and six dots. Weight: 5.22 g; diam.: 27.5 – 27.8 mm.



Fig. 9

Obverse: Two small dots between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Single circle. The eight symbols are not properly aligned with the central lotus design. Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. Weight: 5.44 g; diam.: 28.9 – 29.3 mm.



Fig. 10

Obverse: Small dot between figures 1 and 3 is joined to middle stroke of figure 3. Reverse: Single circle. Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol consists of 5 separate strokes and two dots. Weight: 5.31 g; diam.: 27.5 – 28.2 mm.



Fig. 11

Obverse: No dot between figures 1 and 3. Figures 4 and 6 are joined. Reverse similar to previous coin. Weight: 5.40 g; diam.: 26.6 – 28.4 mm.



Fig. 12

Obverse: Dot between figures 1 and 3 is joined to figure 1. Reverse: the eight symbols are symmetrically aligned. Weight: 5.12 g; diam.: 27.4 – 28.0 mm.



Fig. 13

Obverse: The small dot between figures 1 and 3 is joined to middle stroke of figure 3. Reverse: Similar to previous coin. Weight: 5.23 g; diam.: 27.7 – 28.2 mm.

### 3. Coins dated 13-47 (AD 1793)



Fig. 14

Dated 13-47. Reverse: Northeast symbol: fish swimming clockwise. Weight: 5.32 g; diam.: 28.1 – 28.2 mm.



Fig. 15

Dated 13-47. Similar to previous coin. Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming clockwise. Weight: 4.86 g; Diam.: 28.2 – 28.5 mm.



Fig. 16

Dated 13-47. Obverse: One large dot between figures 1 and 3, different style "7". Reverse: Northeast symbol: two fish swimming clockwise. Three dots are placed between the fish. Weight: 4.92 g; diam.: 27.2 – 28.3 mm.

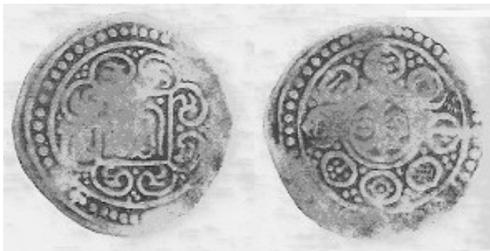


Fig. 17

Dated 13-47. Reverse: double circle. This coin can probably be considered a mule (obverse of issue 13-47 and reverse of issue 13-46 (Jia Lin, 2002, p. 408, no. 9E).

**The second issue with pointed date arch**

Although the coins of this variety are all dated 13-46 (1792), they are believed to have been struck in ca. 1840 (Xiao Huaiyuan, 1988, p. 31; Gabrisch, 1990, p. 28 and 82; Zhu Jinzhong et alii, 2002, p. 77; Wang Haiyan, 2007, p. 106-107). Their obverse has a pointed date arch and the moon and sun emblem is not placed above the middle of this arch, but in the upper left (moon) and right (sun) corner of the central square. The reverse is similar to that of the coins of group A.



Fig. 18

Obverse: without dots below date arch, sun has no rays. Figures "4" and "6" are on different levels. Reverse: Southwest symbol is a lotus composed of 7 dots. East symbol is composed of four buds and two leaves. Weight: 5.36 g; diam.: 25.8 – 26.3 mm.



Fig. 19

Obverse: without dots below date arch, sun has no rays. Figures 4 and 6 are on the same level. Reverse: Similar to previous coin. Southwest symbol is a lotus flower composed of 7 dots. Weight: 5.12 g; diam.: 25.8 – 26.2 mm.



Fig. 20

Obverse: without dots below date arch, sun has rays. Figure "6" is almost joined to the bottom line of the square. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Southwest symbol is a lotus composed of six dots and one stem. East symbol has four buds and four leaves. Weight: 5.10 g; diam.: 24.8 – 25.8 mm.



Fig. 21

Obverse: Three small dots arranged irregularly below date arch. Reverse: East symbol has one bud and four leaves. Weight: 5.13 g; diam.: 25.4 – 25.8 mm.



Fig. 22

Obverse: Four dots below date arch. Reverse: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Weight: 5.36 g; diam.: 26.7 – 27.1 mm.



Fig. 23

Obverse: Four dots of about equal size below date arch. Small figure "6". Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Weight: 5.40 g; diam.: 26.3 – 27.0 mm.



Fig. 24

Obverse: Four dots below date arch, figure 6 attached to figure "3". Reverse: northeast: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Weight: 5.44 g; diam.: 26.3 – 27.1 mm.



Fig. 25

Obverse: Four dots below date arch, figure "6" is almost joined to the bottom line of the square, figure "3" with additional short bottom line. Reverse: similar to previous coin. Weight: 5.33 g; diam.: 25.9 – 26.7 mm.



Fig. 26

Obverse: Four dots below date arch. Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming clockwise. Collection David Holler.



Fig. 31

Obverse: Three dots below date arch; sun has rays. Reverse: Southwest symbol composed of 7 dots without stem. Weight: 5.42 g; diam.: 25.8 – 26.7 mm.



Fig. 27

Obv. Three large and one small dot below date arch. Reverse: northeast symbol: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Weight: 5.82 g; diam.: 26.9 – 27.5 mm



Fig. 32

Reverse: The northeast, east, south east, northwest, west and southwest symbols are in reverse order (Yin Zhengmin, 2004, p. 10, no. 31). Weight: 5.3 g; diam.: 26.3 mm.

### C. The third issue dated TE 13-46

These Kong-par tangkas are believed to have been struck in about 1850 (Gabrisch, 1990, p. 28 and 82; Zhu Jinzhong et alii, 2002, p. 77; Wang Haiyan, 2007, p. 109-110), although they all bear the date 13-46 (AD 1792)<sup>50</sup>. They are much more common than the previous issues. This may not only be attributable to the fact that larger numbers of these coins were struck, but also to the fact that their silver content generally seems to be lower than that of the earlier issues, thus saving more specimens from being melted down. There are some coins which are of almost pure copper, some of them being silver-washed. I believe that not all of these can be considered as contemporaneous forgeries, but that many of them are products of the mint where control seems to have been very lax during this period so that some officials took the opportunity to enrich themselves by subtracting silver from the mint and replacing it by copper.

Varieties among these coins are numerous: on the obverse one can observe many different styles of figures, the figure “1” and “3” being separated by one dot or by two dots, one of the dots being smaller than the other. These obverse dot varieties may serve to identify the different die cutters which were active during this period. On the reverse, varieties are particularly noteworthy in the south-east symbol (endless knot) which occurs in different styles and which may be distinguished by counting the number of small squares or lozenges of which these emblems are composed. I only illustrate a small selection of the known varieties.



Fig. 28

Obverse: Three dots below date arch; sun has no rays. Different style figure “6”. Weight: 5.33 g; diam.: 26.5 – 27.0 mm.



Fig. 29

Obverse: Three dots below date arch; figure “6” is almost joined to bottom line of square; sun has rays. Weight: 5.45 g; diam.: 25.5 – 26.2 mm.



Fig. 30

Obverse: Three dots below date arch, figure “6” is attached to figure “3”; sun has rays. Weight: 5.27 g; diam.: 26.0 – 26.4 mm.



Fig. 33

Obverse: One dot between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. Southeast: Small knot consisting of a

<sup>50</sup> According to Xiao Huaiyuan (1987, p. 31-32) the third issue was struck in the year 1840 along with the second issue.

lozenge which is subdivided into four small lozenges. Weight: 5.22 g; diam.: 27.7 – 28.5 mm.



Fig. 34

Obverse: One small and one large dot between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. Southeast: Small knot consisting of a lozenge which is subdivided into four small lozenges. Weight: 4.92 g; diam.: 27.5 – 28.0 mm.



Fig. 35

Obverse: One small and one large dot between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: northeast: fish swimming clockwise. Southeast: Knot consists of one lozenge which is subdivided into four small lozenges. East symbol is different from that seen on the reverse of previous coin. Weight: 5.21 g; diam.: 27.9 – 28.4 mm.



Fig. 36

Obverse: One dot between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. Southeast: Knot consists of a lozenge which is subdivided into nine small lozenges. Weight: 5.17 g; diam.: 27.4 – 27.9 mm.



Fig. 37

Obverse: The usual date arch is missing. One large and one very small dot between large figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise, but are in a different position. Southeast: Knot consists of a lozenge which is subdivided into 12 small lozenges. Weight: 5.48 g; diam.: 28.3 – 29.1 mm.



Fig. 38

Obverse: No dots between figures 1 and 3; figures 4 and 6 are of different style: Reverse: northeast: fishes swimming clockwise. East symbol composed of only four elements. Southeast: Knot consists of a square with a cruciform knot inside. Weight: 4.00 g; diam.: 25.3 – 27.9 mm.



Fig. 39

Obverse: One small dot which is joined to the middle stroke of the figure 3. Reverse: northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol is composed of seven elements. Southeast: A real knot which is neither a square nor a lozenge. Weight: 4.35 g; diam.: 27.2 – 27.8 mm.



Fig. 40

Obverse: no dots between figure 1 and 3. Figure 6 is joined to lower part of figure 3. Reverse: northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol is composed of four elements. Southeast symbol is a lozenge which is subdivided into nine small lozenges. Weight: 4.49 g; diam.: 26.4 – 26.8 mm.



Fig. 41

Obverse: One dot between figures 1 and 3. Reverse: Southeast symbol is a rounded knot composed of five cells. Weight: 5.04 g; diam.: 27.6 – 28.5 mm.



Fig. 42

Although this coin is struck in copper, I consider it a genuine piece. It is an example of a mint product from the period when control was very lax and employees could replace silver with copper, and sell the silver privately. Weight: 4.66 g; diam.: 28.0 – 28.9 mm.



Fig. 43

Another example of a kong-par tangka struck in copper which originally was silver-washed. I also consider this coin a genuine product of the mint. Weight: 4.62 g; diam. 26.8 – 28.7 mm.

**D. The last issue (TE 15-24 and 15-25)**

These coins are dated either 15-24 or 15-25 (AD 1890 or 1891) and include fewer variants than the previous group. Apart from the design variations which I describe below, two additional features show variants: the number of pellets which are placed between the outer and inner circle on the obverse and between the outer and middle circle of the reverse can vary. The southwest symbol can have a straight or a curved top line. Coins dated 15-25 were struck in smaller numbers, which I deduce from the fact that nowadays they are much scarcer than those which bear the date 15-24.

Walsh (1907) reports that he found specimens in almost mint condition (in 1904), which is why he believed that these coins continued to be struck after 1891 with the frozen date 15-25.

Carlo Valdetaro (1974) mentions a kong-par tangka dated 15-30 as existing in a London collection. I cannot confirm the existence of this date. Also the date 14-25 which was recorded by Shakabpa (1992) does not exist.

**1. Coins dated 15-24**



Fig. 44

Obverse: Among the eight ornaments (“lotus hands”) around the square, at least one small comma-shaped part is not joined to the remaining main part. Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol is composed of nine dots. Weight: 4.51 g; diam.: 26.1 – 26.7 mm.



Fig. 45

Obverse: Most of the comma-shaped parts in the eight ornaments are attached to the main part. Reverse: Similar to previous coin, but fish are longer and southwest symbols are different. Weight: 4.65 g; diam.: 25.9 – 26.4 mm.



Fig. 46

Obverse: All comma-shaped parts are joined to the rest of the eight ornaments, except in the ornament in the 11 o’clock position. Figure 4 is placed higher than figure 2. Reverse: northeast: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol is composed of nine dots. Weight: 4.78 g; diam.: 26.8 – 27.2 mm.



Fig. 47

Obverse: All parts in the eight ornaments are joined to each other. Figure four is on the same level as figure 2. Reverse: Northeast symbol: fish swimming anti-clockwise. East symbol is composed of nine dots. Weight: 4.24 g; diam.: 26.1 – 27.1 mm.



Fig. 48

Obverse: All parts in the eight ornaments are joined to each other. The two parts of the date arch are not joined. Reverse: fish swimming clockwise. East symbol is composed of only eight dots. Weight: 4.21 g; diam.: 26.2 – 26.6 mm.



Fig. 49

Obverse: Similar to previous coin. Reverse: northeast: fish swimming ant-clockwise. East symbol is composed of nine dots. Weight: 4.52 g; diam.: 26.5 – 27.6 mm.



Fig. 50

Reverse: double inner circle. A rare variant. Weight: 4.16 g; diam.: 26.3 – 26.6 mm.



Fig. 51

Struck in gold (collection A. Lissanevitch)

2. Coins dated 15-25



Fig. 52

Reverse: Fish swimming clockwise. Weight: 5.12 g; diam.: 26.3 – 26.7 mm.



Fig. 53

Reverse is similar to previous coin: Northeast: fish swimming clockwise, but in a different position. Weight: 4.27 g; diam.: 25.3 – 25.8 mm.



Fig. 54

Reverse: Northeast: fish swimming anti-clockwise. Southwest symbol has curved top line. Weight: 4.45 g; diam.: 26.0 – 26.5 mm.



Fig. 55

Obverse: One comma-shaped part of the outer eight ornaments (scrolls) is not joined to the rest of the "lotus hands". Reverse: Small fish swimming clockwise. Central lotus: The upper outer leaves are attached to the upper forked part of the flower. Weight: 4.44 g; diam.: 26.1 – 26.5 mm.

**E. A possible pattern struck to the sho standard**

There exists a peculiar and unique Kong-par tangka variety, dated 13-45, with eight single dots on both obverse and reverse separating the scrolls or petals instead of eight groups of three dots. The weight of this coin is only 3.7 grams and it may be a pattern for a kong par sho rather than tangka issue (Diameter not recorded, private collection in Nepal, photographed by Carlo Valdetaro).



Fig. 56

**F. Fractions of kong-par tangkas**

While some Malla coins and particularly the coins struck for Tibet by Pratap Simha are often found as fractions at the value of 1 sho (with five petals visible on one side), 7 ½ skar (exactly half the coin; with four petals visible on one side) and 5 skar (with three petals visible on one side), fractions of kong-par tangkas are very rarely met with. So far I have not been able to find an explanation for this, since the kong-par tangkas imitate the Nepalese design of eight petals on their reverses and were thus as suitable to be cut into fractions as their Nepalese prototypes. Maybe the reverse design with the eight Buddhist auspicious emblems was considered sacred and, therefore, hardly anybody dared facing the prospect of accumulating bad karma by destroying this design.



Fig. 57

Fraction of a kong-par tangka representing 5 skar or one third of a tangka. The date is not visible on this fraction (collection N. G. Rhodes).<sup>51</sup>



Fig. 58

Half kong par tangka (= 7 ½ skar), dated 15-24 (= AD 1890). This piece was purchased by Klaus Bronny in Leh (Ladakh) in the 1990s and seems to be the result of an old cut.



Fig. 59

This fraction may be the result of an old cut, but was probably not cut in order to obtain small change.

<sup>51</sup> Formerly this fraction was in the collection of Walsh who illustrated it in his article on the coinage of Tibet (Walsh, 1907, plates II and III, no. 15).



Fig. 60

Fraction of Kong-par tangka, dated 13-46 (issued ca. 1850) representing one Sho. Five petals are visible on reverse. Weight: 3.29 g (Wang Haiyan, 2007, p. 110).



Fig. 61

Fraction of Kong-par tangka, probably dated 13-46 (issued ca. 1850) representing 1/2 tangka (7 1/2 skar). Four petals are visible on the reverse. Weight: 3.09 g (Wang Haiyan, 2007, p. 110).

**G. Dubious or altered kong-par tangkas**



Fig. 62

This coin is struck on a very thin flan and weighs only 2.46 grams. Had it been intended as a half tangka issue, it would certainly have been struck on a smaller, but thicker flan. It appears to be struck with genuine dies. Diam.: 26.7 – 27. 27.5 mm.



Fig. 63

Obverse: Double square in centre. Collection Alexander Lissanevitch (photographed in April 2006) The date is probably TE 13-47.



Fig. 64

The east and southeast symbols are transposed. Collection Klaus Bronny. The coin may be a forgery. Diameter: 25.5 mm; weight: 3.3 g



Fig. 65

The obverse inscription has been replaced with the help of tools by a type of Devanagari script, probably by a Newari artist, in order to use this coin for religious purposes. Collection N.G. Rhodes. Diameter: 27 mm

**H. A Fantasy**



Fig. 66

Fantasy. Obverse in the style of the kong par tangkas with pointed date arch. Reverse in the style of the Ganden tangkas with illegible syllables placed in the eight petals. This fantasy was probably produced by an illiterate person and may have circulated along with genuine coins. Weight: 5.87 g; diam.: 26.5 – 27.5 mm.

**I. Forgeries**



Fig. 67

Forgery dated 13-46 with double circle on reverse. Weight: 4.88 g; diam.: 29.0 -29.5 mm.



Fig. 68

Forgery dated 13-46 with double circle on reverse. Weight: 3.99 g; diam.: 28.3 – 28.8 mm.



Fig. 69

Modern forgery dated 13-46. Diam: 24.2-24.9 mm; weight: 2.80 g. This forgery was found in Lhasa by David Holler. It is

a very good imitation of the scarce variety of kong-par tangka which has the eight auspicious emblems in reverse (mirrored) order on the reverse (cf. fig. 32). This forged coin is of a convincing style and could not be easily identified as a forgery if it had the proper weight.



Fig. 70

Forgery dated 13-46. On the reverse the east and the southeast symbols are interchanged. Weight: 4.62 g; diam.: 28.3 – 28.8 mm.



Fig. 71

Forgery dated 13-46. Weight: 4.14 g; diam.: 27.2 – 27.8 mm.



Fig. 72

This coin seems to be genuine at first sight, but it has very unusual scrolls (“lotus hands”) on the obverse. The ends of the scrolls point in a direction which is different from all other coins. I therefore consider it a possible forgery. Weight: 4.54g; diam.: 26.4 – 26.8 mm.

#### J. A Pair of forged Dies

The dies which I illustrate below were photographed in Lhasa by David Holler in the summer of 2007. They are intended to produce forgeries of kong-par tangkas dated 13-46 in the style of those coins which were struck in about 1850. It is likely that the dies are modern (rather than contemporaneous) forgeries, probably made by a Tibetan who managed to imitate quite well the general style of the kong-par tangkas. However, he certainly had no experience as a die cutter; else he would not have made the blunder of copying the eight auspicious emblems straight from a coin without being aware that they should have been reproduced in reverse order on the dies. It is also possible that it was his intention to produce an unusual and “rare” variety.



Fig. 73

Obverse die (left). The reverse die (right) is cut exactly like a normal coin. Obverse: The two dots to the left and right of the sun and moon symbol are missing. The date arch is composed of two separate parts. Reverse: The eight auspicious emblems are in reverse (mirrored) order compared to how they should appear on the coins. The only genuine kong-par tangka with the emblems in reverse order is of the type with “pointed date arch” (see fig.32). The southeast emblem (as seen on the die of the original photograph) is an endless knot composed of four lozenges with five or six dots attached to these. While genuine coins with a similar type of simple knot exist, these do not have any dots attached to the lozenges. The southwest symbol has a style which cannot be seen on any genuine coin of this type.

My assumption that these dies are modern forgeries is further supported by the fact that they were offered in Lhasa together with another pair of dies in the style of an early Ganden tangka. The Ganden tangka dies also show the eight auspicious symbols in reverse order which makes it likely that both pairs of dies were produced by the same person. No genuine early Ganden tangkas are known which have the eight auspicious emblems in reverse order.



Fig. 74

Mirror-image reproduction of photograph which shows how the die should have been cut correctly.



Fig. 75

Both dies on one photograph, showing that the obverse die was cut correctly while the reverse was cut in reverse order.



Fig. 76

Forged dies for a Ganden tangka of early style which appeared together with the die for the kong-par tangka.

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All photographs and scans were taken by the author, except those appearing as figs 26 , 58, 64, 65 and 72-76.

## COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, MUHAMMAD KHUDABANDA

(AH 985-995; 1578-1588 AD)

### Part I

By Stan Goron

The long reign of Tahmasp I was followed by the disastrous reign of Ismail II. The latter had been imprisoned by Tahmasp and, in due course, emerged victorious in his bid to succeed him. He then proceeded to murder all his brothers bar one, the almost blind Muhammad Khudabanda. Muhammad was also on the hit list but Ismail died before the order could be carried out.

There were more than one contenders for the throne but eventually the choice fell upon Muhammad. His reign proved to be totally ineffectual; power was in the hands of others, especially the Qizilbash amirs. This led to much internal conflict and the weakening of the state. Seeing this state of affairs, the Ottomans and the Uzbeks took the opportunity on various occasions to launch attacks. In sum, Muhammad's reign was a complete disaster for the Safavid state and it took the arrival of his young successor, Abbas I, to bring about change.

According to Steve Album<sup>52</sup> all silver coinage of this reign was struck to the standard of 2400 nokhod, with weights being based on a mithqal of 4.61 grams. The commonest silver denomination is the 2 shahi of mithqal weight. Single shahis are also known but are much scarcer. Gold mithqals, double mithqals, and half mithqals were also struck to the same weight standard.

There were three main issues during the reign, referred to as types A, B and C in Album. Type A, known in both gold and silver was struck in the first two years of the reign, though specimens are often found without clear date. This type has an obverse with a circle containing the lengthy titles of the ruler and usually also the mint and date. This type often turns up in rather worn condition, or with partial weakness of strike. In contrast to the coins of Tahmasp I, there is little variation in the design of this type from the various mints.

Type B has a small cartouche on the obverse containing the mint and date, with the rulers titles in the margin. This type, also known in gold, was struck between the years 986-990.

Type C are countermarked coins, struck either on earlier coins of Muhammad or on coins of earlier reigns, from 990-995. The countermark usually consists of 'adl shahi followed by the mint and, at times, the date. Most of these were struck in central Iran and in Gilan. Some of the mint places are not otherwise known for the Safavid series.

### Coins of Type A



Mohur of Barfurushdeh, 4.6 g, no date visible

<sup>52</sup> A Checklist of Islamic Coins, Santa Rosa 1998



Two shahi of Dar al-Irshad (Ardabil), 4.6 g, no date visible.



Two shahi of Qazvin, 4.6 g, year 985



Two shahi of Isfahan, 4.6 g, year 984



Two shahi, 4.6 g, Qumm, year 986



Two shahi of Isfahan, 4.6 g, year 985. Variant type with mintname in lower right obverse margin.



Two shahi, 4.6 g, Rasht, no date visible. These type A coins of Rasht exhibit some variation in the legend layout.



Two shahi of Kashan, 4.6 g, year 986



Two shahi, Sabzavar, 4.6 g, no date visible.



Two shahi of Lahijan, 4.6 g, no date visible



Two shahi of Sari, 4.6 g, no date visible.



Two shahi of Nakhjavan, 4.6 g, no date visible

On all these coins, except for the coin of Isfahan, 985, the mintname is at the bottom left of the obverse.



Two shahi of Semnan, 4.6 g, year 986.



Two shahi of Tabriz, 4.6 g, no date visible



Mohur of Shiraz, 4.6 g, year 986



Two shahi of Tehran, 4.6 g, year 98x.

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